

Johannes Kopf-Beck, Felix Gaisbauer & Susanne Dengler

Engaging with German history: Reactions of the third post-war generation to cinematic representations of the Holocaust¹

Kurzfassung: Da ZeitzeugInnen des Holocaust seltener werden, steigt die Bedeutung von medialen Zeugnissen zur Geschichtsvermittlung an die "3. Generation". Gegenstand dieser quasi-experimentellen Untersuchung sind rezipientenseitige Wirkungen von TV-Dokumentationen mit unterschiedlichen Darstellungsstrategien des Holocaust bei SchülerInnen. Hierzu wurden 12 Schulklassen (N = 184) per Fragebogen zu ihrer nationaler Identifikation und bisherigen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Holocaust befragt. Nach drei Wochen wurde einer von insgesamt sechs dokumentarischen Filmausschnitten zum Holocaust vorgeführt und die Reaktionen der SchülerInnen mit standardisierten Items und offenen Essay-Fragen erhoben. Die Ergebnisse zeigen auf, unter welchen Umständen TV-Dokumentationen kontraindizierte Wirkungen hervorrufen und wie durch filmische Mittel über vergangenes Unrecht aufgeklärt werden kann, ohne dass dies Abwehrreaktionen hervorruft und so eine konstruktive Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte möglich wird.

Abstract: Because the number of surviving contemporary witnesses of the Holocaust is rapidly declining, media reports are increasingly important for transmitting history to the "Third Generation." The focus of this quasi-experimental study is on the recipient-side effects for school pupils of viewing TV documentaries that use different strategies to represent the Holocaust. For this purpose, 12 school classes (N = 184) were asked by questionnaire about their national identification and previous engagement with the Holocaust. Three weeks later, the study participants were shown one of six different film excerpts, whereby each film excerpt was viewed by respectively one group from Baden-Württemberg and one from Thüringen. The different reactions to the excerpts were sampled using standardized items and open-response essay questions. The results point to the conditions under which TV documentaries elicit contra-indexed effects and how enlightenment on past injustice can be achieved using cinematic material, without eliciting defensive reactions, and thereby make possible a constructive engagement with history.

1. Introduction

On the fifty-first anniversary of the liberation of KZ Auschwitz-Birkenau by Soviet troops on January 27, 1945, Germany for the first time commemorated the Day of Remembrance of the Victims of National Socialism. In the Proclamation of the Day of Remembrance, the then German President, Roman Herzog, emphasized the importance "of finding a form of remembrance, that has effects in the future" (Herzog, 1996: 17).

Even if opinion surveys always have drawbacks as a means to "feel the people's pulse," they can often be useful to vividly illustrate the state of realization of normative-political personal aspirations. In sharp contrast to Herzog's call for a form of remembering "that has effects in the future," in 2004 over 60 percent of Germans were tired of "hearing again and again of German crimes against the Jews" (Heyder, Iser, & Schmidt, 2005: 151). The widespread call to close the books on NS crimes against the Jews is, however, not attributable to widespread debate on the Holocaust and reformed attitudes arising from this. There is evidence that it is above all uninformed and unteachable citizens who are more likely to make such demands (cf. Rensmann, 2004).

Finding a form of memory that has effects in the future presupposes that history will continue to be passed on to future generations. A debate over one's national history is always a way of dealing with memory (cf. Burke, 1991). In the discourse on history, it is becoming easier to find a consensus for rejecting historical objectivity and turning to historical perspectivity.² That history is "re-presented reality" (Dengler, 2010: 2) likewise holds for the forms and channels of writing and representing history that are used to pass it on. When approaching the history of the Holocaust, it is crucial in this regard that the number of contemporary witnesses is steadily declining. At the same time, increasing numbers of media reports – especially TV documentaries – are being produced (Köppen, 2002) that are thereby gaining in importance for passing on knowledge of history.

The intentions behind these documentaries thereby range from artistic refusal to treat the Holocaust as in any way historical (cf. Lanzmann, 2007: 35) to the aim to structure "the teaching of history not only as investigation [...] but also as exciting and moving and simultaneously authentic" (Knopp, 1999: 311). In particular, the attempt is often made to honor the claim of authenticity through the use of historical source material, whereby the communicative possibilities of visual imagery could, however, even work against constructively engaging with the past (Loose, 2009).

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2. Cf. on this Hayden White's (1991a) concise formulation, "Also Clio composes poetry," according to which historiography (symbolized by Clio, the muse of history) is based on poetological categories and thereby is of necessity a narrative form (White, 1991b).

Before the background of the increasing importance of TV documentaries about the Holocaust in helping the “third generation” come to terms with German history, on the one side, and the heterogeneous spectrum of these formats, on the other side, questions arise of the recipient-side effects of these historical representations: What reactions do the various different TV documentary representations of the Holocaust elicit in members of the “third generation”? And are there contraindicated effects that are detrimental to a constructive understanding of history?

2. Media transmission of the Holocaust

If we then consider the effects of cinematically passing on history, we do this before the background of recipients who have various attitudes, motivations, needs or previous knowledge and consequently respond differently to the presented information. According to the *media effects model of framing*, this process of engagement with history is constituted in the interaction of media contents with the recipients’ mental models (for an overview, cf. Scheufele, 1999). The complexity of this interaction (cf. Kempf & Thiel, 2012) should be given particular consideration in the study of contraindicated effects. It is precisely these effects that can result from specific constellations of various factors.

Hormuth and Stephan (1981) studied the reactions of recipients to “Holocaust,” a TV series (docudrama) that was broadcast in the USA and Germany in the late 1970s. They concluded that those who viewed “Holocaust” and identified with National Socialists were most likely to blame the Jews for their persecution. Such viewers did so to a greater extent than those who did *not* identify with the Nazis and had seen the series, and more so than people who identified with the victims – independently of whether or not they had viewed the series. To explain their findings, the authors drew on the theory of *belief in a just world*. According to this theory, people need to experience their environment as predictable and controllable and are therefore convinced that everyone gets what they deserve, or respectively deserves what they get. If a person is confronted by a situation of inexplicable suffering, and this conviction is thereby threatened, he or she will try through processes of attribution to reconcile the discrepancy and maintain his or her *belief in a just world* (Festinger, 1957; Lerner, 1965, 1980; Montada & Lerner, 1998). In this way, the phenomenon of *secondary victimization* arises, whereby the victim is (among other things) victimized a second time by being assigned a share of the blame for his initial victimization (Brickman et al., 1982).

Newer findings from research on the theory of *belief in a just world* have suggested reasons to have doubts about this interpretation. Admittedly, in newer research projects the assumption postulated by Lerner and Miller (1978) and developed by Hormuth and Stephan (1981) could be confirmed that with increasing involvement by the observers of victimization, the need increases to explain the injustices (see on this Aguiar, Jorge, Correia, & Pereira, 2008; Correia, Vala, & Aguiar, 2007). The conclusion that *in-group victims* are more likely than *out-group victims* to threaten *belief in a just world* was, however, supplemented by the finding that *out-group victims* are more strongly devalued and secondarily victimized. What underlies this *out-group* devaluation is a more general effect of *in-group favoritism* and, unlike the case of *in-group victims*, less likely to be the striving to maintain *belief in a just world* (Aguiar et al., 2008; Correia et al., 2007; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

The present study centers on German recipients of Holocaust documentations, their reactions to it and the way they deal with German history. In the cinematic representations there is a clear relationship between the National Socialist perpetrators and the social category of “Germany,” on the one hand, and a clear characterization using pictures and sound-tracks of the Jewish victims as an *out-group*,¹ on the other. This necessitates a detailed examination of social or respectively national identity as an alternative explanation to *belief in a just world*.

2.1 Confrontation with history as a threat to social identity

A confrontation with negative information about one’s own *in-group*, whose members have violated moral standards, means for individuals a threat to their positive group image. This threat and the perceived discrepancy between the behavior and norms of the group can elicit aversive group-based emotions in individuals, among others collective shame (Lickel, Schmader, & Barquissau, 2004; cf. Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). Thereby shame as a self-reflecting emotion raises questions about the implications of the information on the negative dispositional characteristics of one’s own group (cf. Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005).

The extent of the perceived threat to social identity posed by a negative group image and collective shame thereby depends on three influencing dimensions: (1) to what extent is negative behavior attributed to the *in-group* and perceived as unjustified (media variables), (2) to what extent does the observer feel he or she belongs to this group (individual variable),

1. On the discourse of the visualization of Jewish life as that of the “Eastern Jews” (Ostjuden) in TV documentaries see Dengler (2010).

and (3) what contextual possibilities of linkages are given to the individual to fend off or even cope with these emotions (media and individual variable).¹

2.1.1 Perceived illegitimacy of behavior

Today when people are confronted with events from the Second World War and the Holocaust, this occurs first of all through the media. For this reason the extent of discrepancy between moral standards and the behavior of *in-group* members and thereby their perceived illegitimacy is influenced by cinematic contents and forms of representation.

The extent of this perceived illegitimacy of the actions thereby increases depending on various factors, such as, e.g. (1) the perceived severity of the crime, e.g., in that atrocities are dramatically portrayed; (2) the base motives of the perpetrators, such as, e.g., greed and racism; or (3) the humanization of the victims, whereby the potential for identification with them increases, and their treatment appears much more unjustified (cf. Aguiar et al., 2008; Lerner & Miller, 1978).

On the other side, a reduction in the perceived illegitimacy is possible through the description of the perpetrator perspective, such as, e.g., the portrayal of action under pressure or belittling victim representations. In this connection, the use of historical film material in TV documentaries has been criticized. The charge of the "ambivalence of the authentic," formulated among others by Loose (2009), refers to the use of historical film material: Employing it on the grounds of authenticity – insofar as it stems from National Socialist sources – harbors the risk of transmitting the anti-Semitic stereotypes of the Third Reich to the third and fourth post-war generations. Insofar as historical material from Allied sources was recorded for use in the *Re-education Policy* and contains pictures of incredible suffering and Jewish victimization, this may in no way deter, according to critics, or elicit sympathy, but rather could generate abhorrence and alienation (cf. Dengler, 2010). Under certain circumstances it could even stimulate an increase in anti-Semitic prejudices (cf. Imhoff & Banse, 2009). Both forms, *stereotyping* and *exclusive victimization*, further a devaluing perception of the Jewish population and justifications of their persecution (cf. Kopf-Beck, Gaisbauer, & Dengler, in preparation).

2.1.2 The role of identification with the national *in-group*

The second precondition for perceiving the confrontation with history as a threat to social identity is the *in-group* of viewers' sense of community with the perpetrators. According to *social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and *social categorization theory* (Turner, 1987), people are capable of internalizing group memberships in such a way that these become part of their self-concept (cf. Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2000; Doosje et al., 1998). A collective component must therefore be ascribed to emotions, i.e., people are capable of experiencing feelings about the behavior of their *in-group* members. Their behavior thereby becomes relevant for their personal self-concept (Doosje et al., 1998; Lickel et al., 2005; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1993). The threat to the *social* self-concept thereby becomes a threat to the *personal* self-concept (cf. among others Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009; Steele, 2004).

The media confrontation with the historical crimes of one's own national *in-group* – in the present study this means considering the destruction of the Jews by the (German) National Socialists – can thereby lead to collective or respectively group-based shame among the recipients (cf. Brown & Cehajic, 2008; Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008), which again can lead to various different reactions and forms of dealing with the past (Lickel et al., 2005).

2.1.3 Contextual possibilities of linkages for defense and mastery

Reactions to the aversive emotion of collective shame are typically efforts to reduce it (Hogg & Abramson, 1988). This can, for example, manifest itself through a justification or rationalization of the illegitimate actions, the trivialization of the harm, the devaluation of the *out-group* through dehumanization, advantageous comparisons or respectively relativization or avoidance of confronting the affected persons (cf. Bandura, 1999; Branscombe, Doosje, & McGarty, 2002; Brown et al., 2008). Thereby precisely these distancing consequences of avoidance play an important role (Lickel et al., 2005). In the concrete case, questions arise of (1) what possibilities of linkages are available for the recipients of the cinematic representation, and (2) what individual predispositions do the recipients have to be able to counteract group-based shame through defense or mastery strategies.

1. Defenses against shame are manifested in a variety of different strategies used to avoid and distance oneself from the emotions of collective shame. To be demarcated from defenses against shame is the concept of coping or mastery (*Bewältigung*), which consists in an integration of aversive emotions in the self-concept, the admission of shame and the recognition of responsibility (cf. Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; as well as Lickel et al., 2005). Coping is in our view a prerequisite for a constructive understanding of history. We understand by this a form of collective memory of one's own (here national) history that recognizes past injustice without this memory becoming an obligatory end-in-itself.

Media Variables

The film material employed can give recipients a great variety of starting points for fending off shame. If Loose was right in his critique with regard to the employment of historical film material, a devaluation of the Jewish victims by portraying them exclusively in victim roles or by reproducing anti-Semitic stereotypes can facilitate the dehumanization of the victims; This again can lead to a trivialization of the harm and also to *victim-blaming* (cf. Kopf-Beck, Gaisbauer, & Dengler, in preparation).

At the same time, it is conceivable that a specific representation of the perpetrator side is suitable to avoid and suppress social identity threats or group-based shame. If the preconditions for this, connections between the guilty perpetrator side and the viewer's *in-group*, are only to a limited extent present, not only threats, but also shame will be less marked. In the film, such weakening of the effects can, for example, occur due to a lack of relevance of the Holocaust to contemporary Germany. If victim and perpetrator testimonies are paralleled in the cinematic treatment, and thus the perpetrator perspective is (partially) legitimated, this could facilitate defensive behavior.

The representation of the perpetrator side as particularly differentiated and multi-layered could have similar consequences. It supports a strategy of heterogenization of the *in-group* (cf. Lickel et al., 2004) and thereby facilitates an uncoupling of personal identity from that of the perpetrators. This can occur through temporal distancing from the events, a differentiation between guilty and innocent population groups, a shifting of responsibility to societal elites or a demonization of individual persons (cf. Ellard, Miller, Baumlé, & Olson, 2002).

Individual Variables

The recipients of confrontational TV documentaries or films have individually different preconditions that again can offer different possibilities for dealing with emotions of collective shame.

The *extent of previous dealing with the Holocaust* results in different pre-existing knowledge on the part of individuals of the facts and different degrees of familiarity with the theme complexes. Knowledge of argumentation strategies for defending against shame and threats to social-identity could provide the opportunity to draw on these in the corresponding cinematic confrontation with the events, without them having to be the immediate content of the film.

In addition, *national identity* could, besides its important role with regard to the extent of the identity threat, also represent a possibility to cope with it. As a sub-form of heterogenization, identification with a positive "*sub-in-group*" could lead to an acceptance of the occurrence of shame that is not accompanied by the necessity to employ avoidance strategies.

