Decision Processes of Emigrants from Nazi Germany

by

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Biographical Sketch

The author was born in Lincoln, Nebraska. She attended Washington State University, and graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Animal Sciences. She subsequently attended the University of Portland, graduating with a Master of Science degree in Counseling. She began doctoral studies in Human Development at the University of Rochester in 2009. She pursued her research in Decision Processes of Emigrants from Nazi Germany under the direction of Professors Kathryn Douthit, Andre Marquis and Daniel Borus.

Acknowledgments

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to understand various developmental decision making phenomena associated with turning points in the lives of middle-aged adults. More specifically, the decision processes of persons who lived in pre-war Nazi Germany were studied in relation to their decisions around emigration, based on their memoirs. The source material is from an archive located at Houghton Library, Harvard University, entitled "My Life in Germany before and after January 30, 1933," collected in 1939-40. The study reveals three main reasons given for deciding to emigrate, the loss of employment opportunities, a feeling of moral repugnance for the Nazi regime, and an experience of physical threat. Developmental findings related to the turning point, following Maslow, revealed coping abilities amid an atmosphere of tension, reflecting maintained attainment of adult functioning and a persistent sense of self. Turning point findings supported an extended rather than pinpoint definition of the turning point.

Contributors and Funding Sources

This work was supervised by a dissertation committee consisted of Professors Kathryn Douthit (advisor) and Andre Marquis of the Warner School of Education and Professor Daniel Borus of the Department of History. Houghton Library, Harvard University, supplied copies of the memoirs with the understanding that they were to be used for scholarly purposes and for dissertation publication. Permission to use Figure 1 was generously granted by J. B. Metzler, part of Springer Nature. This study was self-funded, partly from a legacy received from the estate of Mary S. Byers. All work for the dissertation was completed independently by the student.

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Chapter 1: Overview

This dissertation used a descriptive qualitative (phenomenological) method to study various developmental psychosocial dimensions of the decision-making processes leading to successful emigration from Nazi Germany, as found in the memoirs of middle-aged adults. These memoirs were selected from the "My Life in Germany" archive at Harvard University, which dates from 1940 (Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001). While the content of these memoirs describes experiences of Nazi Germany, it does not include events of the second World War or the Holocaust, which have attracted most of the scholarly and popular attention related to that regime. Instead, the memoirs focus on the first six years of the Nazi regime and were written during those years. Because historical interpretation changes with the times, a fresh look at original source documents may provide different perspectives on some aspects of our current "pervasive collective reading" of key historical events or trends, such as the Nazi era (Popkin, 2005, p. 193). For instance, each time has its own perceptions and sometimes ways of talking about certain aspects of society. With each generation, these ways of speaking may change, as with politically correct terms (Passerini, 1992, see p. 41). We may discover, that is, some first-hand nuances that prove different from those that conform with other historically-situated or projected expectations and assumptions, or perhaps shed a different light on them. In any event, the memoirs have provided insight on ordinary life in extraordinary times.

Following historiographic conventions, this study has attempted to "recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past" (Berg, 2004,

p. 234) to attain a better understanding of the developmental processes that supported individuals' major decision-making in the historical moment prior to war and the unforeseen (except rhetorically) Holocaust. In order to more fully understand the cultural setting of past, we need to explore artifacts dating from before the occurrence of those events that so heavily color our perceptions. For example, later historical accounts of an era may focus on collective motives or incentives rather than personal ones, in the light of what has transpired (Kuran, 1989, see p. 70). Holocaust memoirs, understandably, tend to focus on the horrific events of the Jewish genocide, usually however telling little or nothing of the writers' lives before or after their imprisonment (Popkin, 2005, see pp. 221, 226-7). The memoirs I have studied (see Table 1) discuss the writers' lives before and after the Nazi takeover in 1933, but end before World War II began, enabling an overview of the pre-war period as experienced by the writers. They were written near the time of emigration, for most, and thus reflect the attitudes of the pre-war time, without the rewriting that may occur subsequently (see Kuran, pp. 69-70). Since the selected memoirs have the fact of the writers' emigration in common, they provided a particularly suitable set of data from which the decision-making process around emigration could be studied.

Some time ago, Runyan (1988), suggesting further avenues of research in biography, asked, "What about the psychology of the refugees and emigrants from Nazi Germany?" (p. 255). In keeping with Runyan's suggestion, I have studied German emigrants, utilizing a novel combination of literary and social science methods in this historically situated project. My research question is: What are the developmental

psychosocial factors influencing the turning point decision to emigrate among mostly non-Jewish adult emigrants from Nazi Germany?

Decision-making Factors Regarding Emigration

This study is based on life course theory, emigration theory, and Maslow's stage theory of human development. Life course theory individualizes the sociological outlook to study "the age-graded, socially-embedded sequence of roles that connect the phases of life. As a paradigm, the life course refers to an imaginative framework comprised of a set of interrelated presuppositions, concepts and methods that are used to study these age-grade, socially-embedded roles" (Mortimer & Shanahan, 2004, p. xi). The five paradigmatic principles of life course theory are (see Mortimer & Shanahan, pp. 11-13):

1. Human development over the life span
2. Individual agency
3. Historical times and places in which each life occurs
4. Timing of life stages and transitions
5. Linked lives (relational, social and cultural effects on individuals)

Life course theory includes the idea of normative life events, such as marriage and having children, that are part of most people's lives (Clausen, 1998; Hareven & Masaoka, 1988); life stages, such as youth, midlife and old age; and turning points, as they affect normative transitions and trajectories (Mortimer & Shanahan, see pp. 39, 367, 395, 425-6). Life course theory, like human development, may also take into account biological aspects of the person, or use biological models to explain human behavior (Mortimer & Shanahan, see p. 597f).

Human development focuses on the changes undergone by the person over the whole span of life, from biological, socio-emotional and cognitive points of view. In my study I will include human development chiefly in terms of Maslow's developmental stage theory, discussed below, but will also mention Erikson and Kohlberg. In order to adequately appreciate the complexity of the decision making processes concerning emigration, I have found it necessary to include a variety of perspectives, such as theories of sociology, social psychology and cultural anthropology, as suggested by Chickering (1984, see p. 16), to study the individuals involved.

Emigration may sometimes be seen as a normative event. Hochstadt (1999) has shown that emigration was a normal part of adolescence and young adulthood in Germany, among the working classes at least, for several hundred years. Usually marriage ended the (literal) journeyman stage when a man attained mastery of his craft, or at least steady employment, and a woman traded paid work for her own home and children. Emigration could continue into middle age as in the case of return emigrants, such as married men who traveled to other places to earn money they sent or brought home again. By the late nineteenth century emigration to America from Germany was such a commonly accepted practice that there was a children's song about it (*Eichbaum-Brehme*,[1] 1936, see pp. 124-5). In my study the decision to emigrate will be thought of as a turning point, however, because it indicated a change in the direction or trajectory of the emigrant's life.

[1] References from the memoirs analyzed in this project are presented in italics to help them stand out from other cited sources for the reader. (C. Lee, American Psychological Association, personal communication, January 23, 2017)

Most studies of emigration attend to events and psychological processes occurring after arrival in the new locality and not to what precipitated it (see Hackstaff, Kupferberg, & Négroni, 2012; Mortimer & Shanahan, 2004, see p. 334). Until recently, the economic factor has been seen as the most important explanatory motive. Recent studies of unimperiled emigration, however, show a number of motivational factors that may outweigh the obvious economic ones, such as life-course events, social and cultural motives, and changes in family status (Kley, 2011; Verwiebe, 2011). This study attempted to learn more about the decision-making process of emigration and will propose a model of those decision processes.

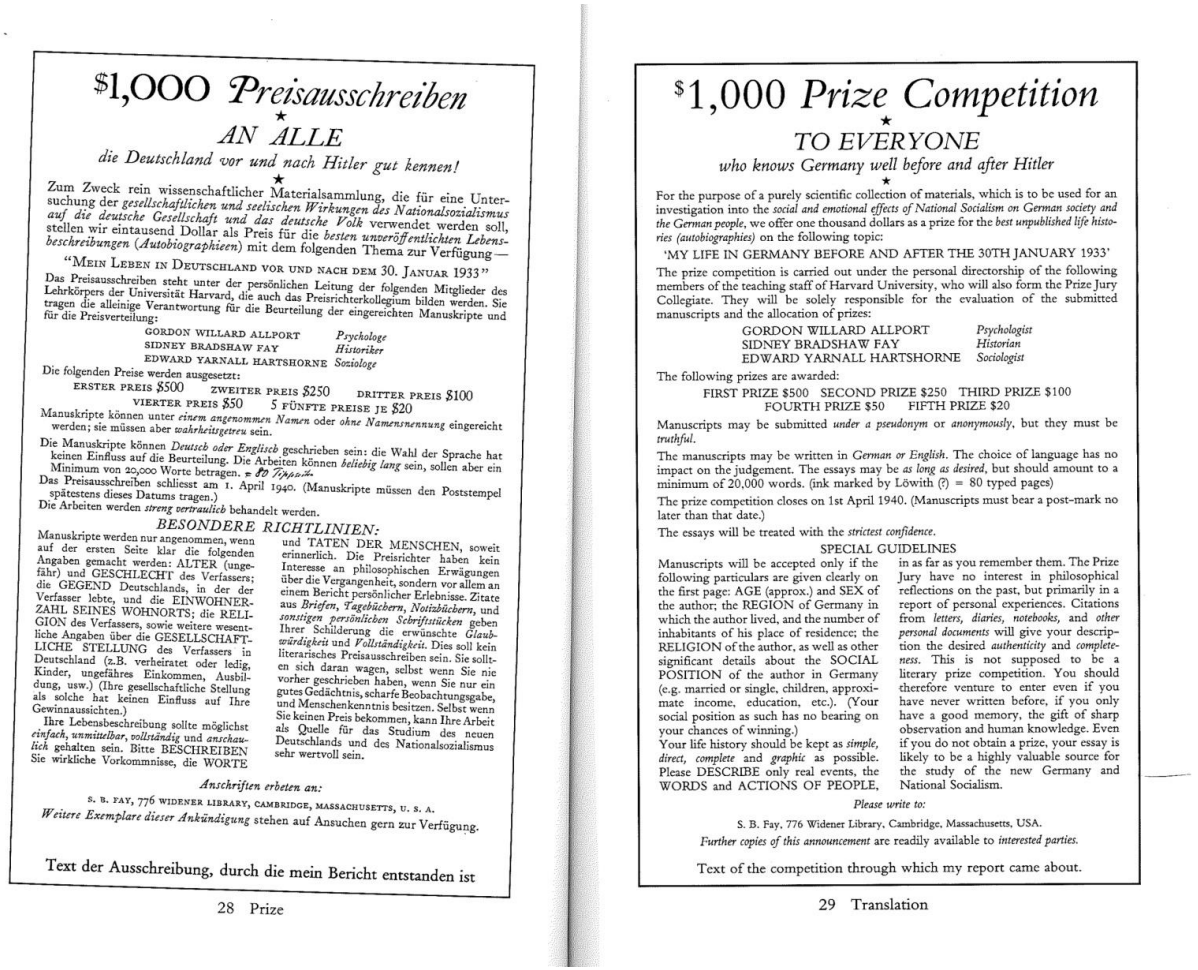
Background

This study is historically situated in Germany in the years before 1933 up to 1940, that is, including the Weimar Republic and the first half of the Nazi regime. In order to understand what the writers of the memoirs were talking about, I had to become a little familiar with modern German history and a few words in the German language. Since the mechanics of emigration were involved, I also had to become familiar with the relevant laws in both countries, Germany and the U.S. (most of the emigrants had arrived in the U.S. at the time of writing, though two memoirs were submitted from the U.K., one from Colombia and one from Japan). This background section reviews the history of the "My Life in Germany" archive, from which the memoirs were selected, modern German history as it affected the writers and was reflected in the memoirs, and a summary of U.S. immigration laws of that historical period.

History of the "My Life in Germany" Archive

The "My Life in Germany before and after January 30, 1933" memoir archive, at Harvard University, was collected by Hartshorne, Allport and colleagues between September, 1939 and April, 1940 (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012, see p. 244; Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001; Peterson, 1992; Szapor, 2014). Following the example of Abel's (1986) accumulation of memoirs from committed Nazis, several Harvard researchers put together a contest seeking memoirs from people who had been in Germany before and after Hitler assumed power and the Nazi regime began (Peterson, 1992). The contest announcement (see Figure 1) was placed in various popular magazines and newspapers, such as *The New York Times* (*Wilhelm*, 1940, correspondence), *Newsweek* (*Saunders*, 1940, correspondence), and *The Jewish Chronicle* (*Schloss*, 1940, correspondence), offering cash prizes for the best reports. It invited respondents to submit a detailed, factual account of their personal experiences while living in Germany, written in either German or English, for the purposes of scholarly study. Prize money from $500 to $20 was offered (Peterson, 1992) and apparently disbursed, though details have been lost. Approximately 260-270 memoirs or other entries were received by April 1, 1940, most from the United States, as well as 12 other countries; those that were not returned to the writers are now housed in the Houghton Library, Harvard University (Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001). Although the majority of memoirs in the "My Life in Germany" archive were written in German by Jewish informants, there were, of the approximately 40 entries written in English or English translation, about 20 by persons who did not identify themselves as Jewish (Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001).

Figure 1. "My Life in Germany" Contest Advertisement



$1,000 *Preisausschreiben*

★

AN ALLE

die Deutschland vor und nach Hitler gut kennen!

★

Zum Zweck rein wissenschaftlicher Materialsammlung, die für eine Untersuchung der *gesellschaftlichen und seelischen Wirkungen des Nationalsozialismus auf die deutsche Gesellschaft und das deutsche Volk* verwendet werden soll, stellen wir eintausend Dollar als Preis für die *besten unveröffentlichten Lebensbeschreibungen* (*Autobiographieen*) mit dem folgenden Thema zur Verfügung —

"MEIN LEBEN IN DEUTSCHLAND VOR UND NACH DEM 30. JANUAR 1933"

Das Preisausschreiben steht unter der persönlichen Leitung der folgenden Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers der Universität Harvard, die auch das Preisrichterkollegium bilden werden. Sie tragen die alleinige Verantwortung für die Beurteilung der eingereichten Manuskripte und für die Preisverteilung:

GORDON WILLARD ALLPORT *Psychologe*
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY *Historiker*
EDWARD YARNALL HARTSHORNE *Soziologe*

Die folgenden Preise werden ausgesetzt:

ERSTER PREIS $500 ZWEITER PREIS $250 DRITTER PREIS $100
VIERTER PREIS $50 5 FÜNFTE PREISE JE $20

Manuskripte können unter *einem angenommen Namen* oder *ohne Namensnennung* eingereicht werden; sie müssen aber *wahrheitsgetreu* sein.

Die Manuskripte können *Deutsch oder Englisch* geschrieben sein: die Wahl der Sprache hat keinen Einfluss auf die Beurteilung. Die Arbeiten können *beliebig lang* sein, sollen aber ein Minimum von 20,000 Worte betragen. = 80 Typed.

Das Preisausschreiben schliesst am 1. April 1940. (Manuskripte müssen den Poststempel spätestens dieses Datums tragen.)

Die Arbeiten werden *streng vertraulich* behandelt werden.

BESONDERE RICHTLINIEN:

Manuskripte werden nur angenommen, wenn auf der ersten Seite klar die folgenden Angaben gemacht werden: ALTER (ungefähr) und GESCHLECHT des Verfassers; die GEGEND Deutschlands, in der der Verfasser lebte, und die EINWOHNERZAHL SEINES WOHNORTS; die RELIGION des Verfassers, sowie weitere wesentliche Angaben über die GESELLSCHAFTLICHE STELLUNG des Verfassers in Deutschland (z.B. verheiratet oder ledig, Kinder, ungefähres Einkommen, Ausbildung, usw.) (Ihre gesellschaftliche Stellung als solche hat keinen Einfluss auf Ihre Gewinnaussichten.)

Ihre Lebensbeschreibung sollte möglichst *einfach*, *unmittelbar*, *vollständig* und *anschaulich* gehalten sein. Bitte BESCHREIBEN Sie wirkliche Vorkommnisse, die WORTE und TATEN DER MENSCHEN, soweit erinnerlich. Die Preisrichter haben kein Interesse an philosophischen Erwägungen über die Vergangenheit, sondern vor allem an einem Bericht persönlicher Erlebnisse. Zitate aus *Briefen*, *Tagebüchern*, *Notizbüchern*, und *sonstigen persönlichen Schriftstücken* geben Ihrer Schilderung die erwünschte *Glaubwürdigkeit* und *Vollständigkeit*. Dies soll kein literarisches Preisausschreiben sein. Sie sollten sich daran wagen, selbst wenn Sie nie vorher geschrieben haben, wenn Sie nur ein gutes Gedächtnis, scharfe Beobachtungsgabe, und Menschenkenntnis besitzen. Selbst wenn Sie keinen Preis bekommen, kann Ihre Arbeit als Quelle für das Studium des neuen Deutschlands und des Nationalsozialismus sehr wertvoll sein.

Anschriften erbeten an:

S. B. FAY, 776 WIDENER LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

Weitere Exemplare dieser Ankündigung stehen auf Ansuchen gern zur Verfügung.

Text der Ausschreibung, durch die mein Bericht entstanden ist

28 Prize

$1,000 *Prize Competition*

★

TO EVERYONE

who knows Germany well before and after Hitler

★

For the purpose of a purely scientific collection of materials, which is to be used for an investigation into the *social and emotional effects of National Socialism on German society and the German people*, we offer one thousand dollars as a prize for the *best unpublished life histories (autobiographies)* on the following topic:

'MY LIFE IN GERMANY BEFORE AND AFTER THE 30TH JANUARY 1933'

The prize competition is carried out under the personal directorship of the following members of the teaching staff of Harvard University, who will also form the Prize Jury Collegiate. They will be solely responsible for the evaluation of the submitted manuscripts and the allocation of prizes:

GORDON WILLARD ALLPORT *Psychologist*
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY *Historian*
EDWARD YARNALL HARTSHORNE *Sociologist*

The following prizes are awarded:

FIRST PRIZE $500 SECOND PRIZE $250 THIRD PRIZE $100
FOURTH PRIZE $50 FIFTH PRIZE $20

Manuscripts may be submitted *under a pseudonym* or *anonymously*, but they must be *truthful*.

The manuscripts may be written in *German or English*. The choice of language has no impact on the judgement. The essays may be *as long as desired*, but should amount to a minimum of 20,000 words. (ink marked by Löwith (?) = 80 typed pages)

The prize competition closes on 1st April 1940. (Manuscripts must bear a post-mark no later than that date.)

The essays will be treated with the *strictest confidence*.

SPECIAL GUIDELINES

Manuscripts will be accepted only if the following particulars are given clearly on the first page: AGE (approx.) and SEX of the author; the REGION of Germany in which the author lived, and the number of inhabitants of his place of residence; the RELIGION of the author, as well as other significant details about the SOCIAL POSITION of the author in Germany (e.g. married or single, children, approximate income, education, etc.). (Your social position as such has no bearing on your chances of winning.)

Your life history should be kept as *simple*, *direct*, *complete* and *graphic* as possible. Please DESCRIBE only real events, the WORDS and ACTIONS OF PEOPLE, in as far as you remember them. The Prize Jury have no interest in philosophical reflections on the past, but primarily in a report of personal experiences. Citations from *letters*, *diaries*, *notebooks*, and *other personal documents* will give your description the desired *authenticity* and *completeness*. This is not supposed to be a literary prize competition. You should therefore venture to enter even if you have never written before, if you only have a good memory, the gift of sharp observation and human knowledge. Even if you do not obtain a prize, your essay is likely to be a highly valuable source for the study of the new Germany and National Socialism.

Please write to:

S. B. Fay, 776 Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

Further copies of this announcement are readily available to *interested parties*.

Text of the competition through which my report came about.

29 Translation

Figure 1. "My Life in Germany" Contest Advertisement (*Löwith*, 1994, pp. 28-9). Reproduced with permission, from Löwith, K. (2007). *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933: Ein Bericht*. Augsgabe 6. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, part of Springer Nature. (ISBN 978-3-476-02181-6). (Personal communication, Stefanie Eggert, February 23, 2017).

The most directly comparable archive is that collected by Abel in the mid-1930s, using similar techniques (Abel, 1986; Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012; Peterson, 1992). Following the example set by Thomas and Znaniecki and other Polish sociologists (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984, see p. 221), Abel advertised (in Germany, with the approval of Nazi officials) a contest for the best life story of a Nazi who had joined the party prior to 1933 (Abel, 1947; Szapor, 2014). His appeal resulted in more than 680 autobiographical documents now housed in the Hoover Institution (http://www.hoover.org/library-archives/collections/nazism); his results were published in *The Nazi Movement: Why Hitler Came into Power*, in 1938 (Abel, 1986). Two books at least, following his own, have made use of the Abel archive, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (Koonz, 1987) and *Hitler among the Germans, a Psychobiography* (Binion, 1976).

The "My Life in Germany" study was a collaboration among several departments, including history, sociology and psychology. "Initiatives such as the Harvard project ... were designed to mine the refugee experience, collecting personal information for scholarly gain" (Szapor, 2014, p. 94). The researchers found that the memoirs did not yield the expected kinds of information (a 19-page questionnaire had been designed to categorize responses) (Allport, 1942), so the research questions and analysis were revised and a descriptive findings paper was published early the next year (Allport, Bruner, & Jandorf, 1941). I learned about the archive from Jerome Bruner's autobiography, in which he mentioned working on the project as a graduate student (Bruner, 1983, see p. 38). Due to World War II's disruptions of normal academic intentions and resources, the

materials were not used for planned additional in-depth qualitative or quantitative study by the original authors or their colleagues. For example, footnotes in the 1941 article and elsewhere promised that a sociological study of the data was intended by Hartshorne (Allport et al., 1941; Allport, 1942). Although there are some notes in the files indicating his continued involvement with the material in 1942, he never completed the book he had blocked out (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012, see pp, 245-54; Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001). Following active service during World War II as an intelligence officer, Hartshorne was murdered in Germany in 1946 in the course of his post-war work (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012, see pp. 258-9).

Studies of the "My Life in Germany" archive. The few scholars who have cited the "My Life in Germany" archive in English-language publications have selected passages that support their arguments, as is the common and respected practice in historical and sociological writing. Others marshal a number of accounts to illustrate a historical incident or experience. Three excerpts from the archive are included in *Women of Exile* (Lixl-Purcell, 1988) and a few others are summarized or mentioned in *Between Dignity and Despair* (Kaplan, 1998), drawing on mostly the German-language memoirs. These editors let the authors speak for themselves, quoting or summarizing their compelling accounts of increasing persecution; thoughts of emigration, escape or suicide; and the often desperate efforts it took to actually get out of Germany. Another recent publication used part of the archive to describe the "history of Jewish life in Germany from 1918 to 1945" (Peterson, 1992; Richarz, 1982), but did not include in the index any

of the names of memoirists that I studied. A chapter in the book *Riots and Pogroms* (Hill, 1996) also makes use of the archive.

German-language manuscripts from the archive have recently been studied by a group in Germany, apparently using Rosenthal's (1991; 1993; 2006) interpretive methods (Detlef Garz, personal communication, September 11, 2013), with most of their publications so far in German-language journals. Lohfeld (2005) cited five German-language publications based on the archive. A book first published in German and recently in English translation used 21 "My Life in Germany" archive accounts of *Kristallnacht* originally selected by Hartshorne; its index does not include the names of any of the memoirists I have studied (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012; Popa, 2013). Its bibliography includes 29 German language publications that quote excerpts from the archive. Gerhardt and Karlauf (2012) did not include the stirring account by *Albersheim* (1940), of her experiences on that day, perhaps because it is written in English and this book was originally a German production. Her story was however included in a recent German exhibition (Museum of the Jewish Quarter, Frankfurt) and related journalistic reports regarding *Kristallnacht* (Bock, 2012; Editors of Living in Frankfurt, 2012; Riebsamen, 2008a; Riebsamen, 2008b), as well as in an online history of the cosmetics firm she had half-owned in the 1930s and again in the late 1940s (Woschek, No date).

A brief account of the life and work of one "My Life in Germany" contest respondent, Gyssling, incorporating his translated memoirs from both the "My Life in Germany" and the Leo Baeck (New York City) archives, pointed out the importance of autobiographical writing for illuminating historical events, such as political activity

against the Nazis in 1932 (Hill, 1993). Gyssling's accounts provided evidence that clear-headed thought and recommendations for dealing with the Nazis were available at that time, contradicting some theories of mass hysteria or hypnosis among Germans living through that era (Abel, 1986, see p. 192; Binion, 1976, see p. 118f). Tappan (1999) used one of the English-language memoirs by a Jewish socialist (not on my list) to illustrate Bakhtin's theory of dialogical identity formation, a process whereby a person's sense of self changes with ongoing internal conversations about his or her experiences. Lassman's (1996) article compared one entry from the archive, *Löwith* (1994), with another philosopher's life, without delving directly into issues of emigration.

As shown here, the uses to which the archive have been put, by American scholars, have been on the meager side. My use of this archive was partly in answer to the invitation "to open up the contents of the collection to a broad readership" (Liebersohn & Schneider, 2001, p. 3). Its contents were submitted just before the great battles of World War II began, obviating a study of either the war or the Holocaust, matters of immense scope. Its English-language contributors represent a very wide section of the Germanic middle class population, including return émigrés and two naturalized American pro-Nazis, so that the fact of their emigration seemed almost the only thing they had in common. Since I am interested in the individuality of my informants, the great variation in their circumstances, motives and backgrounds have worked to my benefit. My comparative analysis has discovered some additional shared experiences, attitudes and decision-making with regard to that basic common denominator, emigration.

German History, 1870 – 1940

Despite the importance of Germany in the recent past, Americans tend to know very little about it.[2] The source material for this project comes from people who were familiar with the unified German state, and who were responding to a contest advertisement (see Figure 1) specifically asking them for information on their experiences in Germany. This section provides some historical context for the memoir writers and their subject matter. The writers' mentions of some historical events are summarized in Table 2 at the end of the section.

The modern state of Germany came into being after the Prussian victory over the French in the war of 1870-1. In 1871, the Prussian monarch became the Emperor of Germany, when a number of small states, principalities and what we Americans might think of as counties were united into one country. The popular pan-Germanic attitude assumed that uniting all German-speaking peoples under the domination of the Prussians was a worthy goal. This attitude was paralleled by the pan-Slavic sentiments that desired unification of all Slavs under the leadership of Russia (see Clark, 2012, pp. 78, 190). The formation of the empire coincided with the increase of industrialization, modernization and urbanization (Fischer, 1986, see p. 40). At the time the empire was created, German Jews (less than 1% of the population, Freidenreich, 2002, see p. 2) were emancipated (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 26), which meant they had certain freedoms, such as higher education and entry into some professions, and certain responsibilities, such as

[2] This is no new development: see correspondence in *Grünberg*, 1940, a letter dated August 21, 1941 from Hartshorne, one of the organizers of the "My Life in Germany" contest: "...ninety-nine out of a hundred students in our universities in the field of the social sciences graduate with only the most elementary knowledge of Germany."

military service, like other citizens. Full citizenship was granted this segment of the population in 1918.

The north and east of Germany were populated mostly by Protestants (Lutherans), the south and west by Catholics. Because of the emphatically regional nature of the new country, matters of citizenship that are handled by the State Department in the U.S. were managed by the local police in Germany. One was a citizen of Frankfurt am Main, say, or a region like Bavaria, rather than a German citizen, technically, up until 1933 (*Grünberg*, 1940, p. 3). Although there were elections, the citizens had relatively little to do with the actual governing of the country, an absolute monarchy supported by and focused on the army (Fischer, 1986, see p. 30). While emigration was a matter of putting ones' affairs in order and buying a ticket in the early 1920s, such things as passports and visas had become necessary for foreign travel with World War I (Robertson, 2010). Punitive methods practiced in military discipline could be found in collegiate life, in the dueling "fraternities" or corporations (*Miedzwinski*, 1940, see pp. 3, 5-6), while younger boys were threatened with arrest and imprisonment, which was seen as degrading and humiliating:

> Shades of the prison-house begin to close here upon the growing boy, and prisons compass the Teuton about on every side all through life to such an extent that he has to walk very delicately indeed if he would stay outside them and pay for their maintenance. .... In the eye of the law we are all sinners, and every man is held to be guilty until he has proved that he is innocent. (von Arnim, 1901, pp. 184-6)

Germany and Austria lost World War I in 1918, the Emperor abdicated, and after the sailors' revolution in late 1918 (Verhey, 2000, see p. 203) and the Spartacist uprising of January, 1919, the Weimar Republic was created, partly at the behest of the victorious powers. A series of assassinations removed a number of liberal leaders from the political scene over the next decade (Koonz, 1986, see p. 48). The Republic struggled with actual governance, and the country nearly foundered under the inflation of 1923. After loans from the U.S. stabilized it (Koonz, see p. 41), the next five years were a time of prosperity in business and confidence-building among the liberal and the business-minded components of the population. However the conservative Nationalists despised the Republic and everything it stood for, desiring instead a military-based Christian state, like the previous Empire (Fischer, 1986, see p. 87, 91). Politics were fractured by a number of parties, ranging from the extreme left Communists, to the definitely leftist Social Democrats (called Sozis), to the Catholic Centrum party, and to the extreme right Nationalists. As they were expecting strong leadership to emerge from somewhere, and had been trained *not* to act as an informed and involved citizenry, the common people and the intelligentsia alike observed politics but often were not too involved in it. Members of the extreme left were more free to express their opinions under the Weimar Republic than they had been under the monarchy: Kaiser Wilhelm II said in 1905 that socialists should be "gunned down" (Fischer, 1986, p. 46).

