The twilight of memory... is not just the result of somehow natural generational forgetting that can be counteracted through some form of a more reliable representation. Rather it is given in the very structures of representation itself. The obsessions with memory in contemporary culture must be read in terms of this double problematic. Twilight memories are both: generational memories on the wane due to the passing of time and the continuing speed of technological modernisation, and memories that reflect the twilight status of memory itself. Twilight is that moment of the day that foreshadows the night of forgetting, but that seems to slow time itself, an in-between state in which the last light of the day may still play out its ultimate marvels. It is memory’s privileged time.1


1. Introduction
This article outlines the case study I have conducted for my PhD thesis. My research explores the responses of grandchildren of Holocaust survivors to their grandparent’s video-testimony archived at the Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre, Melbourne.

In recent years, scholars and researchers have analysed the video-testimony medium, discussing the issues surrounding giving testimony, how the survivor constructs...
their story, exploring the problems inherent in remembering and discussing the therapeutic consequences of the process. Until now emphasis has been placed on collecting and archiving video-testimonies for future use when survivors will no longer be able to tell their story in person. The world is approaching a time when institutions, schools, museums and universities will come to rely on video-testimonies to convey the memory of Holocaust survivors. It is therefore necessary for research to be conducted on how viewers respond to this audio-visual medium. I hope that this outline of my research, including its purpose and method, will contribute to a growing research interest in viewers’ responses to video-testimony.

2. Background: Video-testimony archive at Jewish Holocaust Museum and Research Centre, Melbourne (JHMRC)

After Israel, Australia accepted the highest number of Holocaust survivors on a pro-rata population basis. A large percentage of these survivors, many of whom are of Polish background, settled in Melbourne. The JHMRC, established in 1984 under the patronage of Yad Vashem, was the first of its kind in Australia. This ‘hand-made’ survivor-initiated Museum relies on volunteer survivor-guides as living witnesses to the Holocaust to educate the public. The museum’s main objectives are remembrance, commemoration and education against racial intolerance.

In 1987, the JHMRC started to record survivors’ stories on audio-tape. According to Holocaust survivor and Director of the Testimonies Department, Phillip Maisel, this began as a sporadic project, led by children of Holocaust survivors who had links with the Museum. Twenty-five interviewers, all Jewish volunteers, met with survivors in their homes and 178 testimonies were completed between 1987 and 1991. In 1992, the Museum bought a video camera and asked Maisel to start video-recording the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. Realising the urgency of the project, Maisel increased the number of interviews from one every Sunday to five a week. He felt that ‘time was against us’ and that the ‘videos were an invaluable source of information as to who these people were and how they confronted the experience of the Holocaust’. For Maisel, the project became a personal mission in which he invested his own funds. He feels he is fulfilling the request of his friends who died in the camps: ‘If you sur-

5 Ibid., 24.
6 P. Maisel, personal communication, 5 March 2003.
8 P. Maisel, Personal communication, 5 March 2003.
vive, tell the world what Jewry went through’.⁴

As the number of living Holocaust survivors diminishes, the race to record their survival stories before they die adds to the urgency of the project, hence the motto: ‘We are fighting against time and this is a fight we can’t win’.⁵ The aim of the project is to collect as many testimonies from the largest variety of pre-war Jewish communities as possible. In Maisel’s words:

«Books cannot convey the essence of what happened and nor can fiction films and these testimonies contradicted people who claimed that there was no Holocaust. The powerful medium of the video recording fully conveys the depth of the emotional anguish of the survivor. We do not only aim to support the historical facts with personal depositions but we also endeavour to give the younger generation a better understanding of the Holocaust, and provide a legacy and message for the second and third generation, namely, Don’t forget you are Jewish.⁶»

Many roles were envisaged for the video testimony archive as historical record, as educational material, as proof against revisionism, and as a source for communal and familial legacy of the Holocaust. The JHMRC has recorded over 1200 video testimonies to date and is still in the process of collecting and digitising these. Academics and students have begun to utilise the testimonies for a variety of research projects. Honours and Masters students from Deakin and Melbourne Universities are using the testimonies as primary sources for History theses. The JHMRC is currently the industry partner in the Australian Research Council Linkage project with Deakin University entitled «Analysing the Testimonies of Jewish Holocaust Survivors». My PhD is a discrete part of this grant.

