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“Which of the people here would suspect that so much is going on in the mind of a teenage girl?”: Adolescent resilience in the Holocaust diaries of Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel

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“Which of the people here would suspect that so much is going on in the mind of a teenage girl?”: Adolescent resilience in the Holocaust diaries of Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the

Department of Psychology

West Chester University

West Chester, Pennsylvania

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

Master of Science

By

Jenna Walmer

March 2021

Dedication

To Anne and Renia. To all who perished during the Holocaust. To all who wrote and are now writing diaries under the threat of genocide. To all who read these diaries.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge all of the hard work put in by the other individuals who supported this project. First, I want to thank my second-coders, Deborah Choi and Karrie Sands, for taking the time to ensure proper classification of passages. I especially want to thank Dr. Lauri Hyers for her enduring support, critical eye, and extensive encouragement throughout the entire thesis process. In addition, I want to thank my other committee members, Dr. Jonathan Friedman for his knowledge in Holocaust Studies and Dr. Lia O'Brien for her expertise in developmental theory. I also want to thank Sienna Medina and Madeline Hanson for reviewing the final draft. I am forever grateful for the many people who inspired my academic endeavors: Mrs. Lewis, Mr. Good, and Mrs. Heydt for cultivating my love of research and passion for Holocaust education during middle and high school; Dr. Kishida for teaching my undergraduate women's history course that shaped much of my future research; Dr. Marsh for starting the Oxford study abroad experience for Bridgewater College Flory Fellows and Dr. Waxman, my tutor at Oxford, for introducing me to women's experiences during the Holocaust; and Dr. Kalb for advising many Holocaust-related research projects and his endless support past my time at Bridgewater College. Finally, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my parents and sister, Lori Ann, Daniel, and Jamie Walmer for their endless support, as well as the many friends and colleagues who listen to me talk about my thesis.

Abstract

In this qualitative archival diary study, Holocaust-era diaries were explored for evidence of the resilience of adolescent girls. Adolescent-themed passages were selected from the posthumously published diaries of Anne Frank and Renia Speigel, who kept private diaries while under the constant threat of war and genocide. To explore how the everyday affairs of adolescent development may contribute to resilience in the face of trauma, I used thematic analysis to determine the prevalence and emotional valence of four themes of adolescence: evolving social-relationships, emotional fluctuation, cognitive-identity changes, and physical changes. The emotional valence of the adolescent-themed diary passages was more likely to be positive than negative. Based upon emic coding, positive emotions included affiliation, love, joy, excitement, lust, self-efficacy, trust, contentment, and justice. Negative emotions included relationship conflict, sadness, loneliness, social-emotional distancing, confusion, embarrassment, frustration, and jealousy. The attention the girls paid to affiliation and socio-emotional coping is highly consistent with women's gendered patterns of resilience. Theoretical conceptions of the resilience of adolescent girls and implications for humanitarian aid workers, therapists, and educators are discussed.

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Chapter 1: Introductory Reflexivity Statement

You never realize how much you've changed until after it's happened. I've changed quite drastically, everything about me is different: my opinions, ideas, critical outlook. Inwardly, outwardly, nothing's the same. And, I might safely add, since it's true, I've changed for the better. --*Anne Frank, 25 March 1944*

My awareness of the events of the Holocaust began in elementary school when I first visited the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. I remember my mother would not allow me to see the permanent exhibit, because she did not want to expose me to distressingly horrific artifacts. Instead, we went through *Daniel's Story*, a children's exhibit of the Holocaust told from a child's perspective. A few years later, my introduction to *The Diary of Anne Frank* renewed my memories of that museum visit. As I read her diary for the first time and saw the theatre rendition, the juxtaposition of Anne's secret romance and the war surrounding her intrigued and alarmed me. I wondered how Daniel, Anne, and others carried on in the face of such threats and whether I would have been able to do the same.

This early exposure impacted me forever, as the first-person voices of these courageous youth revealed that they had no choice but to face unthinkable tragedy. I never experienced such a level of terror, but I became committed to never forget their stories and to work toward peace in some way. This growing commitment was reinforced by my upbringing in the Church of the Brethren. As a member of a historic peace church, I found many role models of people in the church who felt a call to work on violence prevention and conflict resolution. By the time I attended college, I decided to pursue a major in global studies. I sought Holocaust-related study abroad experiences at Philipps Universität in Germany and at Oxford University, United Kingdom, where I examined women's first-person Holocaust accounts through archival documents. This work confirmed for me that I must dedicate myself to this field of study.