The cinematic confrontation with the historical injustice committed by the national in-group and the resulting reaction is thereby a complex interplay of national identification, cinematic presentation and possibilities of linkages for defensive processes that develop out of the interactions of these two factors. To assume a linear connection between the extent of *national identification* and aversive *group-based emotions* like shame would therefore be overly simplifying, for collective identity has a double function: It serves, on the one side, as an intensifying variable, because there is a positive connection between identification with the group and the extent of the social identity threat. At the same time, it acts as a retarding variable, because on the basis of more strongly activated defensive mechanisms, a negative linkage can be expected between the extent of *identification* and *collective shame*. These preconditions point to a curvilinear relationship, whereby what we find to be strongest is the aversive emotion of collective shame among those who identify moderately strongly with the relevant *in-group*, due to a lack of relevance where there is a lower degree of identification, and a clear defense due to stronger identification (cf. Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011).

3. Methods

3.1 Design

The purpose of the present study was to determine how "third generation" recipients deal with the different strategies of representing the Holocaust in documentary TV formats, in a setting resembling everyday life as much as possible. For this reason the study was structured as a quasi-experimental design with two survey times in the frame of secondary school instruction in History and German. A quasi-experimental design was chosen in order not to artificially remove the participants through randomized assignment from the class context in which they otherwise relate to historical topics.

3.2 Sample

The study participants were respectively six school classes from the states of Baden-Württemberg (in Western Germany, Federal Republic of Germany) and Thüringen (in Eastern Germany, former German Democratic Republic). After two pupils

were excluded because they claimed to identify solely with a country other than Germany, the final sample size was 184 participants. Of these, 99 (53.8%) were male and from Thüringen, respectively. The average age was $M = 15.27$ years ($SD = .649$).

3.3 Procedure

Three weeks after the participants gave information in a pre-test of demographic variables, on their national identification (according to Maes et al., 1996) and their previous dealing with the topic of the "Holocaust" (items according to Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2007, cit. according to Dengler, 2010) (see on this *Table 1*), school classes were shown one of six different film excerpts, whereby each film excerpt was viewed by respectively one group from Baden-Württemberg and one from Thüringen.

Concept	Item wording
National identification^{a)}	
Degree of identification	I identify myself with Germany as a nation.
Emotion towards flag	I am pleased when I see the German flag.
Importance of customs	I think it is important to care about the customs of one's homeland.
Supporting sportsmen	When German sportsmen take part in an international competition, I root for them.
Emotion toward anthem	I am pleased when I listen to the German anthem.
National pride	I am proud to be German.
Previous dealing with the Holocaust^{b)}	
Documentaries	Have you watched TV-documentaries about the Holocaust?
Movies	Have you watched movies about the Holocaust?
Books	Have you read books about the Holocaust?
Memorials	Have you ever visited a Holocaust memorial?

Note: ^{a)} Answering format: six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("not true at all") to 6 ("totally true").

^{b)} Answering format: "yes" or "no".

Table 1: Scales: National identification and previous dealing with the Holocaust: Item wordings

Then the participants were asked to complete a post-test questionnaire containing items on *attitudes toward Jews and Germans*, on the *justification of the persecution*, as well as on the *rejection of shame* and the *relevance of the Holocaust* for contemporary Germany (see Table A8 in the Appendix). In addition, the pupils composed short answers to essay questions in which they represented their take on the film excerpts they had viewed. The essay questions were:

1. Would you like to see the whole film? If yes, why? If not, why not? And do you think films of this sort should be shown more often in school when dealing with National Socialism? If yes, why? If not, why not?
2. Which characters in the film attracted your attention (especially)? Why? And what impression did they make on you? Why?
3. What impression did the film leave on you concerning the fact that particularly Jews were persecuted in such a way?
4. Did you have the impression that one has to be ashamed of Germany because of its history of National Socialism and the Holocaust? If yes, why? If not, why not? Did your view on the issue of "Holocaust" change through the film? If yes, in what way? If not, why not?

3.4 Independent Variable: Film excerpts using different ways to represent the Holocaust

In order to structure both, the study situation and the stimulus material for the recipients in a way that as closely as possible resembles their everyday life, we used readily available cinematic representations of the Holocaust. Thereby film excerpts were selected that employed a maximally broad spectrum of representational strategies. Below the unique aspects of these representational strategies will be briefly described (cf. on this also Dengler, 2010).

A twenty-minute opening sequence was chosen from *Ghetto*, the third episode of "Holocaust," a six-part documentary TV series produced by Guido Knopp (2000) (number of participants watching this film excerpt $n_{Ghetto} = 29$). The excerpt, which like the entire series belongs to the genre of *docutainment* (Dengler, 2010), describes in a strongly emotionalizing manner the circumstances of the lives and deaths of the Jewish population in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942. The unique feature of this excerpt is the use of historical film material produced by the National Socialist propaganda machine. Thus the creation

and propagandistic use of the film "Der Ewige Jude" (*The Eternal Jew*, Hippler, 1941) is described, whereby clips from the film are shown and Jewish life is hence presented from a National Socialist perspective. The historical film clips alternate with interviews of Holocaust victims and perpetrators (or respectively surviving relatives).

The 19-minute excerpt *Liberation* (*Befreiung*) was taken from the sixth part of "Holocaust" (Knopp, 2000) ($n_{\text{Befreiung}} = 31$). It deals with the liberation of the concentration camps by Allied troops and thematizes the Allied "re-education" policies and the question of "collective guilt." Analogous to the *Ghetto* excerpt, as well here a strongly emotionalizing form of representation was chosen, using music, speakers and an corresponding selection of eyewitnesses, which above all leaves the perpetrator side a lot of room for justification and explanation attempts. The unique feature of this film excerpt is likewise the employment of historical film material, which in this case stems from Allied sources and points to Jewish suffering with shocking images (e.g., heaps of corpses).

Two sequences used in the study were taken from the film *Free Fall* (1996), the tenth part of the series "Private Hungary" by the Hungarian filmmaker Peter Forgács. The film describes the everyday life of the Hungarian amateur filmmaker and businessman György Pető and his family in Szeged (Hungary) during the process of gradual escalation in the disenfranchisement of the Jews that culminated in the massacres and extermination camps. For this Forgács used only historical footage filmed by Pető himself. Here we find the unique feature of the film excerpts: While Knopp repeatedly uses historical film material originally made for political purposes (anti-Semitic propaganda, Allied *re-education*), Forgács employs material from Pető's amateur films that are essentially "film diaries" (Fisher, 2008: 240) and thus acquire their documentary value *not* from the filmmaker's intentions, but through their subsequent re-contextualization.

On the basis of not edited historical film material, long scenes, the use of atonal music and foreign languages (non-German), the excerpts are demandingly structured and do not necessarily conform to the viewing and listening habits of the young recipients. In terms of content, both excerpts focus almost exclusively on the Jewish Pető family and thereby on the victim side, which is represented in a strongly individualized and humanized manner. *Free Fall* makes no attempt to explain the persecution of the Jewish population, but rather leaves the portrayed contrasts between individual victims and impersonal, anonymous legal procedures for the recipients' interpretation.

In the first 27-minute excerpt, *Free Fall 1* ($n_{\text{Free Fall 1}} = 29$), private details of family life are contrasted with the reading of anti-Jewish laws from Hungary in the early 1940s. Since this segment describes the early stages of the persecution, less of the Jewish victimization is portrayed than in the second excerpt.

The excerpt *Free Fall 2* ($n_{\text{Free Fall 2}} = 38$) is the 23-minute concluding sequence of the film *Free Fall* and describes the final stages of the disenfranchisement process, which ends in expulsion and destruction. The thereby escalated victimization is shown mainly in the subtitles and is overlaid by the visual humanization in the film material. In the final credits, recipients are informed about the (happy) fate of the chief figure, Pető, and his family after their liberation from captivity.

Similar to Forgács, in his film "Shoah" (1985) French filmmaker Claude Lanzmann deals stylistically with the "dilemma of representation" (Young, 2001: 44) of the Holocaust. Lanzmann's 9.5-hour film contrasts long interview sequences with affected persons and films of the original locations of the events discussed, showing how they appear today. His long interview sequences – the interviews are chiefly held in the languages English, French and Hebrew – likewise do not accommodate the viewing habits of the young study participants. The unique feature of this film excerpt is that it abstains from using any historical film material. The 32-minute long excerpt *Shoah* ($n_{\text{Shoah}} = 31$) reconstructs the events in the Warsaw ghetto from the beginning of the deportations until the suppression of the Jewish uprising in 1943. It refrains from offering simple explanations of the events, but rather leaves this to the chief figures' or respectively the recipients' interpretive efforts. Thereby the film also displays a strong humanization and individualization of the Jewish victims and is the only one of the employed film excerpts that shows Jews in a resistance role.

The twelve-minute report "Holocaust – The Lie of the Unsuspecting Germans" was broadcast in 2001 by the German ARD TV station in the political magazine *Panorama* ($n_{\text{Panorama}} = 26$).¹ The film, which was shown in its entire length, shows on the basis of historical documents and expert interviews the awareness of and active support for the Holocaust by many in the German population. It contrasts the evidence with contemporary interviews, held at the original locations where the events took place, of eyewitnesses who deny knowing or refuse to think about the persecution of the Jews. Thus above all the perpetrator side and its portrayal of history are shown in an accusatory manner, while victim representation plays a secondary role. The unique feature of this film excerpt is its confrontational character, insofar as self-defensive claims by eyewitnesses are systematically deconstructed, and thus National Socialism and the destruction of the Jews become understandable as mass phenomena.

1. In the following this contribution is entitled *Panorama*.

3.5 Dependent Variable: Essays on individual ways of dealing with the Holocaust

3.5.1 Content analysis: Procedure and intercoder reliability

The content analysis of the short essays involved several steps: First, a coding system was worked out based on the text material, and a coding book developed.¹ Then, in a second step, two independent coders were trained, in order to be able to make categorizations of the text material consistent with the definitions in the code-book. The first coder coded all the essays (N = 184), while the second coder analyzed 67 randomly selected texts (corresponding to 36.41%).² The size of this random sample was calculated so that with an α -error of 5%, the postulated minimal agreement between the coders of the overall sample of 184 essays should amount to 90% (cf. Riffe, Lacey, & Fico, 2005: 144ff.). Used to estimate reliability were the percentage agreement and Cohen's κ (Cohen, 1960). The calculations were made with the "irr" package (Gamer, Lemon, Fellows, & Singh, 2010) for the statistical software R (R Development Core Team, 2011).

Content analytical variable	Frequency ^{a)}		Interkoder reliability ^{b)}	
	absolute	relative	percentage agreement	Cohens κ
Film evaluation				
1) Continuing watching	91	49.46%	100.00%	1.00
2) Using films in class	120	65.22%	97.01%	.94
3) Changed opinion	22	11.96%	98.51%	.93
4) Interest	48	26.09%	98.51%	.96
5) Knowledge	58	31.52%	94.03%	.84
6) Positive evaluation	125	67.93%	98.51%	.97
7) Negative evaluation	92	50.00%	95.52%	.91
8) Film provides no explanations	64	34.70%	91.04%	.81
Explanations for the Holocaust				
9) Empathy towards victims	100	54.35%	92.54%	.85
10) Perpetrators' perspective	28	15.22%	100.00%	1.00
11) Condemnation of perpetrators	146	79.35%	92.54%	.83
12) Shifting responsibility	47	25.54%	98.51%	.96
13) Joint guilt of Jews	43	23.37%	97.01%	.91
14) Critical perspective	65	35.33%	95.52%	.90
Dealing with history				
15) Shame	71	38.59%	91.04%	.82
16) Learning from history	81	44.02%	97.01%	.93
17) Critique of historical revisionism	34	18.48%	94.03%	.77
18) Openness to deal with history	15	8.15%	94.03%	.47
19) Refusal to deal with history	31	16.85%	95.52%	.83
20) Temporal distancing	65	35.33%	86.57%	.61
21) Personal differentiation	92	50.00%	92.54%	.85
22) No relevance for present Germany	71	38.59%	97.01%	.93
Total sample (mean)			95.31%	.87

Note: ^{a)} Frequencies are based on the total sample of N = 184 essays.

^{b)} Percentage agreement and Cohen's κ are based on the coding of a sub-sample of n = 67 essays out of the overall sample by two independent coders.

Table 2: Variables for the content analysis of the essays: Frequencies and intercoder reliabilities

1. The complete coding manual can be obtained from the first author.
2. We warmly thank Michaela Lieb, Anna Mergelmeyer and Felicitas Flade for their support in coding the essays and calculating the intercoder reliabilities.

The analysis showed that the coding of the content analytical variables was very reliable ($M_k = .87$; $SD_k = .12$). Merely, the reliability coefficients of the variables *openness to deal with history* and *temporal distancing* were slightly lower and ranged between acceptable ($\kappa = .47$) and good ($\kappa = .61$) (cf. Wirtz & Caspar, 2002: 59). After the coding, in a fourth step infrequently appearing variables were merged according to content criteria. Finally, from this we obtained three variable groups with in all 22 binary variables (occurs / does not occur) that were included in the statistical analysis of the content analysis. The frequency of occurrence of these variables and the coefficients of their intercoder reliabilities are summarized in Table 2.

3.5.2 Content analytical variables

The three variable groups included statements on the evaluation of the viewed film excerpts, explanations for the persecution of Jews and different ways of engaging with history and emotions of group-based shame. In Table 2 the variables are arranged according to these variable groups.

The variables on *film evaluation* included information on whether (1) the participants would like to view all of the film excerpt, (2) considered it advisable to use films of this sort more often in instruction, and (3) to what extent the excerpt they viewed may have changed their opinion on the "Holocaust." Information was coded on the participants themselves, (4) their interest in and (5) (previous) knowledge of the topic. If the participants evaluated the film excerpt as, among other things, vivid, interesting, informative or thought provoking, this was coded as (6) a positive film evaluation.¹⁴ Included in variable (7), *Negative evaluation*, were among others judgments of the viewed excerpt as boring, unclear, uninteresting, etc. In addition, the variable group *film evaluation* also comprises a variable coded when (8) the pupils found *no explanation* in the film excerpt for the persecution of the Jews in the Holocaust.

The variable group *explanations (for the Holocaust)* covers statements on the victim and perpetrator sides, such as (9) expressions of empathy towards the victims or respectively their humanization, as well as (10) the adoption of a perpetrator perspective through relativization of the actions or the expression of understanding, as well as (11) condemnation of the perpetrators or respectively of the crimes. With variable (12), *shifting responsibility*, among others statements were coded that assigned all responsibility for the persecution of the Jewish people to Hitler or Nazi elites and stressed or respectively claimed that the German population had simply been deceived. If the persecution of the Jews was explained due to them "being different", by their wealth, superiority or lack of resistance, this was summarily coded under variable (13), *joint guilt of Jews*. In variable (14), *critical perspective on the motivation for the persecution*, we included motives like ambition for power, scapegoating behavior, blind obedience of the German population, arbitrary use of power, racism or greed.