The interviews are recorded at JHMRC. The Testimony Department recorded the life stories of anyone who considered himself to be a survivor. The Centre News, April 1995, stated that ‘the criteria for giving testimonies has been extended to include all survivors who lived under the German sphere of influence during World War II, from Hitler’s rise to power in 1933 to the end of the war in 1945’.⁷ The Department also accepted testimonies from many refugees from Nazism who left Germany and Austria prior to 1933. According to Maisel, there are two motivations behind survivors giving a video-testimony – firstly, because their grandchildren were calling for it, and secondly for historical reasons.⁸

3. Case Study: Third Generation Responses to Video-testimony

As I watched over 40 video-testimonies, I began to think about the responses of future viewers. Testimonies are created for future generations but how will the generations that follow respond to them? If the video testimonies at the JHMRC are an archive that will replace the living survivors’ voices when they are no longer able to tell their stories, then it is paramount that we conduct research on the way these video testimonies can be used and their impact on different groups of viewers who come to watch them.

Viewers are the potential receivers of the memory recorded in the testimonies. In actively hearing and seeing the survivor on screen, the viewer witnesses the process of remembering and is in the position of being the person to whom the Holocaust survivor’s memories are transferred, thus becoming a witness to the survivor’s telling of his experience.⁹ Baruch Stier remarks that ‘it is the viewer who actually serves as the address for the testimonial transmission’.¹⁰ The viewer may feel that their personal response to the video testimony entails a new role or responsibility.
The third generation after the Holocaust represents the last age cohort that will have personal contact with Holocaust survivors. Saul Friedlander suggests that the «generation of the grandchildren» have sufficient distance from the events... to be able to confront the full impact of the past.\(^{11}\) Little research in Australia has studied the way the third generation understands and relates to the «legacy» of the Holocaust. My informal conversations with grandchildren of Holocaust survivors indicated that many have never watched their grandparent’s video-testimony. It was for this reason too that I decided to conduct a case study for my PhD exploring the responses of the third generation to video-testimonies archived at the JHMRC.

My primary research questions are: What is the role of the video-testimony in the transmission of Holocaust memory to the third generation? What is the nature and identity of the third generation?

### 4. Research Methodology

**QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

The methodology employed for my PhD research involved using ethnographic techniques to inquire into third generation responses, attitudes and thinking about Holocaust video-testimonies. Specifically the goal was to gain insight into the grandchildren’s views, the significance of the audio-visual medium and their perspectives on Holocaust memory and legacy.

I collected empirical data as part of a case study. Following Merriam, I chose to view the case as a ‘single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries’. This approach allows me to ‘ «fence in» ‘ what I am going...
to study. The research followed Brewer’s concept of ‘ideographic ethnography’ which explores ‘the unique features of an individual case in order to discover what social meaning it has for its participants’. Paralleling Wajnryb’s research on the second generation, the findings of my PhD research are presented as ‘a qualitative interpretation of the experience... an integrated composite of the descendants viewpoints’.

SAMPLING

The sampling strategy for the case study was ‘purposeful’. As Merriam notes ‘purposful sampling’ is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned.

According to Stake, the case study is ‘the intrinsic study of a valued particular’. My ‘valued particular’ started with Holocaust survivors from Germany. This is because the number of testimonies of Holocaust survivors from Germany (40 such tapes at the JHMRC, of a total collection of 1100) was manageable for a PhD case study.