On January 30, 1933, Hitler was named Chancellor by the ailing president Hindenberg, and immediately began to consolidate the government in the National Socialist (Nazi) pattern. The party was more Nationalist than Socialist, but had got as

much favor as it had by appealing to a broader spectrum of political views than had the other parties (Abel, 1986, see p. 170). The liberal freedoms allowed under the Weimar Republic began to be curtailed, following the successfully implemented pattern of the Bolsheviks in Russia (although officially holding them in utmost contempt). Despite the "Socialist" part of the party's name, members of the far left were targeted for persecution immediately (arrest and deportation), and the first boycott of the Jews followed soon after, on April 1, 1933. The Nazis used concentration camps for prisoners, in addition to existing jail and prison systems, as places of degradation, forced labor, and where causes of death, apart from suicide, were not specifically reported. These were not, however the outright death camps, which were commenced after World War II had begun (see Binion, 1976, p. 95; Black, 2003, p. 299; Sereny, 2001, p. 77). People could be and were released from concentration camps in the same way they were released from jail or prison, often by paying for their freedom. Germany became a totalitarian state fairly quickly, but the citizens who were not immediately targeted found programs for their benefit being installed, as well as the loss of freedoms. The Nuremberg laws of 1935 spelled out the Nazi racial policy, specifically defining percentages of Jewish ancestral background and requiring genealogical proof of "Aryan" ancestry for nearly all paid positions. Up till then, party membership was the main criterion for employment, although Jews had been squeezed out of the judicial and educational systems earlier. While the Empire had been an absolute monarchy, the Hitler regime was unusually absolute (see Gonen, 2000, p. 87f), such that the leader (*Führer*) decided every policy and major decision, with no checks and balances, apart from foot-dragging. He could

decree something, and it would be done. Reflecting the leader's touchiness about appearances, many of the less savory practices of the regime were done under cover and by night. Many people seemed not know about these things, and/or preferred not to know, unless they happened to be confronted with them directly (see Sereny, 2001, for several accounts of knowing and not knowing). The Nazi regime began with "random lawlessness" and transitioned to "rational state terror" (Bridenthal, Grossmann & Kaplan, 1984, p. 21). Nazi rhetoric and policies reinforced a German cultural tendency to believe in a pervasive threat of impending catastrophe (Kecskemeti & Leites, 1948b, see p. 243). In the Third Reich women were "simultaneously marginal and central to Nazi policies" (Bridenthal, Grossmann & Kaplan, p. 22), while men were expected, in the traditional manner, to identify with and be devoted to the collective and keep their doubts to themselves (Dumont, 1994, see p. 40).

Rearmament, specifically forbidden by the despised Treaty of Versailles, was a major component of the Nazi program (Fischer, 1986, see p. 93), and may account for their desperate need for money. In addition to taxation, they were constantly fundraising, taking bribes and assessing "dues" on the citizenry. They bought finished weapons and complex parts from Switzerland (*Grünberg*, 1940, p. 82), as well as steel from Sweden (Sereny, 2001, p. 129), and both those countries required payment. Increasingly stringent laws were passed to ensure that citizens, emigrants and foreign workers did not take money or other assets out of the country. The intent to conquer new territory and win back areas lost with World War I was a basic assumption of this regime, something that was part of the common understanding of the government's purpose dating back to the

Empire (Dumont, 1994, see pp. 52-3). The territories to the east of Germany, such as Poland and Ukraine, were especially targeted, as Germans had long regarded their indigenous populations, the Slavs, to be negligible foes and properly to be brushed aside in a race war to make room for Germans (Binion, 1976, see p. 98; Fischer, 1986, see pp. 54, 65, 97; Gonen, 2000, see p. 69).[3] These areas included the Russian Pale of Settlement where many Jews were located.

Abel (1986), Anderson (1998) and several other books have included timelines of important dates for the Nazi Regime. Notable incidents in the first year of the Third Reich were the April 1, 1933 boycott of Jewish stores and professionals and the May 10, 1933 book-burning. June 30, 1934, the night of the Long Knives, the blood purge, or Röhm-Putsch (Bridenthal, Grossmann & Kaplan, 1984, see pp. 20-1) was mentioned by date, various names and euphemisms in the memoirs I studied. Hitler's expansion of German borders began with the Saarland plebiscite of January, 1936 and the army's entry into the demilitarized Rhineland in March, 1936 (these actions recovered territories lost to France in World War I's defeat). Unification with Austria (the *Anschluss*) occurred on March 11, 1938, followed by the Sudetenland, in the Czech half of Czechoslovakia, in September, 1938. On November 9-10, 1938, the pogrom we call *Kristallnacht*, the night of broken glass, commemorating the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm on November 9, 1918 (Binion, 1976, see p. 25), made public the Nazi policy of persecuting Jews. The invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, began World War II. The table below shows some of the major historical incidents that were mentioned in the memoirs studied for this project.

[3] It should be noted that the Slavs (under the Soviets) proved to be formidable opponents, decisively winning their half of the war.

Table 1. Historical Incidents Mentioned by the Memoir Writers.

	WWI	*1921-23 Inflation*	*1/11/1923 Ruhr Occupation*	*4/1/1933 Jewish boycott*	*6/30/1934 Röhm purge*	*9/15/1935 Nuremberg Laws*	*1/1936 Saar election*	*3/1/1936 Rhineland occupied*	*3/11/1938 Austria Anschluss*	*9/1938 Sudetenland*	*11/9/1938 Kristallnacht*	*9/1/1939 Poland*
Albersheim	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	
Arrington									x	x		
Eichbaum-Brehme	x		x		x	x	x					
Ganser, Harald	x					x						
Gebhard	x	x	x			x						
Grünberg			x				x	x	x			x
Haynes				x								
Löwith	x	x	x						x			
Miedzwinski		x				x			x			
Nielsen	x	x				x	x					
Paschkis	x	x			x				x			
Peech	x	x		x	x	x	x					
Reinheimmer		x		x								
Saunders						x						
Schloss	x			x					x	x	x	
Sichel	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	
Wilhelm	x	x							x	x		

United States Immigration Laws

Since this study is about emigration, and most of the informants came to the U.S., a summary of American immigration laws is in order. After a time of open immigration, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the federal government began to restrict immigration, culminating in a series of laws, dating from the 1920s, that established very limited quotas on the number of immigrants from other countries (Daniels, 2004). The

annual quota for immigrants from Germany was 25,957 in the 1920s-30s (Rosenbaum, 2010, see p. 49). As the quotas favored immigration from northwestern Europe, even under the quota system, emigration from Germany was theoretically quite possible into the U.S., particularly for such favored classes as university professors who were not included in the quota limits. However, permission to immigrate was under individual control of U.S. consuls, many of whom had been influenced by direct propaganda from such groups as those favoring eugenics (Black, 2003, see pp. 264, 292, 393). Perhaps for such reasons, the tables of annual immigration show fewer entrants into the U.S. than the quota system allowed.

The Immigration Act of 1924, or Johnson–Reed Act (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_Act_of_1924), introduced the quota system, allowing only a certain number of immigrants from a particular country, based on percentages of such immigrants in the census of 1890. This act gave American consuls the task of issuing immigration visas, while the Passport Act of 1926 charged consuls with issuing passports. Both visas and passports were effective for two years (https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/United_States_Statutes_at_Large/Volume_44/69th_Congress/1st_Session/Chapter_772). The 1924 act also created a non-quota classification, those who could be admitted beyond the set number. Professors and ministers (and their dependents) were included as non-quota immigrants.

Non-quota status also included the husbands and minor children of American women citizens, as of 1928 (Cott, 1998, see p. 1468); previously it had only included dependents of men citizens. Therefore, *Sichel* (1940) applied for a non-quota visa

Table 2. Immigration Data.

Immigrants Admitted to U.S.A.	***FY1937***	***FY1938***	***FY1939***	***FY1940***	***FY1941***
Germany/Austria (Last Permanent Residence)	11,375	17,199	33,515	21,520	4,028
Race/Nationality German	6,324	7,743	5,524	3,556	2,154
Race/Nationality Hebrew	11,352	19,736	43,450	36,945	23,737
Naturalized from Germany/Austria	23,065	19,312	19,401	25,802	27,719
Non-Quota Husbands of U.S. Citizens	917	989	1,088	963	368
Non-Quota Returning Residents	51,349	50,341	42,267	26,145	35,269
Non-Quota Women who had been U.S. Citizens	109	111	88	100	168

Note. Data have been compiled from the U. S. Census Bureau Statistical Abstracts (n.d.) for 1937 through 1941. Germany and Austria are combined due to the German annexation of Austria in 1938 (the figures are given separately for 1937 in the Abstracts but added together here for clarity of comparison; the average Austrian proportion in 1935-7 was 10% of the total). The term "Hebrew," meaning Jewish, is used in the Census Bureau table of aliens admitted by race and nationality; it may number those who claimed no other nationality (see Roberts, 1922, p. 46). "Non-quota" refers to an exception to the limit on immigration, based on laws during and after 1924. "Returning Residents" were not broken down by country or race in the Census Bureau data.

for her husband; *Albersheim* (1940) applied for a non-quota visa for her daughter; presumably when *Arrington* (1940) contemplated bringing her husband to California she intended the same process. *Löwith* (1994), a professor, probably was admitted under the non-quota classification. *Gebhard* (1940), a medical doctor, and *Reinheimmer* (1940) and

Paschkis (1940), who had degrees in engineering, were also approved for entry into the US, possibly as non-quota applicants.

Women's citizenship. Until 1907, American women who married foreign men did not necessarily lose their citizenship, particularly if they lived in the United States, but the 1907 Expatriation Act, designed in part to discourage such marriages, declared "that any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband;" when she regained it, it would be as a naturalized citizen and not as a native-born one (Cott, 1998, p. 1462-3). However, language in the 1907 act did allow a woman residing abroad to retain her citizenship by registration with a U.S. consul (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expatriation_Act_of_1907). The 1922 Cable Act, including several amendments, by 1934 "finally granted women the same rights as men to gain, hold, and transmit citizenship to their children" (Sapiro, 1984, p. 15). That meant that while American women marrying foreign nationals between 1907 and 1922 lost their U.S. citizenship, and theoretically (but not always) were included with their husband's citizenship, those who married after 1922 could retain their American citizenship if they wished (Rich, 1949). Thus, in the present study, *Albersheim* (1940) states that she became a naturalized citizen after she was widowed; *Sichel* (1940) says she travelled on an American passport, despite the fact that she was still happily married to her German husband and residing in Germany; while *Arrington* (1940), who married in 1928, was able to retain her U.S. passport throughout her marriage, despite also attaining Austrian citizenship to some degree. All three mention regular contact with their local consul.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

This review of the literature reveals sources that seem most relevant to my research question: What are the developmental psychosocial factors influencing the turning point decision to emigrate among mostly non-Jewish adult emigrants from Nazi Germany? It reviews the literature of turning points in human development and life course studies with regard to the decision processes of emigrants. Most turning point studies, that is, studies of changing life trajectories based on biographical material, have tended to view turning points together with such theoretical bases as identity change or stability, decision making, and life course studies. Developmental and life course theorists, having mapped out expected stages of development, contribute a psychological understanding of the processes involved in emigration. Examples of work in interpretive phenomenology is given, introducing a basis for my methodology. Additionally, literary studies of narrative construction, such as autobiographical accounts, have pointed out that turning points and plots are intimately connected, so that experiences of conflict, as in a turning point, may provide a "hinge" effect, driving the narrative dynamically. Emigration models that I have reviewed, linked to the biographical turning point and to decision making, include what I am referring to as push pull, resources and responses and emotional arc constructs. These basic categories will be discussed in the order given, followed by mention of some gaps in the literature.

Transitions, Trajectories and Turning Points Defined

In life course studies, the concepts of transitions, trajectories and turning points are applied to biographical material (Rutter, 1996). As defined by Hareven and Masaoka (1988), the term trajectory refers to the course or direction a person's life generally takes. A turning point indicates a marked change in a person's direction or expected trajectory, as perhaps when a person gives up one line of work to pursue something very different. Transitions are shifts in circumstances or understanding that mark new stages or roles in a life, such as beginning to attend school or graduating. Transitions are defined as "normative" if a major portion of a population experiences them and if a society expects its members to undergo such transitions at certain points in their lives. Under certain conditions, however, even normative transitions may be experienced as crises and might be perceived as turning points (Hareven & Masaoka, see p. 272).

Whether defined in terms of crisis or not, turning points are also studied by developmental psychologists (Rutter, 1996, see p. 606f). Human development is a process of change, not "simply the cumulative accretion of capacities," but a changing of the body and mind throughout life, maturing rationality based on experience, and the replacement of some reflexes and abilities with others as time goes on (Rutter, p. 607). Some aspects of development seem oriented towards gaining stability rather than change, as in personality formation, where even very stressful life events seem to serve only to increase stability (Rutter, see p. 611). Rutter (see pp. 613-4) sees turning point triggers as involving some kind of noticeable discontinuity prompting an equally noticeable

direction change; as well, he expects that this effect, this change in direction, will persist over time.

Among the typical transitions expected for members of the middle class is mobility, usually in going away to school, leaving the parents' home to marry, and probably setting up the new family's home in a location suitable to the young people's careers, possibly far from the place where they grew up (see Lubrano, 2004). Because the middle class expects an upward or success-oriented trajectory, building competency, wealth and status, various transitions that support such a trajectory are normative, including mobility, depending upon the profession. Emigration, however, has probably not been normative, as it may require setting up as a professional in a completely new, foreign location. While some careers (such as the military) in the twentieth century included regular and even international relocations, most did not.

In my project, emigration has been considered as a developmental and biographical turning point. That is, emigration is thought in this project to correspond with life trajectory *changes*, both internally or subjectively perceived by the writers and able to be described by the researcher (see Hareven & Masaoka, 1988). Parallel to the example of military service, as Elder (1998, see p. 8) has asserted, emigration can be seen as a developmental turning point: it pulls the emigrants away from their past, creating a new beginning; it breaks up the typical career, perhaps allowing a moratorium period in which they can reflect and sort out matters; and it offers new experiences, not least, travel to new lands. Along the lines Rutter suggested (1996, see pp. 612-3), the study of the

turning point of emigration can provide insight on development processes as well as indicating topics for further study.

A biographical turning point experience usually indicates some change in the direction of a life and may be reassessed later in life (Dannefer, 2004; Hareven & Masaoka, 1988). A subjectively identified turning point may be an occasion when a person's views became more decided than previously, or when he or she realized what the consequences of a decision actually were going to be (Clausen, 1998, see p. 203). Turning points may reflect abrupt changes in understanding of people's position in life, values or self-concept, sometimes having the effect of a conversion experience (see Olney, 1998, p. 272). After the assumed turning point of deciding to emigrate, leaving home is not only possible but probable, *if* the person has the ability to make it happen.

Objectively, a turning point may be viewed as either an isolated event, with either a clearly different before and after, or a lengthier process resulting in some obvious change (Abbott, 1997; Handel, 1987). The archived memoirs that I have used are entitled "My Life in Germany before and after January 30, 1933," providing an isolated event, the beginning of the Nazi regime, with just such a clearly defined before and after aspect. "Turning points [can potentially] open up new opportunities, alter life goals, and create stress. Their influence on the life course depends on how individuals interpret and respond to them, as well as on the constraints that limit those responses" (McLeod & Almazan, 2004, p. 395). The primary goal of my study was to specifically identify the turning point decision for each memoirist, whether sudden (such as a reaction to an imminent threat) or extended (such as a desire to emigrate that had not yet been acted

upon). Once the turning point decision had been identified, then the process surrounding it could be examined, to determine as much as possible what kind of decision it was, factors contributing to it, and factors involved in implementing the decision.

Turning Points and Identity

The study of autobiographical turning points from the Nazi era has often been paired with the concepts of psychosocial identity formation and narrative construction (see Felman & Laub, 1992; Rosenthal, 1993; Rosenthal, 2006; Tappan, 2000). Such turning points may emphasize the permanence of the change of direction of the life course and the sense of irrevocability between the before and after. For these scholars, identity is the persona or mask, the construction of self that is involved in the social world (Strauss, 1959, see p. 9), akin to Erikson's psychosocial identity (1963; 1968). Allport's (1954, see p. 348) book on prejudice, for example, cites the 1941 study that reported the "My Life in Germany" contest findings (Allport et al., 1941), recalling that the researchers had been surprised by such stability of the personality under what they called frustration and we would call distress or trauma. Other researchers have found that, once established, a personality tends to be very stable indeed, although people's beliefs and attitudes may shift considerably "in response to major social movements and events" (Alwin & McCammon, 2004, p. 39). Psychosocial identity is a very sturdy construction.

Tappan (2000) and Sieder (2005) studied the lives of men involved in the neo-Nazi and Nazi movements, respectively, both of whom demonstrated considerable fluidity in moving from one ideological group to another. Tappan (2000) took a

sociocultural approach to the study of identity formation as found in autobiography, based on mediated action. Sieder's (2005) historical and sociological approach to the study of biography focused on "social places and practices" (p. 117). The former neo-Nazi moved farther, to outright pacifism, (Tappan, 2000) than the former Hitler youth member (Sieder, 2005), but both displayed a tenacious value of self-worth. Each transferred his allegiance when he experienced doubts about the ability of a current group or ideology to support his underlying needs or values. Thus, while the two accounts support Erikson's (1963; 1968) claim for the importance of embracing an ideology as part of identity formation, they also show that an ideology that has been adopted can also be dislodged and replaced (Strauss, 1959, see p 123). A turning point marks a change of direction in a person's life, but not necessarily a change in the person's sense of self. It might even be theorized that the turning point change was undertaken to bolster the sense of self.

The study of turning points and identity has often referenced Erikson, who popularized the concept of psychosocial identity construction (as for example in Tappan, 2000, above). Working with previously published autobiographical accounts of "eminent psychologists," Mackavey and colleagues studied "autobiographically consequential experiences" (Mackavey, Malley, & Stewart, 1991, p. 50), that is, what I am calling turning points. Using content analysis, they found support for Erikson's (1963) life stage theory for the aging process, particularly for a concentration of important memories formed in the identity-construction years of "late adolescence and young adulthood" (Mackavey et al., p. 52), although most of their data came from adults around the age of

70. They specified the difference between brief, vivid memories and diffuse, long-term memories. Mackavey et al. found few gender effects in the reporting of consequential events, while Gergen (1994), however, did find specific gender effects in her qualitative analysis of published autobiographies of famous contemporary men and women. For example, she found that women did not portray themselves as heroic, while men often did (Gergen, see p. 24). Men often did not mention emotional reactions or incidents, while women went into them fully, to the extent that their relationships seemed to be the focal point of their lives (Gergen, see pp. 30-3).

Because transitions are times of reorientation they are naturally liable to coincide with consequential and thus memorable events, such as life-determining moments in a person's young adulthood. However, most of the turning points reported in the study by Mackavay and colleagues were not especially vivid, or of the "where I was when" type of traumatic, jolting event. Instead, these memories tended "to extend over a time period longer than a day" up to "several years" (Mackavay et al., 1991, p. 53), such as one's experience at college or with a recurring illness. Other authors, such as Laub & Sampson, (1993), who analyzed "person-based, life-history data drawn from [a] longitudinal study of 1,000 men" (p. 301), have also found both abrupt and gradual turning points, many of which indicated a process of change rather than a radical separation of past and future.

Handel (1987, see p. 87) compared published autobiographies, from a psychohistorical perspective, looking for information on continuity and change in self-perception or identity and finding a continuum effect between changing and continuing

on a prior course. As Allport (1942) had also noted, several of his sources had expressed a feeling of estrangement with their younger selves (Handel, see p. 88), possibly indicating an unacknowledged turning point in their lives. A number of the autobiographers contrasted "their present and retrospective self on one hand, and their desired level of achievement on the other hand" (Handel, p. 90). As in the basic plot of the successful life, in the study of biographical narrative, they wanted to be the heroes of their life stories, able to tell of professional triumphs, but from the vantage point of age had to moderate the mythic elements in their stories. Supporting the idea of more or less conscious construction and deconstruction of psychosocial identity, several of the authors mentioned, in old age, the crumbling façade of the worldly self or "shedding the protective crust" with some relief (Handel, pp. 90-1). Some referred to chance events which had been life-changing turning points (Handel, see p. 92). Handel summed up his article with a suggestion that the authors had in fact organized their accounts around "critical life experiences and turning points" as they perceived them (Handel, p. 93). Handel's paper linked the concept of turning points with narrative elements (the way the story is told and particular contents within it) and the developmental trajectory of the writers.

An identity-oriented study of adults of different ages found that older respondents tended "to narrate crises in ways that connected the experience to the speaker's sense of self," a tendency that increased with age (Pasupathi & Mansour, 2006, p. 798, abstract), paralleling King's findings (2000, 2001). As often, turning points were thought of as crises by these authors (Pasupathi & Mansour, see p. 804). Well-knit connections in the

narrative indicate a person's "sense of unity and coherence" (Pasupathi & Mansour, 2006, p. 798). Their study, like Rosenthal's (1991; 2006) and Handel's (1987), showed how the literary construction of the narrative can give clues to the informant's internal state, since construction of identity and the construction of autobiography seem to go hand in hand. Identity has been discussed here because that issue has been the focus of so much prior research on turning points in autobiography. My project has not been organized around the concept of identity but about the decision making process that assumes an established identity or sense of self capable of making choices. This is congruent with Maslow's (1970) characterization, as well as Clausen's (1993) life course model, of a healthy, high-functioning, agentic person.

Turning Points and Developmental Theories

Several developmental theories make mention of biographical turning points, especially Erikson, whose stage model has been supported by a number of different scholarly projects. Erikson's theory of development (1963; 1968), created in collaboration with his wife, was meant not as a rigid set of demarcations, but as a flexible framework of understanding how people cope with life's changing demands, both internally and socially. Furthermore, he emphasized the importance of taking into account the person's historical setting as well as their own idiosyncrasies in their analysis. He concluded that happier, that is more fully developed, people felt at home in their bodies, in their social setting, and in their sense of the continuum of time (Côté & Levine, 1983). Basically, being the right person at the right time and place could be a result of conscious and unconscious identity construction. The ideology one adopted in

the course of this identity construction must be accepted and reinforced by one's community, be it positive or negative (Erikson, 1968). Studies by Tappan (2000), Seider (2005), and Macavey et al. (1991) mentioned above supported Erikson's concept of psychosocial identity and his stage theory of human development. Peace Corps volunteers used their service as an Eriksonian "moratorium, a sanctioned withdrawal from conventional society" and, in fact, "intended Peace Corps service to be a turning point in a life that had too many parental constraints and too little career direction" (Starr, 1994, p. 146, italics removed). Another study, supporting Erikson's concept of generativity, showed that themes could be discerned from less well educated or articulate autobiographical writers (McAdams, de St Aubin, & Logan, 1993).

Kohlberg. Kohlberg and Hersh applied Piaget's general developmental typology or progression to moral development, defined as "transformations that occur in a person's ... structure of thought," (Kohlberg & Hersh, 1977, p. 54). They specifically retained Piaget's premises that stages of development were structured, organized systems, that the sequence did not vary and was universally human, and that attainment of a higher stage incorporated but did not lose lower stages. As summarized in Table 3 below, what was transformed was the organization of a person's thoughts and actions. That is, a person might have thought, "I'd better not do that, because" and the reasons given in the "because" clause would change in these levels, rather that the specifications of "that" which should not be done. In Level I, the "because" might be something like, "It will come back to haunt me," while in Level II, the "because" might be either "I'm a good

person" or "it's my duty." In Level III, the "because" might be that "I don't think it's right."

Table 3. Kohlberg's Moral Stages

	Level Name	*Level Stages*	*Comments*
Level I.	Preconventional: individual interests	1. Punishment and obedience	Conditioned training; deference to power
		2. Instrumental-relativist	Physical, pragmatic reciprocity
Level II.	Conventional: group and social interests	3. Interpersonal concordance	Conformity
		4. Law and order	Submission to authority: duty, respect
Level III.	Postconventional, autonomous, principled: beyond convention	5. Social-contract, legalistic	Utilitarian relativism
		6. Universal-ethical-principled	Conscience: self-chosen ethical principles

Maslow. Based on the sense of the individual as "an integrated, organized whole," Maslow (1970, p. 19) concluded that people were motivated by desires rather than drives. In his survey of motivations he included the physical environment, relationships, and the importance of wishing and striving. His theory was a synthesis of various theories of human behavior that had gone before, including functionalism,

dynamicism, and holism (Maslow, see p. 35). Maslow took into account the physiological needs demanded by the body, and the fact that when physiological needs were urgent, other higher level needs might be ignored or forgotten. However, as soon as the physiological needs were met adequately, the person immediately began yearning or striving to meet the next level of needs. As this progression tended to continue with changing life circumstances, his model allows for regression or vacillation among the levels, rather than implying a concrete set of accomplishments.

Maslow's hierarchy of the basic needs is introduced in basic psychology or human development courses. It is usually illustrated in the shape of a triangle or pyramid with a broad base. Maslow, however, never published such an illustration. Briefly, his theory presented biological or physiological needs as the most basic, those contributing to sheer physical survival, which must be satisfied prior to the next level of refinement, safety needs, the needs for security, order, law and stability. Once safety needs are adequately met, the person desires love in terms of belonging rather than sexual gratification; that is, need for family, affection, other relationships, a working group of colleagues, and so on. Having found basic relationships, the person then desires esteem, validation from the others in one's life, a feeling of achievement, status, reputation and well-earned responsibility. Once these basic social needs are well met, the person desires personal growth and fulfillment, an area Maslow calls self-actualization. I would propose that because the biological needs are, as in my study, easily threatened by numerous environmental forces, that the pyramid or triangle be constructed with the narrow point at

the bottom. The subsequent steps then show the expansion of the person's world-view and self-sense in the higher levels.

Figure 2. Maslow's Hierarchy of the Needs.

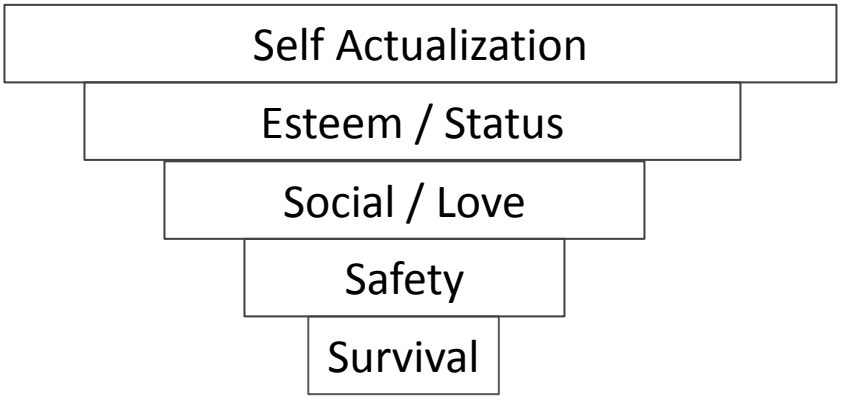


Figure 2. In Maslow's Hierarchy of the Needs, as a person's competence and understanding of the world and self expands, the succeeding levels of the needs expand graphically.

The memoir writers I have studied had economic means that allowed them the luxury of operating at a level that approaches self-actualization, something I would argue is typical of middle class assumptions. The middle class "take for granted the blessings we already have, especially if we don't have to work or struggle for them" (Maslow, 1970, p. 61) Maslow mentions that Alfred Adler had referred to such people as pampered, and tries to "make sense of the puzzling way in which affluence (economic and psychological) can make possible *either* growth to loftier levels of human nature *or* the various forms of value pathology" (Maslow, p. 61). The poor, who cannot count on

having food or shelter reliably are thus more prone to live their lives on the lower levels. The lower middle class and working class are particularly likely to have safety concerns, as discussed for Americans by Lubrano (2004) and for Nazi era Germans by Kecskemeti and Leites (1947; 1948a; 1984b). Socioeconomic status could thus be seen as a determinant or predictor as to which level of Maslow's hierarchy a person tends to gravitate toward. I will touch on Maslow's level of safety in the Findings and the Discussion.

Unlike the idea of a rare peak experience, Maslow's top category, self-actualization, is seen as the expected result of maturation, in which a highly competent and highly fortunate person fitting comfortably in the world is also individually fulfilled. Self-actualized people have a number of characteristics (see Maslow, 1970, Chapter 11):

- Efficient, comfortable perception of reality
- Relaxed acceptance of self, others and nature
- Spontaneity, simplicity, naturalness
- Sense of personal mission
- Detached, objective
- Autonomous, independent, active agents
- Appreciative of the good in life
- Spiritual and/or social involvement at a higher level
- Individually based character structure and assessment
- Ethical/moral base for judgment
- Non-hostile sense of humor

- Creativity
- Transcendence over any particular culture

Maslow says his study of self-actualizing people tended to show good physical health, physical attractiveness, and a broad array of strengths. They may have weaknesses however, and their strength may turn into ruthlessness when they feel it is called for. Maslow emphasizes that no one is perfect, that everyone has to work through various human frailties, but that practice can increase each person's attainment of self-actualization and the other levels of need-gratification.

Life Course

Life course theory is concerned with "the interplay of human lives and historical times, the timing of lives, linked or interdependent lives, and human agency in choice making" (Elder, 1994, p. 5). Life course researchers typically consider a sample group in terms of an age cohort or generation, such as those who were at a certain age when a major event occurred, like the Great Depression or World War II. The timing of usual or normative life course events can be thrown off by major events, such as joblessness or war delaying marriage. Life course studies find the relationships in which individual lives are embedded to be central to understanding those lives. Thus various misfortunes or lucky events may affect not only one person or couple but also their friends and relatives. Further, life course theory assumes the importance of human agency, the ways people plan and choose among available options, thus constructing their own and affecting others' life course (Clausen, 1993). Indeed, decision making theory seems to be closely linked to the life course paradigm (Elder, 1994, see p. 8).

The work by Clausen (1993) on how highly competent, goal-pursuing individuals come about echoes Maslow's (1970) work on the self-actualization process. He mentions "a general intent to improve them[selves] and society around" them (Clausen, 1993, p. 108). The generally desirable characteristics of those with "planful competence [include] intelligence, physical attractiveness, and the family's socio-economic status" (Clausen, p. 146). Women who displayed early planful competence tended to seek "a college education if they possibly could" (Clausen, p. 396), to marry "a husband who would be a good provider" (p. 388) and "to have been more successful parents" (p. 389). In short, planful competence resulted in higher educational, occupational and marital success than the norm (Clausen, see p. 519), as expected in the middle class successful life trajectory ideal.

A particular life course "is a function of the demographic, social and political conditions of a particular period and place" (Halfacree, 1989, p. 344). Two life course mixed methods cohort studies, based on questionnaire data from large, international samples, emphasized the importance of World War II as an event that affected peoples' lives more strongly than anything since then (Grob, Krings, & Bangerter, 2001; Hareven & Masaoka, 1988). Both studies emphasized the effect of a particular event, depending on its timing in a person's life. Thus, a person who happened to come of age with the Great Depression would be delayed in finding steady work and be more negatively affected by the Depression than someone who, as a child at that time, would not have the same expectation of finding work. The Hareven and Masaoka paper in particular "illustrates that the strength of an event determines a turning point" (Hackstaff,

Kupferberg, & Négroni, 2012, p. 43). That is, a strong event, like the coming to power of Hitler in 1933, was likely to be a turning point in the lives of many people at that time, something that would stand out in memory in terms of before Hitler's takeover and after it.