The statements of the participants on engaging with German history and emotions of collective shame were summarized in the variable group *dealing with history*: thus (16) willingness to learn from history, (17) critique of historical revisionism and suppression, (18) general openness to deal with history, as well as (19) its refusal with demands to close the books on the basis of concern for the German national image, satiation with the topic or other reasons. Besides statement (15), whether one should be ashamed of Germany, we coded the reasons for rejecting shame: (20) temporal distancing and (21) personal differentiation between the generations today and then, as well as between various persons at the time of the Holocaust; in addition (22), denial of all relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany due to the differences between Germany today and under Hitler, references to the persecution of the Jews in other countries or at other times in history.

3.6 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data in order to describe different reaction patterns on the film excerpts was done in three steps (cf. Figure 1).

First, by means of Latent Class Analysis (LCA), on the basis of the pre-test answers of the participants, profiles were identified for their (1) national identification and (2) previous dealing with the Holocaust, as well as on the basis of the content analytical variables, profiles of (3) their film evaluation, (4) explanations for the Holocaust and (5) dealing with history.

In order to work out the patterns into which the dispositions, film excerpts and content analytical variables combine, in a second step a second order LCA was made in which besides these profiles the respective film excerpt shown was included as a variable.²

In a third step, by means of analysis of variance it was determined how the identified patterns differ with regard to the

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1. For an itemized representation of the content analytic variables, the frequency of occurrence and intercoder reliabilities, see Table A1 in the Appendix.
 2. Below 'classes' are named that were determined based on the profiles resulting from the first order LCA. 'Meta-profiles' resulting from the second order LCA are referred to as '(reaction) patterns'.

perception of the protagonists, justification of the persecution of the Jews, rejection of shame and evaluation of the relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany. The results were used for a further more detailed and more precise description of the reaction patterns. For a schematic representation of the process of data analysis and interpretation see Figure 1. All estimations of the Latent Class models were made using the "poLCA" package (Linzer & Lewis, 2011) for the statistical software R (R Development Core Team, 2011).

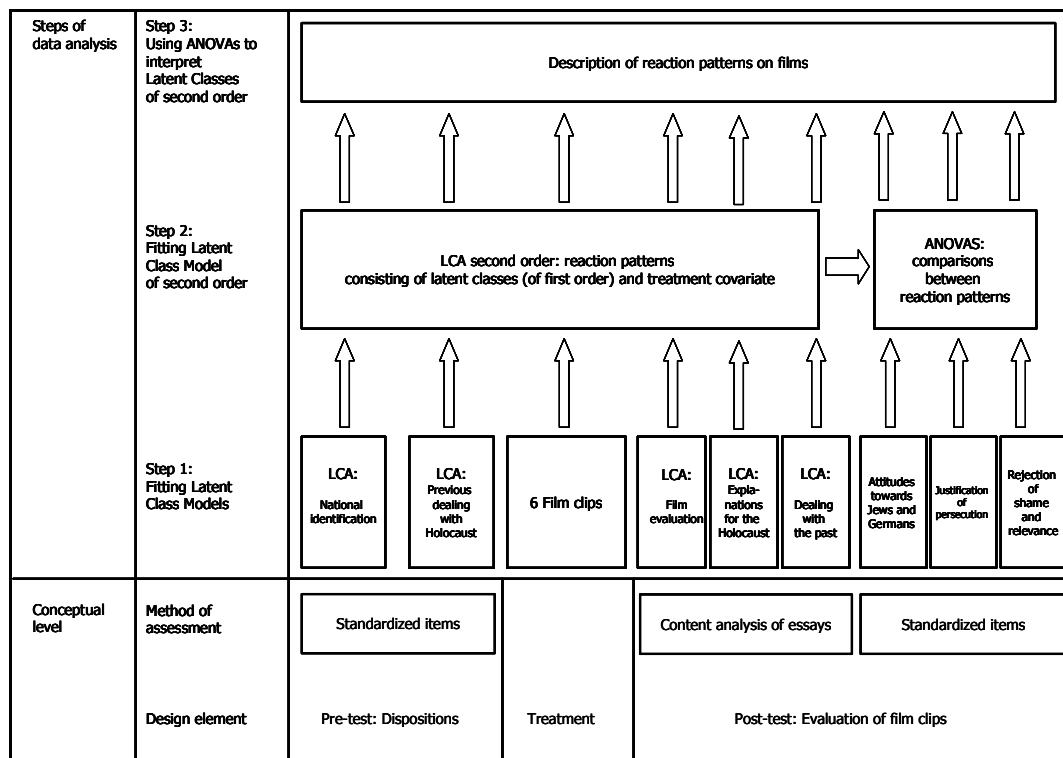


Figure 1: Schematic representation of the analytical strategy

4. Results

4.1 Latent classes of national identification and previous dealing with the Holocaust

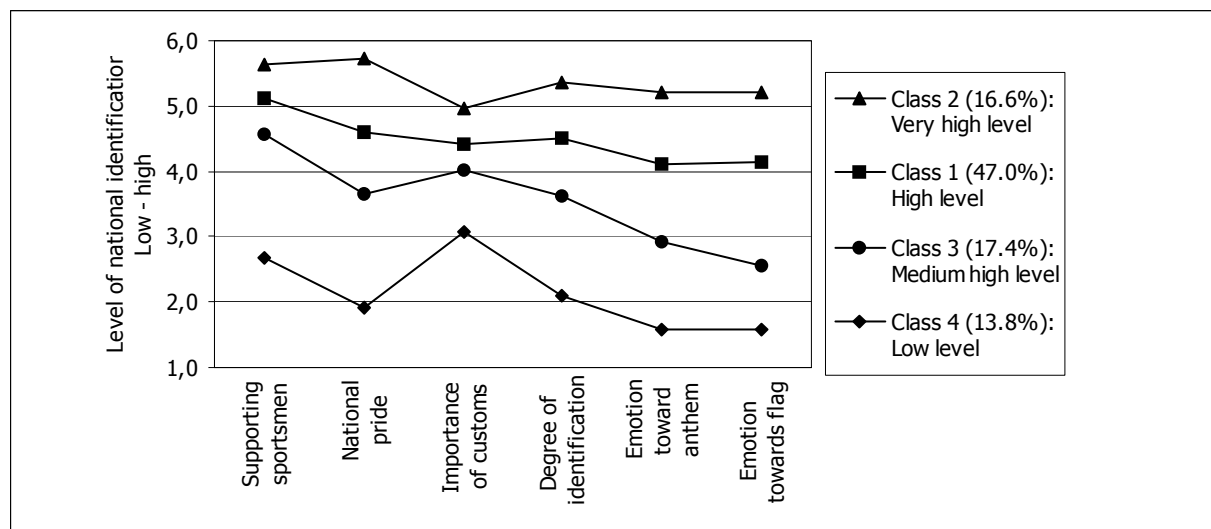


Figure 2a: Latent Class Analysis: National identification

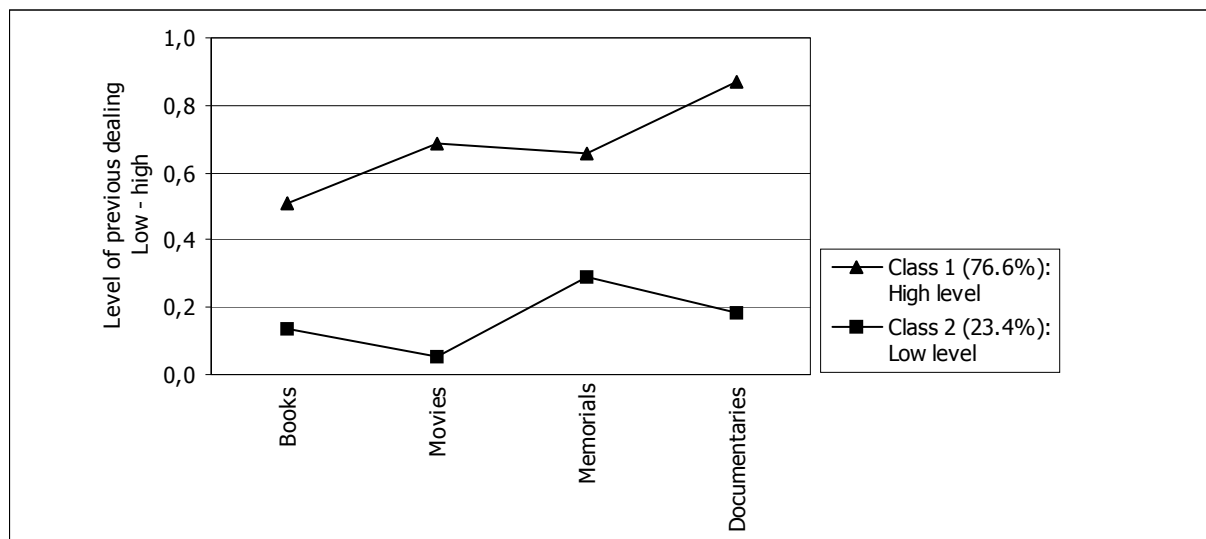


Figure 2b: Latent Class Analysis: Previous dealing with the Holocaust

The LCA of the scale *national identification*, according to the CIC criterion (Reunanen & Suikkanen, 1999), resulted in a 5-class solution (see Table A2 in the Appendix). The LCA of the scale *previous dealing with the Holocaust* resulted in a 2-class solution (see Table A3 in the Appendix). Both scales proved to be ordinal homogeneous. The profile lines of the classes can be found in Figures 2a and 2b.

National identification: The by far largest class, Class 1 (47%), expressed a high level of national identification. Three roughly equally large classes with very strong identification were placed either above this (Class 2; 16.6%) or below with a mid-range (Class 3; 17.4%) or respectively low identification with Germany (Class 4; 13.8%). The smallest, Class 5 (5.2%), did not respond to the items of the scale.

Previous dealing with the Holocaust: In regard to previous dealing with the topic, the participants were divided into two classes. Class 1, to which over three-quarters of the participants belonged, reported a high degree of engagement with the topic, especially through TV documentaries. Class 2 (23.4%), to the contrary, reported less dealing with the topic, above all regarding films, books and TV documentaries.

4.2 Latent classes of film evaluation, explanations for the Holocaust and dealing with history

4.2.1 Film evaluation

The LCA of the content analytical variable group *film evaluation* showed that, according to the CIC criterion, a 4-class solution provides the best data fit (see Table A4 and Figure 3 in the Appendix).

Participants of Class 1 (32.39%) expressed a very positive evaluation of the viewed film excerpts. All the members of this class wanted to see more of the film, as a rule evaluated it positively and never negatively. They brought with them above-average positive prerequisites – frequently interest in and previous knowledge of the topic – and only occasionally had no explanation for the persecution of the Jews. In this class the film excerpt thereby fell on fertile ground, which resulted in clear open-mindedness.

In the largest class, Class 4 (35.44%), the participants expressed – with the exception of the exclusively positive film evaluation – a judgment resembling the overall average. Thus this class was marked by a discordant, namely additional negative evaluation of the film excerpt. The recipients only occasionally reported interest in the topic, sometimes also previous knowledge, but fairly often they stated that they wanted to see the excerpt to the end. This class differed from Class 1 above all in that it was less likely to want to see more of the excerpt, also negatively evaluated it and displayed less interest and previous knowledge.

Class 3 (29.07%) consists of participants who were very skeptical of the viewed film excerpt. The recipients often evaluated it very negatively and seldom positively, never said they wanted to see more, and were less open than average to the use of films in general. In this class there were persons who had very little interest and below-average previous knowledge regarding the themes, and in contrast stated with above average frequency that they had no explanations for the Holo-

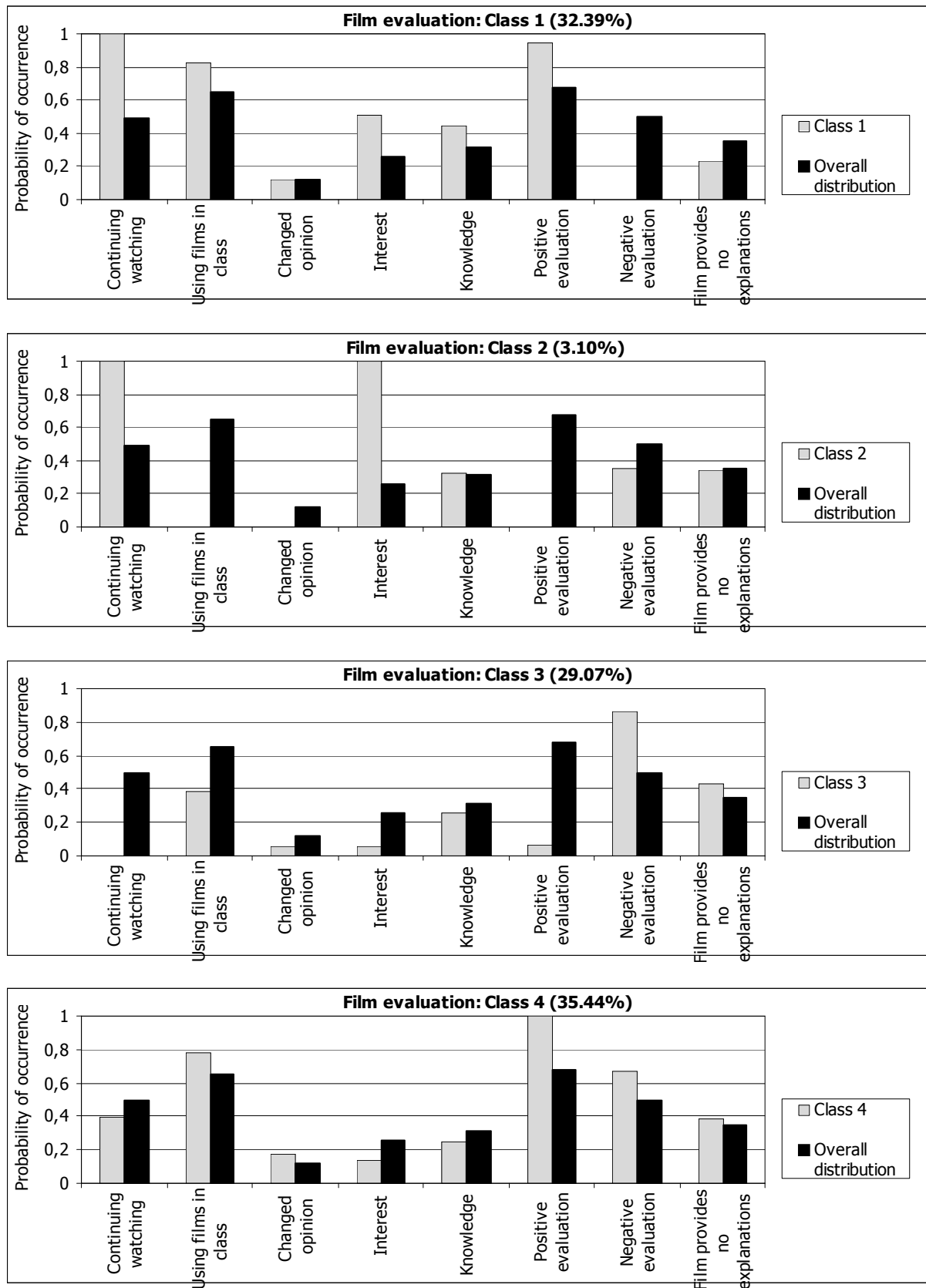


Figure 3: Latent Class Analysis: Film evaluation

caust. With these pupils a very negatively evaluated film excerpt was viewed under the possibly most unfavorable recipient preconditions.