Thus, the survivor’s place of birth (Germany) was established as a selection criteria. The survivors’ testimonies of the German group start in 1933, (when Hitler came to power), and it interested me to trace their experiences. There are multiple variables in this sample of video testimonies - for example, age/gender of survivor and type of survivor experience during the Holocaust - camp, ghetto, hiding- but the uniform factor is the interviewees’ birth-place. My ‘valued particular’ moved from the survivor who had given the video-testimony to their grandchild who was now responding to the tape.

Brewer notes that ‘to sample means to select the case or cases for study from the basic unit of study where it is impossible to cover all instances of that unit’. Conducting the case study using video testimonies of Holocaust survivors from Germany was a starting point for research on grandchildren’s responses to their grandparents’ video testimonies. This is in accordance with ethnographic research which ‘places stress on the intensive analysis of a small body of empirical materials’ where ‘to study the particular is to study the general’.

I sent letters to all 40 Holocaust survivors from Germany who had given a testimony at the JHMRC. Enclosed was a flyer for them to give to their grandchildren - (over 18 years of age); it explained the project and emphasised that the research would help to understand the place of video-testimonies in perpetuating the memory of the Holocaust.

I received contact details for 15 grandchildren in response to my letter to the survivors. I contacted the grandchildren by first sending them a letter and then a few days later I telephoned. If they were willing I made an appointment to see them. Ten grandchildren (Group A) agreed to participate in my research. I conducted an interview before and after they viewed their grandparent’s video-testimony. I was not present during the viewing of the video-testimony. All of the grandchildren were Jewish except for one respondent who had a Jewish father and a non-Jewish mother.

Denzin and Lincoln note that ‘different sampling issues arise in each situation’. As I was carrying out my research and discussing my project with people in the community, it became apparent to me that there was a semi-control group available: a group of third generation, direct descendants of Holocaust survivors without video-testimonies. Their grandparents had not participated in the video-testimony collection project at JHMRC - either they had passed away before the video testimony project
began, or they chose not to record a testimony. I decided that these individuals would be very interesting to interview as they would be a contrasting group to the third generation who do have video-testimonies. A snowballing effect as well as my community contacts yielded a group of seven interviewees who shared the same attribute of being direct descendants of Holocaust survivors without video testimonies.

I interviewed these seven grandchildren (Group B) - two were descendants of German survivors and the rest of Polish survivors. What unites them is their wish for a video testimony to give them a complete picture of their grandparents’ experiences during the Holocaust. These interviewees offered me valuable insights into what it means to be a grandchild of Holocaust survivors and what sense they carry of the impact on them of the Holocaust. Although my earlier research plan had not included Group B, their importance emerged over time, and I modified my research plan accordingly.

Two of the grandchildren from Group B asked me if they could watch a video testimony. I decided to show them one of the tapes from Group A. I chose the tape of Kurt Friedlander because unlike the others, which were mostly migration or escape stories (1933-1939), Friedlander narrates his experiences during the war years, including his time at Auschwitz. I interviewed two of the Group B descendants after they had watched the video-testimony.

With data drawn from Friedlander’s grandson, as well as two Group B members, I decided to expand this sidetrack further. I interviewed two Jewish adults who are of similar age to the other interviewees, but have no direct connection to the Holocaust. All told, I now had five data sets related to the Friedlander tape. In other words, a mini-case study that branched off from the main track of my major case study. Although it was not planned from the outset, but rather emerged «mid-stream», the opportunity to explore further was too good to miss. This feature of qualitative research, that allows the researcher to modify the pre-planned approach, is one of the hallmarks that distinguishes it from quantitative research. As Merriam says, ‘It allows the researcher to adapt to unforeseen events and change direction in pursuit of meaning’. Far from being slipshod or ad hoc, this feature of qualitative research gives important discretionary decision-making power to the investigator who is travelling, it has to be remembered, ‘in a largely uncharted ocean’.