I want to do my part to support those who may be facing trauma, with the goal of reducing mass atrocities in the world. My thesis study on adolescent development themes as revealed in Holocaust diaries can contribute to our understanding not only of youth during the Holocaust, but youth in Burma, East Turkistan, Sudan and South Sudan, Yemen, Kashmir, and many other countries currently experiencing the unthinkable. Informed by my two graduate degrees in both Holocaust and Genocide Studies and Psychology, my thesis project has made me more aware than ever of the importance of bearing witness to the psychological experiences of those subjected to genocide.

Chapter 2: Introduction and Literature Review

It is interesting that the most emotionally charged passage in the diary does not concern the Holocaust. —Cahn (1988) on the Holocaust-era diary of an adolescent girl named Eva

As implied in the self-effacing words written in Anne Frank's diary and borrowed for the title of this project, one should never underestimate the musings of adolescent girls, even when faced with extreme existential threats. Decades ago, psychotherapist Theresa Cahn conducted a rare archival diary study exploring how musings about adolescence may have served as a buffer from a teenage girl's trauma during the Holocaust (Cahn, 1988). Cahn herself survived the German invasion of Poland in 1939 by concealing her Jewish identity and then spending years in hiding. She recognized the value in revisiting first person, non-retrospective accounts from youth through their personal Holocaust-era diaries. She also entertained the possibility that adolescence, so often portrayed in psychology as a time of risk and vulnerability, may offer some protective advantages in the face of trauma. Through the writings of Eva Gold, a Jewish teenage girl who was also living in Poland during the 1939 invasion, Cahn explored Eva's "age-specific reactions to the Holocaust," posing similar questions that inspired my thesis:

How does age act to shape the perceptions of and reactions to stress? The emotional effects of stress depend not only on the external situation, but on the person exposed to it... the variable of age, or developmental phase, specifically early adolescence... influences the perception of what is "relevant to well-being" and the resources available for coping. (Cahn, 1988, p. 589)

In her qualitative analysis, Cahn discussed how the developmental life stage of adolescence affected Eva's appraisals of (and often disregard for) the surrounding genocide and her coping styles (or lack thereof). Her analysis of Eva's diary entries brought her to a conclusion that I also came to in my research: everyday adolescent concerns of independence, peer relations, and

sexual and intellectual development, challenging in their own right, are difficult for the teenager to dismiss, thus serving as a buffer from the trauma of genocide. As Cahn described of Eva:

One is repeatedly struck by the relatively minor place devoted to the dangers of the Holocaust in Eva's diary... One is impressed by the basically normal course of adolescent development observed in the diary. Surrounded by death, despair, cold, hunger, and relentless persecution, Eva emerges from her memoirs in many ways like the ninth grader next door. ...In a characteristically narcissistic, omnipotent phase of adolescence, Eva is protected from the awareness of death by an implicit belief in her invulnerability. Thus, while saddened by the growing number of graves, including those of relatives, she seems to ignore the constant threat to herself or her immediate family. (p. 611)

I have conducted a similar analysis of two archival Holocaust-era diaries, exploring how developmental aspects of girls' adolescence might contribute to resilience in the face of unspeakable trauma and minimize negative affect. Like Cahn, I feel there is much to learn about the strengths of women generally, and adolescent girls specifically. Many scholars of women in the Holocaust have argued that because of their gender, females experienced the Holocaust differently (Milton, 1984; Ringelheim, 1985; Waxman, 2017; Weitzman & Ofer, 1998). My overarching goal in this project is to explore adolescent girls' unique capability to be resilient. Adolescent girls face dramatic, and at times exhilarating, bodily and social-role changes in puberty (Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Papadakis et al., 2006) while embedded in complex socio-relational networks (Block, 1981; Brown & Gilligan, 1993). Cahn approached her analysis through a psychoanalytic framework, whereas I will be approaching my analysis from a resilience framework. To begin, I will provide a brief overview of the literature on resilience,

with a focus on how individual, environmental, maturational/age-related, and gender-related factors influence resilience. Then I will discuss the present study and my research questions.