Without exception, the recipients in the by far smallest class, Class 2 (3.10%), expressed interest in the theme and a desire to see more of the film excerpt, although they never evaluated it positively, fairly often evaluated it negatively, and never spoke in favor of using films of this type in school. The fairly inconsistent and vague statements point to a partly socially desirable and superficial treatment of the essay questions and the wish to avoid "normal" instruction.

Summing up, the variables on the evaluation of the film can be subdivided into three almost equally large main classes (Classes 1, 4, and 3), which reported a markedly positive, an ambiguous and a clearly skeptical attitude toward the viewed film excerpt. A very small class completed the essay questions in a socially desirable and partly inconsistent manner.

4.2.2 Explanations for the Holocaust

The LCA of the variable group *explanations for the Holocaust* showed, based on the CIC criterion, that a 2-class solution best describes the data (see Table A5 and Figure 4 in the Appendix).

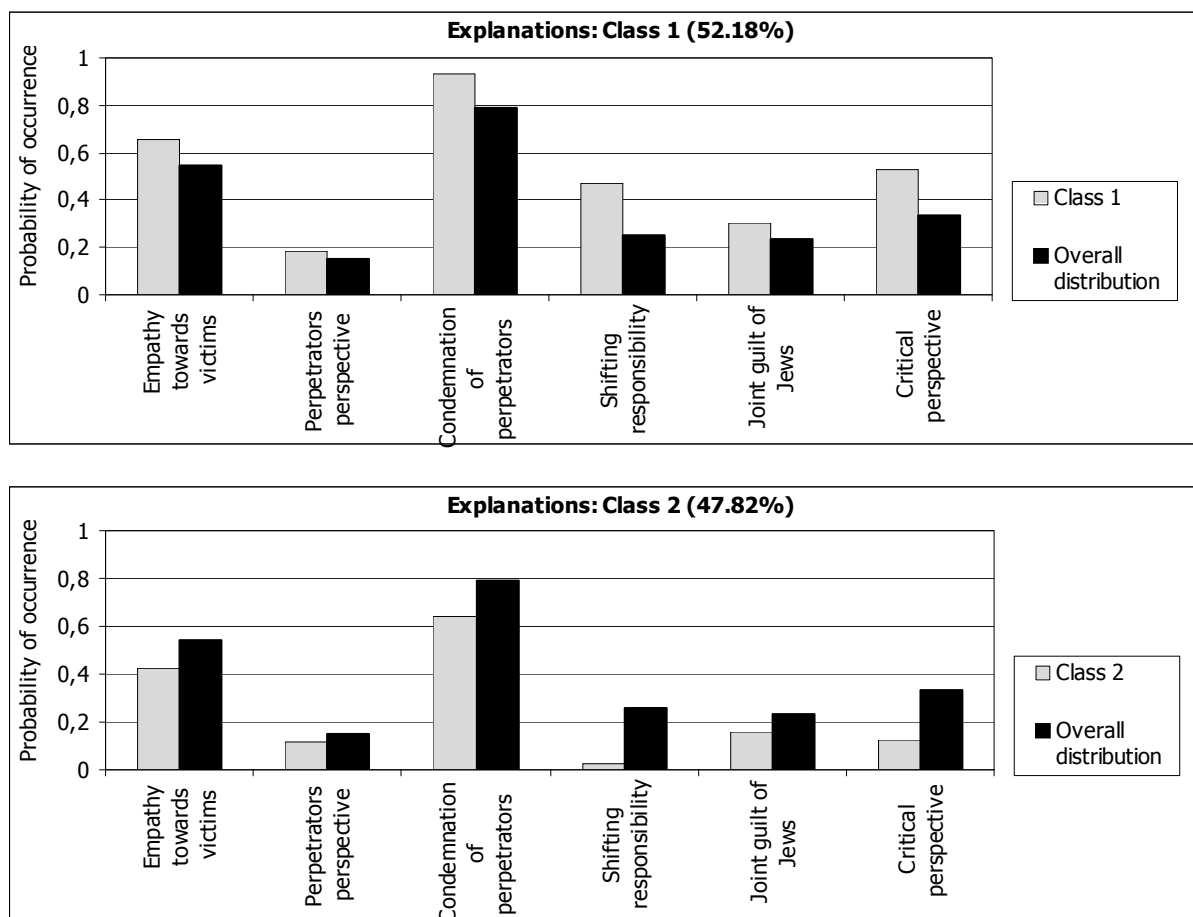


Figure 4: Latent Class Analysis: Explanations for the Holocaust

The two approximately equally large classes differ in that in Class 1 (52.28%), compared to Class 2 (47.82%), explanations were consistently more frequently offered for the persecution of the Jews.

Recipients in Class 1, on the one hand, quite often expressed empathy towards the victims, as a rule condemned the perpetrators and reflected critically on the motivation for the persecution. At the same time, on the other hand, they occasionally adopted a perpetrator perspective, expressed understanding for their situation, often shifted responsibility to elites, and relatively often assigned part of the guilt to the Jews themselves for their persecution and destruction.

In contrast, the number of explanations for the Holocaust was consistently below average for participants in Class 2. To be sure, they often also expressed empathy towards the victims of the Holocaust, condemned the perpetrators and seldom

assigned any guilt to the Jews. However, they only occasionally thought critically about the perpetrators' motivation and sometimes adopted their perspective. They differed most clearly from the recipients in Class 1 through an almost complete absence of attempts to shift responsibility to Hitler and other prominent Nazis.

Summing up, we found two classes that differed from each other across all variables through a high versus low extent of explanations for the Holocaust.

4.2.3 Dealing with history

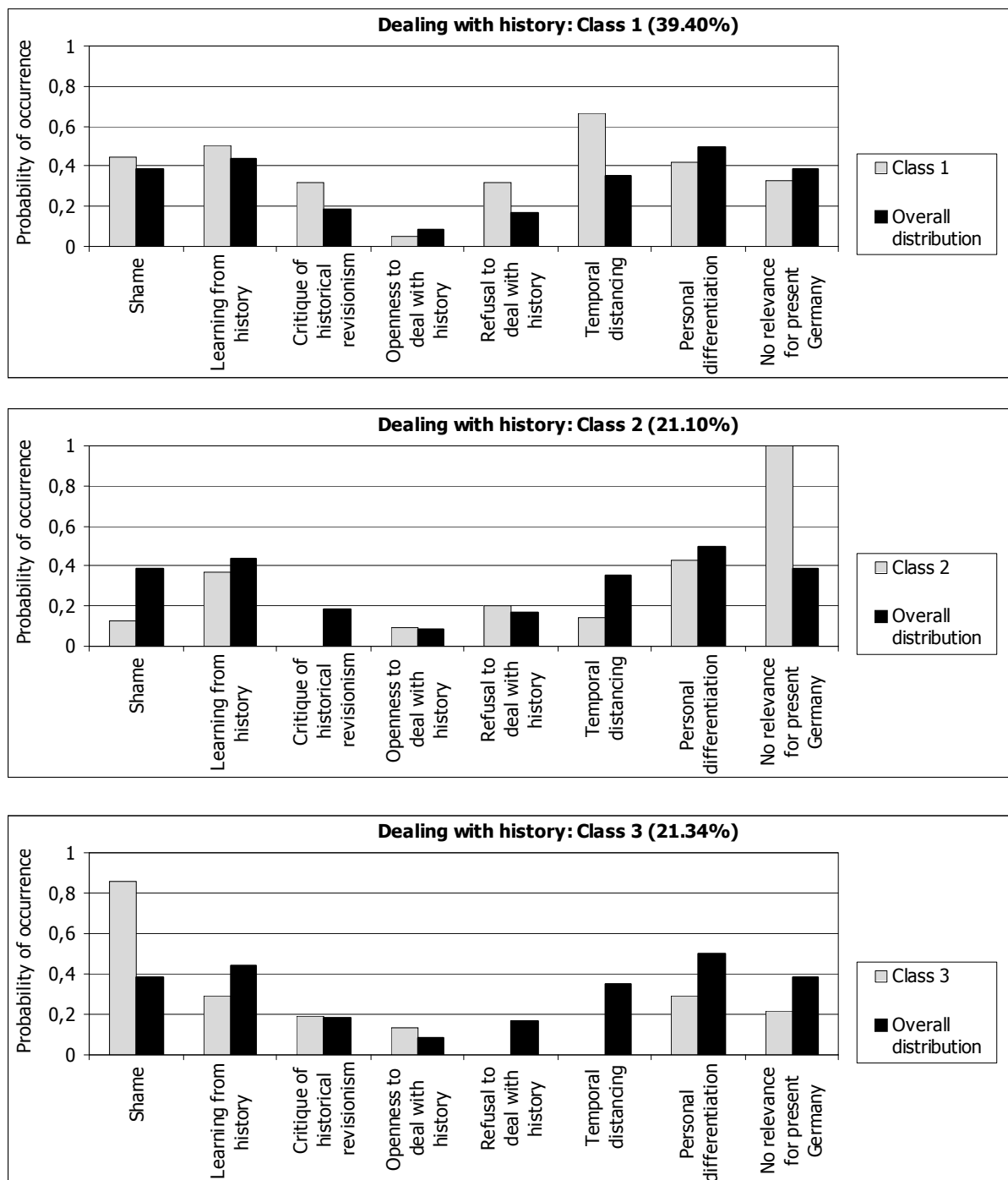


Figure 5: Latent Class Analysis: Dealing with history

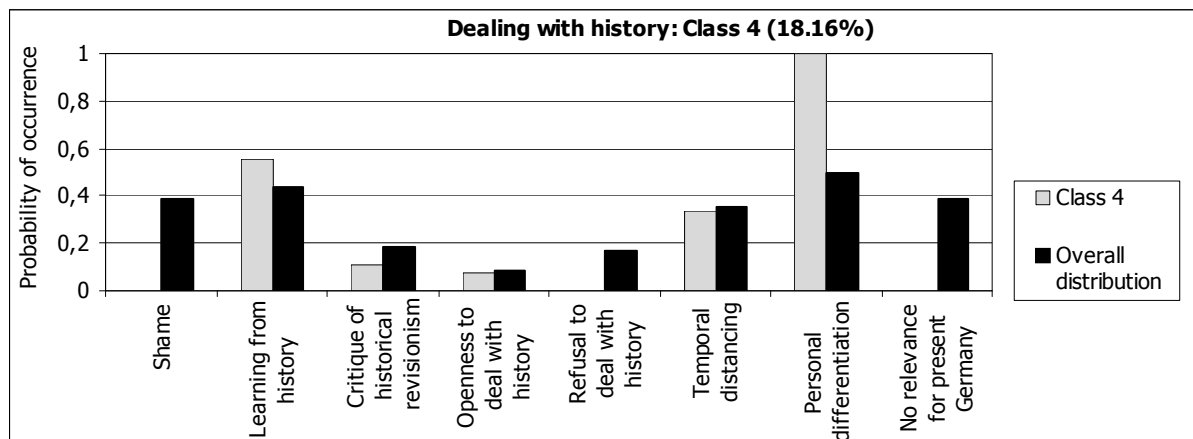


Figure 5: Latent Class Analysis: Dealing with history (contunuation)

For the different ways of dealing with history and emotions of group-based shame, the LCA again produced a 4-class solution, according to the CIC criterion (see Table A6 and Figure 5 in the Appendix).

Pupils in Class 1 (39.40%) displayed indifference regarding the dealing with German history: On the one side, they often emphasized the importance of dealing with the past in order to draw lessons from it and criticized historical revisionism, and, on the other side, they simultaneously also clearly refused to deal with history more strongly than other classes. The participants in this class made slightly below average use of other defensive strategies, such as, e.g., personal differentiation or emphasizing the lack of relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany. On the one side, they frequently reported shame for the events of the Holocaust, but, on the other side, regarded this primarily as a past event that can no longer be changed (*temporal distancing*) and called for ending the debate because of the need to reduce national shame.

Class 2 (21.11%) was without exception characterized by the view that the Holocaust has no relevance for contemporary Germany. Accordingly these pupils displayed scarcely any feelings of shame, pointed to the importance of dealing with history with less than average frequency and often refused to do so with above average frequency (but not in principle). For these participants the Holocaust had less than average relevance because it belonged to the past, for which reason they likewise did not criticize historical revisionism. Other distancing strategies, such as, e.g., temporal or personal differentiation and temporal distancing were used with below average frequency. In this class there was overall a low degree of historical consciousness and accordingly little shame. For this reason it was not necessary to use defensive strategies.

Participants in Class 3 (21.34%) did not in principle refuse to deal with history, did not use any temporal distancing strategies, and used the defensive strategies of personal differentiation and denial of relevance for present Germany with clearly below average frequency. The result of this very low use of defensive strategies was a very high degree of shame, with simultaneously above average openness to deal with history. The recipients in this class were thereby most clearly at the mercy of the aversive emotion of collective shame, wanted to or could, however, not escape from this, but rather responded to being faced with the Holocaust to be sure helplessly, but open-mindedly.

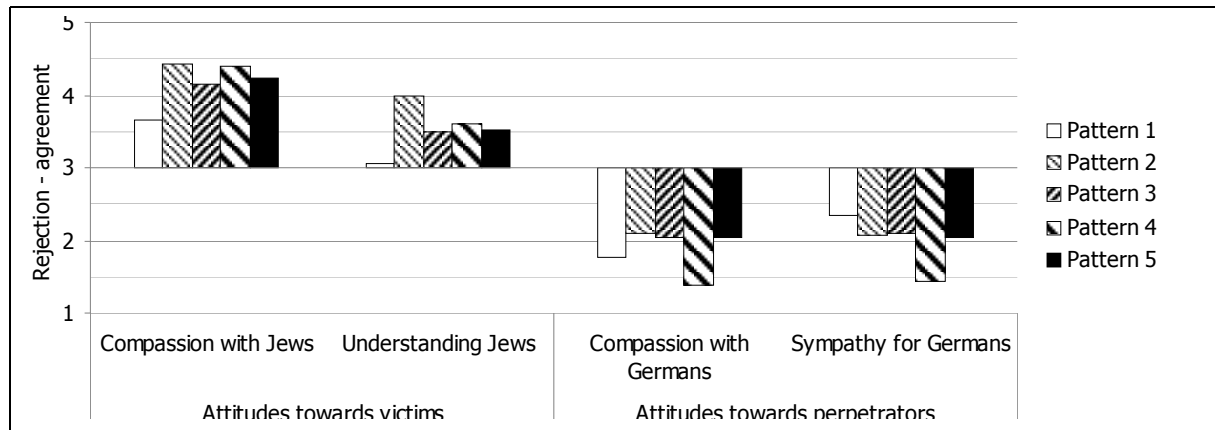
Class 4 (18.16%), to the contrary, categorically rejected shame, which unlike the participants of Class 2, was not attributable to a lack of relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany, but rather to an exclusively expressed personal and temporal differentiation. This also made it possible for the pupils in this class to be above average in openness in dealing with history, which again was consistent with not refusing to deal with history.