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23 I also had his permission to use his tape in this expanded way.
27 Wajnyrb, op. cit., 324.
29 I grew up in the Jewish community of Sydney. I moved to Melbourne for the PhD research scholarship. I was an active member of the Melbourne Jewish community for the first one and a half years of my PhD studies before I began my empirical data collection.
The third generation respondents came from varied backgrounds. There were seven men and 13 women interviewees. All were born in Melbourne, except for one respondent who was born and lives in Germany. All participants, except for two, are Jewish. Their ages ranged from 19 - 37. Nine participants attended Jewish high-schools. Eight are university students. Other interviewees’ professions include an event planner, a musician, a doctor, a teacher, an engineer, two are lawyers, two social worker, IT worker and a sales assistant. In terms of level of religious observance 8 described themselves as being not very religious at all, 7 said they were traditional, 2 stated they were orthodox, one identifies as liberal. Four interviewees said they were not involved in the Jewish community at all. The rest described participation in youth movements, volunteer organizations, Jewish sporting clubs and attendance at various communal functions.

INTERVIEWING

The research interview has been described as ‘a conversation with a purpose where the exchange of information takes place, a two-way process’. It was an ideal genre for exploring individual responses to video-testimony.

The interviews were semi-structured. This meant that I had questions to ask in a set order, but I was open to following certain topic areas or subjects as the interview took its own natural course. Given the sensitive nature of the topics being discussed, I found that disclosing my own feelings towards the Holocaust or the video-testimony medium took the conversation to another level and created a more comfortable talking space. After each interview (both in the pre and post), I evaluated the questionnaire template adding new questions and adjusting the order accordingly. Wajnryb comments that it is standard practice in qualitative research for the ‘final protocol’ to emerge ‘through successive refinements’.

An important question relates to the matter of subjectivity. Kahn indicates that the ‘interviewer [must] remain optimally neutral in order not to influence the data, direction, emotional quality and philosophical perspective of the interviewee.’ Being Jewish and a member of the community and the same generation from which I sourced my interviewees, I, the interviewer am not an outsider. Being on the ‘inside’ has advantages in terms of establishing trust. This rapport, (often achieved by ethnographers in their field work) in some cases, enhanced the degree to which the interviewee expressed their innermost thoughts during the interview. On the other hand, it was important for me, as the interviewer and researcher, to be constantly aware that the questions asked and conclusions drawn were not coloured by the friendships made prior to and as a result of the interview. Also my insider status meant that many elements that might have been explained to an outsider fell into the category of assumed knowledge.

Mediating between ‘naïve’ researcher and ‘insider’ interviewer was a balancing act in every interview. In several incidents when the respondent presumed I knew what they meant by a Yiddish word or thought I knew the structure of the Holocaust course at their Jewish high-school, I made sure to interject. Restating that I did not grow up in this (the Melbourne) community and re-informing them that I am not a descendant of Holocaust survivors, created a space where the participant responded with more detail and greater explanation. I was thus able to reap the benefits of both «naïve» and «insider» interview roles.

I conducted two taped interviews with each interviewee. The first interview was conducted in the interviewee’s home or at my
The half hour interview was devoted to establishing biographical details and background information about the interviewee’s knowledge of the Holocaust, whether they had studied it in school, whether they had read books or watched films, whether their parents spoke about the Holocaust to them. The direct descendants were asked what they knew about their grandparent’s survival story. The indirect descendants were asked if they have ever had encounters with Holocaust survivors and what they knew about Holocaust survival stories. I engaged with all interviewees about their Jewish identity and communal involvement. I tried to discover where they «were at», at the point at which they were exposed to the video-testimonies.

I then asked them to watch their grandparent’s testimony. For some, this was the first time they had ever watched it. A week or two later, depending on the interviewee’s schedule, I returned to their home for the second interview.

The second interview lasted on average about 90 minutes and was video-taped.31 I focused my questions on the specific survival story, the interviewee’s responses and the ways in which the interviewee related to video-testimonies as sources of Holocaust history and memory. I was keen to learn how much of the story the interviewee remembered and what they valued as most significant about the testimony.