Revisiting prior research, Pinder (1994) studied the declining trajectory in a homeless man's life, using life history phenomenological methods. The sense of a planned upward or success-oriented trajectory of life is typical of the middle class (Lubrano, 2004; and see Thompson, 1993, below). While each episode Pinder mentioned may have seemed, if not minor, then not absolutely a point of no return, they accumulated inexorably over time. When we study the dynamic interactive processes involved between individuals, their relationships, and society in general, and "the razor's edge between normality and abnormality" (Pinder, p. 231), turning points of the extended kind may emerge. Sometimes the trajectory of a life, like the one Pinder illustrated, seems subtle, but can be graphically mapped out in a visual representation will make the matter clear (see Čermák, 2004; Gergen & Straub, 2005; Gergen, 1994). Scholars of the Nazi era have often noted the inexorable quality of events that resulted from that totalitarian state, as pressure built up and escape opportunities lessened. Gradually accumulating evidence may be typical of the long-term kind of turning point narrative.

Thompson (1993) quoted extracts from several interviews to support his contentions about "the scope of intergenerational transmission" of life scripts, trajectories of change or stability in socio-economic status, and the ways individuals comply with or resist their traditions (Thompson, 1993, p. 13). Those who rose in status tended to be

those who had less close ties with extended family, since the effect of closeness, in Britain at least, was to work for sameness between the generations: "...influence can be handed down either through imitation or through rejection of a previous generation's pattern" (Thompson, p. 32-3). The life course expectations of the middle class, such as their expected trajectory of success, therefore, might reflect copying the strategies of the earlier generation.

Rosenthal's Interpretive Qualitative Method and Turning Points

The interpretive qualitative method developed by Rosenthal (1991; 1993; 2006) was a combination of gestalt-theoretical and phenomenological approaches. Her studies of twentieth century German men gave insight into the emotional and rational contradictions that historical circumstances have underscored. As a phenomenologist, she intended to understand social and psychological phenomena based on the perspectives of people who had experienced those phenomena (Groenewald, 2004, see p. 5; Randolph, 2009, see pp. 10-11). Rosenthal, whose carefully constructed methodology has been noted as "rigorous and well-defined" (Allen, 1998, p. 235), worked with transcripts of narrated life stories and subsequent interview material. Conscious of the undoubted construction taking place during the telling of these interview-based accounts, Rosenthal noted the apparently overt attempts by the teller to achieve "a temporally and thematically consistent pattern" (Rosenthal, 1993, p. 3). She also detected something like path-dependency occurring as the informant made choices of the facts told, in the revisions made in the telling, and in the achievement of successfully coherent outcomes. Because my combination of methods has relied heavily on Rosenthal's interpretive

qualitative method (see Chapter 3) and is generally phenomenological in approach, I have summarized two of her papers here.

A Nazi era soldier's life story provided clues about when his loyalty to that regime may have shifted; Rosenthal (1991) pointed out inconsistencies in the Nazi veteran's chronology, suggesting that his loyalty to the regime may have lingered longer than he originally indicated. A German-ethnic emigrant from the former Soviet Union emphasized his problematic family history to partially justify his move to Germany (Rosenthal, 2006). This recent emigrant was not quite convinced that his emigration was the correct decision and seemed to be deliberately slanting his story to convince both himself and the interviewer that it was indeed the right thing to have done (Rosenthal, 2006). Since conflicts in life tended to correspond with conflicts in the ability to construct a narrative, according to Rosenthal (1991), awkwardly told passages may suggest turning points (in the sense of an emotional crisis) or at least problematic areas in that person's understanding. Her method was designed to enable interpretation or explanation by thus resolving initially perceived problems with source material. I would suggest, alternatively, that vacillations are a normal part of conversation, composition, decision making and reasoning, and therefore should be taken into consideration as an explanation of inconsistencies. On the other hand, the material I worked with was composed while hers was generated during interviews; it seems likely that the interview narrative would not be as consistent as a composition unless the informant was well rehearsed.

Coherence and consistency. Several theorists (Bauer & McAdams, 2004; Conway, 1998, see p. 180) linked coherence and consistency with trustworthiness in the assessment of an autobiographical narrative. Notably, Rosenthal (1991) had shown examples of inconsistency in narrative as justification to doubt an informant's veracity. A World War II German soldier relocated his "turning point and distancing from National Socialism only later in his time of prisoner of war" (Rosenthal, 1993, p. 8). At first he reported,

> "Since Stalingrad I opposed National Socialism". Consequently he had all relevant experiences ordered and put in a way as if they all would have happened before Stalingrad (1943). However, the micro-analysis of a text segment led to the interpretation that he still identified himself with the German Wehrmacht after the capitulation in 1945. (Rosenthal, 1993, p. 8)

Distancing oneself from an unwise government while remaining identified with and loyal to the military, in the midst of a war, bears a certain logic. In both her 1993 and 1991 articles, Rosenthal does not accept that her informants' attempted loyalty to the army could be separate from their loyalty to National Socialism, possibly reflecting her own bias from a typical western intellectual point of view. Possibly the differing attitudes toward consistency and loyalty reflected different locations on schemes of development. From my reading, such a divided set of affiliations among German soldiers seems to have been pretty widespread. The army resisted using the Hitler salute, until required to do so and to take an oath of allegiance to Hitler, following the assassination attempt on July 20, 1944 (see Gilbert, 1950, p. 217). Loyalty among German soldiers depended on the

success of leadership, to the extent that "Second World War prisoners sometimes declared 'I am no longer a Nazi at the moment'" (Kecskemeti & Leites, 1947, p. 164). Such a sentiment could reflect a level of moral development depending on external validation rather than one depending on individually arrived at standards. It could indicate that loyalty and accountability by leadership were dependent factors, in the person's judgment processes. Such a separation of identifications and loyalties might even represent resistance to enculturation, in Maslow's terms (Maslow, 1970, see p. 171-2). While the memoirs I studied were written down, as opposed to interview accounts, and thus perhaps more carefully, thoughtfully or deliberately composed, I found reason to contradict the demand for absolute consistency from Rosenthal. My findings support vacillation as an indication of mental turmoil or flux, indicating that the informant had not yet arrived at a new basis for assumptions, or a ground for action, such as effecting the decision to emigrate.

Plots and Turning Points

Western life stories in particular tend to organize themselves by means of a plot (Nouri & Helterline, 1998) that often hinges on one or more turning points (Handel, 1987, see pp. 91-3) or conflicts (Bruner, 2006, see pp. 132-3). The use of a classic plot (Frye, 1957) is the easiest way to render a person's complex story coherent; coherence in turn may be seen as an indicator of the person's level of maturity (Bauer & McAdams, 2004; Conway, 1998, see p. 180). The tragic plot, for example, has been found in stories of persecution, like Holocaust narratives (Popkin, 2005). In America, as is well known, our preferred plot results in a happy ending, signifying a resolution of conflict and

restoration of order (Frye, 1957). Along these lines, "the adult's self-defining life story (or personal myth)" was studied by McAdams, de St Aubin and Logan (1993, p. 228) for indications of Erikson's concept of generativity, typical of middle- or old-age, such as "creating, maintaining, helping and offering, [and] intergenerational involvement." A story ending successfully or positively is therefore likely to include indicators of generativity. Generativity not only indicates the level of maturity of the writer, but may also suggest some of his or her turning point processes. In stories of emigration, we would expect to see generativity in terms of gaining security for other family members or at least taking those relationships into account.

Narrative choices, like plot, may be affected by gender, as noted earlier. Men may report grief or sorrow and present it as a logical outcome of a traumatic crisis, while women may be more likely to report fear in a similar situation (Wester, 2011, see p. 211). In the autobiographical gender differences noted by Stanley (1995), men focused on their paid work and world events while women talked about their domestic situations. Men's crises, or turning points, were usually described as work related and triumphed over, but they seemed to ignore or skim over illness and relationship problems, which had no place in an agentic, heroic account; women's crises always included their relationships and solutions often involved shared credit, reflecting a more cooperative, communal orientation at least in their methods of story-telling (Gergen, 1994, see p. 23, 40). Nouri and Helterline (1998) also found that men preferred to tell their lives as the American success story, the triumph over adversity, while women often told of a shared identity, "we" rather than "I." These two styles, agentic success and communal identity, were

among four subplot types found in another study of successful women (Wagner & Wodak, 2006).

The Turning Point Decision to Emigrate

Decision making. Decision making is a whole field of study in itself; this overview attends to theories and findings that relate to my research question, decision making processes related to emigration. From broadly thinking of both conscious and unconscious mechanisms of thought, specific theories that seem to address the kinds or methods of decision making under a stressful situation are discussed here. Developmentally, the vacillations of effectiveness in decision making may have to do with either maturity or stress, as well as the host of factors that go into producing a highly functioning adult.

We normally think of decision making in terms of conscious deliberation, although we know that our intuition (colloquially, our "gut") can sometimes make a decision for us even before we knew there was a reason to do so. That is, there seem to be two systems of thought available to each person: "one that operates fast, automatically, holistically, intuitively, and unconsciously ... and one that operates slowly, analytically, controlled, and consciously" (Custers, 2014, p. 155). Probably the two work together in most of us, as we try to increase our personal gains and diminish our losses (Kuran, 1989, see p. 47). Still, there is some uncertainty about what conscious thought actually is, and whether active deliberation is helpful or not in second-guessing the intuitive operation (see Hess, Queen and Patterson, 2012). Decision making may reflect aspects of personality, such as degrees of aggression (Korte, 2005, see p. 3),

adventurousness (Grinberg et al., 1984, see p. 18) or extraversion (Perkins, see p. 259). Wester (2011) found that, when looking back, people tended to think their reactions in a crisis were logical and rational, and, overall, tend to have been optimistic in estimating risk factors, particularly with respect to themselves and their ability to overcome challenges.

In terms of the conscious sort of decision making, Elster (1998) has discussed the importance of stress reduction in the process of rationalizing choices or inclinations. Elster presented five potential outcomes of a decision: (1) modify world-view, (2) accept reality, (3) change beliefs, (4) change desires to match hopes, and (5) sour grapes response.

> Of these, (1), (2), and (3) may represent autonomous behaviors or mental processes, governed by the reality principle rather than the pleasure principle. In particular, (4) may result from autonomous character planning such as has been advocated by Stoics, Buddhists, and others. By contrast, (3) and (5) are escape mechanisms that operate at an unconscious level. (Elster, p. 53).

Attempts to relieve distress, as outlined by Elster, may relate to how we assess our decisions, as bad or good, the good being equated with morality or value or utility of outcomes, such as in a cost-benefit analysis (Higgins, 2000, see p. 1218). Further, a person's approach to challenges might look for accomplishments and advancement (eagerness, a promotion orientation, a focus on positive outcomes) or be anxious about responsibility and safety (avoidance, a prevention orientation, a focus on negative outcomes). A person's preferences in this model are referred to as regulatory orientation

and regulatory fit. Higgins found that when a goal and a person's regulatory orientation matched, or fitted, the person was more likely to conclude that a good choice had been made. By considering such variables as the level of eagerness, Higgins also accounted for the effects of, say, depression or hypervigilance on decision making and other aspects of goal pursuit. Higgins pointed out that congruency between goal-seeking behaviors and the preferred style of self-regulation tended to bring about alert and energetic feelings, as well as positive assessments of their decisions, thus promoting well-being.

Stressful challenges can prove too much for some individuals. The stress researcher Henry (1997, see p. 11) mapped out a typical progression of physiological responses to stress when a person either successfully met a challenge or failed to meet it. Following a bell-shaped curve, the person moved from a relaxed steady state to increased arousal and performance levels as challenged. If the outcome was successful, the person's systems gradually relaxed back into the steady state or status quo. If however, the person was unable to achieve the goal, the person could become fatigued, overwhelmed, and might break down, with a physiological as well as psychological collapse. Simmons (2011), in an outlined discussion of the effects of trauma, has reminded us that the feeling of being in control is important in decisions and behavior, especially when a threat is being assessed. When one is attempting to function in an emotionally aroused state (fight/flight or freeze/hide) there may be a loss of rational function or dissociation, so that one may miss cause and effect interactions or other significant information that could inform a decision. That is, basic brain efficiency can be disrupted, especially by the freeze/hide reaction (Steenkamp, 2015, see p. 28), similar

to the sudden drop-off of effectiveness when the system is overloaded shown by Henry (1997, see p. 11). Even a high-functioning, competent person can be faced with challenges that cannot be met by normal means and resources.

Cultural effects on decision making should not be overlooked. "Americans see situations as problems to be solved. By contrast, many people in other parts of the world see situations as realities to be accepted" (Adler & Jelinek, 1986, pp. 78-9), that is, they may be more fatalistic (Hanson, Lynch & Wayman, 1990, see p. 120). Other cultures may also feel constrained by tradition: "Europeans, compared with Americans, frequently have a more past orientation; they tend to conserve past traditions and rarely embrace change for its own sake" (Adler & Jelinek, 1986, p. 81). But even for individualistic, autonomy-loving Americans, social cues are often decisive and take effect without conscious thought. We tend to be influenced specifically by the behaviors of those who seem similar, as in bystander apathy (see Cialdini, 1985, pp. 114-7). Indeed, Americans have been characterized as overly-conforming by Europeans as far back as Tocqueville. When considering decision processes among people living in Nazi Germany, we must remain aware that typical American preferences may not necessarily be those that would be encountered.

Emigration decision. Baines (1994, see p. 526) asked three main questions about the emigration decision: (1) the economic aspects, (2) whether the decision differed depending on the emigrants' origin and (3) was emigration to another country decided on as an alternative to a move within the same country? Baines also stated that "the key question about return migration concerns intention [but] that we have no direct evidence

about motivation" (Baines, p. 536). He called for "more detailed studies of individual and family behavior–particularly behavior over the life cycle" (Baines, p. 540). This project, using memoirs and based on life-course theory, might begin to fill the gap identified by Baines.

When emigrating, a number of motivational factors may outweigh the obvious economic ones, such as life-course events, social and cultural preferences, and changes in family status, as found by both Kley (2010, 2011) and Verwiebe (2011). Emigration may be undertaken as an extension of journeyman or retirement status, for example, or as a means to obtain a preferred lifestyle, or as a consequence of marriage to a foreigner. Hochstadt (1981; 1983; 1999) discovered a long and extensive history of German movement patterns (within the country, immigration and emigration), over several centuries, as did Pooley (1991, see pp. 7-8) for the British. Emigration in modern times may therefore be considered a normative event in the life course, in that it is a recognized possibility in the "everyday experience of the individual within society" (see Halfacree & Boyle, 1993, p. 341 and p. 338). Alternatively, it can be a turning point, like service in the military (see Elder, 1998, p. 8), indicating a noticeable change in life trajectory. My project used three models of emigration to analyze the components of the decision to emigrate and certain factors that seemed to contribute to the decision or to its implementation.

Resource and response emigration model. The human practice of emigration may be rooted in our biological and physiological heritage. Human responses to environmental perturbations may thus reflect our kinship with other animal forms. The

unconscious part of our decision making is likely to depend on these animal elements, with the goal of making better decisions by taking into account more than what we are consciously aware of (Dijksterhuis, 2013). One aspect of the personality, found also in birds and mammals, that may be described as a pair of opposites, is the tendency to respond to a threat viscerally with either fight-flight (hawks) or freeze-hide (doves) (Korte, Koolhaas, Wingfield, & McEwen, 2005). Species and genders tend to contain both types, each providing evolutionary survival advantages, depending on the circumstances in which individuals find themselves. When times are good, in an abundant environment, the hawk's aggressive, quick manner of exploration and exploitation does well. Doves explore slowly and try more options, thus proving more adaptive when times are hard, or the environment is poorer. A study on mice found that the dove personality did better in migration, while the hawks did better in a stable environment.

Korte et al. (2005, see p. 10) described a four stage process that may culminate in emigration, based on animal models:

1. Perturbation: current life stage deactivated, thrown out of normal roles.
2. Active responses to perturbation:
    a. Fight/flight
    b. Remain but hide, or
    c. First seek refuge/freeze/hide, then leave if necessary.
3. Mobilize resources for survival.

4. Continue moving until a safe and suitable place is found; then resume life stage roles or adopt new ones.

This animal model contained obvious parallels with human decisions and actions involved in emigration. I am calling it a resource and response model of emigration. While the stages summarized above were described in a cursory manner, their meaning was in my judgment plain enough to use as a descriptors for mapping and assessing a memoir writer's behavior. That is, I could detect a triggering event or circumstance, what Korte et al. call the perturbation, and describe that and the writer's responses. The remain-but-hide or freeze-hide response seems applicable particularly for Germans under the Nazis, as discussed in the section on fear in Chapter 4 Findings.

The third step listed above, mobilizing resources, suggested to me the notion of various kinds of capital that emigrants may have at their disposal, not least financial capital (Lancee, 2012). Another kind of capital that emigrants might draw upon could be called will-power, a combination of physical and emotional strength, that enabled them to persevere and to do what was necessary to emigrate (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Baumeister, Vohs, & Tice, 2007). They also would have cultural or social capital in the form of a general and/or specialized education, social skills, and technical skill capital that would help them find employment in a new locality.

Push pull emigration model. Enlarging on classical economic emigration theory, that I am calling push-pull, Middleton (2010), an archaeologist, has suggested that the push (e.g. of persecution) or the pull (of visions of a land of opportunity) aspects might

be balanced by influences inducing people to remain in place as well as practical matters enabling an actual move.

> *Stay* factors can be thought of primarily as the psychological and material factors which link a person with their home, such as family and other groups, cultural, economic and religious ties, lack of ability to move and inertia. *Ability* refers to the practical side of migration, the availability and expense of transportation, or the ability to move by whatever means available. (Middleton, 2010, p. 73)

The ability component could also include "intervening obstacles" (Lee, 1966, p. 50), such as the bureaucratic red tape and financial regulations that plagued attempted would-be emigrants from Germany. This push pull model has an external focus, in that the factors come from outside the person, and introspective or subjective aspects are not much taken into account. Without formal definitions of each term beyond that quoted above, they are again clear enough to be used in a descriptive way to categorize the memoir writers' emigration motives (push-pull-stay) and implementation (ability).

Emotional arc emigration model. Using the archetypal hero journey as a metaphor for human psychological development, each stage of a person's exploration and engagement in a wider circle of life can be seen as a metaphorical emigration (Grinberg, Grinberg, & Festinger, 1984; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989). Thus, the Grinbergs said, birth can be seen as emigration from the womb, going to school an emigration from the nursery, and so on (Grinberg et al., 1984, see p. 16). How far each exploration takes a person depends on personality: Humans (and other animals) can be categorized in terms

of their adventurousness and independence, versus a tendency to attachment, clinging "to security and stability" (Grinberg et al., 1984, p. 18).

These psychoanalysts had worked with emigrants from totalitarian regimes in South America, not dissimilar to Nazi Germany in some respects. Actual emigration involves psychic defenses against uncertainty, danger, and risk (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, see p. 68-9). The reactions of the people they were leaving could also have an effect, whether the people were supportive, grieving or envious, for example. The Grinbergs theorized that even though the stresses of emigration might sometimes result in diseases or accidents, if emigrants worked through and overcame their challenges, they could achieve personality growth and development (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, see p. 70 and 96), the general goal of all psychoanalytic endeavors.

The Grinbergs (1989, see pp. 97-8; Grinberg et al., 1984, p. 37) sketched out several typical stages that emigrants had to work through emotionally, although their two publications did not exactly coincide regarding their listing of stages. The list below reflects the earlier publication fairly closely, while incorporating both. I have modified their generally Freudian terminology to use more neutral descriptors.

1. A time of negative emotions, such as pain, depression, anxiety, as loss of what one had is appreciated.
2. Active engagement. A psychogenic reaction, an illness or accident (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, see p. 185) or an excited response that denies sorrow (Grinberg et al., 1984, see p. 19, 31-2).

3. Strengthening, able to accept the pain of loss and begin to adjust to the new situation.
4. Recovery, a renewed pleasure and ability to plan, engage, live in the present, while acknowledging the lost past realistically.

Differences were noted between voluntary and involuntary emigrants, and whether or not there was an option to return. "The impossibility of returning concentrates all one's efforts in the direction of integration with the new surroundings", whereas a possible return could transform the emigration into an adventure (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, p. 147 and see p. 178).

The importance of saying goodbye was stressed, as the rituals of leaving help establish boundaries between the old and the new life (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, see p. 156). Various regressive behaviors may be expressed, depending on the defensiveness of the emigrant, and how much had been worked through previously. Some mythologized the past life, some turned on the new country vindictively, some found the task of recreating a settled life too great (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989, see p. 158-9, 176). Any of these factors might influence the person to try to return to the old country. The stages of this model of emigration could again be used to sketch out the progress of decision making as depicted in a memoir, searching for emotional words or phrases, for example, or mentions of differing understanding of the problems encountered.

These three migration models have been summarized in the table below, showing both their common features and those that are distinct, together with some emotional reactions that may accompany the stages or factors of decision-making. The traditional

push pull model for emigration, as amended by Middleton (2010), deals with external or environmental factors while the other two predict subjective, individual impressions and

Table 4. Three Emigration Models Compared

	Push Pull	***Resources & Responses***	***Emotional Arc***	***Sample Emotional Reactions***
Triggering event; Upset to normal status	Push	Perturbation, deactivation of life stage	Negative emotions	Anxiety, fear, anger/fight
Desire to relocate	Pull	Hide, flight	Active searching	Flight
Desire to remain	Stay	Freeze, hide	Denial, vacillation, nostalgia	Freeze
Ability to relocate	Ability	Mobilize resources	Accept losses; practical planning; psychogenic ills; suicide	Resignation, active reactions
Settle in new locality		Continued movement until new location found; resume life stage	Recovery, accept new reality	Contentment, renewed interest in larger issues than survival

decisions (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993, see p. 335). In all these cases, as suggested by Rutter (1996), I am attempting not so much to define various terms as to describe the *concepts* involved in the turning point decision. The emotional reactions aspect is discussed as part of the Fear section of the Findings, below.

Contributing factors to the turning point decision to emigrate. As mentioned in the push pull emigration model, some factors influence a person not to emigrate but to stay in place, while other factors affect the person's ability to actually act upon the decision. Social and cultural motives may prove greater than economic ones in the decision to emigrate. That is, one's relationships and preferred lifestyle (type of work, interest in certain languages and cultures, see Benson, 2012) may matter most, and not just the possibility of getting any kind of work (Verwiebe, 2011) or those pragmatic "universal goals, physical and social well-being" (Kley, 2011, p. 472). While a desperate person will take whatever employment is available, people who are not so desperate will apply decision-making choices to the work they take up. A study of international students in the U.S. mentioned the "wide variety of professional, societal and personal factors [that influenced them in their] ongoing decision-making process" regarding whether or not to immigrate permanently to America (Hazen & Alberts, 2006, p. 201). Similarly, a study of contemporary British emigrants to rural France questioned and considered "the other factors, structural, cultural and biographical, that might drive people to act on the basis of their imaginings," that is, the process by which a mental conception became a positive action (Benson, 2012, p. 1681), resulting in emigration.

The timing of an emigration decision may well be influenced by a combination of "political, social and economic contexts" and concerns (Benson, 2012, p. 1682) that are conflated in individuals' and a society's conception of what their world is like, or should be like. Thus emigrants may express a nostalgia for the good old days, when certain desired wide-spread social traits were apparent, such as friendliness, and to assert that in their prospective new home these desired traits will be found again. Constraining factors may also influence potential emigrants' decisions, their attitudes, and what they say and do. A feeling of constraint may induce "people to formulate suboptimal choices" (Cadwallader, 1989, p. 506), such as the all too common phenomenon seen in Nazi Germany called inner emigration (Donahue & Kirchner, 2003). Inner emigration consisted of a freeze-hide response, that is, keeping one's thoughts to oneself, restricting activity to a more or less self-imposed house arrest, while giving the Nazi government no resistance. In my chapter on Findings I discuss the element of fear-based freezing that is found in some of the memoirs studied.

If we take into account the whole biography of the person involved, as far as we can, a different kind of clarity than, say, a statistical probability may emerge, because "human development is embedded in the life course and historical time" (Elder, 1998 , p. 9). Our thinking processes are usually vague rather than tightly directed, and our resulting decisions may reflect the incompleteness of both our thoughts and our actions, not to mention awareness of the wider world and relationships that impinge upon us (Halfacree, 1993, see p. 338). Following Halfacree (1993, see p. 338-9), my study

attempted to ask directly about the migration decision, using a variety of perspectives to build up such a picture, including the emigration theories presented above.

Gaps in the Literature and Conclusion of Literature Review

Suggestions for research on turning points from other researchers have included how and why some change and some don't, as well as the role of chance in people's perceptions and decisions (Laub & Sampson, 1993). Elms (1972) asked, why do we pay attention to some kinds of events and not others? Baines (1994) asserted that detailed studies of individual intention, motivation and behavior were needed in the study of emigration. Specific to my area of interest, Runyan asked, "What about the psychology of the refugees and emigrants from Nazi Germany?" (1988, p. 255). Liebersohn and Schneider (2001) hoped that the "My Life in Germany" contest papers would be more fully explored and mined by American as well as German scholars. My project aimed to address these gaps in the literature by presenting memoirs from the first half of the Nazi era with regard to the turning point of emigration.

Despite searching, I have not found much literature on the emigration decision turning point, probably because most migrants are interviewed, or their memoirs are collected, in terms of their new situation and not about their decision to move (for example, see chapters 3 and 4 in Hackstaff et al., 2012). In this respect, the manuscripts of the "My Life in Germany" archive are nearly unique, since they mostly include both the before and the after and were written within a few years of the decision. The English-language manuscripts of that collection have been little used, and never for a published comparative qualitative analysis. The sole instance I found, which was social-science

oriented, was the use of one English-language memoir to illustrate the dialogical situating of the moral self, between the inner psychology and the outer social functions of the person (Tappan, 1999). All other English-language citations referencing these archive materials have been more or less historical in nature, including the many references to *Löwith's* (1994) published memoir and to the Holocaust.

This survey of research literature about biographical turning points has emphasized reports that used written narratives as the source of information, because the memoirs are in that format. This review has preferred studies with a historical slant, to coincide more with the actual memoirs studied. The large body of work done on turning point narratives based on interviews has been reduced to a few, owing to space limitations and their often contemporary focus.

The biographical turning point covers a wide area, including normal life transitions and the appraisal of life trajectories. Turning points can be seen as pivotal events occupying a brief moment in time, or as evolving situations that occurred over years. They can be analyzed by literary concepts, and sociological and psychological theories. Turning points have proved to be a fruitful underlying theme and assumption in the analysis of historical biographical material for the decision processes surrounding emigration.

Chapter 3: Methods

General Methodological Considerations

My research question was: What are the developmental psychosocial factors influencing the turning point decision to emigrate among mostly non-Jewish adult emigrants from Nazi Germany? To address this question I utilized a number of qualitative strategies, building on the steps advocated by Rosenthal (1991; 1993; 2006) in the consideration of life stories, primarily: close, repeated readings, chronological reordering, and study of the context of thematic material. In this project, I focused on understanding the process of decision-making that resulted in emigration, what has been described as a turning point or Rubicon moment (Kley, 2011, see p. 471).

Source Materials: The My Life in Germany Contest Archive

The memoirs I studied are part of a publicly available archive, and thus were not subject to human subjects protection review processes or even a requirement of anonymity, according to Warner School's human subjects expert (C. Flahive, personal communication, October 21, 2011). The memoirs listed in Table 5 reflect the following inclusion criteria:

1. Memoir included in the "My Life in Germany" archive;
2. Written in or translated into English.

At Harvard University, in December, 2012, I skimmed through the 40 memoirs in English, identified from the guide book by Liebersohn and Schneider (2001), taking notes on the kind of content I found. Later, when my research question had resolved into the

topic of emigration, that topic determined the suitability of any particular memoir. I could not tell from either the guide's synopsis or my notes in some cases whether the topic of emigration was discussed, but knew that all the writers had indeed emigrated. The memoir writers included emigration information incidentally, as that was not the focus of the requested material for the contest to which they had responded. Because the memoirs had been written before the beginning of World War II or the Holocaust, they provided a unique view from that slice of time. Memoirs written later are unlikely to be able to recall the experiences, thoughts and feelings of the time before the war without reflecting the greater events that followed.

Selection process. Since one of my goals was to utilize the "My Life in Germany" archive, I restricted my selection to memoirs from that archive that were written in English or were available in translation. Two memoirs had been published in translation and I had one memoir's partial translation completed. Although I had initially hoped to study only Aryan accounts, I found only 11 to be lengthy enough that I could anticipate they would provide the kind of detail needed to extract information about the emigration decision. When the memoirs had been acquired and read, I found that two (*Nielsen* and *Miedzwinski*) said very little about emigration and two (*Eichbaum-Brehme* and *Saunders*) had emigrated about 10 years prior to the beginning of the Nazi regime. However, these four memoirs contributed corroborating information about the experiences of the times that added to my understanding of the general context in which the emigrants made their decision. Since I had already acquired several non-Aryan/Jewish authored memoirs before attempting to limit my study to Aryans, and

because in my notes I had identified several other non-Aryan memoirs as potentially sufficiently detailed, I drew upon them to add to the numbers of memoirs until I had enough similarities of experience being reported to feel that I had a basis from which to theorize.

Synopses of the more than 250 memoirs, including demographic information, were compiled by Liebersohn and Schneider in *"My Life in Germany Before and After January 30 1933": A Guide to a Manuscript Collection at Houghton Library Harvard University* (2001). Of the 40 written in English, 20 were by Aryans, a group whose story is less well known than the non-Aryans/Jews. My intent was to follow the informants' self-designations regarding religion and "race." Most of the memoirs included the demographics information that had been requested by the contest rules. In one case, *Grünberg*, this was not stated directly, but had to be deduced from the writer's statement that he had attended a school that did not accept Jews: therefore, he must have been Aryan. The writers tended to label themselves by religion (e.g., Protestant, Catholic, Jew), by their Jewish ancestry, if any, and/or by the terms Aryan or non-Aryan. In this study all the non-Aryans were of Jewish descent (non-Aryans could also have included those of southern European and Slavic descent, as well as persons of color). While three of the non-Aryans described themselves as being Christian or of no faith, three (*Miedzwinski, Sichel* and *Schloss*) identified themselves as Jewish, though they indicated

Table 5. "My Life in Germany" Archive Summary of Memoirs Studied.