The classes of dealing with history and collective shame can thereby be subdivided into (1) a large class whose shame was typically average, which distanced itself temporally from the Holocaust and called for closing the books, and three smaller classes of pupils for whom the Holocaust (2) possessed no relevance, thus elicited no shame and did not have to be defended against, (3) elicited much shame, that the pupils did not want to or could not escape from, and (4) was so split off from their personality that no shame was present, and they could support dealing with history.

4.3 LCA of the second order: Reactions to the film excerpts

In the second order LCA, besides the three content analytical variable groups *film evaluation*, *explanations for the Holocaust* and *dealing with history*, three structural variables were also used: *National identification*, *previous dealing (with the Holocaust)*, and the *film scenario* (experimental condition). According to the CIC criterion, a solution with 5 (reaction) patterns provides the best data fit (see Table A7 in the Appendix).

The then calculated analyses of variance showed that these reaction patterns differ as well with regard to the participants' attitudes toward the Jewish and German protagonists in the film excerpts (see Figure 6), as well as to the impression gained from the film excerpt concerning justifications for the persecution of the Jews (see Figure 7), rejection of shame and relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany (see Figure 8) (see Table A8 in the Appendix).



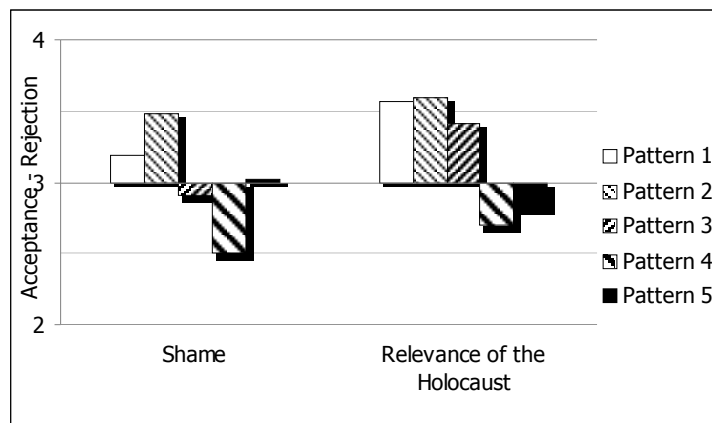
Note. Compassion with Jews: $F(4, 178) = 4.804, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .097$.
 Understanding Jews: $F(4, 178) = 4.243, p \leq .01, \eta^2 = .087$.
 Compassion with Germans: $F(4, 178) = 3.371, p \leq .05, \eta^2 = .071$.
 Sympathy for Germans: $F(4, 178) = 3.896, p \leq .01, \eta^2 = .080$.

Figure 6: ANOVAs: Attitudes toward Jews and Germans between reaction patterns



Note. Blaming the victims: Inferiority: $F(4, 176) = 3.459, p \leq .01, \eta^2 = .073$.
 Blaming the victims: no resistance: $F(4, 175) = 3.480, p \leq .01, \eta^2 = .074$.
 Blaming Hitler: $F(4, 176) = 5.056, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .103$.
 Blaming the population: $F(4, 176) = 5.544, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .112$.

Figure 7: ANOVAs: Justification of the persecution between reaction patterns



Note. Rejection of shame: $F(4, 175) = 5.057, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .104$.
Rejection of the relevance of the Holocaust: $F(4, 177) = 4.508, p \leq .01, \eta^2 = .092$.

Figure 8: ANOVAs: Rejection of shame and the relevance of the Holocaust between reaction patterns

4.3.1 Description of the reaction patterns

The following paragraph *description of the reaction patterns* is structured according to the evaluation of the film excerpts, ranging from the clearest rejection (Pattern 1 to the clearest agreement (Pattern 2).

Pattern 1 (23.88%): *Rejection of the film excerpts, lack of understanding and call for closing the books* (see Figure 9):

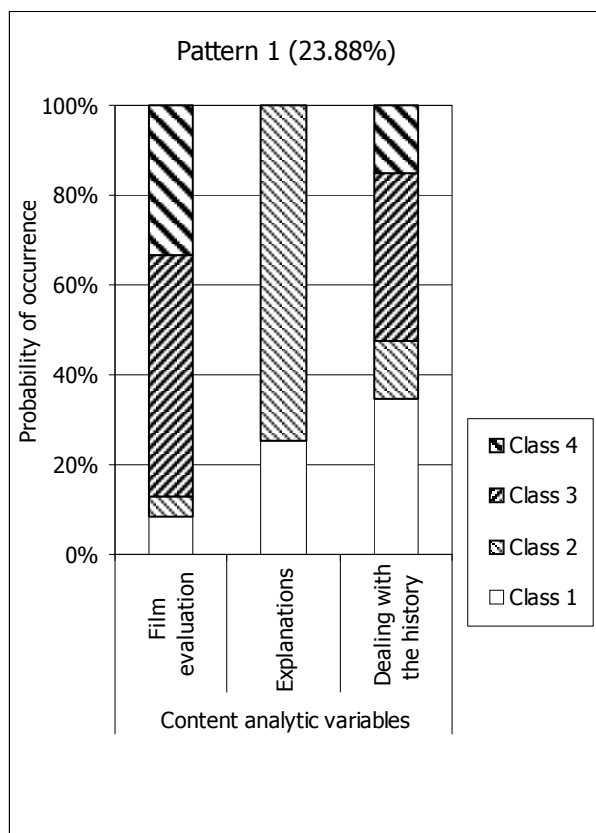


Figure 9: Distribution of *film evaluation*, *explanations* and *dealing with history* within reaction pattern 1 (23.88%)

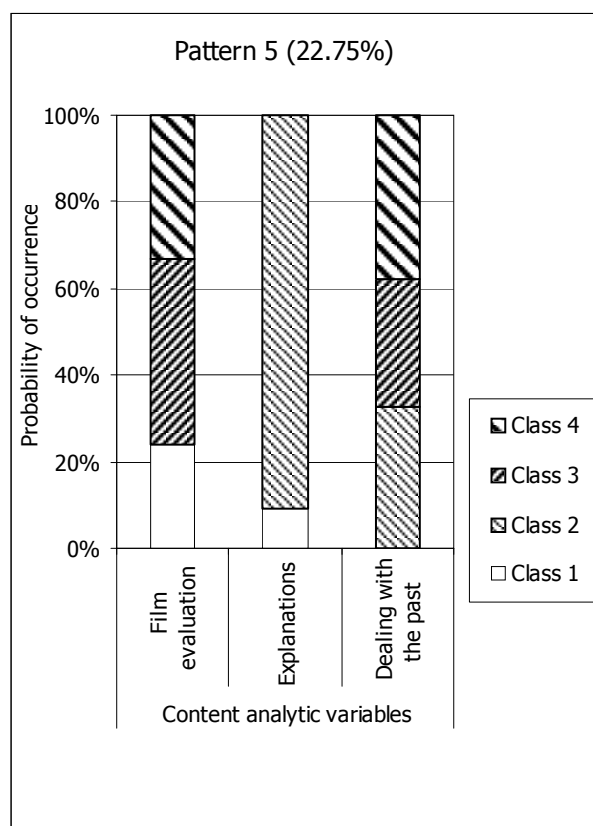


Figure 10: Distribution of *film evaluation*, *explanations* and *dealing with history* within reaction pattern 5 (22.75%)

Film evaluation and perception of the protagonists:

Pattern 1 was characterized by a strong rejection of the viewed film scenario and by a lack of interest of the recipients. The pupils were partly indifferent to the film excerpt, answered as socially expected and treated the essay questions as exercises. They displayed a lower degree of empathy with the protagonists than was found in the other patterns. The only exception was the low rejection of sympathy for the German perpetrator side (see Figure 6).

Explanation and justification mechanisms:

In all, the pupils displayed little dealing *with* and few explanations *for* the Holocaust. When they did, they rejected victim blaming *less* than did the other patterns, i.e., they assigned the Jews (partial) guilt for their persecution. At the same time, similar to the pupils in pattern 3, they were least likely to regard Hitler and the German population as responsible for the Holocaust (see Figure 7).

Dealing with history and shame:

Pattern 1 was characterized by low resistance to feelings of shame (see Figure 8) and accordingly by a relatively high degree of shame. The pupils displayed either very few defense mechanisms and (therefore) were extremely ashamed (Class 3), or as a defensive strategy they used distancing and a call for closing the books and thereby expressed above average collective shame (Class 1; see Figure 9). They expressed rejection with regard to dealing with history or respectively called for closing the books on the past, since the Holocaust had nothing to do with the present (see Figure 8).

Summing up, this pattern thereby consisted in a rejecting attitude toward the film excerpt and its protagonists, characterized by a low number of explanations for the Holocaust, in part used victim blaming and tried to reduce feelings of shame with demands to close the books on the past.

Pattern 5 (22.75%): *Rejection of the film excerpt and lack of understanding: Between suppression and helplessness* (see Figure 10)

Film evaluation and perception of the protagonists

Participants in pattern 5, similar to pattern 1, were likewise mostly rejecting and not interested in the theme complex or respectively had a low level of previous knowledge (see Figure 10). They expressed sympathy for and in part understanding of the Jewish victims and at the same time rejected sympathy and compassion for the German side (see Figure 6).

Explanation and justification mechanisms:

In their essays, the participants in pattern 5 found few explanations for the persecution of the Jews (see Figure 10), but rejected *victim blaming* and to the contrary located responsibility above all with Hitler and partly with the German population (see Figure 7).

Dealing with history and shame:

The participants showed ambivalence in dealing with history (see *Figure 10*): The great majority (ca. 71%) displayed no or hardly any shame and accordingly employed three defensive strategies: rejection of relevance for contemporary Germany, differentiation between the perpetrators and the contemporary generation and distancing from the events because they took place in the past. Pupils with this pattern suppressed the Holocaust to a high degree. A minority (29%), in contrast, used few defensive strategies, displayed a very high degree of collective shame and was thereby relatively helplessly at the mercy of this emotion. This ambivalence expressed itself in a middle value on the index of "shame defense" (see *Figure 8*). In accord with this suppression or respectively the helplessness with which they faced the theme complex, with this pattern participants had hardly any explanations for the Holocaust, although they tended to see its relevance as continuing into the present.

Summing up we conclude that pattern 5, similar to pattern 2, is characterized by a rejecting attitude toward the film excerpts, but differs from pattern 1 through a more positive attitude toward the Jews, less victim blaming and efforts to blame Hitler and the German population. In this pattern pupils replied on shame with strong suppression or helplessness.

Pattern 3 (11.85%): *Ambivalent film perception and use of defense strategies* (see Figure 11)

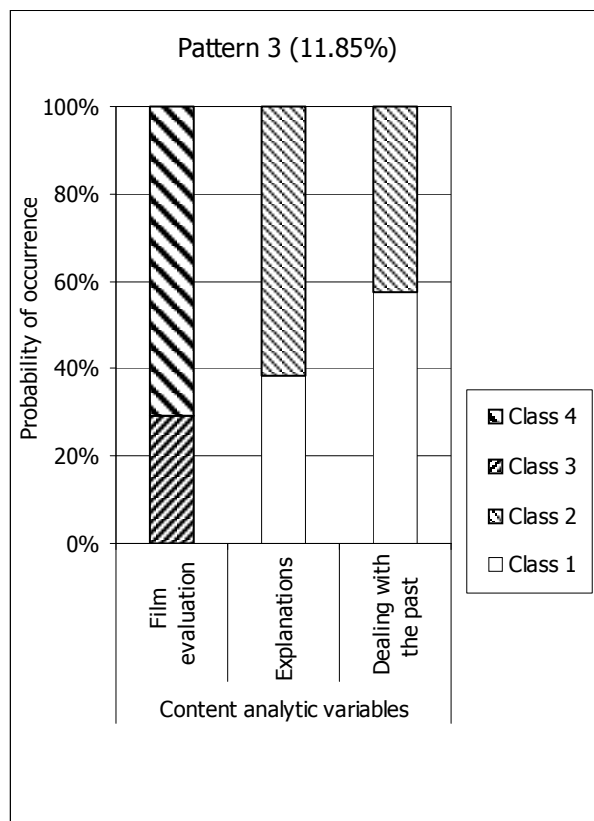


Figure 11: Distribution of *film evaluation*, *explanations* and *dealing with history* within reaction pattern 3 (11.85%)

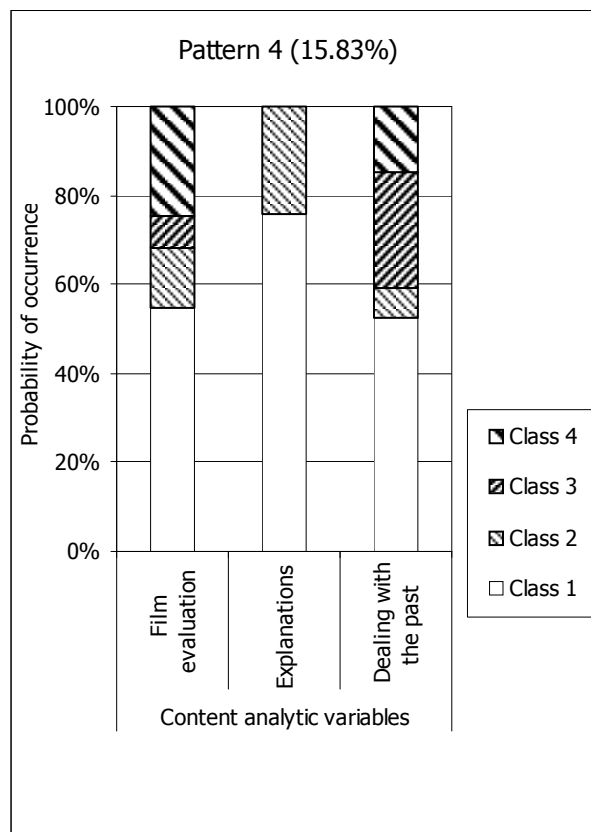


Figure 12: Distribution of *film evaluation*, *explanations* and *dealing with history* within reaction pattern 4 (15.83%)

Film evaluation and perceptions of the protagonists:

Pattern 3, which appears least often, reflects an ambivalent to rejecting opinion profile toward the viewed film excerpt, since the film excerpt was evaluated partly positively *and* partly negatively. The pupils tended to display a lack of interest in the theme complex and had below-average previous knowledge (see Figure 11). They felt sympathy and some understanding for the Jews and clearly rejected the German perpetrator side (see Figure 6).