CODING

The study involved four stages of data analysis: first-level descriptive coding; second-level ‘unitising’; third-level ‘inferential coding’ and finally, report writing. Ryan and Bernard indicate that ‘the act of coding involves the assigning of codes to continuous units of text... codes acts as tags to mark... simple phrases or pages of text or they can ‘act as values assigned to fixed units’.32

The first step of the first-level of coding was to identify recurring short phases, words, or themes that arose upon my initial reading of the transcript. These were recorded in list form with the participants names beside them. It was a way to keep track of my early thoughts about important material arising from the data. This happened simultaneously as I was carrying out the interviews and also transcribing right through the data collection phase. For example, I noticed that in the pre-interview many interviewees made comments about not being able to recount their grandparent’s survival story so I included phrases such as ‘knowing/not knowing’, ‘asking/not asking’ or small sub-headings like ‘who is a survivor?’, ‘who is a descendant?’ in this first-level coding list. I continuously added to this list as I completed each interview transcription.

The second-level in the coding phase was ‘unitising’ the data arising from each transcript. Guba and Lincoln describe this
process as ‘abstracting... any item of information that can possibly be construed as a descriptor, a concern or an issue’ where emphasis should be on ‘inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness’. For Wajnryb, this stage involves ‘carving the transcript into smaller components’ where a unit of analysis is ‘a meaningful, topic-bounded, stand-alone chunk of text, irrespective of linguistic structure or size... containing one heuristic idea’. These units are sourced directly from the transcripts and were often in the informants’ own words. This follows the notion of ‘in vivo coding’ used by grounded theorists to ‘identify categories and terms’ allowing the researcher to become ‘more and more grounded in the data’ gaining increasing insight into the interviewees’ world views. For example, phrases from the initial first level list like ‘over the Holocaust’, ‘over-remembering’, ‘heard it all’ were terms used by interviewees to express feeling ‘saturated’ by material on the Holocaust. These units were grouped together under the second-level code ‘SATURATION’. The second level list of codes emerged after working through each transcript at least twice.

The third stage involved revisiting all interview transcripts with the aim of creating inferential descriptors from the list of second-level codes. As Wajnryb points out: ‘if descriptive coding is a matter of identifying threads in the data, then inferential coding is a matter of bundling, or re-grouping the already identified threads into bundles that are meaningful given the research questions that guide the investigation’. The second level list of codes were re-shuffled again and grouped under sub-headings which were ‘interpretive in nature’. Merriam calls this ‘category construction’ where the analysis extends further than the simple descriptive list. For example, the heading ‘family communication about the Holocaust’ became a category and the relevant first-level codes (‘memory fragments’, ‘knowing/not knowing’, ‘asking/not asking’) were subsumed under this ‘bin’. Guided by the study’s research questions, twenty sub-headings were created. In this way, the second-level code list was significantly refined resulting in the development of the third-level code list. Participants’ names were recorded under the code heading as a way of tracking the frequency that the code appeared across the group of interviewees’ transcripts. At this point, all transcripts were combed once again to ensure that all interviewee responses had been subsumed somewhere within the new inferential coding. Throughout the whole process care was taken to allow the codes to reflect the data rather than the reverse - making the data fit the codes - which is an easy trap to fall into.

Once the coding was complete, a filing system was developed with a large envelope assigned for each code. Photocopies were made of all transcripts. The coded sections of each transcript were manually cut up and the relevant section placed into the envelope of that particular code. Despite the availability of qualitative computer software, I preferred a manual system: it meant I would not be ‘constrained by program-defined units of analysis’ and also allowed me to move data around literally. Having completed the coding, the writing stage began.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Qualitative researchers are often questioned about the validity and reliability of their findings. Typically, they are asked to justify their sampling technique, which tend not to be as random or large as in quantitative studies. Case-study researchers may be questioned about the generalisability of their typically narrow-based case study approach.
Such questions often proceed from erroneous assumptions. Merriam emphasises that in ‘qualitative research, a single case or small non-random sample is selected precisely because the researcher wishes to understand the particular in depth, not to find out what is generally true of the many’. Indeed, the purpose in qualitative research is not about seeking to generalise about the case (a very quantitative approach to analysing data), but it is rather about ensuring that enough detail is provided for future researchers to build on and make comparisons.