Scholarly Literature on Resilience

A large body of research has accumulated over the last several decades on resilience across the lifespan. The American Psychological Association (APA) defines resilience as, “the process and outcome of successfully adapting to difficult or challenging life experiences, especially through mental, emotional, and behavioral flexibility and adjustment to external and internal demands” (2020, para. 1). In my overview of the concept of resilience, first I will consider *approaches to resilience* employed by researchers. Approaches to resilience typically focus on well-being *after* a traumatic episode, often through the retrospective voices of adults. A secondary focus explores well-being *during* ongoing challenging episodes. Second, I will discuss *sources of resilience*. There is often a divide between researchers who look to *individual versus environmental sources of resilience*. Comprehensive approaches look at both. Other researchers identify *maturational/age-related sources of resilience*, often characterizing younger childhood and older adulthood as the more resilient life stages. Scholars originally viewed adolescence as the life phase least conducive to resilience. Despite decades of research characterizing adolescence as a time of great chaos, risk, and vulnerability (Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Hall, 1904), researchers are increasingly recognizing ways resilience is cultivated and displayed at this life stage. Scholars have also explored *gender-related sources of resilience* though with mixed conclusions. In 2008, the American Psychological Association (APA) argued, “Instead of focusing on the storm and stress of adolescence, a new understanding of adolescent girls that affirms their strength and resilience needs to be developed” (p. 1). Ten years later, in 2018, the APA called upon researchers to do more intersectional work on resiliency as a function of gender

and age. The APA's appeal for attention to girl's strengths and the intersectionality of age and gender are part of the inspiration for this project.

Approaches to Resilience

The research on resilience is vast, and scholarly approaches to the topic come from many different angles. According to Fergus and Zimmerman (2005), "A key requirement of resilience is the presence of both risks and promotive factors that either help bring about a positive outcome or reduce or avoid a negative outcome" (p. 399). One important distinction in the literature is between research that defines resilience as positive outcomes *after* a crisis versus as positive coping *during* a crisis.

Most commonly, scholars focus on long-range outcomes after the crisis, with resilience evidenced by the individual's ability to recover and enjoy better outcomes as they move on with their lives (Garmezy, 1991; Masten & Narayan, 2012). This focus on resilience post-crisis is partly out of practical data collection necessity, especially for naturalistic researchers who cannot easily, or at times, ethically, conduct research during a catastrophic event. Because much of the research has explored individual resilience through long-term retrospective accounts, resilience is often assessed by the individual's ability to "bounce back" from adversity, managing post-traumatic stress effectively without long-term damage, debilitation, or dysfunction (Benard, 2004; Brooks & Goldstein, 2001; Hartling, 2003; Herrman et al., 2011; Jordan & Hartling, 2002). Resilience in this respect is evidenced by the individual's ability to avoid long-term negative consequences, such as post-traumatic side-effects, despite having faced the risk of a highly stressful or catastrophic psychological or physical life event (Mancini & Bonanno, 2006; Rutter, 2006; Ungar, 2004, 2008).

A secondary line of resilience research focuses on the individual during a crisis. Some of this research examines resilience as an ongoing process (Luthar et al., 2000; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Greene & Graham, 2009; Masten, 2011, 2014; Masten & Narayan, 2012). Unlike outcomes-focused research, which defines resilience as a return to good mental health and functioning after the crisis, process-focused research defines resilience as positive adaptation and stable mental health and functioning amid crisis (Olsson et al., 2003). Such research assesses the individual's adaptability and positive functioning while facing trauma (Ayalon, 2005; Luthar et al., 2000; Masten, 2014; Masten et al., 1999). Immediate coping may involve problem-focused and emotion-focused strategies in facing a threatening situation (Morano, 2010). However, Berk (1998) has cautioned that resilient coping strategies during extreme, life-threatening situations, such as war, may be difficult to identify if the "need to take action to survive may override many normal mechanisms the individual uses to create psychological homeostasis" (p. 639). Greene and Graham (2009) echoed this in their study of resilience during the Holocaust, suggesting that the mental capacity needed for coping actions may instead be redirected toward survivalist actions. However, not all coping during traumatic events is survivalist in nature. Although it may seem counterintuitive in the face of chronic or grave threats, concern for social connections and even expressions of positive emotions are evidence of resilience that are well-documented (Bonano, 2004; Morano, 2010; Zandvoort, 2012).