Explanation and justification mechanisms:

This pattern tended to offer few explanations for the persecution of the Jews and most clearly rejected assigning part of the guilt to the victims, and to the contrary blamed above all Hitler and in part the German population (see Figure 7).

Dealing with history and shame:

Pattern 3 rejected the relevance of the Holocaust for the present (see Figure 8) and employed two strategies to defend against dealing with history and thereby arousing shame:

Part of the group displayed an above-average level of shame and (therefore) called for closing the books on the past or respectively displayed a lack to openness in dealing with history. A second strategy consisted in denying the relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany, in that references were made to the persecution of Jews in the past and in other countries. This lack of relevance resulted in a lack of collective shame. The low number of explanations, as well as the rejection of individual responsibility, was an expression of the lack of relevance for Germany in the twenty-first century and the rejection of dealing with the past.

Summing up, pattern 3 expressed an ambivalent attitude to the film excerpt with moderate sympathy for victims and a rejection of the perpetrators, rejected the responsibility of specific actors and denied the relevance of the theme complex for contemporary Germany.

Pattern 4 (15.83%): *Positive reaction to film excerpts with many explanations, admission of shame* (see Figure 12)

Film evaluation and perception of the protagonists:

Pattern 4 largely evaluated the film excerpt positively and expressed above-average interest *in* and previous knowledge *of* the theme complex. Here, however, we also found a low share of Class 2 of the film evaluation, which was characterized by careless mistakes and a partial refusal to answer the essay questions (see Figure 12). This group of pupils expressed sympathy with and understanding for the Jews, while they clearly rejected this for the perpetrator side (see Figure 6).

Explanation and justification mechanisms:

In all, pattern 4 had many explanations for the Holocaust (see Figure 12), but rejected, however, assigning any guilt to the Jews and to the contrary sought to locate responsibility with Hitler and first of all with the German population (see Figure 7).

Dealing with history and shame:

The participants of this group expressed by far the clearest acceptance of shame (see Figure 8) and accepted these emotions (Classes 1 and 3 in Figure 12). Here there were almost no pupils who did not feel shame, or only a little, who offered relativizing references to the persecution of the Jews in history and in other countries or employed coping strategies of differentiation. They either employed no defensive strategies to reduce this aversive emotion, or, if they did, they offered arguments of distancing from the events of the Holocaust. This pattern was most likely to regard the Holocaust theme complex as still relevant today (see Figure 8).

Summing up, pattern 4 permitted shame and saw the relevance of the Holocaust even today, since the persecution of the Jews was due to the attitudes and prejudices of the German population. This thereby represented the most constructive form of dealing with the theme complex.

Pattern 2 (25.69%): *Positive reception of the film excerpts with understanding and explanations for all sides and a rejection of shame* (see Figure 13)

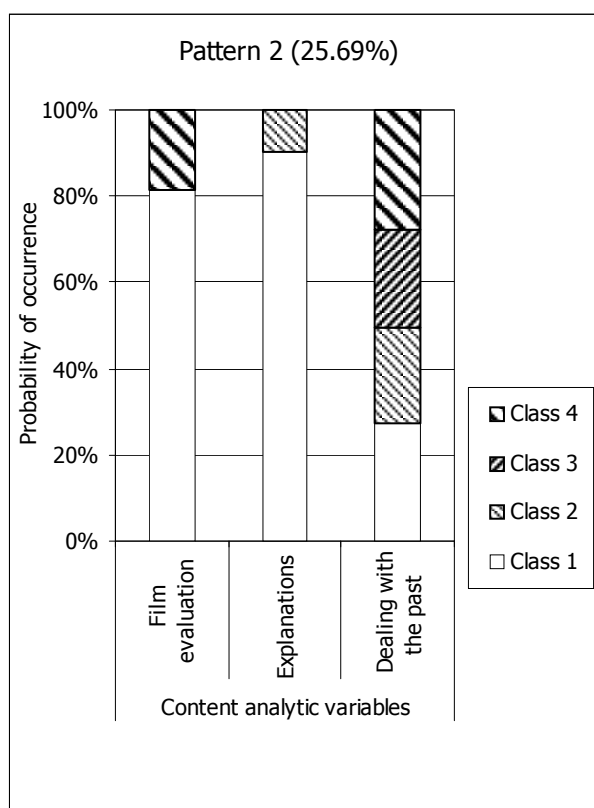


Figure 13: Distribution of *film evaluation*, *explanations* and *dealing with history* within reaction pattern 2 (25.69%)

Film evaluation and perception of the protagonists:

Pattern 2 was clearly positive regarding the film, would have liked to see more of it, displayed great interest in the theme complex and expressed previous knowledge (see Figure 13). These pupils expressed the most sympathy and understanding for the Jewish victim side and simultaneously, however, were merely average in withholding this empathy from the Germans (see Figure 1).

Explanation and justification mechanisms:

Participants in this pattern displayed the highest extent of explanations for the persecution of the Jews (see Figure 13). With Pattern 1, they were least likely to reject assigning partial guilt to the Jews for their persecution, and blamed above all Hitler and to a lesser extent the German population (see Figure 7).

Dealing with history and shame:

With regard to dealing with history, all classes were represented about equally often (see Figure 13). Over-represented in comparison to the overall distribution is class 4, which is characterized by a lack of shame, the use of distancing as a coping strategy and openly dealing with history. Underrepresented, in contrast, is class 1, which is characterized by a high degree of shame, calls for closing the books on the past and a rejection of engagement with history. This group of pupils was the one that most strongly rejected collective guilt and more than any other pattern denied the relevance of the Holocaust theme complex for contemporary Germany (see Figure 8). The facts that for this pattern the Holocaust was in the distant past and that the pupils also had numerous explanations for it and could thereby strongly reject shame, tended to make it easier to deal openly with German history and explains the positive stance of this pattern toward dealing with the Holocaust.

Summing up, the pupils from pattern 2 displayed empathy for all sides and offered numerous explanations for the Holocaust, which were used as a defensive strategy and made possible a strong rejection of shame and openness to dealing with history.

4.3.2 Previous dealing with the Holocaust and national identification

The described reaction patterns differ with regard to previous ways of dealing with the Holocaust in books, films, TV documentaries and through visits to historical sites (see Figure 14a), as well as national identification (see Figure 14b).

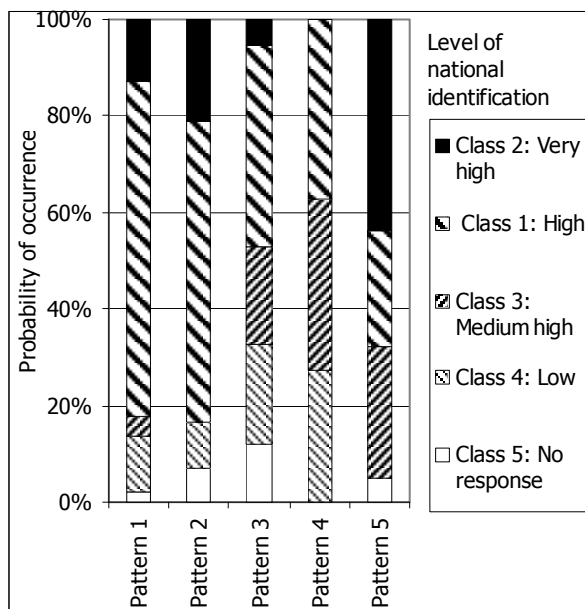
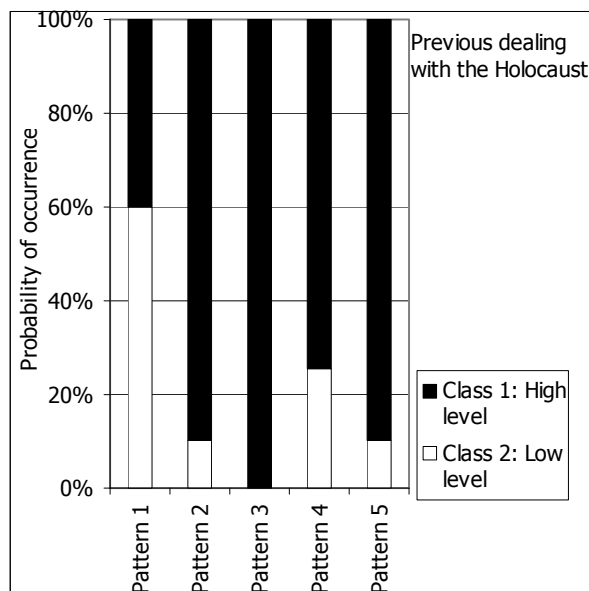


Figure 14a: Conditional distribution of *previous dealing with the Holocaust* within the reaction patterns

Figure 14b: Conditional distribution of *national identification* within the reaction patterns

Reaction pattern 1 was the only one that was typical for low previous dealing with the Holocaust and a predominantly strong national identification. Reaction pattern 2 was present with participants who likewise displayed strong national identification with simultaneously strong previous dealing with the topic.

Pupils who had in the foreground engaged very strongly with the theme complex displayed reaction pattern 3. This pattern was typical of participants who in part expressed low and moderate identification with Germany and often stated that they strongly identify, but to the contrary seldom reported on a very strong identification. It was not unusual for them to give no answer to the question. In all, moderate identification can be detected here.

As the sole case, reaction pattern 4 was to be found among participants who reported no very strong identification or respectively gave no answer to the question. This pattern thereby displayed moderate identification with Germany and moderately strong dealing with the Holocaust theme complex.

Reaction pattern 5 was to the contrary found among participants who displayed a strong tendency to engage with the theme complex and differed from the other pupils through the dominance of the class of strong-identifiers and a lack of those who do not identify very much with Germany. This class thereby displayed the strongest national identification.

4.3.3 Distribution of the reaction patterns within the film excerpts

The reaction patterns, with the exception of pattern 5, which is distributed over all scenarios, can clearly be linked with specific film excerpts (see Figure 15).

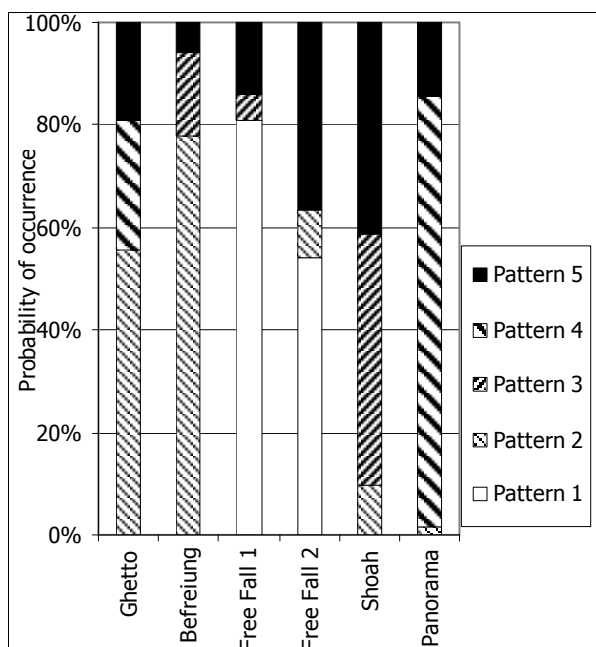


Figure 15: Distribution of the reaction patterns within the film scenarios

Ghetto and Liberation

Pattern 2 was typical of the two excerpts *Ghetto* and *Liberation (Befreiung)*, documentaries created for viewing on German TV by Guido Knopp (see Figure 15). Thereby we found a positive reaction to the film excerpts, a clear rejection and thereby low degree of shame, the most varied ways of dealing with history, with a tendency to an open-minded attitude and understanding for both sides. In this pattern, a strong dialogue on the theme complex of the Holocaust occupied the foreground, and there was strong identification with Germany. However, there was no rejection of the film excerpts here, and there was a reaction in between shame and calls to close the books on the German past (pattern 1). The pupils of the film excerpt *Ghetto* occasionally displayed patterns 4 and 5, and were thus somewhat more positive toward the film excerpt, and expressed somewhat more shame and used fewer defensive strategies (only suppression). Those participants who had, in contrast, viewed the film excerpt *Liberation*, in patterns 3 and 5 sometimes also displayed ambivalent reactions to the film excerpt, employed defensive strategies (distancing and rejection of the relevance of the Holocaust for present Germany) and showed less sense of collective shame.

The *docutainment* format employed by Guido Knopp, which offers pupils easier (and in part more superficial) access to the events of the Holocaust, a high degree of previous dealing with the topic in the foreground and the resulting previous knowledge had as a consequence a clearly positive film evaluation. The equal distribution of the forms of dealing with his-

tory attests that *Liberation* and *Ghetto* offered possibilities of linkages for many types of interpretation of the Holocaust. The tendency was toward the predominance of a coping strategy of distancing, the employment of many explanatory strategies and attributions of guilt, a rejection of shame, and resulting from this a low degree of shame.

Through their emotionalizing manner of representation, the two Knopp film excerpts provided a possibility, on the one side, to experience empathy with the victims and, on the other side, above all *Liberation* gave perpetrators a chance to justify and rationalize their past actions in eyewitness interviews. This ambivalence was supported by the use of historical film material. On the one side, the graphic pictures of Jewish suffering such as the heaps of corpses in *Liberation* increased empathy for the victims, but, on the other side, this graphic representation could cause a backlash of rejection and de-subjectivization. This caused, along with the employment of historical stereotypes in *Ghetto*, a devaluation of the Jews. The result was understanding and empathy with simultaneous critique for *both sides*: on the one hand, sympathy for the victims, condemnation of the perpetrators and critical engagement, and on the other hand, assigning partial guilt to the Jews, shifting responsibility to NS elites and relativizing the Holocaust.

More strongly than *Ghetto*, the *Liberation* film excerpt enabled pupils to find possibilities of linkages for defensive strategies, because Knopp either highlights or respectively employs them. The result was the already mentioned frequent employment of explanation patterns for the persecution of the Jews, a clear assignment of responsibility, not only to the victims (*victim blaming*), but also to Hitler and the German population. There consequently arose an impression of the Holocaust as a rationally explicable historical phenomenon. This rationalization strategy reduced uncertainty, made possible a strong rejection of shame and accordingly produced a low level of this emotion. Suppression, as with the participants in pattern 1, was thereby unnecessary. Thus the two excerpts by Guido Knopp posed less conflict potential for pupils. This avoidance of dissonance made the integration of German history into the national identity concept easier for the participants. Dealing with history could therefore be more easily supported, and in the end a positive attitude could develop toward the film excerpt.