Name ****=published***	***Nationality in 1939-40***	***Politics***	***Gender***	***Religion***	***Aryan or Non-Aryan***	***Age in 1939 - 40***	***Last European Residence***	***Occupation***
Albersheim, Erna	American	anti-Nazi, pro-American	F	Protestant	Aryan	47	Frankfurt am Main	Business owner
Arrington, Miriam	American	Anti-Nazi, pro-American	F	None	Aryan	32	Vienna	English language teacher
Eichbaum - Brehme, Claire *	American	pro-Nazi, pro-American	F	Protestant	Aryan	53	Berlin	Artist
Ganser, Harald	German	anti-Nazi	M	Protestant	non-Aryan	37	"central"	Professor of languages
Gebhard, Bruno	German	anti-Nazi	M	Protestant	Aryan	38	Berlin	MD, public health expos.
Grünberg, Emile	Austrian	Socialist	M	None	Aryan	34	Geneva	Translator
Haynes, Edna	American	Observer	F	Protestant	Aryan	40	Berlin	Homemaker

Löwith, Karl *, translation	German	Unpolitical, anti-Nazi	M	Protestant	non-Aryan	43	Marburg	Professor of Philosophy
Miedzwinski, Gerhard	German	Conservative	M	None/Jewish	non-Aryan	28	Breslau	Construction Engineer
Nielsen, Borge	Danish	Observer	M	Protestant/ Lutheran	Aryan	26	Hamburg	Apprentice, business
Paschkis, Victor	Austrian	Anti-Nazi	M	Catholic/ Quaker	non-Aryan	41	Berlin, Holland	Electrical Engineer
Peech, Sibyl	German	family members pro-Nazi	F	Protestant	Aryan	36	Berlin	Film Dramaturge, freelance writer
Reinheimmer, Hans	German	anti-Nazi	M	Catholic	Aryan	38	Berlin	Cable Mfg. Test Engineer
Saunders, Anna	American	pro-Nazi, pro-Ameri-can	F	Protestant	Aryan	51	Gotha	Housekeeper, nanny
Schloss, Oscar	German	anti-Nazi	M	None/Jewish	non-Aryan	64	Frankfurt am Main	Manufacturer

Sichel, Hilda	American	anti-Nazi, pro-American	F	None/Jewish	non-Aryan	51	Frankfurt am Main	Homemaker
Wilhelm, Teodoro, translation	German	Conservative	M	Catholic	Aryan	45	Bavaria	Roman Catholic priest

Avg. # pages 81	American	6	Religion: None	5
	German	8	Protestant	9
	Austrian	2	Catholic	3
	Danish	1		
Avg. Age 41	Male	10	Aryan	11
(age range 26-64)	Female	7	Non-Aryan	6

Note. Categories such as "Nationality" may be misleading: "Americans" may have been native-born or naturalized; "Austrians" became "Germans" after Austria was invaded and united with Germany. "Religion" like the other categories is a self-reported item. Aryan and Non-Aryan are categories devised by Nazi law. In this study, all Non-Aryans are persons of Jewish descent.

no practice of that religion. These latter three seemed to be representative of the assimilated German Jewish population of the time (see Berghahn, 1984; Friedenreich, 2002; Lixl-Purcell, 1988), typically describing themselves as German first and foremost while regarding their Jewish ancestry as incidental. Only three or four of the writers (all Christian) mentioned actually practicing their religion. With six non-Aryan writers added to the seven Aryan writers who discussed their emigration decision and experience, I found the necessary similarities to enable themes to emerge about the decision to emigrate and its implementation.

Methods of categorization. My research question included several fundamental concepts: developmental considerations, psychosocial indications, turning point decisions, and emigration, all placed within the historical context. Language cues reflecting developmental issues and psychosocial identity came from the writers' depiction of their behaviors, as detailed in Chapter 4, Findings. The first broad categorization of turning point decisions was a matter of speed or time: Was it a sudden moment, or had it come at the end of an extended consideration of the possibility? Generally, I took the short-term decision to be one that occurred on the same day as the perturbing or triggering factor and the long-term decision to be one that showed some lag time (a day or more) between the triggering event and the decision. However, as with all the sets of terms I used to categorize the memoirs, at no time were the definitions truly precise, nor did they really need to be for this study. Ordinary dictionary definitions sufficed.

As an example, an on-the-spot sudden acceptance of a job offer in America (Heider, 1983, see p. 94-5), was an end result of a decision made in childhood, twenty years or more previously. I would characterize this as a long-term decision, both because the childhood decision had been arrived at over some weeks or months and because it took so many years for an opportunity to enact it. A short-term decision is described by Eysenck (1990, see p. 33), based on his irrevocable disgust on hearing a speech by Hitler and the realization that he would have to explore other countries in which to live. There the emotional stimulus and the decision response occurred within the same day or hour, and may have resulted as much from an intuitive or visceral reaction (disgust) as the conscious thought he reported. An American passport holder's plan to leave the relatively safe haven of Switzerland in 1940 was followed by the problematic conditions of obtaining passage and then actually getting through France, Spain and Portugal in order to board a ship for America, with each stage of the journey presenting the possibility of being turned back (Shirer, 1941, see pp. 542-3). In this case, it could be classified either way, a particular moment of not feeling safe in Switzerland, which faced a real threat of invasion from Germany, or an unexpectedly long process of enactment. Each of these examples from the published autobiographic literature roughly paralleled one of the memoirs I studied, *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1936), *Paschkis* (1940) and *Grünberg* (1940), respectively.

The kinds of language that indicated the turning point included such details as an emigration song quoted by *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1936), as well as her glowing and optimistic mentions of America in anticipation of emigration, her evocative description of

the transition time on the ship, and her enthusiastic embrace of America when she arrived. She used words like going, leaving, and emigrating. *Paschkis* (1940) provided, like Eysenck, an example of moral repugnance (quoted in Chapter 4, Findings), an inability to conceive of himself as being able to live in cooperation with the Nazi regime, as well as a concern for his children's future. He explicitly said that he had decided to emigrate. *Grünberg* (1940) first left Germany for Switzerland, having narrowly missed a typically brutal Nazi attack; he then left Switzerland for America because there was a very real fear that Germany would invade its nominally neutral neighbor. *Grünberg* mentioned Nazi terrorism of Swiss professors, a direct parallel to his earlier flight, as a preliminary experience to his emigration from Switzerland. More detailed examples are given in Chapter 4, Findings.

As mentioned previously and detailed below, I followed Rosethal's interpretive phenomenological method to discover themes, searching particularly for those surrounding the general topic of emigration. In addition to discovering what triggered the decision to emigrate, I studied some of the aspects of actually implementing the decision and compared these with several emigration models. In close reading I paid deliberate attention to the language used by each writer, that is, "the recurrent images, metaphors, and other symbols [with] which [the writers] structured and expressed their concerns, anxieties, aspirations, their perceptions of social and political reality, and – certainly not least important – their representations of themselves" (Chickering, 1984, p. 17). Close reading may be more familiar as open coding or familiarizing oneself with the narrative, terminology often found in qualitative studies. Like some other qualitative researchers

(see Maxwell, 1998; Saldaña, 2009), I did not strictly separate my analysis and my interpretation of data because both worked together to help me discover the themes or patterns related to emigration that I was seeking (Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2012). I found multiple readings, including the initial slow process of transliteration from murky and not automatically transferable PDF files into Word files, to be helpful in appreciating the character of each memoirist, as presented, and getting to know each personality. For instance, as Bruner (1983) said of his work on the memoirs as a graduate student, a tragic plot line might have been expected, in keeping with Holocaust memoirs (Popkin, 2005). On the contrary, even in memoirs that might be characteristic of a tragic plot (Frye, 1957), the writers tended to resist accepting that conclusion, holding out hope for a renewed success trajectory. Thus, writers who admittedly saw themselves as exiles, like *Löwith* (1994), even to the extent of adopting a pseudonym such as "Odysseus" (*Wilhelm*, 1940) or "Timon Expulsis" (*Ganser*, 1940), spoke of their longing to restore their former station in life, and even its location, if possible.

It seemed important to revise the initially anticipated methods and my conceptual framework as my researches continued, to be sure both that the facts I discovered were retained and not distorted (Smith, 1988, see p. 4) and that I paid most attention to my research question. My proposed use of an expanded classical push pull emigration model (see Middleton, 2010), was extended to two others that considered additional aspects and factors, for example. In fact, as themes and common factors emerged clearly from the data, theories also emerged from my reading that helped to explain these findings.

The memoirs were obtained in either PDF or microfiche form from the Houghton Library, Harvard University, apart from the published books that had already been acquired. I was charged $1 per page unless the file had already been rendered into PDF, as was the case for a few memoirs. These were then transferred to Microsoft Word format, in order to enable searching for terms, making marginal comments, copying portions of the text and sorting the material. Because the memoirs were in the form of photocopies of typewritten and hand-written documents, considerable transliteration was necessary, due to faded typewriter ribbon imprints, worn-out keys, etc.

Some segments of each memoir were copied into tables in Word or spreadsheets in Microsoft Excel to enable sorting or mapping. I found the spreadsheets were easier to sort, so most of the memoir excerpts are on spreadsheets in my files. Categories of Chronology, Emotion, Emigration, and Other Themes were tabulated for most memoirs. A separate electronic folder for each memoir contained all the files relating to that memoir. The electronic files were backed up routinely.

Methods of Analysis

Several methods of analysis were proposed in addition to close introspective reading, in order to discern the writers' decision process. The unit of analysis was the individual memoir. Using a narrative analysis approach, each line was scrutinized multiple times, from several perspectives, described below, for theme-indicating material. The process of analysis was fairly uniform for all the "Aryan" authored memoirs, which were tackled first; by the time the "non-Aryan" memoirs were analyzed the process had become somewhat streamlined by practical discoveries of utility.

Rosenthal. The interpretive method proposed by Rosenthal (1991; 1993; 2006) , a combination of gestalt-theoretical and phenomenological approaches, seems to be typical of current social science practices in Germany (Lohfeld, 2005). Her method is interpretive because it seeks explanations for historical events and the behaviors of those who experienced them, such as their ability to narrate what happened. Her gestalt-theoretical analyses assume "that memory is organized along spatial rather tha[n] temporal or sequential lines, and is thus oriented upon change in the surroundings" (Rosenthal, p. 36), such as the travels involved in emigration. This "combination of gestalt-theoretical concepts and the phenomenological approach" allowed her "to deal with all aspects of the dialectical interrelation between experience, memory and narration" (Rosenthal, 2006, p. 3). Rosenthal differs from other qualitative analyses in the precise, "rigorous and well-defined" (Allen, 1998), p. 235) schedule of activities she provides to use with historical biographical narrative.

After the initial close reading, Rosenthal (1991; 1993; 2006) recommends the creation of a timeline of the life story, which begins to show where the informant's priorities lie, what sections of the life are covered or skipped, and how the narrative sequence varies from a strict chronology. The text is broken up into segments or themes that are analyzed closely; the results of this analysis are then compared to the timeline. Similar to Grounded Theory and other qualitative methods, Rosenthal begins to construct a theory of (or conclusion about) the informant's text, based on the themes that have emerged. Rosenthal (1993, p. 9) provides several hypothesis-guiding questions to use in the process. By continuing to question the text, Rosenthal has found that she could

"achieve a most fruitful analysis of [what] at first glance [was an] apparently unsatisfactory interview" (Rosenthal, p. 11). The more difficulty the informant had in telling his or her story, the more likely a good insight was buried just under the surface. That is, conflicts in life tended to correspond with conflicts in the ability to construct a narrative (Rosenthal, 2006).

When reading memoirs the issue of trust comes up: how much has the writer fabricated? The element of the chronological reconstruction required in Rosenthal's method partially addressed this concern. The published memoir by Katz (1940), for example, is partially (and obviously) fiction, told in the third person. Therefore, despite some evocative writing, it was not used in this study. I found that some incongruous language used by *Peech* (1940), as suggested by Rosenthal and others, aroused my suspicions. Checking some of her statements (a brief biography, Paine, 1975, was found), I discovered that she too fictionalized part of her memoir. I chose to retain the emotional descriptions of her emigration decision making, despite my doubts, as those emotions seemed consistently and reliably told. She was after all an emigrant. None of the other memoirs aroused any suspicions about their reliability as first-person accounts of events the writers had experienced.

I have found that Rosenthal's method worked as well with written memoirs as it did with transcripts, although I did not have the option of a second interview with my informants. Furthermore, her method actively promotes interpretation, by assisting the researcher in noting discrepancies and gaps that may suggest partially disguised emotional content or inventions. The chronological analysis was helpful in connecting

individual stories to well-known historical events and in one instance, *Albersheim* (1940), revealed that her son's emigration had been omitted from the narrative. Most of the memoirs were fairly coherent chronologically and as narratives, making them relatively easy to assess with regard to my research question.

Following Rosenthal, I collected in my files on each writer some of the different elements that apparently went into the decision to emigrate. I also described some elements that may not have been explicitly stated in the memoirs. These took the form of quoted sentences and paragraphs relating to the decision, as shown in the Findings. I also hoped to move from description to understanding the meaning of the decision elements and events as experienced by these memoirists. This consideration led me to seek out further emigration models to enlarge the conceptual vocabulary needed to describe my results.

Plot analysis and emotional mapping. The classification of memoirs by plot enables assessment of consistency of character (as revealed in the narrative), explains the behaviors depicted, and clarifies what is included and what is left out of the story. Dramaturgical coding, which plot determination may be said to fall under, conceptually, was thought to be particularly relevant to this project, descended as it is from the strategy coding proposed by Bogdan and Biklen (2003), that includes coding for objectives, conflict, tactics and attitudes as well as emotions (Cannon, 2012, see p. 585; Saldaña, 2009). While plot was helpful in understanding some of the memoir writers as characters, it had no relevance to most memoirs, in which the narrators presented themselves as matter-of-fact reporters of their experiences. Nor did it, in the event of

analysis, seem applicable to the central research question about decision processes of emigration.

Mapping emotional content, like emotion coding (Warren, 2003), involves charting emotion- or affect-laden words and phrases in the memoir, connecting them to experiences described, and drawing either a graphic representation or coming to a conclusion about the congruence of emotion and the story as a whole. Čermák (2004), depicts examples of life stories that graphically form an angled upward trajectory (success), or angled down (tragedy), one with curves or one with zig-zags showing a number of crises successfully met, and so forth. (Something like this is shown in Figures 4 and 5.) A curve or zig-zag may indicate a turning point experience. This method provides a way to assess a story visually, as a whole, differently from literary, sociological or historical methods. Emotional mapping seemed to provide a parallel or confirming estimate of plot type and issues that were central to a writer. However, it shed little light on the research question and like plot type was not included in the findings. Both plot and emotional arc were dropped by the time I tackled most of the non-Aryan memoirs.

Journaling and self-reflection. This topic seemed urgent at the time of my project proposal but became less important as the analysis proceeded. Either the initial narratives I studied featured more puzzling personalities or I became accustomed to the analytic process as I went on. I did record and write about my personal impressions of the writers and speculated about their personalities or unsolved mysteries in their stories. While the exercise was valuable for those few memoirs that did present problematic

accounts, continued journaling seemed unnecessary after I was about halfway through the analysis portion of the project. A system of grid-like analyses from various theoretical points of view provided a clear framework of understanding for each memoir, as shown in several tables in Chapter 4, Findings. However, I did compile a notes file for each memoir in which I checked references to events and persons that could be checked, located cities and followed the writers' travels on maps, and recorded results, if any, of internet searches of the writers' name. For example, this was a way of noting when historical events were referred to euphemistically, like references to the June, 1934 purge, or speculating whether the writer had had access to his or her personal papers when writing. While this information was of interest, it did not usually relate to my research question and has not been included in my findings.

Emigration model analysis and comparison. As my research question suggested, I included three emigration models as conceptual frameworks with which to consider each memoir individually and in comparison with the others. Each model could be summarized in a few major areas, stages, or steps, allowing representation in tabular or grid form for ease of visual comparison. I coded or collected examples from each memoir that indicated emigration, such as the words "leaving," "passage" or "remaining," and references to meetings with American or other consuls, the frontier, travel agents, moving and storage services, exit taxes, customs officials, tickets, passports and visas. From the compilation of mentions of the emigration theme, located on a separate spreadsheet for each memoir, I could readily find words or phrases that corresponded to the terms used in the descriptions of the various theories, if a writer had

mentioned it. Although the terminology was not particularly well defined in any of the emigration models, the general concepts seemed clear to me. Therefore the process of organizing findings according to each model proved relatively straightforward, with results that allowed both individual insights and broader comparison of the sample memoirs.

Analytic process. The analysis began with the conventional practice of close reading, that is, reading slowly, line-by-line, with great attention to detail, noticing the way the memoir was written, and forming preliminary views on the writer and the writing. This is often known in qualitative research as becoming familiar with the text or data; it may also be called open coding, as the researcher notices obvious patterns, repetitions and clusters of mentioned occurrences (Chang, 2008). These may be noted marginally on the working manuscript copy (in this case, the transliterated Word document) or in that memoir's notes document. From several re-readings of each memoir, certain points or themes became noticeable, a process similar to content analysis, outcome coding or thematic coding (Chang, 2008). Due to the direction indicated by the research question, the memoirs were searched for details related specifically to the theme of emigration and the rational or emotional processes surrounding that decision. After these preliminary codings, analyses, observations or interpretations (in my project there were no clear-cut separations among these categories) were completed, larger categories were determined and set out for comparison, as in Rosenthal's thematic analysis, or what is sometimes called theming the data (Saldaña, 2009, see pp. 139-140). The separate construction of a chronological timeline allowed

this reader to gain a step by step understanding of the writer's story, to pick out errors (as of well-known historical events) in the text, and to identify gaps in the narrative. As it became apparent that some originally proposed analyses, such as plot analysis and emotional mapping, were irrelevant to the research question for most memoirs, they were not pursued. Thematic field analysis summarized all events and situations connected with a particular theme: My primary thematic field analysis related to the theme of emigration. As a secondary theme of fear emerged from nearly all the memoirs, that too was included for thematic field analysis and discussion.

A fairly detailed content analysis was made of each memoir in accordance with the three different emigration theories proposed by Middleton (2010), Grinberg and Grinberg (1984, 1989), and Korte et al. (2005). As each model could be organized into a set of steps of the emigration process, each memoir's emigration theme documentation was studied for evidence that seemed comparable to the steps set out in a given model. These tasks were performed for each memoir, repeating elements as necessary until a consistent conclusion regarding memoir and its writer was achieved.

The comparison of the memoirs, as usual in qualitative studies, has not been a formal marshalling of exact equivalents, but a looser consideration of how memoirs were similar or differed, what elements seemed important in general or how certain factors mattered only in particular circumstances. The themes surrounding emigration were the focus of the study, even though they may not have been the most prominent to emerge from a particular memoir. Emotions, motives, experiences and thoughts to do with the decision processes for emigration were compiled, analogous to the emigration theories

considered. The comparative phase of analysis took into consideration all of the memoirs analyzed, beginning as soon as several analyses were well under way. Saturation was sought (that is, agreement in impression after several readings and sets of questions) in the various themes and conclusions identified, when considering memoirs individually and as a mass. At last, overall conclusions were drawn from the saturation points achieved, such as factors triggering the decision or those explaining the decision processes that enabled the informants to successfully emigrate. These are reported in the Findings and Discussion chapters.

Significance and Limitations

While a report of a fairly small collective experience such as I have carried out cannot be definitive or generalizable, it may give added insight into the variety of perceptions, motives, and decisions that people experienced and the conclusions they came to at the time of writing. In terms of limitations, the greatest concern was that the memoirs might contain too little material on the subject of decision processes around emigration to provide sufficient material for analysis. In the event, only two memoirs (*Miedzwinski,* 1940; *Nielsen,* 1940) were truly deficient regarding the research question. The selected memoirs additionally may or may not be representative of those who did manage to leave Nazi Germany; they are from a self-selected sample of mostly middle class, middle-aged people with some education, who responded to a print advertisement (see Figure 1). By middle class, I mean that none were aristocrats and none were laborers. I chose to study Aryans initially, as the non-Aryan, specifically Jewish, experience is

well-researched. Due to the small number (10-11) of suitable English-language memoirs written by Aryans, I added six non-Aryan-written accounts from the same archive.

My focus was on the variety and comparability of specific individual accounts of the emigration decision, the very individuality so often lost in large statistical and sociological projects. Thus I focused on "the primary quality and condition of the individual and his [or her] experience" in a particular time and place (Olney, 1972, p. 20-1). Given that several of the narratives are quite long, much detail was there to be analyzed. The fluency of middle class language use did indeed articulate meanings and feelings that may perhaps be left unsaid by the less well educated. I found that "through the narratives people tell we can learn about trajectories of experience that [we might otherwise] ... have missed," (Freeman, 1993, p. 216). These impressions are reflected in the Findings chapter.

For archived materials that are not likely to be published in their entirety, a scholarly reading may serve to bring them to deservedly wider notice, as urged by Liebersohn and Schneider (2001) and Lohfeld (2005). While the archive has been used recently by German scholars, Americans have neglected this opportunity to gain some different perspectives on our current "pervasive collective reading" of key historical events (Popkin, 2005, p. 193), such as our understanding of people's views of the Nazi Regime as it was happening around them. Because the memoirs do not include information about World War II or the Holocaust, events that were still in the future for the memoir writers, they lack a number of assumptions that we automatically impose. For example, when *Löwith* (1994, p. 132) spoke of "the annihilation of Jews" he was

speaking rhetorically and metaphorically; the reader nowadays tends to take it literally, perhaps assuming prescience on Löwith's part. Our impressions of those great events do tend to color our impressions of all that went before (see Koonz, 1987, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, preface, for an example). In common with phenomenological practice, I have tried to "bracket" or hold aside my awareness of the Holocaust and the second World War as I analyzed these memoirs. Studying material written at a certain time (in this case, between 1935 and 1940), before the future was known, may offer nuances of understanding that can modify our hindsight.

Middle age is less studied than either youth or old age. The "My Life in Germany" archive is relatively little studied in America. The preliminary steps of emigration including the decision processes involved have not been often characterized. This dissertation project has hoped to add something of value to the academic and popular interest in the Nazi era, to pay attention to the little-studied experience of self-identified Aryan emigrants from Nazi Germany, to then compare and contrast those findings with non-Aryan emigrants, and to contribute to the understanding of psychosocial developmental processes of these middle-aged people, as they affect the decision to emigrate.

Chapter 4 Findings

My findings are organized into sections discussing the various perspectives, theories and models I used to understand the decision processes of emigrants from Nazi Germany. I begin with the topic of the turning point and then present a summary of the reasons for emigration that emerged from the memoirs. This is followed by a description contributing factors, such as belonging to the middle class, and constraining factors, such as the freeze/hide response, before addressing the various emigration models in detail. Two themes related to emigration emerged from the study of the memoirs. The first, fear, has to do with internal perceptions and their effects on the writers' behavior. The second, return emigration, reflects the several memoirs written by American women who had married foreigners and then returned to the U.S. In support of the value of comparative study, following some general remarks about the similarities found in the memoirs, a section on prejudice gives examples of several different kinds. I also discuss some findings that seemed to contradict the literature, such as the effects of age and gender on the writing. Figure 3, below, illustrates the interwoven multiple perspectives used in the analysis.

When an individual's memoir is taken as the unit of analysis, no one theory or model can adequately describe the behaviors and attitudes mentioned. Figure 3 depicts general areas providing points of view for this study. While emigration models categorize and explain factors related specifically to emigration, such as the resources needed, physical/emotional and spiritual capital have not been included sufficiently in prior models. Developmental perspectives categorize and explain stages of

Figure 3. Various Aspects Considered Regarding the Turning Point Decision to Emigrate.

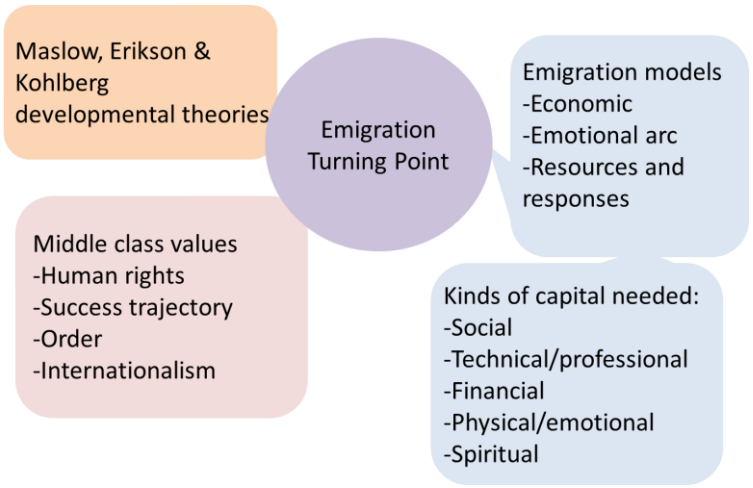


Figure 3. Aspects considered regarding the turning point decision to emigrate include developmental theories, middle class values, and a combination of three emigration models.

maturity. Middle class values categorize and explain cultural systems and values. All these perspectives were found to affect the turning point decision to emigrate. Collectively, these factors represent associations between individuals' decisions and the level of basic needs being compromised. Maslow's theory is presented as the overarching theory, grounded in life course paradigms, to explain the factors noted.

Turning Points

I found support for both instantaneous and long-term turning point decisions to emigrate, as suggested by Abbott (1997) and Handel (1987). The instantaneous type tended to be triggered by a specific experience (such as a physical threat) or emotion-laden realization that resulted in an immediate, complete disavowal of former loyalty:

- When I returned that Tuesday, on June 27th, 1933, I had a strange feeling. Near the last stop, a voice inside me said: "Get out! Escape! It's going to be bad!" – And I was about to leave the train and to flee in the same night (*Wilhelm,* 1940, p. 8).[4]
- This speech stands very clear in my memory. I sat alone in the living room, my wife being in the mountains, with the children, for winter sports. I switched the radio off, and started to write: preparing to leave Germany, that was no more home of real culture. I had decided to emigrate. (*Paschkis*, 1940, p. 16)

In terms of Maslow's hierarchy, the sudden threat-based turning point had the effect of reducing the person to a basic survival level.

- I was soon in the position of a desperate animal who can barely evade the hunters any longer and who at the same time has lost every chance of ekeing out even the barest existence. [*sic*] (*Ganser*, 1940, p. 3)

The longer-term type of decision took weeks, months or even years, as doubts grew along with supposed certainties, but eventually accumulated to cause the balance to change:

- It was ... in the spring of 1939 that I decided that I could bear no more and that I would leave Vienna once and for all. It was a long, slow decision. (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 65)
- Late in fall I met my Hungarian friend, who had been working in Holland, in Italy and while I was there I came to the conclusion that not only our friendship but

[4] Longer quotations from the memoirs analyzed in this project are presented in the form of bulleted points or lists to help them stand out from other cited sources for the reader. (C. Lee, American Psychological Association, personal communication, January 23, 2017)

> also my ability to work and to enjoy life would be lost if I would stay indefinitely in Germany. My decision to leave, which was the most difficult, I had ever made in life, was hastened by an incident which occurred soon after I had returned from my vacation in Italy in October 1934. (*Peech*, 1940, p. 159)

Figure 4**.** Sudden Turning Point.

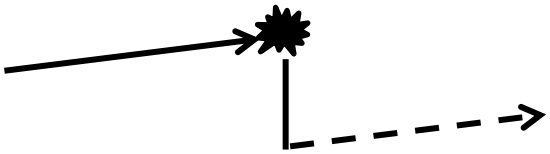


Figure 4. The sudden turning point is easily defined, with a pinpoint moment of change, sparked by a crisis, shown by the starburst shape, resulting in an interruption (the vertical line) in the normal positive trajectory of a life. The continued normal trajectory is shown by the dashed-line arrow.

In Wilhelm's case, the turning point was provisional in 1933, and actual in 1935. My definitions have been flexible and these conclusions have been set down for purposes of overview: his could be seen as a long-term decision that had been building since his first intuitive response, although his actual escape occurred quickly. I chose to list it as a single event based on his having perceived the threat of arrest, put a few things in his pockets and walked over the border the same day.

While a single shock may be utterly convincing for some, as in *Wilhelm's* (1940) arrest threat or *Paschkis'* (1940) reaction to a Nazi speech, others require the experience

of several events to realize that the tide has turned. "I begin to think more and more of following George [a friend] to California", wrote *Arrington* (1940, p. 25), not

Figure 5**.** Extended Turning Point.

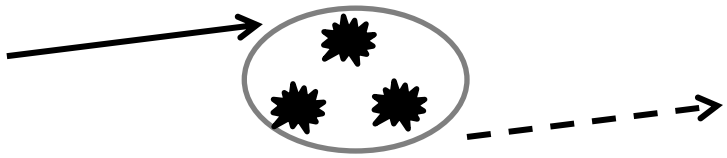


Figure 5. The extended or diffuse turning point interrupts the normal life trajectory, shown by the solid arrow, but is affected by several perturbations (starburst shapes) and often no precise tipping point can be determined, shown by the gray circle. In hindsight it can be assumed to have occurred, as a noticeable change in the subsequent life trajectory (the dashed arrow) has happened.

wanting to leave Vienna but still hoping that in America her idle husband might find employment fitted to his education. At that point, in 1936, she still thought in terms of saving her marriage rather than merely herself. Clearly, Arrington went through a long process of decision-making based on an accumulation of experiences and thoughts, rather than having a single decisive moment. Arrington's ability to leave in 1939 was eased by her American passport,[5] although she had to negotiate the usual stumbling-blocks put in the way of all emigrants.

[5] Having married an Austrian in 1928, after passage of the Cable Act of 1922 (see Rich, 1949, p. 227), Arrington could and did choose to keep her American citizenship, though she seems to have attained something like dual citizenship, becoming Austrian enough for voting and saving on university fees, but without surrendering her American passport. How this was possible is unexplained.

Having had a youthful awareness of America and an optimism about emigrating there, *Eichbaum-Brehme's* (1936) original decision to emigrate coincided with her divorce from her first husband. In her case, emigration seemed consistent with two trends identified by Kecskemeti and Leites (1947, see pp. 177-8; 1948a, see p. 97), as a desire to escape unfavorably confining circumstances and as an indication of loss of faith and loyalty in a failed leadership.

- At this time, Georg and I come to the parting of the ways and agree upon a separation, our small, personal revolution, but an identical part of the larger one. I decide to go to America [apparently in 1923 or 1924]. (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, 1936, p. 124).