Sources of Resilience

There is a diverse array of research exploring correlates of resilience. Given the great variation observed in the impact of trauma on individuals (Mancini & Bonanno, 2009) and communities (Buse et al., 2013), researchers have worked to identify factors that enhance and diminish resilience. I will discuss some of the relevant research on variations in sources of

resilience as a function of individual versus environmental characteristics, maturational/age-related factors, and gender-related influences.

Individual vs. Environmental Characteristics. Some researchers have looked for adaptive characteristics of individuals to explain why they exhibit more resilience than others (Masten, 2011; Ungar, 2008). Research that emphasizes characteristics of individuals often focuses on personality traits that lead to resilience. Berk (1998) identified a combination of individual traits that he coined the “esprit de corps” of resilience, including the ability to attract assistance, to sense danger (and to avoid it), to relax, and to make sense of chaos. In addition, Berk suggested that more resilient individuals were those who were committed to a greater cause, looked to resilient role models for guidance, viewed failure as a learning experience, maintained a sense of humor, and created for themselves a sense of control. Masten et al. (1999) identified higher intelligence, better quality of parenting, and good overall intellectual functioning as sources of individual resilience. In later work, Masten (2011) advocated for a more holistic, “person-focused model” of resilience, wherein researchers look at the whole person to identify individual sources of resilience, rather than simply identifying single variables that increase resilience.

Other researchers have focused on social and cultural aspects of the environment to identify sources of resilience (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Greene & Graham, 2009; Luthar et al., 2000; Mancini & Bonanno, 2006, 2009; Masten & Narayan, 2012; Masten et al., 1999; Olsson et al., 2002; Ungar, 2004). Rejecting the equating of resilience with individual psychological traits (Rutter, 2007), the social-ecological approach looks at individual, family, community, religion, and culture (Garmezy, 1991; McAdam-Crisp, 2006; Masten, 2014; Rutter, 2006; Ungar, 2004; Werner, 1982). Ungar (2008, 2013) has argued that utilizing a social-

ecological approach takes away the “blame” from individuals and emphasizes the contexts in which individuals find themselves. A social-ecological framework acknowledges how an individual’s environment impacts their resilience in part through access to social resources, such as a study by Kalayjian and Shahinian (1998) on Armenian genocide survivors, which identified religion, access to work, and family support as key resources supportive of resilience. As Ungar (2008) states, “Resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual’s family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways” (p. 225).

The most comprehensive accounting of the sources of resilience is seen in Keyes's (2004) three-pronged approach: individual, familial, and community. At the individual level, sources of resilience include intelligence, problem-solving competencies, high self-efficacy, and an autonomous, active, outgoing, and warm personality. At the familial level, sources of resilience include family cohesion, social support, high-quality parenting, stable family units, and higher socioeconomic standing. At the community level, sources of resilience include access to counseling, support programs, and good schools. Comprehensive social-ecologically focused approaches are often more promising, as they offer easy points of intervention for prevention psychology and psycho-education efforts aimed at promoting structures of resilience, especially in at-risk communities and with vulnerable populations (Choe et al., 2012; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Luthar et al., 2006; Reyes et al., 2013).

Maturation/age-Related Factors. Age and maturational development are important factors when considering resilience. From a lifespan perspective, simply surviving and developing from infancy through adulthood is itself a sign of resiliency. Masten et al. (1999)

argued that lifespan milestones are “valuable markers” of an individual’s developing capacity for resilience. In other words, resilience is simply a byproduct of experiences as one develops across the life course (Greene & Graham, 2009), especially if one exhibits healthy adjustment despite having faced some threat or risks (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Therefore, it follows that those who make it to the developmental phase of adulthood have developed some degree of resilience, and thus elders would be expected to have the most resilience (Jeste et al., 2013).

Other research might argue for the opposite conclusion, looking at youth, especially young children, as the most resilient. One of the more famous examples of this work is that of developmental psychologist Dr. Emmy Werner, a pioneer in research on lifespan development and resilience. Herself a child survivor of bombing raids during WWII (Werner, 2013), Werner advocated for the view that children had a developmental advantage when it came to trauma. Reflecting on longitudinal data, Werner (1987) described how she “could not help but be deeply impressed by the resiliency of the overwhelming majority of children” (p. 7). She saw a “powerful message of universality” in the patterns of youth resilience across “diverse studies with different ethnic groups, in different geographic and sociopolitical contexts” (Werner, 2013, p.90). Many other scholars have concluded that the young are more resilient (Mancini & Bonanno, 2006; Masten & Narayan, 2012), even in the face of the Holocaust and war (Ayalon, 2005; Kellermann, 2001), purportedly due to their greater flexibility, openness, access to community resources, and embeddedness in social networks. More recent research in the area of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACES), studying generations of children, has called Werner’s conclusions into question (Pearce et al., 2019), revealing that youth carry lifelong vulnerabilities from childhood trauma. Critics, nonetheless, argue that the ACE’s conclusion is not yet verified, and take offense at the quick adoption of the slogan “the first years last forever” (see White et al.,