Free Fall

With regard to the two *Free Fall* excerpts, first of all a strong rejection of the film excerpts and a lack of interest dominated (patterns 1 and 5; see Figure 15). The pupils who viewed these film excerpts predominantly expressed strong to very strong identification with Germany, limited reflection on the theme complex in the foreground, and a low to moderate level of empathy with the victims. Mostly this appeared in combination with low resistance to shame and therefore with collective shame. The recipients of these films gave few explanations for the Holocaust, were least likely to blame the Jews for any part of their persecution (clearer in *Free Fall 1*) and called for closing the books on the past, in which they located the Holocaust (pattern 1). This call was relatively often linked with helplessness and suppression regarding the theme complex (Pattern 5, above all *Free Fall 2*).

Among the pupils who viewed the *Free Fall* excerpts, we did not find pattern 4, which is characterized by a predominantly positive reaction and the acceptance of shame. *Free Fall 1* seldom elicited an ambivalent reaction characterized by defensive strategies (pattern 3), while in unusual cases *Free Fall 2* elicited a positive reaction (pattern 2).

For the pupils who had relatively little previous exposure to the theme complex, the two *Free Fall* excerpts made excessive demands in two regards:

First, both excerpts were characterized by stylistic means such as slow sequences, foreign languages and atonal music that did not correspond to the viewing and listening habits of the majority of youthful participants and required a high degree of personal interpretive participation. Taking into account the limited interest in the film excerpt and a lack of previous involvement with the theme complex, the pupils were overtaxed and thereby became skeptical about the film excerpt.

Second, the clear humanization and individualization of the victims in the excerpts, which facilitated pupil identification with the Jews, caused a *substantive* overtaxing. In addition, the film excerpts themselves made few or no explanatory efforts that offered an opportunity for rationalizing the persecution of the Jews. Taking into account their limited previous knowledge and thereby their lack of previously developed argumentation patterns that could be employed as defensive strategies, the pupils displayed limited defensiveness and a relatively high degree of shame.

Particularly with regard to strong national identification, these feelings of shame represented a strong threat to social identity. This had the consequence that the pupils defended themselves with the argumentation material provided by the film excerpt:

1. A lack of reference to the present (exclusive use of historical film material) and to Germany (description of the fate of the Jewish minority in Hungary) favored a rejection of the relevance of the theme complex for contemporary Germany and a defensive strategy of distancing, which again made it easier to call for closing the books on German history.
2. Because of the lack of a representation of the perpetrator side and the focus on a humanizing victim representation that facilitated the pupils' identification, the recipients turned against the Jewish victims: Secondary victimization (*vic-*

tim blaming) resulted. This was more strongly marked due to the cinematically created proximity to and identification of the pupils with the actors in *Free Fall*, since their primary victimization represented a clearer threat to belief in a just world (cf. Aguiar et al., 2008).

The somewhat higher share of positive attitudes toward the film excerpt among the viewers of the *Free Fall 2* excerpt could be traced to the fact that in the closing credits the pupils were offered a summary of the main figures' fortunate lives after the Holocaust. The portrayal of personal-familial continuity and the main characters' being spared from a catastrophic fate made it easier for the pupils to engage with the theme complex and thereby in infrequent cases facilitated a positive reaction (pattern 2).

Shoah

The pupils' reactions to *Shoah* were dominated by attitudes toward the film excerpt ranging from ambivalent to clearly rejecting. The pupils were ambivalent in regard to their national identity. They displayed either moderately weak (pattern 3) or very strong national identification (pattern 5). Thereby without exception they reported (very) frequent engagement with the theme complex in the past, but at the same time expressed, however, little to no interest in the Holocaust. This inconsistency indicates that their past engagement was not necessarily voluntary, but rather, e.g., was prescribed by the course syllabus and differed from the participants' real interests. The manner of representation used in *Shoah*, such as, long interview sequences without cuts and foreign languages (i.e., not German) in the soundtrack and sub-titles, demanded much personal interpretive effort for the reconstruction of the historical events. This necessity could with a corresponding lack of interest and a substantive satiation effect reinforce a rejecting attitude toward the film excerpt.

Among the pupils who viewed this excerpt, reaction patterns 3 and 5 dominated, while 1 and 4 were lacking, and pattern 2 seldom appeared. In reaction patterns 3 and 5, two styles of dealing with the *Shoah* excerpt were predominantly recognized that differed somewhat, due to differently characterized national identification:

The first style of engaging with the topic was that of reacting to *Shoah* with no or hardly any defensive strategies, such as, e.g., rationalization or assignment of blame. Depending on the expression of national identification, the participants experienced (1) above-average shame (low to moderate identification, pattern 3) and called for closing the books on the past or respectively rejected dealing with history; or they displayed (2) a high level of shame, consistent with *social identity theory*, in the case of very strongly marked national identification (Pattern 5). The latter group of pupils was at the same time helpless in the face of these emotions and also called for closing the books on the past or made a similar defensive response. The occurrence of feelings of shame was again intensified by the strongly individualizing and humanizing representation of the Jews in *Shoah* and the lack of explanatory patterns and possibilities for rationalizing the persecution that could be adopted by the pupils.

The second style of dealing with the Holocaust was found above all among participants who strongly identified with Germany (pattern 5). It is characterized by extensive use of defensive strategies that resulted in the (almost) complete avoidance of feelings of shame. As argumentation strategies the pupils referred to the low or respectively nonexistent relevance of the Holocaust for contemporary Germany, resorted to historical and geographic relativization, along with temporal distancing and personal differentiation. They did not accuse the victims of being inferior or failing to resist, because due to the portrayal of the Jewish uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto it would be hard to argue in this direction. The argument for a lack of relevance to contemporary Germany was reinforced by the use of foreign languages and a focus on the Polish capital of Warsaw. A call to close the books was not found here, because of suppression, closing the books had already happened.

The attitudes ranging from ambivalent to clearly rejecting toward this film excerpt were thereby attributable to (1) a shift to the demand for closing the books, (2) a closed-minded attitude toward engaging with the past, claiming a lack of relevance, a satiation effect (compassion fatigue), and not last of all, as well (3) the stylistic means of the film excerpt.

Panorama

Among the pupils who viewed the report *Panorama*, Reaction Pattern 4 clearly dominated (see Figure 10), marked by moderately strong identification with Germany and the acceptance of feelings of shame. This finding confirmed the assumption of a curvilinear linkage between national identification and collective shame (cf. Klein et al., 2011). This pattern displayed, besides moderately strong dealing with the theme complex, a positive attitude toward the film excerpt and a rejection of the German side, to whose population it also attributed chief responsibility for the Holocaust. On the one hand, this pattern had available numerous explanations for the Holocaust, and, on the other, it did not use these as defensive strategies, but rather was in the position to allow feelings of shame and take a positive attitude toward dealing with history.

Other reaction patterns were either completely absent (patterns 1 and 3) or respectively nearly so (pattern 2). Only pattern 5 was occasionally found, characterized by rejecting the film excerpt and attitude swings between lack of shame due to suppression and maximal shame due to argumentative helplessness.

The *Panorama* excerpt used eyewitness interviews to portray the ignorance, or feigned ignorance, of older German citizens regarding the suffering and destruction of the Jews during the Holocaust. It contrasts man-in-the-street interviews with historical evidence and contrary representations by experts and victims, which attest to both passive and active cooperation by broad segments of the German population in the persecution and destruction of the Jews. With this format, the contribution establishes a clear historical and national connection between the 20th century Holocaust and 21st century Germany. This reference had the effect of immunizing the pupils against most defensive strategies, such as denying the relevance of the historical events for contemporary Germany, a distancing strategy that treats the Holocaust as a closed chapter of history and differentiating between the generations today and then, or respectively between "guilty Nazis," on one side, and "innocent Germans," on the other.

The format of a TV documentary was able to offer processed information that gave pupils ready-made explanations of the persecutions. Due to immunization, the explanations were, however, not transformed into defensive strategies, but rather shame could be admitted and became clearly manifest.

The condemnatory attitude of the contributions permitted a differentiation between "ignorant accomplices," on the one side, and accusatory or respectively enlightening "good filmmakers," on the other side. This made it possible for the pupils to condemn the former while simultaneously identifying with the latter. It also explains the open-minded approach to history, an affirmation of engaging with the past and a positive assessment of the film excerpt. The facilitated identification with a positively shaded sub-*in-group* created the prerequisite for a critical integration of history in the individual concept of identity, while simultaneously maintaining a positive national identity. Through the simultaneous immunization against defensive reflexes, it could thereby contribute to an engagement with history that was to be differentiated from a purely defensive attitude and distancing.

5. Summary

The present study had the goal of investigating the interconnections between (1) predispositions on the side of recipients and (2) different cinematic forms of representing the Holocaust, on the one hand, and (3) the perceptions of victims and perpetrators, reactions to group-based emotions and dealing with history, on the other hand.

	Previous dealing with the Holocaust						
	very low	low	medium low	medium	medium high	high	very high
National Identification							
very low							
low							
medium low							Pattern 3 <i>Shoah</i> (+ Liberation)
medium					Pattern 4 <i>Panorama</i> (+ <i>Ghetto</i>)		
medium high							
high			Pattern 1 Free Fall 1+2			Pattern 2 Knopp films	
very high						Pattern 5 all films	

Figure 16: Structural variables of the second order LCA arranged according to previous dealing with the Holocaust and national identification

After in a first step working out latent classes of the predispositions *national identification* and *previous dealing with the Holocaust*, as well as the content analytic variable groups *film evaluation*, *explanations (for the Holocaust)* and *dealing with history*, in a second analytical step, we were able by means of a second order LCA to identify five reaction patterns. These

varied in terms of their evaluation of the film excerpt, attributions of responsibility for the persecution of the Jews, dealing with history and the extent of experienced collective shame and ways of coping with it. For a comparative juxtaposition of these patterns on the basis of national identification, previous engagement with the theme complex and film scenario, see Figure 16.

Pattern 1 (23.88%) was characterized by a rejecting attitude toward the film excerpt, partial *victim blaming* and the attempt to avoid feelings of shame by calling for closing the books on the past. This pattern was typical of participants who reported strong national identification with simultaneous low to medium previous engagement with the topic and was dominant among the pupils who viewed the two *Free Fall* excerpts. Participants in pattern 5 (22.75%) likewise rejected the film excerpts, tried to locate responsibility less with the Jewish victims than with Hitler and the Germans, and responded to shame either through helplessness or strong suppression. Pattern 5 was typical of pupils with very strong German national identification and intensive previous dealing with the topic. It was the only pattern found in all the scenarios. Pattern 3 (11.85%) was found with those who had the lowest national identification (low to moderate) with simultaneous very frequent dealing with the topic complex, and appeared above all with pupils who viewed the *Shoah* excerpt and in part with those who viewed *Liberation*. These expressed attitudes toward the film excerpts ranging from ambivalent to negative, rejected the responsibility of individual actors for the Holocaust and assigned no relevance to the topic for present Germany. Pattern 4 (15.83%) was found among pupils who had moderately strong previous dealing with the Holocaust and moderately strong national identity. It was, first of all, a reaction to the *Panorama* excerpt, and in part to *Ghetto*, and was characterized by a positive film evaluation with a simultaneous acceptance of shame. Participants in pattern 2 (25.69%) showed, with a high degree of identification with Germany and previous dealing with the topic, a great deal of empathy for both sides, had many explanations for the occurrence of the Holocaust, successfully used these as defensive strategies against shame, and clearly rejected the latter. This pattern dominated among the pupils who viewed the film excerpts by Guido Knopp (*Ghetto* and *Liberation*).

6. Discussion

The present study was conducted before the background of a media transmission of history that is becoming increasingly important in Germany. The transmission of the historical events of the Holocaust to the third post-war generation must thereby be understood as a constructed "re-presented reality" (Dengler, 2010: 2) imbedded in the social and individual contexts of the pupils. The results of the study confirmed the assumption of a complex network of effects between the media-communicated contents and the pupils' predispositions of *national identification* and *previous dealing with the Holocaust*, on the one hand, and the reaction patterns displayed, on the other.

The question of how the *in-group* deals with a negative national history is first of all a question of dealing with a threat to social identity and with aversive group-based emotions, with collective shame (cf. Brown et al., 2008; Doosje et al., 1998). The extent of this threat and shame, as well as also engagement with them, depend on the individual's identification with the *in-group*, his or her previous dealing with the topic and the perceived degree of illegitimacy of *in-group* behavior.

Role of film contents

Through the presentation of specific aspects, cinematic contents are first of all in a position to strengthen threats to social identification, in that they, e.g., humanize the victims (*Free Fall*) and thereby clearly emphasize the wrongful behavior of the *in-group* and the illegitimacy of the crime.

At the same time, however, they also play a central role in fending off shame. Cinematic treatments can make the Holocaust seem to be a rationally explicable phenomenon by giving pupils many worked-out explanatory patterns and thereby reducing uncertainty. This supports the bridging of the perceived discrepancy between moral standards and the (wrongful) behavior of one's *in-group*. Consequently, shame-reducing effects can unfold, for example, through adopting the perpetrator perspective, shifting responsibility away from one's *in-group* by differentiating the perpetrator side into the elites and the "normal" population or, respectively, by demonizing political decision-makers (see *Liberation*).

Partial *victim blaming* is to be observed in those film excerpts in which there is (1) a devaluation of the Jews through classical stereotypes (*Ghetto*), (2) through limitation of the Jews to an exclusive victim role (*Liberation – Befreiung*) or (3) a focus on the Jewish victims with a lack of other explanatory possibilities (*Free Fall*). Historical film material is problematic, and not just in regard to conveying classical stereotypes (cf. Kopf-Beck, Gaisbauer, & Dengler, in preparation; Loose, 2009): Defensive arguments, that (1) isolate the events of the Holocaust in the past and therefore deny their relevance for the present and contemporary generations, and also strategies that reject (2) the relevance of the theme complex for contemporary Germany, that point to the persecution of Jews in other historical periods and in other countries, can be strengthened through the use of specific film material. Thus these strategies are facilitated by historical film material (above all the *Free Fall* excerpts), as well as also film excerpts that have little to no reference to Germany (*Free Fall* and *Shoah*).

Role of identification with Germany

The complexity of the interplay between national identity and group-based shame reveals itself most clearly in the pupils who very strongly identify with Germany (reaction pattern 5) and clearly differ in their reaction to the confrontation with a threat to their identity: The minority is not in the position to cope with shame through defense mechanisms and therefore reports a very high degree of shame, it is quasi-helplessly at the mercy of emotions; the clear majority, to the contrary, is in the position to employ defensive mechanisms in a manner that leads to an (almost) complete suppression of shame. This reaction pattern was the only pattern found in all the film scenarios (even if to different degrees). National identification also plays a central role in adopting specific defensive arguments. Thus a narrative that brings with it fairly uncritical reflection on one's own *in-group*, such as, e.g., the adoption of the perpetrator perspective, is especially easy to insert in the national identity concept and results in a positive evaluation of the film excerpt and open-mindedness toward engaging with history.