The revolution she refers to is the change from the monarchy to the very unsettled Weimar Republic. In 1935-6 she paid a long visit to Germany, noting with approval the many changes made by the Nazi Regime, but deferred to her second husband's doubts about political instability and returned home to America (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, see p. 132). Both her decisions to leave Germany were in keeping with a lengthy process, with approximately even push and pull influence, coupled with diminishing stay imperatives. These push, pull, stay and ability factors are explained under the subheading Push pull emigration model, above.

The idea of emigration came up for *Gebhard* (1940) following an invited foreign tour of speaking engagements in the U.S.

- [My wife] of course realized at once that America had made me much more opposed to the Nazis than I had been before — she herself was from the start an

> ardent opponent of the new regime. We started to talk about leaving Germany, but at that time we suppressed this thought: we would have felt like deserters. (*Gebhard*, p. 66)

Here the push factor became more convincing when combined with the previously missing pull factor. His employability in America enabled the decision, following more foreign travel, each experience of being away from the Nazi regime revealing how unpleasant living under it really was. But the decision to actually go took some time.

Peech (1940) also took some time to come to her decision, feeling pushed out by the loss of her employment and being pulled to join her fiancé, who as an émigré from Hungary to Germany previously had little reason to linger in a country that had become uncongenial. Her decision, a bit like Gebhard's, came during a vacation abroad, in Italy:

- ...while I was there I came to the conclusion that not only our friendship but also my ability to work and to enjoy life would be lost if I would stay indefinitely in Germany. My decision to leave, which was the most difficult, I had ever made in life [had occurred]." (*Peech*, p. 159).

For Peech, an ardent lover of liberal Germany, as for Arrington, an ardent lover of liberal Austria, a long process of falling *out* of love with her country was necessary to eliminate the factors urging her to stay.

- With the decision made to leave my own country, my language and my hopes for working there and having children who would be Germans, as I was a German, I had to take my heart in both my hands so as not to falter. I tried to untie myself from all the things I still loved in Berlin. (*Peech*, p. 166b)

Saunders (1940), who became an American when she married one in 1913, took the option to return to Germany as a widow to recuperate after injuries and illness in the mid-1930s. After a stay of two years, enjoying the renewed cleanliness and order of Nazi Germany, she chose to return to America when her passport expired,[6] never mentioning the option of resuming her German citizenship. Saunders and Nielsen (1940) suggest a passive attitude toward emigration, allowing external forces to decide for them when it was time to go or stay.

Turning points, identity and narrative construction. The concepts of identity formation and narrative construction in life stories have been linked in the researches of Felman and Laub (1992); Rosenthal (1993; 2006); and Tappan (2000). The construction of self that is involved in the social world (Strauss, 1959, see p. 9) is analogous to Erikson's (1963, 1968) psychosocial identity and seems consistent with the longstanding concept of the German intellectual and emotional process of self-development called *Bildung*. My study did seem to reflect stability in the person's basic understanding of him- or herself even while deciding to make a big change, as found by Allport, Bruner, & Jandorf (1941) and Alwin & McCammon (2004, see p. 39). That is, the presentation of self in all but two memoirs (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, 1936; *Peech*, 1940) remained consistent, in terms of writing style, attitudes and the central concerns of that writer.

One writer, *Wilhelm* (1940), seemed to experience what might be called an Eriksonian identity crisis (see Shor, 1986, p. 329) when he was not allowed to act as a Catholic priest, after his arrest. For Erikson, identity involves the adoption of an ideology

[6] U.S. passports were valid for only two years at a time in the 1930s, following the Passport Act of 1926.

(1962, see p. 22) and the occupation of a socially approved role. Erikson also linked the concepts of identity crisis and emigration (1975, see pp. 43-4). That is, following Erikson's (1963, 1968) stage theory, in which identity is challenged such that industry is challenged by feelings of inferiority, Wilhelm was plunged into a crisis when deprived of the professional role he usually occupied, a Roman Catholic priest and youth minister. Despite the unusual amount of respect and consideration he was shown as a prisoner (he was allowed to have his own bed and food brought in, he wasn't beaten or interrogated), his arrest and separation from his normal round of duties was more than upsetting:

- I was sad, filled with bitterness, my body and soul tormented. (*Wilhelm*, p. 11)
- Since I already knew that the Nazis had captured our youth home and that the youth organization would be dissolved anyway and because I was also mentally and physically crushed, inwardly revolting against this disgraceful scrap of paper I was forced to write…. I signed it. (*Wilhelm*, p. 15)

After being released from jail he went on a vacation to recover, but his psychogenic symptoms only worsened.

- My stay was not recreational for me. I couldn't sleep. My nerves were strained.

  Every night I dreamt the Nazis were after me or that I was in prison. I woke up and cried. It was terrible. The climate was rough, the sea stormy and harsh, just as all of Germany. The beach was full of swastika flags. Seeing those signs of paganism made me feel sick and wrathful, and I developed kind of a persecution complex. Moreover, my sciatic nerve started hurting very badly, due

> to the harsh weather and my general nervous state, and I had to lie [in bed] for nine days. (*Wilhelm*, p. 16)

He was able to continue in his old job for a while before a repeated threat of arrest motivated his walk over the border to Czechoslovakia. Somewhat similar to *Löwith* (1994), who never considered any other work than being a college professor and writer of philosophy, Wilhelm was completely invested in his role as a youth minister. Unlike Löwith, he had to make do with an eventual position as a college professor in Colombia, and, like Löwith at the time of writing, he awaited his chance to return to Germany, his only homeland. While Wilhelm's descriptions certainly seem indicative of a flare-up of war trauma, they could also reflect the type of developmental crisis that Erikson outlined. Wilhelm's account is additionally consistent with the loss of higher levels of functioning when safety needs are threatened, as predicted by Maslow (1970).

Historical turning point of Nazi regime. The beginning of the Nazi Reich in January 1933 was a turning point in German history, and a turning point for all the writers, making them into a life-course cohort who had shared that experience (Halfacree, 1989, see p. 344). As a historical, world-changing event, it marked those who lived through it and changed the trajectory of their lives (Pinder, 1994). For some, like the two pro-Nazis[7] in my sample, it signaled a relaxation of anxiety that had centered around the chaos of Germany under the Inflation.

- Everywhere you look are cleanliness and order. There hardly seems a foot of soil that is not under cultivation, yet always a corner for flowers. I look in vain for a

[7] It should be noted that these two visitors, both naturalized American citizens, seem to have been given special, promotional treatment during their lengthy visits to encourage their positive attitude.

truck in need of repair. I recall what I saw in these selfsame streets ten years ago. Then, the people went with downcast eyes, hopeless faces, merely vegetating. Now I see men, women, youth stepping along with a certain pride and joyousness in their gait. *Eichbaum-Brehme*, 1936, p. 138-9)

- What a pleasant surprise when returning to Gotha, in Sachsen-Coburg, Gotha, in the heart of the Thuringer Forest in May 1936. On leaving the platform of the station, my eyes feasted on the beautifully kept Avenue, new big beautiful streets lights, hanging from the posts to the middle of the street, gorgeous arrays of flowers and winding beds of pansies and other spring flowers in front of the big bank buildings, which on my last visit to my home were only a big heap of debris, as lack of funds to build kept the city from completing the structures. (*Saunders*, 1940, p. 3)
- My older brother, a Captain in the Flag Regiment, had many an opportunity, to take me or help me to attend military functions.... (*Saunders*, p. 12)
- Of course, I have to see what the women of the Third Reich are doing! So, one day I go along the endless halls of this building, glancing at the cards on the doors. On each is the name of the woman and the organization she represents. Dr. Unger explains the different departments to me and we enter a door, whenever I want special information. (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, p. 156)

For many, however, it triggered increasing anxiety, as a set of values opposed to those of the middle class (conservative or liberal) were imposed. That is, the Nazi era began with threats to the basic need of safety.

- On the evening of the famous January 30th [1933] we went to a discussion group on Social work which took place in a café on the Kurfürstendamm, we got the news: Hitler is Reichskanzler! "Now we are in again" was our feeling but nobody did in the least realize what we really were in for. As I was a member of the Social Democratic Party I was not so sure what would happen to me in my profession. (*Gebhard*, 1940, pp. 38-9)

The Social Democrats were center-leftists and were targeted by the Nazis.

- The brutality of the Nazis beggars description and is hard to believe. A reign of terror had begun. .... All this greatly upset me. (*Albersheim*, 1940, p. 9)
- It was the loss of individual liberty which made National Socialism unendurable to me. The Austrians who hated it became white-hot for other reasons. (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 83)

Of course some, even if non-Aryan, surprisingly, did *not* experience anxiety:

- The first of April 1933 is a mark in the history of German Jews and a mark of infamy in the history of the German people! .... [*sic*] the famous boycott-day which opened the eyes to the world, what kind of criminals composed the so-called German government. — Unfortunately it did not yet open mine !! (*Schloss*, 1940, p. 102)

Some have assumed that "as an Aryan, [one] could stay [in Germany/Austria] even though life might be unpleasant ... in many ways" (Langer & Gifford, 1978, p. 45). Haynes declared differently:

- We also knew that being an American citizen, did not give you any protection, when a Nazi struck, no matter how right you were. Except, of course, if you were imprisoned for no reason, the Consul would intervene in your behalf, but I mean, being an American did not keep Nazis from abusing you, and getting away with it, without punishment. (*Haynes*, 1940, p. 33)

On the other hand, there was an assumption of safety felt by and for women, in keeping with widespread cultural norms of protection of women, children and the elderly. On November 10, 1938, Albersheim (1940) tried to defend her shop:

- I ran up to the ringleader, showed him my passport, told him that we were Aryan, and begged him to put a stop to it. One man shrieked that I should get out of there. They upset the counters, yelling like madmen. One man grabbed me another took me by the arm and said that I could do nothing, I should get out before something happened to me. They had come to smash the place and smash it they would. (*Albersheim*, p. 57)

In this case, members of the mob actually tried to protect Albersheim from their planned violence. My speculation that some depth of threat was felt by many in Germany and may have acted as a push factor for emigration, countering the sense of rootedness and loyalty that was part of the imperative to stay (Mosse, 1964), is discussed in the Fear section of this chapter.

Kohlberg's moral stages illustrated. Kohlberg and Hersh's (1977) stage theory of moral maturation seemed to be suggested by the memoirs. The examples below are mostly taken from one memoir, as *Gebhard* (1940) seemed to articulate each of

Kohlberg's stages (summarized in Table 4), although his writing explicitly revealed the vacillating pattern of decisional processes. That is, Kohlberg assumed that a level once attained would not be lost, while I would argue for a developmental process open to retreat and advancement. Gebhard tended to include many German words and phrases, sometimes also supplying the translations. Additional translations are given in square brackets. As with all the quoted examples from the memoirs, I have interfered with the original as little as possible.

In the first level of Kohlberg's moral development one is convinced by threats and punishment to obey, like the bullying intimidation that the Nazis seemed always to begin with. While Gebhard, like the other writers, did not typically live at this level, under threat, as specified by Maslow (1970), he could descend to it.

- The struggle in those years was not only a question of general despair but—as always with the Germans—"*ein Kampf der Weltanschauungen"* [a struggle of life view/ purpose] with all its consequences, as expressed in popular slang: "*Und willst Du nicht mein Bruder sein, so schlag ich Dir den Schädel ein"* [and if you're not going to be my brother, I'll punch your skull/head]. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 37)
- ...we tried to live for "*Alles Bessre, Schöne und Wahre*" [all the best, beauty and truth/reality] — but our life now was quite the opposite. And we were not prepared for it, we did not know how to deal with brutal force turned against the own member of our nation.... (*Gebhard*, p. 50)

Here the first level of feeling bullied is at one remove, the appalled and helpless awareness of others' peril. The second level depends upon conformity, yielding to group or social pressure to match their behaviors and attitudes. This may be couched in terms of respect for authority, law and order, duty and so forth. The first two examples refer to earlier years in the writers' lives, referring explicitly to duty and group identification.

- I missed the feeling that there was "home" somewhere.... There was no longer the "Right or wrong, my country" satisfaction in calling myself a German; and now after these four weeks with the people I had considered as friends and guides, even this feeling of belonging to a community had been destroyed. (*Peech*, p. 67)
- Out of consideration for my father who did not want me to be involved in any political activity I had hesitated till to the end of my study years before I joined a political party. But now I felt free enough to join the Social Democratic party. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 27)
- At this time—1933—we were naive enough not to show any flag – but the next year, —1934—we bought after long consideration 2 flags: the old Black White Red one and a Swastika—we felt quite dirty. But "What could you do"? This was the usual excuse and attitude. (*Gebhard*, p. 42)
- This wishful thinking that by sticking to one's job and by compromising one could moderate the politics of the Nazis was a mistake made by quite a number of sincere and well meaning people. (*Gebhard*, p. 46)
- At night I lay awake wondering whether it was not our duty to stay in Germany. I hated the idea of being a deserter.... (*Gebhard*, p. 103)

The third level brings a person into conscious, autonomous decision making, in which one has developed principles by which to act.

- I could have signed such a statement very easily: my family had no Jewish blood at all and I was no member of any communistic organization (this was the meaning of the word "*volksfeindlich"*) but the whole enterprise did not appeal to me at all. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 21)
- My father very strongly urged me to use this "Last occasion to make my peace with them" —he himself had joined the Party—but we had decided "*bis hierher und nicht weiter*" (till here and no step further) and we did not join. We had learned since a long time that nobody in Germany had the right to look down on those who—against their inner will—had joined the Party and behaved as 100% Nazis—"*diejenigen, die umgefallen waren*"—when you are responsible for a family and you don't see any end of the terrible strain, you just had to act as they did. (*Gebhard*, p. 98)

Thus, Kohlberg's moral stages were found to apply in these and several other memoirs. The memoirs also reflected a revisiting of developmental levels under threat, particularly to basic safety and social needs, in keeping with Maslow.

Reasons for Emigration

As a personal matter, the turning point decision to emigrate is rooted in experience, emotion, and personality. For the writers of the memoirs studied, there was a time of decision, whether or not they described it, and whether it was triggered by a specific event or grew over a long time. The two partial exceptions are writers

(*Eichbaume-Brehme* and *Saunders*) who had emigrated some 10-20 years prior to a long visit made in Germany during the Nazi regime. In some cases writers were specific about

Table 6. Reasons Given for Emigration.

Name	***Reason for Leaving Nazi Germany***	***One Time Event or Long Term***	***Year Left***	***Aryan or Non-Aryan***	***Gender***
Albersheim	Disliked Germany, preferred America (native born)	Long term	1939	Aryan	F
Arrington	Moral repugnance and physical threat	Long term	1940	Aryan	F
Eichbaum-Brehme	Moral repugnance (1923) and fear of war (1936)	Long term; n/a	1923, 1936	Aryan	F
Ganser	Loss of job and prospects	Long term	1939	Non-Aryan	M
Gebhard	Moral repugnance and threatened job loss	Long term	1937	Aryan	M
Grünberg	Physical threat	One time event	1933	Aryan	M
Haynes	Physical threat to husband	One time event	1933	Aryan	F
Löwith	Loss of job and prospects	Long term	1934	Non-Aryan	M
Miedzwinski	Loss of job and prospects	Long term	1939	Non-Aryan	M
Nielsen	End of apprenticeship	n/a	1938	Aryan	M
Paschkis	Moral repugnance	One time event	1933	Non-Aryan	M
Peech	Moral repugnance and loss of job	Long term	1935	Aryan	F
Reinheimmer	Physical threat, moral repugnance	One time event	1934	Aryan	M
Saunders	Married an American (1913); Passport expired, Fear of war (1938)	One time event; n/a	1912, 1938	Aryan	F
Schloss	Fear of war	Long term	1939	Non-Aryan	M
Sichel	Disliked Germany, preferred America (native born)	Long term	1939	Non-Aryan	F
Wilhelm	Physical threat, loss of job	One Time Event	1935	Aryan	M

Note. In Table 6, a "one time event" pinpoints the decision to a single or similar repeated experience; "long term" refers to decisions either made before the memoir began or apparently made on the basis of accumulating evidence or experience. These terms reflect a continuum. Aryan is a term used by the Nazi Regime to designate persons of northwestern European ancestry. Non-Aryan in this sample refers to people with predominantly Jewish ancestry. "N/A" here means not applicable.

an event of decision, in some cases they had decided upon it long since but were delayed in acting upon the decision. Table 6 summarizes the reasons that emerged from the memoirs for the decision to leave Germany or Austria. Note that for some writers there were more than one reason and some reasons seemed equal. Table 6 also presents my conclusions about whether the decision was based on a single event or was more of a long-term process, and the writer's "racial" status according to Nazi law.[8] The table is followed by some illustrative quotations from the memoirs where the writers' reasons for leaving were stated or could be inferred, and showing how I decided whether it was a quick or a long term decision. Longer quotations from the memoirs have been listed with bullet points. The reasons or motives for emigration are grouped under headings, beginning with those most commonly found.

Loss of work. Nazi policies included preferential hiring of party members and dismissal of non-party members and Jews from nearly all kinds of work, therefore a number of the writers (none were party members) experienced job loss. For the non-Aryan writers, this was the most common reason for emigration. *Ganser* (1940) only decided to emigrate when

- ... not allowed to practice a single occupation in line with my training and background, and very soon I did not get any work at all. (*Ganser*, p. 2)

[8] The Nuremburg Laws of 1935 specified that a non-Aryan was someone with three or four Jewish grandparents, or not of northwest European descent, such as Slavs or Italians, for example. Albersheim's mother was Jewish, her father "Aryan", so at 50% she was considered Aryan by the authorities and herself, having grown up as a Protestant. Löwith, at 75% Jewish, was considered non-Aryan by the authorities, though he considered his ancestry irrelevant to his professional life.

In a letter included in the memoir file, he regretted "that I did not come more early to the United States," having had an offer of a professorship in the U.S. in 1931 (*Ganser*, p. 1). He had to be forced out by being given no option for any other livelihood, and despite the loss of faith with his former colleagues (*Ganser*, see p. 2).

Löwith (1994), too, resisted being displaced from his academic position strenuously, and viewed professorships in other lands as definitely second-best, if that, to the intellectual life of Germany. .

- ...I explained that as a Christian I no longer had the slightest connection with the Jewry, and that I considered the problems of life as an emigrant to be as considerable as those awaiting me in Germany" (*Löwith*, p. 10).

He returned to Germany from his fellowship in Italy during 1935 to protest both at his university, Marburg, and in Berlin (see p. 109). However, Löwith then faced his exile realistically as a practical problem, and immediately began networking and applying for possible professorships in Colombia, the U.S., Turkey and Japan, where he and his wife moved in 1936.

Another non-Aryan, *Miedzwinski* (1940), used a number of stratagems to retain his family business, but eventually had to give up and leave.

- And thus seeing the breakdown of all my hopes and plans, especially the complete destruction of what seemed to become a solution of the Jewish problem in Germany, made me leave my fatherland (*Miedzwinski*, p. 16).

Moral repugnance. Several writers felt moral repugnance at Nazi methods, which were well known and understood. These bullying, destructive methods were in

opposition to the values of personal cultivation, refinement and interior-focused development that characterized the German institution of *Bildung* (Dumont, 1994, see pp. 84-5), as well as the values of respectability and order prized by the middle class. When a writer said he or she was disgusted, I took that as a sign of moral repugnance. .

Illustrating the value judgment I am calling moral repugnance, Reinheimmer had been denounced, fired, and not paid the contractual amount owed him.

- The Nazis with phrases of highest morality on the lips, but applying methods of utmost immorality, dismissed decent [people] of technical or commercial experience by laying upon them charges of criminal offences and replaced them by their own adherents, men of no experience at all with a rather obscure past in many cases even with a criminal past. I was disgusted to such a degree that I considered to leave Germany. (*Reinheimmer*, 1940, p. 11).

During a visit to England, Reinheimmer learned that the court case against him had been given up, thus relieving some worries. With exposure to a free press and free speech,

- I came to know the full extent of barbarism which ruled in Germany and I decided, therefore, not to return to Germany (*Reinheimmer*, p. 12).

Here a growing disgust at the immorality of the Nazi regime contrasted with experiences in a free country, as well as being blacklisted for job prospects in Germany, combined to influence his decision.

Physical threat. Several writers felt a physical threat, which consisted primarily of a fear of arrest (*Arrington*, *Reinheimmer, Wilhelm*) or a fear of assault (*Grünberg*, *Haynes's* husband). Nazi methods were inconsistent, but were known to escalate quickly

into violence, so that arrest and physical battery were likely to coincide. The option to emigrate is first mentioned by *Wilhelm's* (1940) intuitive inner voice telling him to "Get out! Escape! It's going to be bad!" (p. 8). It was not until two years later, after his father put it to him plainly that he must either defend himself against fabricated criminal charges "or you go abroad" (p. 24), that he in fact escaped, again responding to an intuitive warning.

Grünberg (1940), a leftist, departed before Hitler had been in office for a month: Communists, socialists, and radicals of any kind were the first targets of the Nazi regime.

- From 1931 on the situation grew difficult. Meetings were disturbed, individuals waylaid. A friend of mine who vaguely resembled me, was attacked one night and afterwards told by his assailants that they had mistaken him for me. In summer 1932 the university was stormed by 600 to 800 brownshirts.... In February 1933 a mass meeting at which I was scheduled to speak was forbidden by the police and on the last day of February I crossed the border into Switzerland (*Grünberg*, p. II).

There he remained until May, 1940, when he departed for the U.S. after Swizerland began to seem unsafe (see p. 87). The threat of personal assault in the summer of 1933 also motivated *Haynes'* (1940) husband:

- On the way home, he stopped to telephone me what had happened, and that I was to start packing, as we were leaving the country, as soon as possible. (*Haynes*, p. 48)

Being expatriate American citizens, they were able leave almost immediately under a plausible cover story of temporary work in France, although they only passed through France on their way back home to America. These examples of what I have called personal threats are basically in the category of death threats, or fear of great bodily harm. They directly threaten the most basic levels of physiological life on Maslow's hierarchy, as well as generally threatening a sense of safety. I will discuss more subtle senses of vulnerability in the section on fear, below.

Fear of war. Three writers seemed to fear the war for which the Nazis were so obviously preparing more than anything else, including both the pro-Nazis. *Schloss* (1940) had seen refugees as a young man, never thinking "that this would become ever my own fate" (*Schloss*, p. 87).

- I belonged to the part of Jews who still believed in Germany up to the day when German troops marched into Vienna! On that day [March 11, 1938] I decided to emigrate, and with us the doctor also decided to leave Germany and to accompany us to America. (*Schloss*, p. 116)

Dislike of Germany. Two writers, *Albersheim* and *Sichel*, simply disliked Germany. They evidently loved their husbands more, and endured it for those husbands' sakes, all the while longing to return to the U.S. *Albersheim* (1940) states that, "anxious as I [was] to leave Germany," (p. 1) being "so sick and tired of living in Germany" (p. 13), she had regained her American citizenship shortly after her husband's death in 1932, presumably with the intent of returning to the land of her birth. But she was unable and/or unwilling to leave until 1939. From Albersheim's story, the turning point decision may

be inferred, although the informant did not explicitly say so, any more than she said why she had married a German man, thus exchanging her citizenship.[9] Her account, like that of *Sichel* (1940), begins with the decision already having been made at some unnamed point in the past.

Aryans and non-Aryans. It was noticeable, and perhaps unexpected, that the non-Aryans seemed to have much the same reasons as the Aryans for emigration. These observations were consistent with the findings of Berghahn, whose German-Jewish refugees were amazed, upon recollection, by how much more the inflation had affected them than overt anti-Semitic policies (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 62). Anti-Semitism was not personally experienced by these writers in terms of direct persecution, except as a factor in the loss of employment and business. A number of the Aryans observed and were horrified by assaults and humiliations borne by Jews. A section below, called prejudice, discusses attitudes and awareness of anti-Semitism and persecution of Jews.

Contributing Factors

Having delineated the major motivations for turning point decisions to emigrate found in the memoirs I analyzed, I now turn to the processes that can be discerned underlying the decision to emigrate. The processes, intuitive and conscious, are mingled with each writer's circumstances and life story, as well as the historical events that affected them. Generally speaking, nearly all the writers gave evidence of a very active social life and seemed to make friends easily, a personality characteristic that may have

[9] American women who married foreign nationals between 1907 and 1922 forfeited their citizenship (Cott, 1998, see p. 1465, note 68; Sapiro, 1984, see pp. 10, 11, 15).

made seeking and getting help easier for them, as discussed below. In addition to good social skills, they also mostly seemed to be quite adept at their various professions, making them the kind of person a stranger would be happy to hire, as reflected in their mentions of job offers and in the few obituaries available. Several writers, especially the return emigrants, had experiences of living in other countries, which, like travel abroad, seemed to make them aware of alternatives to staying in Germany. This section will present some of the social and cultural aspects that seemed to contribute to the decision to emigrate, such as being middle class, and some constraints and inhibitions that affected emigration.

Middle class. The middle class culture has been seen as a by-product of modernization and industrialization (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 34; Wiebe, 1967). Dumont (1994, see pp. 224f) described the French process of incorporating German ideas into their philosophy following their defeat in 1870; apparently the German middle class had at the same time incorporated French ideas, such as a more publicly oriented individualism than was traditional to Germans (who held to an inner individualism but outward conformity) and in human rights. A middle class German person at that time might agree with principles of human rights and a responsibility for personal growth, but not necessarily with ideas that called for more than vocal action. All the writers seemed to be middle class or bourgeois in at least the second generation, if not more. In a country like Germany, with industrialization lagging behind other western countries by 50 or 75 years (Fischer, 1986, see pp. 40-1), the likelihood of being middle class was less than in those other countries.

Middle class views managed to incorporate conservative as well as liberal values. The internationalist views of *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1936), who supported the Nazi regime, ran counter to the Nazi glorification of the so-called Aryan race and their expectation of conquest over non-Aryan peoples.

- As individuals form families, and families nations, so one day, I hope, and do not doubt, nations will form a world unity, a unity of all human beings. Each will have its peculiar duties to perform; none above, none beneath, striving to serve humanity; with one goal of perfection! (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, 1936, p. 100)

Eichbaum-Brehme not only supported the idea of universal human standards, she recognized in some foreigners who shared her values a common humanity. She demonstrates a predominantly middle class view of the world, colored by her personal political convictions. *Saunders* (1940) had decided never to return to live in Germany after seeing the evidence of social disarray in 1923, at the height of the inflation, and Eichbaum-Brehme had emigrated at about the same time; both were happy to find the appearances of decency, cleanliness and order restored under the Nazi regime, and neither looked very far to see if there were another, shadowy side.

Good business practices were a concern for several of the writers, who were owners, consultants, salespeople and managers of manufacturing concerns. These are typical middle class values (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 108-112; Lubrano, 2004, see pp. 132-5; Wiebe, 1967, see p. 211-12, 236).

- Business increased till 1929. Then, following the general trend of world trade, German economics turned fast from bad to worse, including our little branch, the

> hardstone industry. .... The situation was very bad, and I, as an enemy of Nazi-Germany, must admit that conditions only improved after their taking over. I cannot go into how they did it and how they tightened the economic screw in later years. (*Miedzwinski*, 1940, p. 11)

However, writers involved in business deplored Nazi policies that were bad for trade, especially foreign trade, and criticized the appointment of unqualified Nazis in positions of authority.

- The poor man was unhappy. He did not feel that way. But just ignoring the Nazi would have meant, being boycotted by them, and lose the business. (*Paschkis*, p. 22)
- The business man had to pay enormous taxes, take on men he had no use for, give huge sums to the party funds. He had to give his men days off for party functions, pay them for these enforced vacations. The boycott threatened exports, raw materials were difficult to get. Everything of importance was rationed. (*Albersheim*, 1940, p. 20)
- I am sure that the German and Austrian leather bag trade will never recover its world-wide influence on the market which it had before the Jews were forced to leave. Many of these men have gone to England and America. They have opened new factories and have given work to a score of unemployed. I know that Switzerland now imports British bags made by former German manufacturers. The same thing is happening in the fur and clothing line. Aryan manufacturers are

not very happy about it. Their export trade is next to nil and some have told me that they never hope to regain their lost markets. (*Albersheim*, p. 41)

- My cell neighbor, as he told me, was of Polish nationality; he was the owner of a flourishing gasoline station and had lived for many years in Germany. When Hitler came to power he was expropriated, a Nazi took possession of the gas station and he should be deported to Poland. In order to relieve unemployment the Nazis had issued a decree according to which foreigners were not allowed to work in Germany. But, because Poland refused to take back citizens who had lived for many years in Germany he and many other were put into prison. (*Reinheimmer*, 1940, p. 9)
- At first they would give these firms to men whose only ability was that they were members of the party. When many stores failed a stop was put to this procedure and they tried to get party men who also had a knowledge of the business. This brought in a lot of graft. (*Albersheim*, 1940, p. 29)

Concern for good business practices represented some of the moral repugnance found in the memoirs, as Nazi policies were disruptive, political appointees were often unqualified, and actions like the pogrom of November 9-10, 1938, offended the desire for order, restraint, frugality and decency that the writers valued.

The tenacity with which the writers strove to cling to their position as middle class or bourgeois Germans was impressive. *Paschkis* (1940), *Ganser* (1940) and *Löwith* (1994) had to be forced out, and strove to remain close to Germany in their initial moves. The Catholic priest *Wilhelm* (1940) returned to his post after a brief imprisonment while

Albersheim (1940) took years to salvage enough of her fortune to obtain a U.S. visa for her non-Aryan daughter. Tenacity incurred emotional costs. Some were stoically practical:

- ... remaining was not possible, ... bonds had to be cut (*Miedzwinski* (1940), p. 14).

Others experienced sorrow:

- Five weeks ago when I reached America I found letters awaiting me from Erwin. I could read between the lines that without the thorn of a dissenting wife, he is fitting peacefully into the pattern of National Socialism. (*Arrington*, p. 89)
- There were no friends left in this town of four million people. When I left in May, 1935, there was not a single soul to whom I had to say farewell (*Peech*, 1940, p. 166b)

For *Peech* (1940) and for *Arrington* (1940), the debilitating process of losing friends and relatives (to the Nazis and to emigration), valued associations, and their assumed livelihoods combined to make the process one of heartbreak.