2019, p. 462). Thus, whether there are inherent adaptive capabilities that contribute to childhood resilience, a primary resilience that Mastin (2001) has referred to as the “ordinary magic” of childhood, is an open debate.

In contrast to past optimism about the benefits of adulthood and childhood for resiliency, scholars have overlooked the advantages of adolescence. Adolescence, especially in Western countries, has a negative reputation as a phase of greater risk and lesser resilience (Hines & Paulson, 2006). Researchers often describe adolescence as marked with much turmoil and vulnerability (Burgess, 1985; Van der Kolk, 1985). Adolescents face risk factors, such as extreme maturational and social role changes endured throughout puberty, yet they also benefit from several maturational advantages (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). As Masten and Narayan (2012) note, the adolescent developmental phases include advances “in their cognition and interpretation of experiences, emotion and emotional understanding, self-regulation skills, knowledge, social connections and relationships, physical size and strength, beliefs and faith, and many other aspects of function that could influence their interaction with experience, including traumatic experiences” (p. 14). These may serve as specific protective factors that increase their likelihood of positive outcomes including resiliency (Dahl et al., 2018).

As neurologist Galván (2017) describes, “Adolescence is an exciting time in life when individuals are more excitable, volatile, and exploratory than they will ever be” (p. 1). Although adolescents may be wired for more risk-laden experiences, other developmental components may be protective against risks, such as growing self-control and defiance, increasing academic achievement and participation in extracurricular activities, and better understanding of their roles in cultural institutions such as religion and family connectedness (Ferguson & Zimmerman,

2005). More complex and changing relationships, including ones with peers and elders, may contribute to adolescent resiliency (Choe et al., 2012; Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005).

“Adolescence is a time of surprises,” as Hauser et al. (2009) describe it, “There is no room for complacency when boys and girls are coming of age. Unexpected turns of fate forge new identities and desires, greater skills open new ambitions and possibilities; and values and beliefs of all kinds build themselves ever more deeply into maturing characters” (p. vii). Coming of age rituals, whether formal or informal, tap into the dynamic nature of adolescence to help springboard adolescents into new societal roles (Halleh-Delaney, 1995; Hyers, 2007b; Okwumabua et al., 2016). Adolescents may develop a more unified and empowered outlook on their emerging adulthood status. Together, these dynamic aspects of adolescence have the potential to contribute to resilience.

Gender-Related Influences. Some scholarly literature has identified gender differences in resilience to trauma (Dumont et al., 2007; Masten & Narayan, 2012) and other research suggests there is no effect (e.g., Collishaw et al., 2007; Jaffee et al., 2007), however cultural differences in socially constructed gender roles are a likely mediating factor in research on gender differences (Shmotkin, 2003). Lifespan studies of girls and women have demonstrated marked resilience (Hatala et al., 2016), which may be partly the result of girls’ greater likelihood of maintaining supportive friendships characterized by equality, self-disclosure, and empathy (De Goede et al., 2009). Research has found that while men are more problem-focused, women are more emotionally focused in their coping strategies, thus, women may be more likely to reveal depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, and anger (Green & Diaz, 2008). In fact, women’s greater likelihood than men to be diagnosed with post-traumatic stress (PTS) may be due to women’s greater ability for emotional expressiveness that would reveal the PTS in the

first place (e.g. Mancini & Bonanno, 2006; Masten & Narayan, 2012). A particularly moving example where gender roles and emotion were implicated was in a study of women survivors of the Rwandan genocide, who were more likely than men to engage in the forgiveness of perpetrators as an emotion-focused coping strategy (Vanderheyden, 2018).