In general, the possibility of identifying with a positively connoted segment of the German *in-group*, such as the historically aware journalists in *Panorama* or the extremely critical son of the German war criminal Hans Frank (NS governor general of occupied Poland) in *Ghetto*, gives pupils a chance for critical distancing from German war crimes without the necessity to completely relinquish their ties to their national *in-group*.

Previous dealing with the theme complex

As well the extent of previous dealing with the theme and thereby familiarity with the contents can be decisive for drawing on specific explanatory patterns and strategies or respectively for being overtaxed by the respective theme complex. A refusal to deal with the history of the Holocaust, as occurs in *Free Fall 1* and *2*, as well as in *Shoah*, can, among other things, be traced back to a stylistic overburdening of the pupils and underlines the central role of the selected film format for use in historical pedagogy. This also holds for persons who had previously seldom reflected on the Holocaust, as well as for persons who had more frequently thought about it, but somewhat less for the latter.

Frequent past engagement with the topic, in combination with film excerpts that try to clearly identify the causes (*Liberation*), results in the numerous explanatory and justifying approaches of the pupils (which in turn has a shame-reducing effect). In contrast, when there is low previous engagement with the topic combined with film excerpts offering few explanatory mechanisms, we find a low number of justifying and explanatory patterns (see pattern 1). With film excerpts that leave pupils on their own with the question of *why*, or even intensify this strained relationship through contrasting victims portrayed as humanized/individualized with matter-of-fact/neutral legal texts (*Free Fall* excerpts), the causal attributions target the victims themselves. Since the film representation of the victims in these excerpts occupies the center of attention, the overtaxed pupils return to this material and assign the Jews part of the guilt for their persecution (*victim blaming*).

Summing up

A critical cinematic working through of the theme complex of the Holocaust should first of all be able to awaken the recipients' interest by using stylistic and cinematic means without overtaxing them. A way of dealing with history that does not confuse a openness to deal with the topic with adopting the perpetrator perspective and devaluing or blaming the victims must meet two needs: First, the presented contents should "immunize" recipients to the most common defense mechanisms against aversive group-based emotions, such as, e.g., distancing, relativization, differentiation, etc. (see *Panorama*). Second, the threat to social identity should be reduced by cinematically defining the concept of national identity in a positive manner (e.g., through positive role models as a subgroup of the *in-group*) and thus work against a globalizing defense against and suppression of the past.

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On the authors:

Johannes Kopf-Beck, Certified Psychologist, studied psychology, political science and theology at the University of Bamberg and Trinity College Dublin. He is a member of the Project Group Peace Research at the University of Konstanz. His areas of interest include collective identity concepts and political attitudes in their relationship to social and personality psychology.

Address: Johannes Kopf-Beck, Guldeinstraße 34, 80339 Munich.

email: johannes.kopf-beck@uni-konstanz.de

Felix Gaisbauer, Certified Psychologist, studied psychology and political science at the University of Konstanz, as well as in the frame of a semester abroad in Middle East Studies at Tel Aviv University. He was a member of the Project Group Peace Research at the University of Konstanz, where he worked on the German Research Society (DFG) Project "Criticism of Israel: Dealing with German History and the Differentiation of Modern Anti-Semitism" under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Kempf. Presently he is working at the German Institute for Development Evaluation (Deutsches Evaluierungsinstitut der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit), DEval.

email: felix.gaisbauer@DEval.org

Susanne Dengler, Ethnologist (MA), studied ethnology, psychology and recent German literature. She is currently active in the field of integration and is simultaneously working on her dissertation.

email: sudengler@gmx.de

Appendix

1. Content analytic variables and intercoder reliabilities

Table A1 contains all variables that were coded. Because of little frequencies of occurrence, the variables marked with bullets were collapsed according to contentwise criteria.

Content analytical variable	Frequency ^{a)}		Interkoder reliability ^{b)}	
	absolute	relative	agreement	Cohens κ
Film evaluation				
1) Continuing watching	91	49.46%	100.00%	1.00
2) Using films in class	120	65.22%	97.01%	.94
3) Changed opinion	22	11.96%	98.51%	.93
4) Interest	48	26.09%	98.51%	.96
5) Knowledge	58	31.52%	94.03%	.84
6) Positive evaluation	125	67.93%	98.51%	.97
• Clearness	71	38.59%	89.55%	.77
• Interesting	47	25.54%	92.54%	.79
• Positive evaluation of contemporary witnesses	45	24.46%	92.54%	.80
• Informative	46	25.00%	89.55%	.73
• Sad	14	7.61%	100.00%	1.00
• Thought provoking	17	9.24%	97.01%	.74
7) Negative evaluation	92	50.00%	95.52%	.91
• Difficult	29	15.76%	89.55%	.66
• Boring	38	20.65%	98.51%	.96
• Incomprehensible	34	18.48%	98.51%	.95
• Not informative	30	16.30%	92.54%	.79
• Improvement suggestions	31	16.85%	92.54%	.81
• Bad quality	11	5.98%	100.00%	1.00
• Not interesting	11	5.98%	98.51%	.88
• Other	49	26.63%	92.54%	.83
8) Film provides no explanations	64	34.70%	91.04%	.81
Explanations for the Holocaust				
9) Empathy towards victims	100	54.35%	92.54%	.85
• Empathy and appreciation of suffering	93	50.54%	92.54%	.84
• Humanization of victims	14	7.61%	100.00%	1.00
10) Perpetrators' perspective	28	15.22%	100.00%	1.00
11) Condemnation of perpetrators	146	79.35%	92.54%	.83
12) Shifting responsibility	47	25.54%	98.51%	.96
• Hitlers blame	38	20.65%	98.51%	.96
• Be in danger yourself	10	5.43%	98.51%	.94
• Germans were misled	15	8.15%	98.50%	.79

Content analytical variable	Frequency ^{a)}		Interkoder reliability ^{b)}	
	absolute	relative	agreement	Cohens κ
Explanations for the Holocaust				
13) Joint guilt of Jews	43	23.37%	97.01%	.91
• Being different	32	17.39%	98.50%	.94
• Missing resistance	7	3.80%	98.50%	.79
• Richness of Jews	7	3.80%	100.00%	1.00
• Superiority of Jews	6	3.26%	100.00%	1.00
14) Critical perspective on motivation for persecution	65	35.33%	95.52%	.90
• Striving for power	5	2.72%	100.00%	1.00
• Scapegoating	27	14.67%	100.00%	1.00
• Artlessness/blind obedience	12	6.52%	98.50%	.79
• Arbitrariness	21	11.41%	95.50%	.70
• Racism/Nazism	11	5.98%	97.00%	.84
• Greed	7	3.80%	98.50%	.88
Dealing with history				
15) Shame	71	38.59%	91.04%	.82
16) Learning from history	81	44.02%	97.01%	.93
17) Critique of historical revisionism	34	18.48%	94.03%	.77
• Critique of historical revisionism/NS today and repression	32	17.39%	94.00%	.77
• Pro reparations	4	2.17%	100.00	1.00
18) Openness to deal with history	15	8.15%	94.03%	.47
19) Refusal to deal with history	31	16.85%	95.52%	.83
• Closing the books on past	13	7.07%	97.00%	.84
• Worrying about Germans public image	2	1.09%	100.00%	1.00
• Rejecting confrontation with atrocities	2	1.09%	98.50%	0.00
• Cruelty satiation	10	5.43%	100.00%	1.00
• Other	9	4.89%	100.00%	1.00
20) Temporal distancing	65	35.33%	86.57%	.61
21) Personal differentiation	92	50.00%	92.54%	.85
22) No relevance for present Germany	71	38.59%	97.01%	.93
• Reference to present Germany	32	17.39%	97.00%	.91
• Reference to different countries (persecution of Jews)	28	15.22%	100.00%	1.00
• Historical reference (persecution of Jews)	18	9.78%	100.00%	1.00
Total sample (mean)			95.46%	.86

Note: ^{a)} Frequencies are based on the total sample $N = 184$ essays. ^{b)} Percentage agreement and Cohen's κ are based on the coding of a random sub-sample of $n = 67$ essays by two independent coders.

Table A1: Variables of the content analysis of essays and intercoder reliabilities

2. Goodness of Fit-Statistics of the Latent Class Models

In the following, we document the goodness of fit statistics of the various LCAs. Model selection was based on the CIC-Index (Reunanen & Suikkanen, 1999), and in the tables below the selected models are highlighted in gray.

Moreover we document the mean membership probability (p), the Proportional Reduction of Error relatively to the a priori probabilities (PRE) and (where applicable) the Explanatory Power of the selected models relatively the Pure Random Model (EP) (cf. Kempf, 2012).

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
Pure random	-2466.79	6	117642	4943.87
LC1	-2628.47	36	117612	5318.66
LC2	-2311.21	73	117575	4747.57
LC3	-2169.46	110	117538	4527.50
LC4	-2046.18	147	117501	4344.37
LC5	-1998.73	184	117464	4312.90
LC6	-1973.03	221	117427	4324.93
LC7	-1942.07	258	117390	4326.44
Saturated	-1353.91	117648	---	204395.44

Note: $PRE_{LC5} = .61$; $EP_{LC5} = .731$; $p_{LC5} = .971$.

Table A2: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis of the scale "national identification"

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
Pure random	-759.00	2	78	1529.10
LC1	-737.05	8	72	1487.81
LC2	-700.03	17	63	1429.20
LC3	-695.25	26	54	1435.07
LC4	-694.66	35	45	1449.32
LC5	-691.59	44	36	1458.61
LC6	-689.83	53	27	1470.52
LC7	-689.53	62	18	1485.35
LC8	-689.91	71	9	1501.54
LC9	-688.56	80	0	1514.27
Saturated	-687.77	80	---	1512.69

Note: $PRE_{LC2} = .97$; $EP_{LC2} = .828$; $p_{LC2} = .918$.

Table A3: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis of the scale "previous dealing with the Holocaust"

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
Pure random	-1001.95	1	254	2005.56
LC1	-895.90	8	247	1805.01
LC2	-815.76	17	238	1659.59
LC3	-801.81	26	229	1646.56
LC4	-792.49	35	220	1642.77
LC5	-785.90	44	211	1644.47
LC6	-779.58	53	202	1646.70
LC7	-773.96	62	193	1650.31
LC8	-768.41	71	184	1654.09
LC9	-764.25	80	175	1660.62
Saturated	-731.39	255	---	1883.93

Note: $PRE_{LC4} = .789$; $EP_{LC4} = .774$; $p_{LC4} = .942$.

Table A4: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis of the group of variables "film evaluation"

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
Pure random	-736.22	1	62	1474.09
LC1	-621.20	6	57	1252.30
LC2	-607.10	13	50	1235.67
LC3	-601.85	20	43	1236.73
LC4	-596.72	27	36	1238.02
LC5	-593.60	34	29	1243.34
LC6	-591.24	41	22	1250.20
LC7	-588.53	48	15	1256.32
LC8	-587.36	55	8	1265.55
LC9	-586.35	62	1	1275.10
Saturated	-585.49	63	---	1275.02

Note: $PRE_{LC2} = .880$; $EP_{LC2} = .857$; $p_{LC2} = .814$.

Table A5: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis of the group of variables "explanations for the Holocaust"

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
Pure random	-914.24	1	254	1830.13
LC1	-842.13	8	247	1697.48
LC2	-833.65	17	238	1695.38
LC3	-824.18	26	229	1691.31
LC4	-813.70	35	220	1685.20
LC5	-809.02	44	211	1690.71
LC6	-803.20	53	202	1693.93
LC7	-797.80	62	193	1697.99
LC8	-793.28	71	184	1703.81
LC9	-790.24	80	175	1712.61
Saturated	-746.44	255	---	1914.02

Note: $PRE_{LC4} = .754$; $EP_{LC4} = .599$; $p_{LC4} = .822$.

Table A6: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis of the group of variables "dealing with history"

Model	Log-Likelihood	n(P)	df	CIC
LC1	-1278.82	17	1902	2585.72
LC2	-1223.32	35	1884	2504.45
LC3	-1203.54	53	1866	2494.62
LC4	-1185.73	71	1848	2488.71
LC5	-1169.73	89	1830	2486.44
LC6	-1156.67	107	1812	2490.06
LC7	-1144.43	125	1794	2495.31
LC8	-1113.14	143	1776	2499.98
LC9	-1120.63	161	1758	2507.15
Saturated	-912.75	1919	---	4994.79

Note: $PRE_{LC5} = .463$; $p_{LC5} = .904$.

Table A7: Goodness of fit statistics: Latent Class Analysis (second order)

3. ANOVAs: Differences in film perception between reaction patterns

Concept	Item wording	F-value	p-value	η^2
Attitudes towards Jews and Germans				
Compassion with Jews	The portrayed Jews aroused my compassion.	4.804	$\leq .001$	.097
Understanding Jews	I understood the portrayed Jews' situation.	4.243	$\leq .01$	.087
Compassion with Germans	The portrayed Germans aroused my compassion.	3.371	$\leq .05$	.071
Sympathy for Germans	The portrayed Germans gave a likeable impression to me.	3.896	$\leq .01$	.080
Justification of persecution				
Blaming the victims: inferiority	The film gave the impression to me that the Jews were persecuted because they were somehow inferior.	3.459	$\leq .01$	.073
Blaming the victims: no resistance	The film gave the impression to me that the Jews were persecuted because they were weak and did not resist.	3.480	$\leq .01$	.074
Blaming Hitler	The film gave the impression to me that the Jews were persecuted because Hitler and the "big" Nazis hated them.	5.506	$\leq .001$	.103
Blaming the population	The film gave the impression to me that the Jews were persecuted because prejudices were common.	5.544	$\leq .001$	.112
Rejection of shame				
	<i>Rejection of shame index^a</i>	5.057	$\leq .001$	.104
Rejection of relevance of Holocaust				
	The film gave the impression to me that the Holocaust was a dark chapter in German history which has nothing to do with the present.	4.508	$\leq .01$	.092

Note. ^a The *Rejection of shame index* is based on the sum score of participants' responses to the following items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ("not true at all") to 5 ("absolutely true"):

- The film clip gave the impression to me that one has *not* to be ashamed of Germany because the German people were misled and shamelessly used by the Nazis..
- The film clip gave the impression to me that one has *not* to be ashamed of Germany because the offenders had no choice than obey the orders - otherwise they would have brought themselves in danger..
- The film clip gave the impression to me that one has not to be ashamed of Germany because Adolf Hitler and a few Nazis bear the blame for the persecution and killing of the Jews.

Table A8 ANOVAs: Differences in film perception between reaction patterns