Constraining factors and emigration. *Wilhelm* (1940) provided a clear example of a constraining factors (Cadwallader, 1989), in this case inner emigration (Donahue & Kirchner, 2003), as he deliberately accustomed himself to a restricted social life, holding his youth group meetings in less easily accessible locations and keeping his movements inconspicuous or secret (see *Wilhelm*, p. 18). The procedure of playing along or giving lip service to the Nazis was all too common, as *Gebhard* (1940) attempted and *Reinheimmer* (1940) found impossible. On the other hand, the increasing economic constraints initially resulted in energetic and creative measures, such as a company

owned by Jews disguising itself by joining a syndicate of similar Aryan-owned firms (*Miedzwinski*, 1940). Certainly, overt persecution, experienced by several of these writers, enabled them to decide to leave more quickly than those who kept thinking there might be a way to hold on and ride out the Nazi storm. Another constraint Gebhard mentioned was finding that there was anti-Semitic behavior in the U.S., as well as a pronounced anti-German (in addition to anti-Nazi) sentiment, which made him uncertain that it was the right place to bring his children.

- For the first time I heard that there are restrictions against the Jews in this country – of course not legally – and I was a little bit wondering about these USA. On the other hand I knew that people here generally were opposed to the Nazi ideology and their methods. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 61)

Inhibitions of the emigration decision. The focus of my project is on the decision to emigrate. Factors that might have inhibited such a decision are called stay and ability factors in Middleton's (2010) version of the push pull emigration model, conceptual compartments that can clarify some attitudes and assumptions the emigrants would probably have encountered. Coinciding with a theory of decision making as a strategy to minimize discomfort or dissonance (Elster, 1998), mentioned above, examples were readily found in these memoirs to explain why Germans might *not* have emigrated, and suggesting why the decision took so long for those who did:

1. Focus on the positive.

- [Overhearing women in the public bath] "Before you start complaining, stop and think. Two years ago we had onions, plenty of onions, but did our men have jobs?

Could we buy the goulash to put the onions in?" "God knows I'd rather have a job for my man than all the goulash in Hungary!" (*Arrington*, p. 68)

2. Make do with reality.

- When Mr. Hansen was so successful in dealing with the Nazi Government it certainly was not because he really was a 100% Nazi (neither I nor any of his business friends thought of him as such). However, he was a good actor and a smart business man. (*Nielsen*, p. 10)
- Although 41 years old, Erick had never been married, and he did not want to either. But the Nazi party wanted him to, and the management at the oil concern put quite a lot of pressure on him in that regard. .... But he realized he would have to marry sooner or later if he wanted to keep his job. (*Nielsen*, pp. 73-74)
- Hitler continued to show a real interest. In leaving he called the Exhibition the best one he had ever seen — that meant another – longer or shorter – time of security for me — but I realized too, that I worked together with the Nazis much closer than I liked to do. (*Gebhard*, p. 60)

3. Believe the promises of wish fulfillment.

- [After the Saar plebiscite] Music sets in with the Saar Lied; light beams play; thousands of torches glow. I never have seen anything so impressive as this is.... Half a million turn homeward in perfect order and elevation of spirit. (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, p. 171-2)
- I like to say firstly, that the change of government has worked wonders in many ways (*Saunders*, 1940, p. 16)

4. Actively support the new policies, such as rearmament, as best, imagining that the benefits, as from conquest, will be permanent.

- We're marching into Poland on the fourth of August, but of course England is finished and there won't be war. Only a local disturbance .... (*Arrington*, p. 76)
- ...this gentle-looking old man outlined the coming events for us. Germany must have living space, he said, therefore in September she would march into Poland. England would do nothing. In the spring Roumania would fall. Hungary was already virtually a German province.... and so on and on. [*sic*] (*Arrington*, p. 77)

5. Having initially supported the new regime, subsequently repudiate the leadership (that is, change their mind when it's too late).

- Professor W..... met me with a ringing "Heil Hitler!" and lead me into his private office. There he carefully shut both doors and sat down within a few inches of my ears. "I don't like this, " he whispered. "It's all right for the young people. They're better off but it isn't all right for me. I'm used to liberty. I've got to slip out somehow. My wife has already left for France. She'll get in touch with you. Can you take the baby to Paris? Mind you, not a word of this to anyone! It's life or death for us! " (*Arrington*, p. 45)

Instead of rationalizing in these various ways, the memoir writers, engaging in the hard work of facing facts about themselves and their times, revised their assumptions and decided to emigrate in the manner described in King's studies (2000, 2001). I have supposed that their combination of good social and technical skills, as well as abundant physical and emotional capital, enabled their ability to do so. They also exhibited the

practical realism Maslow extolled (1970, see chapter 11), being able to read situations clearly and responding appropriately, in a way that sustained their developmental attainments.

Emigration Models

Push pull. The lens provided by the expanded push pull model of migration proposed by Middleton (2010), revealed several classic push and pull factors working. Although originally developed by economists, the model is used here in terms of the factors affecting emigration, push, pull, stay and ability. Those who were anti-Nazi (push factor) were so due to moral repugnance or disgust over Nazi business practices, while some were also physically threatened. About half of the writers were pulled by America as a land of opportunity (one by Switzerland before America). The greatest stay factor was a love of the German-Austrian liberal culture, language and way of life before the Nazis. All the writers had the ability to implement their decision to emigrate, though actually leaving was difficult in some way for each of them: red tape and money transfer issues affected them all; some had relatives whose emigration caused problems; several went to other countries before finding a new home elsewhere.

Saunders (1940), who had no intention of emigrating initially, but married on a visit to America and thus became an American citizen, showed little in the way of a push factor. Pull factors among the writers indicated a continuum of attraction to other countries, from none to very much. Those with little or no pull to another country tended to be those who expressed greater love for Germany as a stay factor. Relatives who

Table 7. Push Pull Emigration Model Findings

	Push	***Pull***	***Stay***	***Ability***
Albersheim	Anti-Nazi, bad business climate	Pro-America	Children, business	U.S. passport
Arrington	Anti-Nazi	Pro-America	Love of Austria	U.S. passport
Eichbaum-Brehme	German collapse (1923)	Pro-America	Love of Germany	Easy (1923); U.S. passport (1935)
Ganser	Loss of work, CC threat	Mildly pro-America	Love of Germany	Good, escaped
Gebhard	Anti-Nazi	Mildly pro-America	Love of Germany	Good
Grünberg	Danger threat from Nazi	Work in Switzerland	Little, dissatisfied with both Germany and Austria	Good, escaped, Switzerland, then U.S.
Haynes	Danger threat from Nazis to husband	Mildly pro-America	Liked Germany	U.S. passport
Löwith	Exiled	Nearly none	Love of Germany	Good
Miedzwinski	Loss of business, career	Little	None	Unknown
Nielsen	Bad business climate	Professional life	None	Good
Paschkis	Moral repugnance	Moral climate	Love of Austria & German culture	Good, multiple emigrations
Peech	Anti-Nazis, loss of job	Nearly none	Love of Germany	Good
Reinheimmer	Anti-Nazis, arrested	Nearly none	Friends urging	Good, but first to U.K., Argentina
Saunders	Little, passive	Mildly pro-America	Mild pleasure in visit	U.S. passport
Schloss	Fear of war	Mildly pro-America	Love of Germany	Good
Sichel	Anti-Nazis	Pro-America	Husband	U.S. passport
Wilhelm	Danger threat from Nazis	Nearly none	German mission	Good, escaped

Note. Tables 7, 8 and 9 were constructed based on my impressions from reading and rereading the memoirs. They are meant to provide a summary overview, as I understood them, with regard to these three theories of emigration. Because in no case did the theorists offer precise definitions of their terms, these findings are meant as descriptions.

wished to remain in Germany were a stay factor for several. From my reading, it seemed that a job offer in another country contributed more to ability than as a pull factor.

In terms of ability, this sample is probably not reflective of the mass of would-be emigrants, in that they all succeeded in leaving Germany and most were not gravely threatened. For those already possessing a U.S. passport, only red tape and other complications interfered. The ability of those trying to get an entry visa to some other country decreased as time went on, since other countries tightened their restrictions as the numbers of refugees increased (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 76). *Miedzwinski* (1940) gave no details of his actual emigration, only noting that he was in a refugee camp in the U.K. at the time of writing. *Nielsen* (1940) also gave no details of his emigration.

Emotional arc. The emotional arc model of emigration proposed by the Grinbergs (1984, 1989), predicted a pattern of mood shifts that I found in some cases. The suggested initial phase of grief, loss or depression seemed to be minimized or was absent in most writers' accounts; this may have reflected a stoical reaction, or perhaps the motivation of moral repugnance overcame negative emotions with anger. However, *Arrington* (1940) and *Peech* (1940) reported quite severe depression (they were bed-ridden) while *Wilhelm* (1940) mentioned nightmares and extreme anxiety. The next phase, of great activity, was reported by about half the writers, although almost all mentioned the extraordinary efforts actually needed to leave. Psychogenic illnesses and accidents may have been experienced by five writers. Though their reticence about personal problems makes it difficult to assign these to the emigration process specifically, the timing of the (usually very generally described) illness or accident seemed suggestive. A nostalgic mood was expressed by only three writers: most were ready to leave when

Table 8. Emotional Arc Emigration Model Findings.

	Negative Mood	***Active Mood***	***Possible Psychogenic Symptoms***	***Nostalgia***	***Recovery (in new home)***
Albersheim	Downplayed, irritated	Active seeking	Operation?	Very little	Unknown
Arrington	Pronounced	Little	Pronounced	Some	Unknown
Eichbaum-Brehme	Little	Little	None	Some	total
Ganser	Some, especially loss of companionship	Active when decided after CC	None	A little, hopes for better German's rehabilitation	Good, resumed job; still anxious about family, friends
Gebhard	Anxiety	Foreign travel	None	Some	Good, resumed job
Grünberg	Little	Worked free-lance in Switzerland	Fell ill after escape from Germany	Some for intellectual ferment of 1920s	Good, resumed job
Haynes	Some, tension	Little	None	Some	Good
Löwith	Downplayed, irritated	Active seeking, downplayed	None	Much desire to return	Found adequate place-holder
Miedzwinski	Downplayed, irritated	Active seeking, downplayed	Nervous tension	Some	None, holding
Nielsen	Little	Little	None	Very little	Unknown
Paschkis	Some, tension	Active seeking	Nervous tension	Some	Good, resumed job
Peech	Pronounced	Little	Pronounced	Pronounced	Ambivalent
Reinheimmer	Disgust	Active, when decided	None	very little	Difficulty finding work
Saunders	If any, based on downward life prospects	Little, curious exploration	None	Desired good old days, frightened of bad old days (1923)	Ambivalent about Nazi good times, returned to US
Schloss	Little	Some, once decision made	Operation?	Refused, turned against Germany	Unknown
Sichel	Downplayed, irritated	Frustrated	None	Very little	Unknown
Wilhelm	PTSD-like symptoms	Resented having to keep looking	Sciatica	Much desire to return	Adequate place-holder

the time came. The nostalgic and recovery phases of this model would be typical of experiences in the new country, little of which is discussed in these memoirs. Two writers mentioned difficulty finding work in their new location and thus were still unsettled at the time of writing.

As with each of these emigration models, the categories or stages were described rather fluidly by the originators, so I have used general terms as descriptive headings. Since I did notice some mentions of illness, I included "possible psychogenic symptoms" as a separate column in Table 8. The writers tended to be vague in their descriptions of illness, except for *Arrington* (1940) and *Peech* (1940), who detailed their emotional decline, and *Paschkis* (1940), who had a straightforward skiing injury (probably unrelated to his emigration, though its recounting brought up some issues regarding visas and travel restrictions). Instances of negative and active moods were unremarkable. Some examples are detailed below the table to illustrate the various categories.

- For two weeks after my return from Hiddensee I saw nobody. .... I would — for a whole night — lie on the soft, pine-covered forest ground which started right behind my house, staring up in the summer sky and trying to catch some foothold in the maelstrom which was flooding my world picture. For the only time in my life I came very close to suicide..... (*Peech*, pp. 66-7)

Grünberg's illness, immediately upon reaching Switzerland after years of increasing threats, seems suggestive of stressful release.

Due to the time covered by these memoirs, most written shortly after the writers had arrived at a destination, the categories of nostalgia and recovery were simply not

covered by some, and only to be guessed at by others. One writer, *Saunders* (1940, see p. 2), had been seriously injured in a home furnace explosion that killed her husband. Her financial position as an older widow was difficult, and she "had hoped for a different kind of work" than being a housekeeper, previously having qualified as a teacher of languages in the European system. Although most of the writers experienced professional problems, Saunders was the only one who seemed to me unlikely to regain her former status. *Löwith* (1994), while a university professor in Japan (and later in the U.S.), did not consider those positions truly equivalent to the one he had lost in Germany, so I called it a place-holder. The same attitude held for *Wilhelm* (1940), sojourning in Colombia. *Peech* (1940), having lost her well-paid work in the German film industry and become a wife and helper to her second husband, seemed ambivalent about that change (Paine, 1975).

Resources and responses. The construct proposed by Korte et al. (2005) partially parallels the emotional arc model. In all cases some incident or attitude could be identified as a perturbation or deactivation of the person's former role, resulting in the depression or negative feelings phase in the emotional arc model. This event could be called a triggering issue, following Moon (1995, see p. 509). The active response, similar to the emotional arc's intense activity phase, usually was focused on the actual emigration strategy and efforts, though some writers were thwarted, as by concerns about and resistance from relatives (see *Arrington*, 1940, and *Sichel*, 1940). By and large the sub-categories of the active response were uninformative for this sample (and are not included in the table), but some writers did express great caution, suggesting a partial

freeze response rather than a flight response. The phase of mobilization of resources depended on the writer: Some exhibited such mobilization throughout their accounts, some mentioned strategies for survival, and some escaped so quickly that the category only applied to their flight. Actual emigration was decided upon intentionally by eleven writers; three were reluctant and two were passive (they left due to external timing, of an apprenticeship ending and a passport expiration). As in the emotional arc recovery stage, the subcategories of resuming old roles or adopting new ones seemed likely for most to be accomplished successfully. As the memoirs end in 1940, subsequent events are not fully known for most of the writers. However, *Paschkis* (1940), a World War I veteran, became a pacifist as well as continuing as an electrical engineer, *Haynes'* husband went into another business in the U.S., and *Grünberg*, having worked as a translator in Switzerland, regained his role as a professor in the US.

The resources and responses model suggests an additional set of subcategories related to these particular human beings, in terms of the resources they had to draw upon. Financial, social and cultural capital are terms sometimes used to describe the advantages of the middle class. These writers all had sufficient financial capital to pay the taxes and other fees necessary to leave Germany and to lament the loss of assets that could not be brought along, or which had to be sold at a loss. Their cultural capital consisted of the general knowledge base and skill set of well-educated middle class members, most of them concurring with the German values of *Bildung* (self-development, refinement,

etc.), and with the general principles of human rights for themselves and others. Most seemed to be eminently employable in new settings. They were mostly well-traveled and thus had a practical experience of other lands and the logistics necessary to relocate.

Table 9. Resources and responses Emigration Model Findings.

	Deactivation/ loss	***Active responses***	***Mobilization of resources***	***Emigration***
Albersheim	Continued as leader throughout	Much activity	Throughout	Intention
Arrington	Difficult, hung on	Resistance to return	Throughout	Reluctant
Eichbaum-Brehme	Loss of WWI, end of marriage	Quick escape	None mentioned	Intention
Ganser	Loss of job & prospects	Emigrated (some difficulty)	Lived on savings	Once decided, went
Gebhard	Job threatened	Foreign travel, leapt at Amer. job offer; considered med. practice	None mentioned	Once decided, went
Grünberg	Personal threat	Left immediately	Worked free-lance in Switzerland	Once decided, went
Haynes	Physical threat	Left immediately	Financial finagling	Once decided, went
Löwith	Resisted, desired to continue	Resistance	Pragmatic details	Reluctant
Miedzwinski	Loss of job & prospects	Emigrated (no details)	Family emigrated	Once decided, went
Nielsen	Time course of apprenticeship	Constant, orderly	None mentioned	Intention
Paschkis	Moral repugnance	Emigration decision	Worked in Italy and Netherlands before U.S.	Once decided, went
Peech	Difficult, hung on	Resistance	Throughout	Reluctant
Reinheimmer	Arrested, disgusted	Emigrated (some difficulty)	Throughout	Intention
Saunders	Widowed, injured; bad impressions of Germany 1923; fear of war 1938	Visited Germany to recuperate	None mentioned	Passive acceptance
Schloss	Factor of age & events	War threat	None mentioned	Unknown
Sichel	Took over leadership	Thwarted	None mentioned	Intention
Wilhelm	Resisted, desired to continue	Quick escape	None, quick escape	Once decided, went

Social capital. All the writers seemed to have a wide circle of friends, as the examples set out below illustrate, though many mourned the loss of friendships after the Nazis took over. An idea of the numbers of times they mentioned friends can be seen in the following table, though the tally does not include synonyms like comrade. Often writers mentioned a person as a friend rather than using a name, due to security concerns.

Table 10. Occurrences of the Word "Friend" in Each Memoir.

Name	***Number of occurrences of the word "friend" in the memoir***	***Number of pages in the memoir***
Albersheim	32	75
Arrington	80	89
Eichbaum-Brehme	76	177
Ganser	10	7
Gebhard	80	105
Grünberg	30	87
Haynes	43	53
Löwith	87	161
Miedzwinski	38	16
Nielsen	74	75
Paschkis	18	28
Peech	100	181
Reinheimmer	2	13
Saunders	4	20
Schloss	93	150
Sichel	72	112
Wilhelm	8	31

- The Southern German is easy-going & approachable. I made friends, went to see them at home, drank & talked to them. (*Miedzwinski*, 1940, p. 5)
- Since 1933 a new era had begun. Social life was closed for the Jews. ... So they retired behind their four walls, gave little parties, and had rather depressed conversations. Even that was not safe. (*Miedzwinski*, p. 14)
- I myself, for example, could only secretly visit my best friends, people whom I had valued and loved most of my life; usually I saw them at night or only outside the city. Otherwise I would have placed them in immediate danger of becoming victims of a public denunciation or punishment by the German Secret Police, the Gestapo. Gradually, however, all personal contacts with my friends had to be abandoned.... (*Ganser*, 1940, p. 3)
- In the winter of 1935/ 36 we felt more vividly than any time before that the big Nazi machine had crushed all public life—so we sort of retired to our private life and cultivated our friendships. We had visitors from the USA and our English friend came to see us once a year since 1930—so we got some outside information. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 84)
- This Aryan business was getting on my nerves. Jews were afraid to associate with me and Aryans also. I sometimes felt like a leper. But, of course, my intimate friends still came. I was very careful for their sakes and never invited Jews and Aryans at the same time. (*Albersheim*, 1940, p. 36)
- "You are infected by Jewish negativism," he said in a fatherly tone. "I wish you would free yourself from this influence. I am not an anti-Semite, but there are

> certain trends in their characters ....” As soon as I heard this melody I knew that there was another Nazi victim and that I had lost another friend for good. (*Peech*, 1940, p. 77)

Spiritual capital. Two memoir writers, *Paschkis* and *Wilhelm*, mentioned what could be called spiritual capital, a finding that extends the emigration theories described above. I consider spiritual capital to be a resource of strength, encouragement and power coming from some otherworldly, supernatural or not appreciably common physical or emotional source. It may or may not be connected with the practice of religion, or a conversion, peak or mystical experience. Spiritual capital is above and beyond a competent person’s extremes of capability and opens the person to another level of experience and awareness. *Paschkis* (1940), who had been baptized as a two-year old, was able to use that fact to his practical advantage, in what might be called social/religious capital, based on affiliation:

- Finally it came out, that I was a “Christian Non-Aryan” and Catholic. That would change the picture completely, he said. The population felt strongly Catholic, and if he would mention the fact, the party would not dare to do anything. And that was also the outcome. (*Paschkis*, p. 22)

However, Catholicism had been only a nominal matter for him, until he met members of the Quaker or Mennonite community (he does not say which, and seems to have been affiliated with both in later years, according to obituaries from the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* in June, 1991).

- I came back to religion, after many years of total indifference. Although the transfer from Italy to the Netherlands was a promotion, I was unhappy about it, because it meant new adjustment for my family and myself, because I had to abandon the things, I had built up and had to start a new task. I was pretty much down, and thought, that I could not stand another eventual future change. In this desperation the contact with the "Christian community" came just in time. And when I felt, two years later, that I would have to change again (which led me, as I will tell later on to this country), I felt that the regained religious help would enable me to start 100 times over, if it should be necessary. (*Paschkis*, 1940, p. 20)

Thus I see in Paschkis' example, which may have included a conversion experience, a hitherto inconceivable access to power, strength and encouragement well beyond his normally superb skills as a practical survivor.

For *Wilhelm*, 1940, a Roman Catholic priest, the experience of imprisonment seemed to have awakened some war trauma, as he mentions both war and his arrest in the same paragraph:

- As a soldier, I had lived through many a deadly night on the battle field. This night, however, was the most dreadful one of my entire life. First, there was the awareness of being locked in, of not being able to get out. I tried to sleep. It was impossible. I couldn't sleep at all that night. I heard every quarter chime from the turret. I tried praying. It didn't work, either. (*Wilhelm*, p. 10)

He experienced a temporary descent into doubts and even a loss of connection to his faith (praying didn't work to calm him). However, once he was allowed to function as a priest again, part-time, he tried to rationalize the situation by turning the experience into a meditation, comparing his plight with that of the imprisoned St. Peter. That is, he drew upon his normal practice of religion as a gateway to spiritual capital.

- Locked-in again in my dreadful loneliness, I feel happy in spite of everything. And all the time, I'm thinking about the epistle of the day: *Petrus servabatur in carcere, oratio autem fiebat pro eo*... [Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made for him]. (*Wilhelm*, p. 11)

Wilhelm's calm and efficient escape. when the time came, seemed to have been made possible by his reconnection with spirituality in the familiar forms of his religion. That is, his profound emotional and physical reaction had the effect of convincing him that the freezing/hiding strategy could not be attempted again, and that he must flee, as fighting was not an option.

A third writer distressingly mentioned what could be called a loss of both personal and public spiritual capital:

- I saw through the uncovered windows the lights burning on the table of the believing Jews [in Galicia, 1918]. The family was gathered around and for the first time in three years they felt security under the protection of Germans. When I write these lines, I feel ashamed of the change which has taken place twenty years later!—but I will not digress on this object and I can state here and now,

> that this Sabbath-Eve made a very deep impression on me and made me sad. (*Schloss*, 1940, pp. 65-6)

Schloss, a man of Jewish ancestry but no active religious practice, felt perhaps nostalgia at the sight of "believing Jews," a class to which he did not belong. He connected in these lines his own personal feeling of something lost with the wider loss of his country's virtue: the country that had once protected the freedom of religious practice was now persecuting those who dared to practice any religion apart from that approved by the state, in particular the Jewish religion. In Maslow's terms (1970, see pp. 39-42), Schloss experienced an unsatisfied need for the value base of religious freedom and its concurrent virtue, in terms of basic safety (he uses the terms security and protection), and thus he was frustrated. I suggest that spiritual capital could be added to the more internally focused emigration theories as a dimension or factor that influences and supports the intended émigré's resolve.

Fear, Paralysis, Freezing Behavior

An immigrant from Germany in the 19th century wrote that the Imperial government of the time had taken measures to reduce the most common sources of fear in the populace, thus improving their quality of life: "Over most of the workers hangs throughout all their life the fear of unemployment, the fear of sickness, the fear of old age," (Steinmetz, 1916, p. 51). He might also have mentioned the fear of persecution, because he had fled from threatened arrest as a socialist. With the inflation of 1923, Germans faced renewed fear of poverty as life savings evaporated, many having already

lost heavily with the defeat of World War I, after which government bonds had become worthless.

- A man like my father who had lived a life of hard work and great thrift, who before the war had saved a nice sum for his old age, had lost all his money because as a good patriot he signed everything in "*Kriegsanleihe*" [war bond/loan]. After the war he and many others had started again to save—of course on a much smaller basis—and the Inflation had taken away again everything. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 34)
- At that time Germany was undergoing universal devaluation—not only of money, but of all values.... Within a few months my father had lost his savings after four decades of hard work during which he had worked his way up from being a hungry scholarship-holder to bourgeois affluence. (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 63)
- Constant and persistent rumors about a possible inflation started to pop up on all corners and this was for the German burgher worse than anything else. To prevent it he would have given his soul to the devil. (*Peech*, 1940, p. 20)

In considering the state of mind of people living in Nazi Germany, it is important to bear in mind the devastating effects of the loss of World War I and the widespread loss of financial security that followed in the inflation. It seems that their most common visceral response to the Nazi threat was to freeze or hide, which is in fact, the first one for most mammals, followed by flight and finally by fight (Bracha, 2004, see p. 679). But American researchers, following their own cultural imperatives, have until recently

focused on the dramatic fighting response, as when Cannon (1929) coined "fight or flight" (Bracha, 2004).

Americans do have a strong cultural preference for the fight response, followed by flight, when threatened (Adler & Jelinek, 1986). An American intelligence officer, covering the Allied victory over Nazi Germany, was thus disgusted and contemptuous of the many German civilians interviewed, who said weakly that they had not dared to resist or even question the regime (Padover, 1946, see pp. 9, 68, 115-6, 138, 216, 259). His informants reflected the results of the terror strategy used by the Nazis.

> For four years the Germans used a secret creeping snakelike fear as their weapon against the French. This weapon also failed because there were always more people who were ready to face the prison and the torture chamber and the cemetery (Gellhorn, 1959, p. 182).

Courage was not seen among German civilians or among some French prisoners of war who, when asked about resistance, "looked confused and unhappy and muttered, 'We didn't dare. We didn't dare.'" (Padover, p. 345). "Adult Germans give the impression of being a cowed people, incapable of independent action or of courageous resistance. This generalization applies to the civilians, and not to the army" (Padover, p. 116). The moral failure of the Germans at the beginning of the Nazi regime (that I argue was the result of a fearful response) was a complaint at that time, too, as seen in several of the memoirs studied.

- ...the widely spread and terrible trend to lie and hide facts started in Germany.... (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 44).

- As "*Wandervögel*" Mrs. Gebhard and I had both pledged to live our lives "*selbstverantwortlich, aus innerer Verantwortung*" (with [one's] own inner responsibility), but the life we led now was quite contrary to this pledge (*Gebhard*, p. 49).
- National Socialism had killed not only our powers of conversation but our honesty, our brotherhood and deep within us our self-respect (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 88).
- ... a moral isolation which then seemed so much more important to me than the economical one.... (*Peech*, 1940, p. 130).
- ... the character of the provincial German middle-class revealed appalling defects (*Peech*, p. 176).
- The national settlement (*Deutsche Einigung*) [agreement, Nazification], as it was called, brought about ... betrayal, defamation, intrigues, even within the families (*Wilhelm*, 1940, p. 7)
- ... that this could be no atmosphere in which to raise our children (*Paschkis*, 1940, p. 16)
- ... this [Nazi] "Weltanschauung" is incompatible with any religion and any morals. (*Reinheimmer*, p. 12).

Americans assumed that a well-educated country, like Germany, would have citizens who shared American values, and, more important, the American outlook on problems, that they were temporary and could be overcome (see Adler & Jelinek, 1986,

pp. 80-81). Fatalism, or whatever it was that paralyzed Germans, was however not shared by all:

> The soldiers used to say: "'What could we do? If we didn't obey we'd be shot ourselves." Frau Sittard [a leftist who had been imprisoned], however, refused to condone their moral responsibility. "'They should have had the courage to refuse to obey." (Padover, p. 139)

However, the reactions of the majority of Germans seemed to be, even before the Nazis took over, a matter of inner retreat, looking the other way, and accepting the regime's promise of vicious brutality to any dissent. These could have been reactions typical of the inward-looking preference of the German *Bildung* tradition, which focused on personal development while eschewing involvement with state and public affairs. These were also, perhaps, the reactions of people who had a heightened fear/freeze response, based perhaps on the experience of the loss of World War I, the revolution of 1919, and the great inflation of 1923. People who had already been traumatized to the extent that they were alert to signs of threat, might freeze in response, rather than opting for fight or flight: "In the face of threat, it was self-protective to become numb, nonhysterical, compliant, obedient, and not combative. Running would result in isolation and sure death. Fighting would be futile" (Perry, Pollard, Blakley, Baker, & Vigilante, 1995, p. 282).

Reports from the memoirs mention people in 1933, upon Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, instantly assuming that they would be overheard and reported on. Despite such common knowledge of the Nazi methods, few dared to protest or to vote against them in later elections, where they were sure they and their votes were being watched. If

any dared to speak out, it was well known, they were silenced quickly by means of arrest, loss of employment (and thereby influence), and fears for the welfare of their families and associates, as a policy of spying became commonplace.

- [He] gave a quick glance over his shoulder. This was the first time I saw this motion which later was to be the introduction of every sentence spoken in public. (*Peech*, pp. 87-8)
- ... nobody is independent in Germany, since everybody faces a terrible fate in concentration-camp if he dares to do anything contrary to the general rules ordered by the Government, even if he dares to think differently, it becomes almost impossible for everyone to have an opinion of his own or to act differently from the common pattern. .... In November 1938 I was thrown into a concentration camp as a member of the German *Bekenntniskirche* (The Protestant Church led by Dr. Niemöller). (*Ganser*, 1940, pp. 3-4)
- His face took on an expression of the greatest uneasiness and he started to look anxiously around to see whether anyone listened. I could hardly believe that the former secretary of the Social Democratic Party in East Prussia was afraid. (*Peech*, 1940, p. 93)
- Fear is catching. I spent the rest of that night burning books and papers. Fey and Dr. Furst, we learned, had killed themselves and their wives and children and the fate of Mr. Nachman had chilled and terrified me as nothing had ever chilled and terrified me before. (*Arrington*, p. 36)

- I voted in a small private booth and then gave my vote which was in an envelope into the hands of an official who stood by the box. He was still holding it when I left the room. (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 41).
- ... I feel strange eyes glued to every page and I cannot compose personal letters.... (*Arrington*, p. 42).
- I had shouted on the street and might have been overheard (*Arrington*, p. 44).

These examples show the Nazi-directed pressure for conformity and their general policy of threatening feelings of safety among the populace.

Uncomplaining endurance, while it may be assumed a cultural value among those for whom sayings such as "it can't be helped" or "one can do nothing" are common (Hanson, Lynch, & Wayman, 1990, see p. 120), is just the opposite of the typical "American solutions, departure or violence" (Adler, & Jelinek, 1986, p. 79). In other words, Americans tend to discount the freeze reaction, so strongly do we prefer fight or flight. However, the freeze reaction is just as commonly human (or animal, see Kapçi & Cramer, 2000, p. 412; Ursin, 2005, see p. 1061) as the other, even if our cultural sentiments despise it. We probably feel anxious ourselves at the thought of being hopeless and powerless, of being resigned to "prejudice, discrimination and inequity" (Simmons, 2011), rather than being able to speak out and/or plan effective counteractions. Particularly the end result, dissociated responses like indifference to others and withdrawal, was unpalatable to American observers (such as Gellhorn, 1959; Padover, 1946; Fussell, 1996).