In my case study, several measures were employed to shore up validity and reliability. I conducted data collection and analysis processes simultaneously. I selected codes from the interviewees’ words. All interviewees were sent verbatim transcripts from their interviews for their comments and evaluation. These ‘member checks’ helped to determine whether the presented results are ‘plausible’ to participants in the study.

In qualitative research, external reliability assumes an important role. This is a quality that allows ‘another researcher working with different data and constructs to match or corroborate the result.’ Others may decide to explore different case studies on responses to video-testimonies (such as a different sub-section of the video-testimonies), or to ground their approach in another discipline. Their aim may be to compare and contrast the implications and outcomes found in this study to their own. It is hoped that by including substantial detail about my research method in this journal article, ‘external reliability’ will be secured for future comparative studies.

**SELF-REFLEXIVE RESEARCH**

Consideration of the role of the researcher is an important part of my methodology. In the tradition of ethnographic research, I have been keeping a journal of research reflections since commencing my PhD in March 2003. As a Jewish, indirect descendant of the third generation, I am a member of one of the groups that I am researching. I acknowledge my position as a situated author and researcher and know that one of my roles is to ‘come to terms with the position’ in which I locate myself. This type of qualitative research where the researcher is also a subject fits within the genre of reflexive auto-ethnography. My insights helped shaped the text of my PhD and added a personal element which is missing from much academic study and inquiry of the Holocaust.

5. Preliminary Findings

The findings of my case study suggest that the viewing of video-testimonies may have both positive and negative implications. One positive outcome is improved understanding - the grandchild gains a better grasp of their grandparent’s survival story and this in turn can facilitate intergenerational dialogue. Many respondents expressed satisfaction after viewing their grandparent’s video-testimony: for them, the viewing had ‘filled in the gaps’. Joel had never viewed the testimony before and was unaware of the specific survival experience of his grandfather.

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41 Merriam, op. cit., 208.
42 Merriam, op. cit., 204.
43 Merriam, op. cit., 207.
45 See Carolyn Ellis and Arthur P. Bochner, «Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity : Researcher as Subject,» in Denzin and Lincoln, 733-768.
The viewing experience served as a catalyst for communication:

«I got a sense that my grandfather was keen to speak about it ... I’d probably ask him ‘cause it seems that’s what he wants. He says it in the testimony that his sons don’t ask him about it, so I’ll ask him because it seems that he wants to talk about it».

Martin commented on another positive aspect of viewing the tape:

«The reality of [my grandfather] leaving his parents was not something we ever talked about, that’s why it’s really good to have the video... you get to see the person and their reactions. the video is rolling which forces people to say things they that they wouldn’t say otherwise».

There is little doubt that one role of video-testimony is to facilitate the emotional transfer of history. Within this, the potential exists for negative outcomes, that is, the possibility of viewers becoming traumatised when watching the video-testimony. In describing her emotional reaction to viewing her grandfather’s testimony, Jordy reflected:

«I tried to watch it all at once but ... I found it very full-on and I found myself a bit distracted and losing concentration... I stopped it, did something else and came back to it. I distracted myself because it’s very confronting... it drew on the heart strings a little. I found myself not focussing or looking away. I had to think about it, had to emotionally go there. [But] - did I want to go there? It’s heavy stuff even if you know it, hearing it, re-entering that sort of head space. It’s knowing him and then knowing how he deals with things and [how] he blocks emotions... I’m very different. I’m very emotional and expressive... so that’s very confronting for me, maybe it is the... expression on his face, the wall comes up that I try not to put up».