Based on past Holocaust research, primarily with adults, there has been some debate on whether women or men have demonstrated more resilience. Milton (1984) argued that women's experiences during the Holocaust differed from men, and that their unique resources contributed to women's survival. After originally framing women's gendered experiences during the Holocaust as a vulnerability, Ringelheim (1985) revised this view to one of women's resiliency. She found that women's abilities to assemble fictive kinship relations extended their social networks beyond their nuclear families, contributing not only to survival but also to a sense of normalcy of everyday living. Ringelheim (1985) stated, "Their relationships--- their conversations, singing, storytelling, recipe sharing, praying, joke telling, gossiping---helped them to transform a world of death and inhumanity into one more act of human life" (p. 752).

Other scholars found that some gender roles contributed to their vulnerability, particularly the role of motherhood (Langer, 1998). Langer (1998) rejected Ringelheim's (1985) and Milton's (1984) assertions that women's tendency to create friendships was a mere situational circumstance and not a product of gender. Tec (2003) came to a similar conclusion that cooperation and mutual care was a universal coping mechanism used by both sexes, and that life in extremis breaks down a patriarchal society and typical gender roles. Thus, resilience was not a factor of characteristics, but rather the actions an individual take (Tec, 2003).

Combining these two perspectives, Waxman (2017) has suggested that women and girl's wartime gender roles contribute both to resiliency and vulnerability. As Waxman (2017) has

noted, women's traditional gender roles in the Holocaust were a double-edged sword in many ways: contributing the glue to hold communities together, yet burdening women with that responsibility; offering safety from front lines violence, yet providing less agency to defend against it; preventing women from some forms of labor exploitation and violence, yet threatening them other gendered forms of violence. Particularly about women in hiding, Waxman (2017) writes:

Women in hiding--especially Jewish women in hiding-- were doubly vulnerable. They were vulnerable, of course, because they were Jews. ... these women were also, however, especially vulnerable, precisely because they were women. Those who were mothers, or had assumed a conventional caring role for families or friends, and who lacked the support of a male figure, had to assume intolerable burdens. All women--whether old or young, married or single-- were also at the mercy of men. (p.53)

Therefore, research specific to gender and the Holocaust reiterates the differing perspectives about gender roles and resiliency.

Women's resilience has been found to be affected by their greater closeness to family members and to their greater access to and interdependence within social networks (Ferren,1999; Jefferis & Theron, 2018; Morano, 2010). For example, Morano (2010) found that women Holocaust survivors felt a sense of indebtedness to others for having helped them to survive, and thus they felt responsible for future generations to give back. In contrast, men in her study felt more personal responsibility for their own survivorship and less responsibility for future generations. While women are more likely to experience poverty and often have responsibility for children, their embeddedness in relationships often buffers them from poverty through access to resources, in a way that may be unavailable to men (Clark & Peck, 2012; Stark-Wroblewski et

al., 2008). Women have also been found to be more sexually fluid over the lifespan, which may allow greater opportunities for coping resources through varied loving and/or sexual relationships (Diamond, 2008; Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2014).

Saidel (2005) notes that gender-stereotypical roles for women may increase resilience in crisis, including homemaking skills that allow women to exert control over their immediate space and nurturing skills that allow for the formation of “surrogate” families in crisis. Because women are less likely to be sent out into the workforce, they are less likely to become vulnerable because of independence or roles in the larger community (Aptekar et al., 2000). Not all gender roles support women’s resilience, such as expectations of female submissiveness and cultural practices of sheltering, restricting, or shunning of women and girls (Choe et al., 2012; Qouta et al., 2008; Shmotkin, 2003; Zrally & Zyirazyoye, 2010). Women’s interconnectedness through their roles in family and community networks can be a source of resilience, as long as they are not separated from their communities, at which point some girls and women may have nothing (Zrally & Zyirazyoye, 2010). Despite the overwhelming literature suggesting that traditional gender roles support female’s resilience, Grimmel and Stern (1992) found that the degree to which individuals feel like they meet gender-specific traits is a better predictor for psychological well-being and adjustment than gender roles alone. Additionally, the results of their study suggested that gender roles can diminish psychological well-being, particularly when their ideal roles and actual roles come in conflict (Grimmel & Stern, 1992).