The general opinion of some other researchers has been that the ordinary Germans of the time were safe, for example, "They became victims of Allied attack, but average citizens did not become the targets of their own government's murderous plans. Jews did" (Koonz, 1986, p. 15). Undoubtedly, Jews were targeted and killed in unparalleled proportions. However, there is also evidence that the Nazi government, following Hitler's directions, was ready to destroy all the Germans, because if they did not win his war they were unworthy to survive (see Gilbert, 1950, p. 217; Gonen, 2000, pp. 135, 147, 176; Kershaw, 2011, pp. 11-2, 166, 194, 228, 281-2, 286, 288-92, 295, 396-7; Speer, 1970, pp. 442-60; Stoddard, 1940, p. 302). The destructive intent focused on now one group, now another, but seemed to be all-encompassing. This section explores reactions to a level of perceived threat that was not as overt as the death threat included in an arrest (the odds of returning alive for a man were about 50%, much greater for women, see *Albersheim*, 1940, p. 61, 63).

Both *Gebhard* (1940) and *Peech* (1940) lingered for several years, trying various stratagems to retain their preferred employment, which proved impossible under the Nazis. The threat was more distant for them than others. *Albersheim* (1940), having presumably used her liquid assets to ensure her son's emigration, had to exert great energy to realize an adequate cash settlement on her inherited share of a company, in order to qualify her daughter for emigration. She herself felt both protected by her U.S. passport (acknowledged by the Gestapo) and in constant jeopardy of losing it as the German government (the police/passport agencies) attempted to declare her a German citizen. Both she and Haynes pretended to be leaving Germany on a visit to another

country, rather than returning to the U.S. outright; this may have been an attempt to avoid paying the substantial flight tax, or merely to avoid some of the bureaucratic nightmare involved in actually emigrating from Germany after having been a resident. Although *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1936) and *Saunders* (1940) left as tourists, Eichbaum-Brehme mentioned her husband's refusal to consider moving back to Germany, due to political instability (see p. 132), while Saunders ended her account with a paragraph voicing doubts as to whether everything was really as rosy as she had been shown (p. 16).

Surprisingly, it was non-Aryans in my sample who related the least amount of direct physical threat. Stoically, "these little pinpricks did not matter," claimed *Miedzwinski* (1940, p. 11), of anti-Semitic experiences before the Nazis came on the scene; and he reported increasing tension, and a distancing grief as he lost all the social and business associations he had built up over a lifetime. But there was one exception.

- He had an independent job with an insurance company, so much in fact, that he dared to keep up friendship with me till 1939 and never troubled to enter a Nazi formation. Horst still wrote me when I was abroad and put his full name on the back [of the envelope], which was not without danger for him. (Miedzwinski, 1940, p. 14)

Schloss (1940) fretted over the loss of "an activity," his word for employment, a problem that predated the Nazi takeover (see pp. 85, 86, 103, 112). He does not relate any threats or anxiety until the insulting farewell strip-search he experienced on the border, when he barely managed to contain his anger. Many of the writers referred to feeling tense, anxious, and wary, both for themselves and observing it in others.

- We were fortunate in many things, and had no personal annoyance out of the ordinary as yet and yet our lives were over shadowed by fear and distrust, and constant humiliation, aside from being separated from our children. (Sichel, 1940, p. 77)

In conclusion, I did find an element of pervasive fear or perceived threat, in the majority of the memoirs I studied, although it was not necessarily the primary motive for emigration.

Will power. Another theory may shed light on the problem of "nervous strain" (*Miedzwinski*, 1940, p. 14) or generalized fatigue experienced by Germans under a deliberately stress-inducing regime. Many policies were designed to urge individual effort expenditures to the maximum, both in labor and expressions of enthusiasm, while allowing little rest or relaxation (see Gonen, 2000, pp. 169-173; Kershaw, 2011, p. 197; Stoddard, 1940, p. 300). As the group oriented nature of Nazi regime ideals and practices demanded conformity, extra effort was required to resist or break free, as suggested by the increased arousal and resources needed to meet a challenge in Henry's (1997) stress model, and the resistance to social pressure or enculturation in Maslow (1970).

The work of Baumeister and colleagues (1998, 2007) has suggested that ego strength, will-power, and our ability to make, much less carry through, difficult decisions, are all dependent on some finite physical energy resource, as yet unknown. Thus, being able to decide and carry out the difficult combination of tasks involved in emigration depended upon not only the competence and capabilities typical of middle aged people at their peak of performance and maturity, but also their ongoing physical and mental

health. Notably, none of the memoir writers I studied reported debilitating or handicapping diseases, suggesting an adequate store of physical capital.

Klemperer (1998) may be cited to demonstrate the weakening of resolve due to ego strength depletion brought about by continual efforts to sustain his sense of self under the Nazi regime. His brother, having left Germany early on, provided the necessary financial guarantee and urged him to "obtain a visitor's visa [to the U.S.] immediately—how easy he thinks it is!" (Klemperer, 1998, p. 292). Specifically, "people are less inclined to make active responses following ego depletion. Instead, depleted people are more prone to continue doing what is easiest, as if carried along by inertia" (Baumeister, 1998, p. 1261). By apparently resorting to what Korte et al. (2005) would call freezing and hiding strategies, Klemperer managed to survive both the Nazis and the war. But he was unable to force himself to visit the many conflicting agencies, to cope with the ever more-obstructive bureaucrats and the constantly changing regulations, or to go repeatedly to each office until he got the next bit of paper needed. Such energy as he had was completely expended on futilely sending out résumés and job applications. As another émigré reported:

> And it was now, when I saw the time and patience even Hans, an Aryan, had to use to obtain all the permits necessary for a removal from Germany, that I realized how bravely my Jewish pupils had borne up under the strain. Lists, in German and English, of every article we were taking out of the country had to be compiled, and stamped by the Burgomaster; an affidavit that they had all been purchased in Germany or brought into Germany more than two years before was

> required; another oath had to be taken that no currency was concealed in the goods, though this did not prevent a Customs examination before they left Dresden; a certificate that we had paid all our taxes (including Hans' church tax) had to be obtained from the Ministry of Finance; and the Burgomaster cancelled our *Wohnungschein*, that compulsory document announcing place of residence, whereby it is made impossible for anyone in Germany to disappear, either from the ken of the police or of anyone else who cares to apply for his address. Tiresome though all these formalities may sound, they do not represent a tithe of the obstructions placed in the way of Jewish emigrants or those who have suffered political imprisonment. (Kent, 1939, p. 340)

- When Lorli had finally made all her arrangements and was ready to fly to England to take a position as cook, she showed me her brief-case. It was bulging. "The result of two months on my feet," she said. (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 69)

When considering the willingness or unwillingness of Germans to emigrate in protest, we should take into account their level of ongoing, stressed fatigue – something deliberately brought about by Nazi policies.

Some of the writers mentioned the nervous strain and stress they were under before getting across the German border for the last time and the tremendous relief they experienced once they knew they had left Germany. Some felt the long reach of the Nazis even then. *Arrington* (1940), who said that rumors of border searches had made her cowardly, felt constrained even while awaiting a French visa in Italy on her convoluted trip home to the U.S. *Albersheim* (1940) feared the border guards would seize

her American passport at the last moment, and even when she had settled in New York City was contacted by German officials, still trying to insist that she was a German and not an American citizen. *Haynes'* (1940) account of the border crossing was the most tense, as she feared her husband, in another train compartment with their other child, had been arrested at the last moment.

- I reached over and opened my door, and we both got up and threw our arms around each other, Everett saying over and over, 'We are over the border! We're safe, honey, at last.' ...we sat up the rest of the night, telling each other over and over again, how wonderful it was to be able to speak, not whisper, and say whatever we wanted to say. (*Haynes*, p. 49).

On the other extreme, *Paschkis* (1940) relates how, in their peregrinations,

- The children learned their third language (German [in Berlin], French in Geneva, and now Italian [in Milan]) [to be followed by Dutch and English]. On the train to Paris I tried to explain to my children, the reasons for all the changes.
  I was at the end of my strength after the continuous rush and excitements of the last months and years, so tired that I did not even wait, till the boat lifted the anchor, but left Europe sleeping. (*Paschkis*, p. 20, 27)

Maslow's self-actualization. Several of the memoirs could be used to illustrate the concepts of Maslow's (1970) construct of self-actualization, just as Tappan (1999) used a memoir from the same archive to illustrate a theory of Bakhtin. It should be stressed that the socioeconomic status of the writers favored their likelihood of attaining this level of development, One of the first characteristics Maslow gave of a self-

actualized person was “an unusual ability to detect the spurious...and in general to judge people correctly and efficiently” (Maslow, p. 153). Furthermore, “they seemed as a group to be able to see concealed or confused realities more swiftly and more correctly than others” to the extent that they could predict future events more accurately and did not base their estimates on their own hopes and fears. Albersheim’s situation reflects some of this. She applied for American naturalization in July, 1933 (New York, State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1794-1940, Ancestry.com). Here she indicates that her business partner was *not* able to discern the threatening situation as clearly as she.

- From 1933 until 1938 I or my partner constantly negotiated with various firms in order to sell. My partner, who was a Jew, was not as anxious as I to leave Germany. He thought that he could remain in the firm, especially as Hindenburg, and later Hitler, openly declared that all “Front fighters” could work unrestrictedly. (Albersheim, 1940, p. 1)

She also displayed great political skill as she negotiated with the Gestapo on several occasions, seeming to know exactly how bold she could be and what tactics to use.

- We returned to what was left of my store [on November 11, 1938]. Two men came in demanding to speak to me. They were of the dreaded Gestapo. They wanted to know how I dared to call the American consul and ask him to seek police protection for me. I told them that I had a right to do so; the firm was Aryan, I myself an American. (*Albersheim*, 1940, pp. 59)

Albersheim "dared" to get outside help against the Nazis, something they disapproved of. Nazi policies were designed to intimidate, to deny social networks and to threaten feelings of safety and physical survival.

- I was then told that I could have avoided the entire catastrophe if I had gone about it in the right way. What the right way was they failed to explain. .... "I am sorry," I continued, "but I have no experience in such matters. Would you kindly send me a book of directions in case it should happen again?" After that remark they were more polite. More than any papers, it convinced them that I was in my rights and not afraid of them. (*Albersheim*, 1940, pp. 59-60)

Albersheim's ability to counter the aggressiveness of the Gestapo, who were accustomed to bullying people with impunity, may relate to her demonstrating, in their cultural terms, her own superior position. She identified her actions as both freely chosen and dutiful, and therefore virtuous (Kecskemeti & Leites, 1947, see p. 157), and established herself as a person worthy of respect, thus defusing their aggression, which was usually directed to weaker and easily defeated opponents (Kecskemeti & Leites, 1948a, see p. 105). Schloss demonstrated the opposite, an inability to sort through a confusing situation, except in hindsight:

- ...the famous boycott-day [April 1, 1933] which opened the eyes to the world, what kind of criminals composed the so-called German government. — Unfortunately it did not yet open mine!! (*Schloss*, 1940, p. 102)

Arrington's embrace of Viennese culture demonstrated her adventurousness, but the Nazi infiltration and its acceptance by her Viennese family and friends revealed that much of

what she thought had been real had been a matter of her projecting upon them what she wanted to see and hear. This caused her much grief.

- I had not been in Vienna one month before I felt that I had got my feet into the right soil. .... I throve in this atmosphere. (*Arrington*, pp. 1-2)
- Because I am socialistic and international in my views I found Vienna that way, I swam in my little puddle with fish of my own color and I drew the conclusion that the whole lake contained the same species. My own little puddle has vanished now..... (*Arrington*, p. 51)

Thus, both Schloss and Arrington lacked the immediate, insightful detection of the reality of the situation that Albersheim displayed, a characteristic of Maslow's self-actualized person.

In the area of acceptance of self, others and the natural world, Maslow (1970, see p. 157) mentions sources of guilt, namely, "healthy people will feel bad about discrepancies between what is and what might very well be or ought to be" (p. 157).

- At this time–1933–we were naive enough not to show any flag–but the next year, –1934–we bought after long consideration 2 flags: the old Black White Red one and a Swastika–we felt quite dirty. But "What could you do"? This was the usual excuse and attitude. Even to show the–still official–old imperial flag was a demonstration against the Nazis. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 42)

The quality of detachment or objectivity, Maslow said, indicated a problem-centered rather than an ego-centered focus, even when the problem concerned themselves (1970, pp. 160-1). In keeping with Maslow's examples of people being able to function

normally, with a full range of emotion and involvement despite their troubles, Gebhard shows some of the same characteristics.

- We cultivated our friendships more and more. We had no noisy parties, but we saw a lot of each other, unconsciously realizing that in a while we would be separated all over the world. We had chamber music together or we just helped ourselves by telling the newest jokes–so that one night our sculptor friend said to us: It was a wonderful party: I think we deserved all together 100 years of hard labor! Today it seems to me a miracle that we still could carry on in Germany. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 78)

In contrast, Maslow mentions the severe problem of those who "have their minds made up for them... [who] are pawns to be moved by others rather than self-moving, self-determining individuals. Perhaps in this way, Eichbaum-Brehme enthusiastically endorsed the Nazi regime, having attended to what she wanted to see and hear, supposedly checking out criticisms from U.S. sources, but readily agreeing with Nazi responses. The other pro-Nazi, Saunders, seemed content to observe and follow others' directions, though appreciating what she was shown.

- My older brother, a Captain [in] the Flag Regiment, had many an opportunity, to take me or help me to attend military functions, and I shall never forget, the solemnity, with which the meetings were attended, the respect to the HackenKreuz, and the wonderful singing of Deutschland uber alles, and the Horst Wessel Lied, and never was there a meeting, in which a prayer was [not] spoken,

for the welfare of Hitler and divine guidance and success in his undertakings. (*Saunders*, 1940, p. 12)

However, Saunders had enough critical thinking skill to suggest that perhaps there was another side to the German situation, beyond what she had been shown.

- ... I am sure that there are quite a few people, who would still prefer the old regime, and that the majority of people were much against the Jewish situation, and against many of the laws which were made during the past years, in which the 3rd Reich has been in power. (*Saunders*, 1940, p. 16)

The characteristic Maslow (1970, see p. 171f) calls resistance to enculturation was demonstrated by many of the memoir writers, in varying degrees. In Eriksonian terms, they had adopted the ideology of *Bildung* as an essential part of their psycho-social identity and had no intention of losing it. Indeed, dismay over the loss of culture seemed important in the decisions of some of the writers, such as Paschkis, Peech, Arrington and Gebhard. When *Paschkis* decided to leave Germany, that was no longer "the home of real culture" (1940, p. 16), he was referring to *Bildung*, as much as what we mean by high culture, and the cultivated self that is included in that concept. Gebhard's professed *Wandervögel* values of health, truth and beauty also reflected this. The Nazi policy of diminution of the hierarchy of expanding needs was reflected specifically in various reports and feelings of violation over the loss of freedom of speech, given below.

Return Emigration

The return emigration phenomenon, in which emigration occurs, but later the person returns to his or her homeland, was reflected in the stories of several of the

women writers from the "My Life in Germany" archive, *Albersheim* (1940), *Sichel* (1940), *Arrington* (1940), and partially in *Saunders* (1940). The first two, apparently the children of German emigrants to the U.S., married German men and lived with them in Germany, but were ready to return to America immediately when the Nazi regime came about. Arrington returned only when the outbreak of war left her no other options. Saunders, who had married an American, had, but did not mention, the option of regaining her German citizenship when she was widowed, ultimately returning to the U.S. after spending two years visiting in Nazi Germany. Albersheim and Sichel both regained their American citizenship when U.S. laws changed to allow wives to declare themselves independently of their husbands. They also worked to get surviving close relatives into the U.S. as non-quota immigrants (see the Immigration Act of 1926; Cott, 1998, p. 1468). It is notable that *Löwith's* (1994) wife's comments on his memoirs indicate that, after becoming an American citizen in the 1940s, he accepted an invitation to return to Germany in the 1950s, the only known example of a male return emigrant among my study informants. However, *Wilhelm* (1940) also very much desired to return to Bavaria and his vocation of a youth minister. *Haynes* (1940) and her husband were expatriate Americans, living and working in Europe, so their return to the U.S. might or might not be classified a return emigration.

Reasons for return emigration seemed, in this very small sample, to center around a love of the former country. *Löwith* (1994) resented the insistence on really becoming an American, when he finally arrived in the U.S., a factor that influenced other immigrants: In the U.S. one was expected to become an American, while in Britain one

remained a foreigner (Berghahn, see p. 123). In America "…one is required not only to speak English, but also to learn to think in English…." (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 163). He was devoted to the German language, lamenting over a fellow exile that "only one thing had remained of his Germanness … his Darmstadt intonation and the gift of words" (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 24).

Both *Albersheim* (1940) and *Sichel* (1940), born in the U.S., exhibited very patriotic pro-American views. Albersheim's memoir in spots seemed to reiterate the Bill of Rights as she asserted her sense of propriety against Nazi incursions into her life. She asserted her right to freedom of speech (first amendment): "in America we were taught as one of the first things at school, that we should openly express our thoughts" (*Albersheim*, p. 24); "I had had to turn in my revolver, had no means of protecting myself" (second amendment, *Albersheim*, p. 12); clearly regarded the destructions of *Kristallnacht* and the years-long threat to take over her company as unreasonable search and seizure (fourth amendment); felt no compunction in wriggling out of various attempts to get her to incriminate herself (fifth amendment); and in her condemnation of the lawless forces she saw about her denying both due process (fifth amendment) and public trials by impartial juries (sixth amendment). *Sichel* and *Arrington* also related incidents regarding freedom of speech:

- My husband, who would surely not have permitted it, was not there to restrain me, and so I for once could have my good old American way." (*Sichel*, 1940, p. 29)

- No one blazed as I did about freedom of speech, press and plebiscite. (*Arrington*, 1940, p. 83)

Freedom of speech was not, however, a concern unique to Americans, as the Dane *Nielsen* noted:

- Then he carefully watched my face and listened more tensely to what I said, and now and then, when he could hear criticism of the Nazi regime in my words, he immediately warned me that I should be careful with what I said because the Gestapo had long ears and I was just running the risk of being arrested. (*Nielsen*, 1940, p. 47)

Haynes (1940) and her husband had moved to Europe after he grew too heavy to pursue his career as a jockey in America. They liked the liberal European lifestyle and were appreciated as a public couple by the German populace and press (clippings of newspaper articles were included in her memoir). However, their livelihood was impaired as anti-Semitism reduced the number of Jewish race horse owners and Haynes' husband faced constant harassment from German riders, trainers and officials, who had long resented the success of a foreigner (Weimar and Nazi business policies did not favor foreign business ownership or practitioners). As she returned to America to pursue other opportunities, after only a few months of Nazi rule, her emphasis or summary of all the liberal human rights centered on speech:

- ...how wonderful it was to be able to speak, not whisper, and say whatever we wanted to say. You can never know the joy, or appreciate the freedom of speech until it has been taken away from you. (*Haynes*, 1940, p. 49)

- It was very hard not to burst out in indignation ...that the people were being so lied to, but I had to consider my husband's – and my own – safety, and I always consoled myself that it would not be long now before I should be among normal people and with my children, in a free country. [*sic*] (*Sichel*, 1940, p. 92)

While the push pull model of emigration expects that the job is the main consideration, these examples show that more is involved in both emigration and return emigration. Love of national culture, including the middle class values that the Nazis opposed, and a loyalty to the culture of one's youth, especially as embodied by its language, were important contributing factors (see *Peech*, 1940, p. 95). Certainly employment was an important point of consideration, but it was not the only one.

Comparative Findings Not Specific to Emigration

While focused on emigration, this project also compared the memoirs to discover commonalities and opposites as they might emerge, in order to attain a more nuanced and broader picture of the writers' lives and situations. The number of memoirs was sufficient to reveal some parallels in terms of life experience, location of the writer's home in Germany, and experiences during World War I. Because one of the first associations we make with the topic of Nazi Germany is usually the persecution of Jews, I have included a section on prejudiced attitudes I found shared by some writers.

Arrington (1940), going to Vienna in the late 1920s, found to her delight a relaxed, convivial, stimulating society in which she felt she could live happily, only leaving when she was convinced that that society had ceased to exist. Her situation paralleled that of Eichbaum-Brehme in that for both women, the end of a marriage

coincided with a decision to emigrate from a country that had disappointed them. *Peech* (1940) and *Gebhard* (1940) deplored the loss of cultural, aspirational values in the liberal Germany that they had held dear. Peech embraced the liberal German tradition, as she saw it, in the sophisticated artistic circles of Berlin, while Gebhard tried to live in accordance with his youthful idealism by building a physically and morally healthier Germany. *Paschkis* (1940) shared Gebhard's idealism to some extent, mentioning similar experiences with the *Wandervögel*[10] youth movement and the Berlin settlement (social welfare) society.

Nielsen (1940) and *Schloss* (1940), in different generations, had been apprenticed in the import-export trade in Hamburg. *Schloss* and *Paschkis* (1940), both proud of their World War I service, became pacifists, while *Arrington* (1940), who had moved to Austria as a pacifist, became convinced of the necessity to fight Nazism as an American. Stoicism, the preferred philosophical outlook of *Löwith* (1994), was reflected notably by *Ganser* (1940) and *Miedzwinski* (1940).

- Nevertheless I had the good luck personally not to be too badly injured, due to the military over-discipline with which I tried to adapt myself to the life in concentration-camp, for the mere reason to escape ill-treatment as much as possible (by not showing any sign of a civilian's attitude....). (*Ganser*, p. 6)

[10] Literally, *Wandervögel* means wandering birds; like scouting in Britain and America, it provided members with a secular moral and ethical code, including adherence to a healthy lifestyle (see Stachura, 1981, and Becker, 1946, for information on the German youth movements).

- After 1933, however, it was clear to me that it would be better to learn than to amuse myself, though I did not know how things were going to develop. (*Miedzwinski*, p. 9)
- ... dissolving what was practically an engagement .... I had to give her up. *Miedzwinski*, p. 15

Finally, several of the writers were veterans of World War I or experienced it as non-combatants, as shown in Table 2. Several writers had lived in Frankfurt while a few others had lived in or near Berlin.

Prejudiced attitudes. Among the social and cultural attitudes typical of the middle class were some attitudes we now view as prejudiced that presumably reflected the milieu of the writers. Those who leaned to the right politically were more free in their condemnation of the political left, and vice versa.

Against Communism. *Wilhelm* (1940) and *Peech* (1940) drew parallels between Nazi methods and those of the Soviet Union; while Wilhelm's comments seemed to carry a tone of moral outrage, in my reading, reflecting a general dislike and distrust of the Bolshevik Russians, Peech seemed to draw on specific knowledge (her first husband was a Communist).

- Goebbels ... knew enough about the history and foundations of the Soviet Union to copy her methods point by point. (*Peech*, p. 142)
- The national settlement (*Deutsche Einigung*) [Nazification], as it was called, brought about something which also showed up in Russia in the thousands: Betrayal, defamation, intrigues, even within the families. (*Wilhelm*, p. 7)

- That was always the method (just like in Russia!) that there was never a responsible person, instead the blame was shifted to somebody else. (*Wilhelm*, p. 8)

Against persons of color. A number of the writers commented against persons of African descent, that may have been part of the national Western-focused culture at the time. During World War I, and in the later occupation of the Ruhr, the French used troops drafted from African colonial areas. While the non-Aryan European peoples had been belittled, according to the pan-German racial theory of the time, the attitude seemed increased with regard to people of color.

- Negroes and Arabians, bursting out of trenches, with knives, appear to the Germans, who are not used to them, like devils. But above all, the German soldier is offended; this is not fighting fair. How can you expect us to be entangled in a fight with savages? (*Eichbaum-Brehme*, 1936, p. 67)

Apparently there was a feeling, among some at that time (as there was in America), that people of color were unworthy of respect, to the point of insulted honor, when they were in positions normally representing authority.

- It was not only humiliating for the Germans to have to take their passports and show them to colored controlling officials at the artificial frontier just about a mile from our house, but it was for German children, who had never seen a negro, absolutely terrifying. (*Sichel*, 1940, p. 40)

- I had personal contact with the black troops in 1923 during the occupation of the Ruhr and I cannot get over the feeling of outrage even now. Maybe this is typical European, but the fact arose much ill feeling. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 13)

Such feelings of terror and outrage may have reflected a German cultural anxiety at the time over the unfamiliar, in which a Russian seemed less familiar and therefore more threatening than a Briton (Kecskemeti & Leites, 1948b, see p. 260). Therefore, a French African soldier might have seemed much more alien and consequently more frightening, resulting in feelings of anger to cover up the fear.

Against Roman Catholics. Some writers mentioned prejudice against Catholics.

- I had been trained to see Catholic politicians and especially Jesuits as puppets drawn by the Pope to satisfy his greed for property and political power. We had been taught to mistrust the Catholic Church as a net of treacherous underground conspirations against national unity, and I remember that we were not allowed as children to eat a certain brand of candy (Reichardt) because the company had "Catholic money". One simply would not trust a Catholic. That was the way Lutherans and especially Puritans (*Herrnhuter*) had been brought up in Germany. Added to this, one might say, "natural" contempt was in the case of Bruening the fact that he was a "*gemaessigter*", a moderate politician, which meant in my eyes that he tried to please both sides, the Conservatives and the Republicans. (*Peech*, 1940, p. 23)
- As a Protestant I did not wish the Catholic candidate Marx to succeed our first President Ebert. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 29)

- The Catholic and the Nationalistic movements, of course, endeavored likewise to instill their creeds as early as possible into the minds of the children. (*Grünberg*, 1940, p. 8)

On the other hand, there was some feeling, early on, of protection from the Nazis in the Catholic regions because of their solidarity and strength.

- In Catholic Bavaria the aversion to Hitler's Party was so strong that I considered transferring my habilitation to Munich if the worst came to the worst. I consulted a friend of mine, a member of its Faculty of Philosophy. I was told with great confidence that I should just come if the need arose. After all, it was absolutely impossible that Bavaria would join in the madness of the "Prussians". (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 75)
- ...in this Catholic center of Westfalia – just as in the Rhineland – the Nazis did not play an important role. (*Gebhard*, 1940, p. 29)

Anti-Semitism. The most well-known example of prejudice is that against the Jews, but anti-Semitic attitudes could be found in those of Jewish descent as well as others.

- ...a typical Frankfurt Jew who stirred up anti-Semitic feelings within me, and whom I avoided in Rome. (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 94)
- When I asked [a suitor] whether he knew that we were Jewish, he turned pale and then very red, asked to be excused, and made off. I never saw him again. He had never given any sign of being anti-Semitic and I only knew that he was Catholic as all Rheinlaenders nearly are.... (*Sichel*, 1940, p. 8)

Most writers in my sample specifically disapproved of the Nazis' anti-Semitic policies and actions. Anger and resentment over it was a feature of the American-born writers. None felt able to risk their own safety over the issue, however. It is possible that, since they knew Americans disapproved of the Nazi policies of persecution of Jews, the German-born writers deliberately slanted their writings that way.

- I think people which participated in Jew-baiting and plundering is the worst mob imaginable and they did it not on account of any anti-Semitic feeling but because of the prospect of loot, and these kind of people will participate with the same frenzy in the expropriation of the Catholics and, then later, as the last stage of the Nazi revolution, in the expropriation of anybody who still possesses anything. (*Reinheimmer*, 1940, p. 5)
- On leaving, I reminded Trude, who had often admitted that a great many of her friends were anti-Semitic because they found the Jews of Poland so dirty, that the Jews of Poland were poor devils who had no money for the bare necessities of life, much less for soap and luxuries.... (*Sichel*, 1940, p. 34)
- When, therefore an "Aryan" physician or attorney complained he had but a few clients and he would be better off when the Jews were ousted, I always considered this, smilingly, as a confession of his own mediocrity and inability. Thus, in many other cases too, I consider antisemitism as an expression of envy and nothing else. (*Reinheimmer*, 1940, p. 6)

One writer seemed happy to accept what she was told, without bothering to think about it deeply or investigate. She was writing before *Kristallnacht* (1938).

- The new regime, or as the Germans call it, the Third Reich, applies restriction again. But, whatever wrong was done, the synagogues, the Jewish stores are open now, thronged with people. (*Eichbaum-Brehme,* 1936, p. 144)

Even though most of these writers seemed to know something of the Jewish persecutions (apart from Wilhelm, who was focused solely on Catholic persecution experiences), several mentioned the reasons why many "decent" Germans might not know what was going on, for certain.

- I personally noticed but little of anti-Semitic feeling [during the first Jewish boycott in 1933]. (*Reinheimer,* 1940, p. 5)
- Aryans, not in contact with Jews, had not the faintest idea of what was going on. Those who did find out were generally shocked, but could do nothing. They would harm themselves and the Jews even more. That is one of the important reasons for keeping Aryans segregated from the Jews. Only during the November [1938 *Kristallnacht*] purge were the eyes of many opened as to what was literally taking place. How often have I heard "I am surprised at the lies spread in foreign papers about the treatment of the Jews here". They knew that they had some restrictions, thought that they were otherwise unmolested. If I told them one or two things that had occurred under their very noses to former friends they would be horrified and think that I was exaggerating. (*Albersheim*, 1940, p. 42)
- Of course nobody could act in public and show that he was against all these horrible doings as he would then have been ill treated in the same manner; but

even to offer good services in secrecy was dangerous and required courage! (*Schloss*, 1940, p. 128)

- Tourists who came and went, brought home the story, the German people were seemingly satisfied, all was peaceful, and that was true. You had to live there a long time before, to be able to understand this strange silence. A tourist can get a pretty good idea about a City like Paris, for instance, in a couple of weeks, and know the French people, from "outside" life , but the Germans, you had to live with, associate with them in their homes, a long, long time, before you could understand them. The silence, all over Germany, was what was so ominous. (*Haynes*, 1940, p. 41)

Reinheimmer (1940), a Catholic, found after emigrating that he tended to apply for jobs with Jews, because they understood the situation of an emigrant from Nazi Germany, though they reserved their jobs for "their own people," with which he could sympathize.