Other interviewees found the viewing a less emotional experience than they had expected. Some respondents linked this to the fact that their grandparent may not have fully expressed his emotions during the telling. This could be because the survivor knew that family members would one day view the video-testimony. For example, Nicky commented she would have liked to ask her grandfather further questions:

«More about what happened to his family when he was in a concentration camp... that bit was left out... he says his mother, father and sister did not survive but he doesn’t actually say what happened to them... maybe he doesn’t know... but I think he does know and it was skipped».

When explicit feelings are not expressed, it becomes harder for the viewer to make an emotional connection to the teller of the testimony. Further analysis into these responses will help to understand trauma transference and its link with viewing video-testimonies.

The perspectives of Group B descendants add an important comparative element to the research. They had mixed feelings about the absence of this primary source in their family. For example, Ilana commented on not having a video-testimony:

«I used to be very angry... about [not having] a story. But the older I get, the more I see my grandmother as a person and in a sense, I now respect her right to not want to share her story. But it is hard because I can’t tell my kids... but in a sense, her not wanting to tell her story is... part of my identity, who I am - so just the fact that there isn’t the story is the story».

Dana expressed her longing for a video-testimony:

«I think I’d watch it over and over. I don’t think my bubba wanted to relive all the horrors. She had really bad night-
I was pissed off she wasn’t going to go a video-testimony. I don’t want it to be like this that my memory is sketchy [of her story]... I try and write it down but it’s all in bits».

Such comments highlight the importance of video-testimony for family history and continuity.

The findings also shed light on the textured meanings of the term «third generation» - whether the grandchildren identify with the term, what their beliefs are about Holocaust commemoration, education and legacy are some of the identity issues that surround «third generation». Some identified closely with the label; others did not feel connected to this grouping at all. Maaryasha strongly identified with being «third generation»:

«[As] a Jewish family in Australia, it is who you are, your history. My grandfather survived so I’m not a random being, I have a responsibility, life is a gift, have to carry on... my grandfather survived and continued the generations... he did the opposite of what the Nazis tried to do».

On the other hand, Amy said she would never identify herself as a ‘third generation’. She did not feel that the label had any significance for her in her life. Similarly Martin had not heard the term before and stated that he would never apply it to himself. This could be because he does not identify as being Jewish (only his father is) and therefore did not feel an affinity with ‘grandchildren of Holocaust survivors’ as a group. The level of Jewish education and community involvement can influence the degree of identification with the term.

Many interviewees were extremely passionate about the impact of the Holocaust on their lives. Dan stated:

«I feel a responsibility to understand my family history and part of that is that they are Holocaust survivors - so I am the third generation in my family of those people who went through that experience and in order to understand that experience I feel I need to understand the whole history of it and what has happened as a result - not just in Germany but how also it affects my family here».

Benjy described growing up in a house where it was ‘taboo’ to discuss the Holocaust. He stated:

«I have had Holocaust dreams... I think it is something that hangs around my subconscious... a reference point, metaphor for pain... I think the Holocaust for me is a... deeper underlying undercurrent. It sounds very dramatic but I do feel that».

Such responses shed light on what it means to be a «third generation». They provide some insight into an area of experience that is as yet under-researched. Increasingly, as the survivor generation passes away, the importance of third generation identity issues will come to assume greater importance.

6. Conclusion

The third generation is the last to have personal communication with Holocaust survivors, living in what Huyssen calls ‘the twilight of memory’. It is this fact that makes their responses to video-testimonies so important, and that makes their generation ‘memory’s privileged time’. Subsequent generations will meet the survivor for the first time on the video-screen. It is imperative, therefore, that we explore the medium that is to have such a crucial communicative role - in families, in the community, in education curricula, and in future commemorative occasions. This article, which explains my purposes and methods, is my contribution to the field.

46 Huyssen, op. cit., 3.