- Applying to Non-Jewish people I found but little understanding; frequently I heard: "Why did you leave Germany when you are neither a Communist nor a Jew, decent people don't need to leave Germany". With Catholics in South America I found no understanding at all. (*Reinheimmer*, p. 13)

These examples show how comparative biography can lead to a more in-depth understanding of what it was like to live through a particular era or series of events, and illustrate some of the different attitudes people might take, possibly at variance with the familiar generalizations we expect. Many assimilated German Jews of this time protested

that they were German first and Jewish second if at all (see *Löwith*, 1994; *Miedzwinski*, 1940; and *Schloss*, 1940). This research project bore that out, finding no difference in the attitudes and motives of Aryans and non-Aryans.

Findings that Contradicted the Literature

The age range of the writers studied was fairly large (in 1939, approximately 26-64, average age 41), but no age-related differences were noted in the writings regarding emigration, apart from job-related concerns. Naturally the younger writers were at the beginning of their careers, and the oldest writer had apparently retired. This lack of an age effect was also found by Berghahn (1984, see p. 111), in that the relative success or failure of German-Jewish refugees in Britain was unrelated to their age at the time of immigration. Despite several other researchers' concerns over trustworthiness, regarding literary construction, coherence and plot choice (Frye, 1957; Pasupathi & Mansour, 2006; Rosenthal, 1991, 2006), I found the memoirs to be well enough written for my analysis, perhaps reflecting the writers' educated background or the mere fact of their being purposefully composed documents. While plot choice helped me to understand the narrative choices made by a few writers, most of the memoirs were in the nature of reports, without a clear plot.

Gender. The way gender affects autobiographical writing was mentioned by several scholars as important in their findings, as in choice of topic, plot and grammatical use of singular versus plural first person (Gergen, 1994, see p. 23, 40; Nouri & Helterline, 1998; Stanley, 1995; Wagner & Wodak, 2006). However, like Mackavey, Malley, & Stewart (1991), I found few gender effects. Gergen (1994) and Nouri and Helterline

(1998) found a strong tendency for American women to speak in a collective sense, using the first person plural in their life stories. Most of the memoir writers I studied used the first person singular for their own experiences and thoughts, and the plural when speaking of their shared activities with others, such as their spouse or persons they were working with, such as a personal trainer or a business partner. Some writers spoke with the "we" when referring to joint marriage decisions and activities like vacations. Notably, however, *Haynes* (1940), an American, wrote from the point of view of a committed wife, whose job was to support her husband in every way possible, as well as to be a mother to their children and an involved member of society, often using "we" to reflect their joint opinions and actions. Hers was the only example of a collective identity I found in the memoirs. *Gebhard* (1940) and *Löwith* (1994) also used the married "we," each including his wife's in his own opinions and decisions when they agreed, as well as in shared experiences. But by and large the writers wrote as "I". Apart from the conventional gender roles played by men and women (as noted by Stanley, 1995, women supervised servants and mentioned them; men usually did not), no particular differences were noticed between the writings of men and women in this study.

Researcher subjectivity

I had several reasons for choosing this project for my doctoral research. In high school world history I noticed that although Germany had been a very important country in the last hundred years, we Americans were taught and knew nearly nothing about it. I was aware that my father, a World War II combat veteran in the European theater, had a great sympathy for the German people. He took German as his foreign language

requirement course during his GI bill-funded studies. My mother, reflecting the American enthusiasm for eugenics during her youth, once remarked to me, "You're an Aryan. You'd have been all right if Hitler had won" (Jean Anstey, personal communication, approximately October, 1964). I was able to refute my mother's assertion in the course of my study, as I learned more about this part of German history. As a child of depression survivors I grew up valuing frugality, and did not like to think of archived materials not being used. As a child of mobile Americans, who moved an average of every five years during my youth, I was interested in the ideas of homeland, a home town, and thus emigration. My own family's most recent emigrants came from England in 1882; a pair of great-grandparents had settled in western Nebraska, the home of my youth, because friends had moved there. All these elements from my background combined to generate interest in the archive, when I discovered it, and to formulate a project based on the archive materials.

Being neither German nor Jewish[11] and new to the study of the Nazi era, I am certainly one with "only vague knowledge" (*Löwith*, 1994, p. 81) of what the memoir writers were going through. As my understanding of the historical period increased, I found many new questions emerging, such as the exact process of emigration to America, the citizenship status of American women married to foreigners, and the variety of motivations that gathered to induce the emigration decision. I found that the emigration decision was much more complex than predicted by either the usual turning point definition or the commonly used emigration theories. Including the psychological

[11] Study of my genealogy reveals my most recent ancestors from Germany arrived in the 1830s; DNA testing results indicated I was less than 1% Jewish (Ancestry.com).

elements from the emotional arc model and the resources/capital aspects of the evolutionary model made the decision process more understandable from the individual point of view. All three of the emigration models I used supplied essential elements of the decision and its implementation. The project, was intended to offer new insights into the state of mind of the emigrants from the first years of the Nazi regime, without the emotional weight of either the Holocaust or World War II. The emotional weight of the pre-war Nazi era is sufficiently oppressive.

Subjective problems as a researcher had been anticipated, based on the emotional ballast still carried by the Nazi era (Runyan, 1988). My generation, the Baby Boomers, has been seen as growing up in a victory culture (Engelhardt, 2007) of self-congratulation over its defeat of the Germans and the Japanese. I was inclined to dislike the two pro-Nazi writers and thus not to give them a fair chance to make their case. I put off reading them despite having already acquired them, and found that I was dismissive of what they wrote while not reading carefully. However, I discovered that after the first few memoirs had been analyzed, these issues tended to diminish. When I went through the routines of analysis, those two memoirs could be studied in just the same way as the others. The assignment of plot types to the first memoirs I analyzed (including those two pro-Nazis), as well as the practice of multiple re-readings, gave me a sense of each writer's personality and, by multiple categorizing according to the various models, a welcome emotional distance carried over to the subsequent comparative analyses. As I became more familiar with the background of what Germany was like, I could place people there more confidently, and understand their allusions and assumptions.

Because I had only one memoir to represent the experience of each writer, I compared the experiences reported in other memoirs, looking for similarities, opposite experiences, and the kinds of conclusions writers drew from their experiences. The study was, like most qualitative research, "idiographic and emic (focusing on one or a very few individuals, finding categories of meaning from the individuals studied)" (Morrow, 2005, p. 252). The use of direct quotations in this dissertation is meant to faithfully present the voices of the writers, so that readers can assess how closely my claims seem to fit the evidence. The multiple re-reading of each memoir was meant to increase credibility, ensuring that I was reading what was there and not what I wanted to see. Trustworthiness of the writers seemed bolstered by evidence of internal consistency as well as finding similar experiences written in other memoirs. One memoir did show some inconsistencies both in the chronology given and in the presentation of the writer as a personality. As the memoir writers had not been asked to describe their emigration decision or experiences by the original collectors, they are less likely to have written about those things in a way designed or fabricated to conform to the study parameters or to impress the study judges. Evidence in the form of quotations was extracted from memoirs and organized by category, thus forming a sort of audit trail. The process of extracting data and reorganizing it in conformity with my predetermined analytic categories promoted objectivity or confirmability.

Combined Model of Emigration

As the results of my study indicated support for all three of the emigration models used, and pointed out some deficiencies, I propose the following elements as most important for the early stages of emigration.

- Status quo or stable state at beginning
- Push/pull/stay influences: considerations during the mulling-over period
- Perturbation events or experiences: motivating factors
- Mood swings: initial negative reactions to perturbation reversing to active mode of implementation.
- Visceral responses:
    - Personality preferring activity (fight or flight) over inactivity (freeze or hide)
    - Personality preferring exploration over caution.
- Ability factors: practical capabilities that allow implementation
- Resources: Various kinds of capital including financial, social, professional, physical, emotional and spiritual

This combination is configured into a general model of emigration decision and enactment in the Discussion, below.

Findings Conclusions

This study has resulted in a nuanced, if brief, look at the decision-making processes of a few emigrants from Nazi Germany, based on their memoirs. By and large, then, my findings were in agreement with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. I found,

in a small but adequate sample, some similarities of experience and motive regarding the turning point decision to emigrate. Two writers, *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1936) and *Saunders* (1940), had emigrated prior to the Nazi regime and are not included in these concluding remarks. Emigration was triggered by a perturbation in the normal lives of the writers, mostly by the loss of job and prospects of other employment, dislike of the Nazi regime, or by personal, physical threats, including the fear of war. In some cases the loss of work was a little more distant in motivation, although it seemed to be a factor. Age and gender effects were not noticeable. The turning point, developmental, and emigration theories were found consistent with the reports given in the memoirs.

The sample included both people designated as Aryan and non-Aryan (all of Jewish descent) by German laws at the time; no difference was noticed among the motives and rationale of those two groups. Although loss of work was the primary motive among non-Aryans for emigration, it was also found among the motives for Aryans. Indeed, belonging to the educated middle-class overrode any such ancestral cultural or ethnic differences. This supports the assertion by Benson (2012 , see p. 7) that middle-class culture is, like other cultures, very strong and very likely to be not only retained by emigrants but supported by their emigration.

Despite being "a hopelessly un-representative sample ... drawn from the literate members of the 'chattering classes'," like the British Mass-Observation archive, the study has indeed provided "rich, personalized and evocative accounts of social change" (Savage, 2011, pp. 172-3). Such narratives have illustrated the process of becoming conscious to an unpleasant reality, given examples of how people managed to "challenge

power" in the form of tyranny and yet survive (Freeman, p. 216), consistent with Maslow (1970), and clarified how the world worked for those people. Happily, such theoretical notions were supported by my study of the "My Life in Germany" memoirs. This project was oriented toward "the study of change—that is, of discontinuity" (Fischer, 1991, p. 308), in the historical and in the developmental psychological sense of the turning point decision processes about emigration.

Several theories and models of emigration were considered in the analysis of the memoirs. While the economic motivator of job loss was considerable, other factors seemed to have equal or partnering weight in the decision to emigrate, most often couched in terms of an insult to the writer's moral value system. The emotional arc emigration model seemed to accurately predict some of the emotional elements of the emigration process. The resources and responses model fostered consideration of such important factors as kinds of capital and basic responses to threat.

The decision process was found to have been long-term for most, although a few had an instantaneous decision, and many had to work out bureaucratic and financial complications (taking months or years) in order to actually emigrate. Presented with evidence that life in Germany was no longer bearable, due to moral repugnance, fear, or the loss of all job prospects, they decided to go. Unlike modern lifestyle emigrants, for whom the pull factor of a desired location is decisive (Benson, 2012), they often decided to leave first, and considered where to go next (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993, see p. 340). In the cases of return emigrants, the idea of returning to the U.S. seems to have been longstanding (years' or even decades' duration), awaiting an opportune moment, often

contingent on spouse or other relatives. Enacting the decision to emigrate involved coping with increasing amounts of bureaucracy as time went on, as well as ever-increasing restrictions on the amount of personal goods, money and valuables the Nazis would allow out of the country. A number of the writers, for example, mentioned their attempts to ship their furniture and silver abroad. Even early emigrants, like *Haynes* (1940) and *Löwith* (1994), had to resort to various strategies to transfer at least some of their money to foreign banks. All lost some, often a large percentage, of their property, though most had suffered considerable losses already due to the First World War and to the German inflation. Some of the writers, additionally, had to move several times before finding a more or less permanent location.

The findings focused on themes related to the turning point of emigration. The main reasons, or triggering experiences, for emigration found were physical threat (three writers), moral repugnance (five writers), loss of employment (six writers), fear of war (three writers), and a personal dislike of Germany (two writers). These categories of motivation overlapped, and seemed equal for some writers. In addition to the turning point decision, there were experiences, emotional reactions, relationships, commitments, and practical considerations, that I have discussed under the heading "Contributing factors to the turning point decision to emigrate." For most of the writers, leaving their country was a long-drawn out, difficult process.

This study has analyzed seventeen memoirs written by people of both sexes, designated as both Aryan and non-Aryan by the Nazis, to discover something about their decision processes in emigrating from Nazi Germany. The Nazis did not make it easy for

anyone to emigrate, but it could be done. My study of the memoirs tells a little of the how and why of their decision.

Chapter 5 Discussion

This study of emigration, based on memoirs, was conducted with a number of previous research findings, theories and models in mind, as mentioned in the review of the literature and shown in Figure 3. Briefly, my findings were consistent with theories of life course turning points, identity construction, emigration theories, historical turning points and developmental stage theories, chiefly that of Maslow. Findings that contradicted the literature included the effects of age and gender and some theories of narrative construction. Surprises were found at different points in the study, initially that Aryan writers were represented in the archive, that there were a number of Americans living in Germany, and then that only Aryan writers among these English-language memoirs had experienced physical threats from the Nazis.

As is typical in life course studies, I have taken the whole person as the unit of analysis, in this case the person represented in a memoir. While a single theory or model can be helpful in clarifying one particular topic, it cannot do justice to the whole person. A topic like the turning point decision to emigrate involves the whole person together with the cultural background and historical time during which the decision is made. Thus, when studying this example of human behavior, I chose to incorporate multiple perspectives. The overarching perspective of Maslow's developmental stage theory provides a connecting thread among the concept of the turning point, the emigration theories and the memoir writers' psychosocial condition throughout the process.

Turning points

Turning points in human development are decisions associated with changing life trajectories based on biographical material. An individual's life course is also affected by the historical context (Elder, 1998, see p. 9): the memoirs studied are organized around the effects of the Nazi Regime on German residents, prior to the outbreak of war. I expanded normal transitions, which can be turning points, to include emigration, following Halfacree and Boyle (1993, see p. 338), because particularly in the twentieth century and among members of the middle class, mobility had become very common, even if emigration was not expected. Emigration certainly meets the turning point criterion (Rutter, see pp. 613-4) of a noticeable discontinuity prompting a marked direction change (in both literal and metaphorical senses) in a person's life that persists over time.

The tendency noted by Mackavey et al. (1991), in which subjects viewed turning points in their lives in a diffuse or extended manner, including both long stretches of time and normal transitions, was strongly supported in this study (14 of the 17 memoirs). That is, individuals when looking back on their lives tend to assign turning point status to matters that changed their outlook or priorities, even if they did not change their pattern of transitions and life trajectory, as found by Hareven and Masaoka (1988). In contrast, other researchers, such as Abbott (1997) and Rutter (1996), seem to favor a definition of the turning point as an unusual occurrence or crisis at a certain instant in time. My analysis of whether the turning point decision to emigrate was sudden or long term found only three sudden decisions, usually based on a strong feeling of physical threat, and the remaining 14 being lengthy or diffuse. Thus, if a writer felt in grave danger, the decision

to emigrate was easy to make, but if the feeling of threat was less apparent, the decision was not so readily made. The process of decision making usually took a long time because many factors entered into it. Perhaps due to the importance of the decision, several memoirs reported vacillation. This process of vacillation, well known in counseling literature, is not sufficiently mentioned or allowed for in the models of emigration I used.

The trajectories of the writers' lives seemed likely to continue on course following the disruptions that led to their emigration (indicated in Figures 4 and 5). They applied various forms of available capital to the problem, as resources, in order to implement the decision. The middle class success trajectory for life seemed to help them, as they acted upon a basic assumption or belief in their own ability to succeed. As the memoirs were written soon after emigration, for most, and before further perturbations such as World War II had begun, this conclusion is speculative for the writers' future. It was however the attitude I found expressed or indicated most often.

The sample included both people designated as Aryan and non-Aryan (all of Jewish descent) by German laws at the time; no difference was noticed among the motives and rationale of those two groups. I suggest that this finding, rather than diminishing the amount of threat experienced by everyone in Germany at the time, suggests the complexity of the historical moment. Although some trends are generalizable, when we study the lives of individuals, we discover details of their specific paths through life. I did include some memoirs by non-Aryan writers when I found only seven sufficiently detailed memoirs written in English by Aryans (an original inclusion

criterion for my study). These particular non-Aryans who wrote in English may not have been representative of the memoirs in the archive or of the non-Aryan experience in general. Certainly, a collection of testimonies about the experience of *Kristallnacht* (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012), derived from the same archive I used, shows dramatic evidences of persecution, consistent with much Holocaust-related material. My project was originally designed to investigate a smaller group of emigrants, Aryans, which has been less studied.

Emigration models.

In order to explain emigration I sought various theories and models that best described the phenomenon for individuals. An expanded push pull-based emigration theory (Middleton, 2010) was combined with two other models, one I called resources and responses (Korte et al., 2005) and one emotional arc (Grinberg, Grinberg, and Festinger, 1984; Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989). The resources and responses model was derived from evolutionary-based animal models. In order to apply it to my human examples, I focused on several kinds of human capital and the visceral emotional responses to threats that we share with other animals, freezing, flight and fight . The emotional arc model arose from a psychoanalytically based assessment of emigrants from South American totalitarian states. I reworded the psychoanalytic terminology and concentrated on the initial stages of that model, as I did not have much information on the subsequent lives of the emigrants. It should be noted that none of these theories or models had been refined into an exact typology with precise definitions. However, a summary table was drawn up to create a capsule impression of the emigrants in terms of

each theory (shown in the Findings section). By this means, different lenses of perception revealed interrelated groupings of findings, thus contributing to a comparative overview and providing evidence supporting the use of those theories and models in my project.

The push pull model focused on external forces, those that pushed people out of one country, pulled them toward another, encouraged them to stay in place, and gauged their ability to leave. The emotional arc model focused on internally generated emotions, such as the negative feeling reactions that spurred the decision to emigrate, and the successive ebbs and flows of affect, rather like an internalized version of the exterior push pull forces. The resources and responses model identified the environmental perturbation that initiated the decision process. It also encouraged a closer look at the resources the writers had available, such as social, financial and cultural capital, somewhat similar to the ability push pull model factor, but individually focused. The resources and responses model of emigration implied the need for physical stamina and resilience, though it assumed a general fitness, in keeping with that theory's Darwinian roots. I have not previously found reference to what I called spiritual capital in emigration theory. While only three of the memoirs mentioned spirituality directly, nearly all of them reflected a tenacious adherence to what I have called middle class values. Models for assessing emigration should explicitly include physical, emotional and spiritual capital, as well as incorporating the turbulent emotions that may be expected to arise, as mapped out in the emotional arc model.

Emigration was triggered by a perturbation in the normal lives of the writers, as specified in the resources and responses model, most often by the loss of work and prospects of other employment, disgust at the Nazi regime, or by personal, physical threats, including the fear of war. While the push pull model of emigration expects that salaried work is the main consideration, my findings show that more is involved in both emigration and return emigration. Cultural, moral, and developmental concerns may play an even bigger role than economics in the decision to emigrate. When threatened, however, physical survival is the most basic motivator.

Figure 6. General Emigration Model.

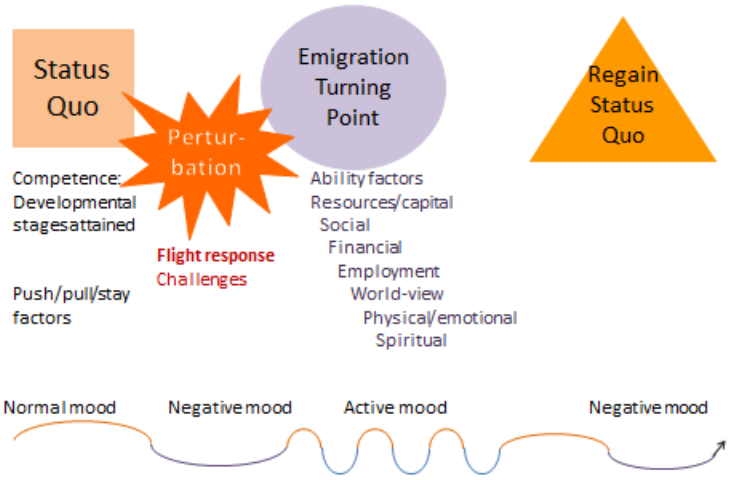


Figure 6. This model depicts the elements and processes occurring before the turning point decision to emigrate and the subsequent implementation of the decision.

I propose a general or combined emigration model (shown in Figure 6) such as that I used to analyze the decision process of each memoir writer, which included human

developmental stages, the turning point decision, and the three emigration models. Thus, the typical memoir writer was a high-functioning middle class person in midlife who had achieved a status quo position in Germany or Austria, and upon whom the usual push pull and stay factors were constantly operating. The person presumably experienced normal mood fluctuations around a base line of contentment.

A perturbation of the environment occurred, for most, at the beginning of the Nazi regime, in 1933. At that point or at some time later, a visceral reaction occurred, usually accompanied by a negative mood. During that time, and later, the person's developmental stages may have been challenged. For most writers the initial visceral response was flight, perhaps because of their secure location higher up on Maslow's hierarchy (1970). That is, they did not begin with the freeze response because they assumed personal safety as a given.

At that time, or at some time later, the turning point decision to leave Germany was made. Once the decision was made, or concurrently with the decision, practical ability factors had to be considered, and resources had to be marshalled to draw upon. This fostered a mood of active excitement, intensity or arousal, as indicated by Henry's (1997) stress model and shown by the choppy waves of the emotional arc here. Eventually the move was made, and all systems could return to normal, though there might be a let-down sufficient to be called a negative mood, or a physical reaction of some kind.

Middle class values

Middle class or bourgeois society is "based on wage labor, urban life, and individual rights" (Gordon, 1988, p. 85). The belief in human rights was reflected in memoirs that indicated moral repugnance at the Nazis as a reason for emigration. Being middle class implied a certain level of affluence, shown in Germany by the employment of "at least one servant" (Kaplan, 2005, p. 184). A middle class person would be much more likely to exist on the higher, more expansive levels of Maslow's hierarchy (1970) than would a poor person, whose survival and safety needs might not be met. Middle class people tend to assume that those needs will always be satisfied. The middle class writers in my study reflected both liberal and conservative political views, with a slight tendency for business people (like Albersheim, a capitalist) to be conservative and professionals (like Gebhard, the physician) to be liberal.

Various middle class values (as given in Berghahn, 1984; Lubrano, 2004; Wiebe, 1967) could be culled from the memoirs studied. An expectation of and value for higher education (Lubrano, 2004, see p. 75, 88; Berghahn, 1984, see p. 109, 135-6) was found in those with higher degrees or graduate education (*Löwith*, 1994, *Wilhelm*, 1940, *Arrington*, 1940, *Paschkis*, 1940, *Reinheimmer*, 1940, *Gebhard*, 1940). The fact that most of those named are men reflects the masculine bias in education that prevailed at the time. A sense of a planned trajectory for a successful life (see Lubrano, 2004; Berghahn, 1984, see p. 112), typical of the middle class, was evident in the memoir-writing parents' concerns for their children's educations and future employment as well as their own professional pursuits. The value of orderliness mentioned by Berghahn (1984, see p.

217) was echoed by *Eichbaum-Brehme* (1940) and *Saunders* (1940) in their praise for the Nazi regime, which seemed to them to have restored this essential German value, quoted above. Even Germans who were not much concerned about Jewish persecution were appalled by the disorderly wreckage after *Kristallnacht* (see Speer, 1970, pp. 111f). Good business practices are valued by the middle class (Berghahn, 1984, see p. 108-112; Lubrano, 2004, see pp. 132-5; Wiebe, 1967, see p. 211-12, 236) and several of the memoir writers (for example, *Albersheim*, *Miedzwinski, Paschkis*) argued against the Nazis on that basis. In conclusion, middle class values for education, a success-oriented life trajectory, orderliness in general and particularly the conduct of good business practices from a managerial viewpoint were found in the memoirs.

Emigration, Vacillation and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow's theory (1970) has the advantage of including flexible movement or vacillation among the levels of development as a basic assumption of human behavior. When a need is met on one level a desire is generated for the needs of the next level. When a need is threatened, more refined or expansive desires disappear until the more basic need is addressed. Thus, in keeping with Henry's (1997) stress model, people could experience fatigue, overload and collapse, and this could coincide with a retreat to lower levels of development. However, in the memoir writers, there was usually an indication that regression was again reversible, once the person had the opportunity to recover. The stress and strain of the context in which these writers' emigration occurred was considerable and their ability to surmount their difficulties was impressive.

Among the developmental aspects implicit in Maslow's hierarchy is a maturation process of ideals. Maslow urged against unrealistic perfectionism while promoting self-development in the terms he included in his concept of self-actualization. He theorized that

> demands for perfect human beings, a perfect society .... are illusions and, therefore, must inevitably and inexorably breed disillusionment along with attendant disgust, rage, depression and revenge. .... If you demand a perfect leader or a perfect society, you thereby give up choosing between better and worse. (Maslow, 1970, p. xxii)

The desire for unrealistic purity and perfection had become part of the political picture in the late nineteenth century, driving both the progressive movement in America (Wiebe, 1969, see p. 61) and in some ways the Nazis in Germany:

> The avowed purposes of the movement were to be daringly progressive and revolutionary; but the underlying psychology was retrogressive and counterrevolutionary. Even in borrowing the symbols of racial superiority in a new order in the struggle for survival, rejecting the democratic "myths," the party ideologists expressed their reversion to a primitive and immature level of social behavior. (Gilbert, 1950, p. 269)

Maslow's model of growth includes the importance of threat, widely used by the Nazis, as an inhibition of self-actualization or personal development (see p. 114). He praises the self-actualized for their clear-headed assessment of reality and their practical ability to adapt to circumstances (see p. 153-7), also presented by Clausen's (1993)

planful competence from a young age, and as I illustrated in my findings. Given that middle class people tend to live their lives higher up on Maslow's hierarchy, they are likely, as was found among some of the memoir writers, to display these expansive qualities. However, anyone, in Maslow's model, can under adversity regress to lower, less expansive levels.

Maslow's understanding of human developmental potential and how it comes about is congruent with the life course paradigms, in particular the work by Clausen (1993) on what he called planful competence. The descriptions of Clausen's planful competence and Maslow's self-actualization have much in common, reflecting a shared ideal of human development achievement into the highest-possible functioning person, one able to realistically assess and cope with threatening, conformist and limiting pressures. The memoir writers to various extents displayed these ideal characteristics, making them potential role models, not only for emigration, but for the conduct of a successful life.

Strengths and Limitations

Both strengths and limitations for this study may be derived from the fact that the data source consisted of individual memoirs written at a particular time by authors for whom very little additional information is available. As the "My Life in Germany" archive material as a whole is exclusively from Western sources, the project makes no claims to be cross-cultural, a limitation. Usually researchers using testimony from informants have the option of multiple interviews, or if formulating a biographical project, have information from others acquainted with the person, personal papers, public

documents, and so forth. My inability to read German limited the number of potential memoirs for my project written to the 40 written in English, and because of the lack of detail on the emigration decision in several of the Aryan-authored memoirs, I needed to include memoirs written by non-Aryans. In most cases, the writers were not well documented elsewhere, so that the memoir file (which sometimes contained correspondence, photographs, and a research evaluation) deposited in the "My Life in Germany" archive was the only information available for that person, who may have written using a pseudonym. That meant that there was little ability to fact-check the writers' assertions, and no opportunity to verify that what they had said was accurately understood. Furthermore, the original instructions to the writers made no mention of emigration, although all had done so; therefore the descriptions of an individual emigration process depended on each writer and might not be mentioned at all. I compared the memoirs with each other, with respect to the topics of interest, in order to gain a sense of confidence that the reported feeling or incident related to emigration was likely to have been common. Because for most of the writers no further information about their lives was available, it was frustrating not to know what happened to them later.

The strengths of the archived material lay in its historical moment and the fact that the memoirs had been written just before the beginning of World War II and the Holocaust. Very little material from this well-studied time can be found, unless in diaries and letters, to reflect the assumptions and understandings of people prior to those events that now completely overpower our attempted objectivity, if any. Furthermore, each later

generation has come to its own conclusions about the great events, and these tend to increase the number of assumptions researchers bring to their consideration. As this sample of writing dates from 1940 at the latest, we can be confident that it is free of later assumptions, general knowledge and hindsight, except as was in operation in 1940.

A strength of using historical material is its relevance to other historical research: the scholar need not investigate the entire historical picture, because that work has already been done. Instead, I could proceed directly to my research question, and as questions about the context emerged, I could inquire as appropriate with the numerous, readily available sources of information about that context. A further strength, in terms of sheer convenience, was the study's exemption from human subjects review. Finally, learning about that particular cohort brought the generalities of commonly known history into the sharp relief of individuals with their own stories to tell. These stories combined to assist me in formulating a general model for the emigration decision process.

Suggestions for Future Studies

There are about twenty English-language memoirs in the archive written by Aryans and about another twenty written by Christian non-Aryans that could be added to a project such as I have done, if translated. Aryans and Christian non-Aryans from the Nazi era have been less studied than Jewish non-Aryans, by Americans. If added to the pool of memoirs for analysis, the additional data might either reinforce or contradict my findings from the English-language memoirs. The topic of emigration seems to grow ever more relevant in today's world. The memoirs used in this study could be used for other kinds of studies, such as a survey of changes in business practices under the Nazis, as

many of the writers were in business. Because the memoirs were compiled in 1940, they contain no knowledge or expectation of the events of the Holocaust, thus enabling researchers an opportunity to ask again, who knew what, when? A comparison of memoirs of those who remained (from some other source) with those who left might provide a check on some speculations I have included. A more psychologically focused study might enhance insight on emotional endurance and when people decide to stop enduring and attempt to change things. Further studies might focus on identity in maturity and work roles, in connection with the emigration decision. The memoirs could also be used for study of German cultural elements that were in common with or different from other Western societies of the time, and how these elements either fed into general acceptance or tolerance of Nazism or, in most of these memoirs, rejection of it.

An expanded study of the topic of emigration, particularly for non-Jewish writers, could be attempted along the lines of *The Night of Broken Glass* (Gerhardt & Karlauf, 2012). This recent completion of a study planned in 1942 by one of the archive's compilers contains lengthy excerpts from 21 memoirs, as well as supplementary matter with information about the contest and the people involved in initially gathering and analyzing the memoirs. Several of the memoir writers led very interesting lives, as can be seen from the material quoted in the Findings, that could be expanded to full biographies. Peech's papers, for instance, are available to scholars, so perhaps a further biographical study could determine whether my impressions, based on her memoir and the brief biography by Paine (1975), were correct.

As mentioned earlier, the memoirs form a kind of time capsule, reflecting the attitudes and understanding of people who had lived in Nazi Germany before the war started and before the Holocaust. I can testify that they are readable. They could be used to further refine our understanding of attitudes, expectations and behaviors that led up to those climactic events. German researchers have been mining the archive, publishing some of the memoirs. Surely the same could be done in America, where the archive was assembled.

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