Chapter 3: Present Study

The horrific events of the Holocaust left millions of shattered lives, and at the same time, left thousands of accounts of survival, courage, and resilience. The voices of those who survived sometimes published autobiographical accounts, such as Wiesel's *Night*, and shared interviews, like the thousands archived in organizations such as the University of Southern California's Shoah Foundation. These survived stories revealed messages of resilience. However, for those who did not survive, we still have first-hand accounts in what Allport (1949) referred to as the "personal documents" of life, such as letters, notes, and diaries. When found, diaries offer a cohesive story in one package. Archival Holocaust diaries have been published in anthologies, such as Boas's (1995) *We are Witnesses*, Filipovic and Challenger's (2006) *Stolen Voices*, and Zapruder's (2002) *Salvaged Pages*. First-hand accounts of Holocaust diaries are exhibited in museums around the world and across the United States, such as the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC and the Holocaust Museum of Houston, Texas. There is even a recent effort to create an online display of Holocaust diaries (Blakemore, 2017). The goal of my study is to add to the current literature in Holocaust and genocide studies, gender studies, developmental psychology, and resilience theory through an analysis of the archival Holocaust diaries of two adolescent girls.

The Advantages of Examining Archival Diaries

Diaries are an excellent source of first-hand information, especially in the face of crisis when public accounts are too dangerous (Hyers, 2018; Hyers et al., 2006). As Hyers (2018) described, "A diary written during a particular sociopolitical crisis is like a time capsule, revealing the lived experiences of an historical epoch" (p. 21). I explore themes of resilience in the lives of two adolescent girls through their private diaries that have since been made public.

Psychologists have long hailed the personal diary as a deeply personal account of human experience. Allport (1949) and other psychologists before him have advocated for the study of diary documents for the rich source of psychological information they provide. Freud once described the psychoanalytic usefulness of the diary of a teenage girl: “I really believe it has never before been possible to obtain such a clear and truthful view of mental impulses that characterize the development of a girl in our social and cultural stratum” (Freud, 1919, p. 341). Later, Cahn (1988) argued that diaries serve as “accounts in the lived moment... a unique glimpse into human experience. They reveal inner life.” (p. 590). Similarly, Hyers (2018) pointed out that, since the diary is “the place wherein individuals do their mental work” archival diaries offer “firsthand witness to a historic time period” complete with the diarists’ “ruminations, introspections, and reflections” (p.69).

Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel wrote the diaries I focused on in the present study. Both diary writers experienced the Holocaust between the ages of 13 and 18, and neither of them survived. While a common way to examine resilience is via post-trauma recovery, I am exploring their resilience *during* the trauma of their time. By analyzing archival diaries of these youth writing as they faced the mortal threat of the Holocaust, I can explore their resilience in the context of their own ongoing experiences.

The Importance of a Contextualized, Intersectional Approach to Gender, Age, and Resilience

I am not taking a cross-sectional quantitative approach where age, gender, resilience, and cohort effects are explored as separate variables. Instead, archival qualitative diary research is inherently intersectional, as the age, gender, and historical moment of the diarist intersect (Hyers, 2018). By attending to the voice of what Allport (1949) referred to as “concrete individuals,” the

archival diary passages of Anne and Renia are situated and contextualized within their gendered adolescence. As Cahn (1988) noted of adolescent girls:

The major psychological task, at this stage, is to achieve greater autonomy. The adolescent girl wants to be more grown up, more independent. This, however, is a frightening process, threatening to break off much needed nurturance. It is particularly frightening when the outside world is as dangerous as it was for the author. (p. 591)

Thus, the resilience they reveal is affected by inseparable influences of their gender, age, and the threats of their time.

Identifying Themes of Adolescent Development in their Diary Entries

Each of these diaries represents hundreds of pages and entries, not all of them relevant to adolescence. I anticipated much of the diary content to address everyday matters, such as school, family, and traumatic issues, such as war and genocide. For my project, I needed to identify content that was specifically about the developmental phase of adolescence, so that I could explore the role that adolescence played in their resilience. I first identified any entries in the girls' diaries that contained adolescent-themed content by looking for passages that touched upon any of four common themes in the literature of adolescence throughout the last century (Erikson, 1963; Freud, 1915; Hall, 1904; Havighurst, 1941; Lerner et al., 2001; Overton, 2013): evolving social-relationships, emotional fluctuation, cognitive-identity changes, and physical changes. I expected there to be substantial adolescent-themed diary content, simply due to the age of the diarists, but also due to past developmental research on adolescent girls' Holocaust diaries (Cahn, 1988; Evert, 1991; Rudin, 2018) which has concurred with Dalsimer's (1982) observation that, "Even under these [extreme] circumstances, we see the familiar processes of

adolescent development” (p. 488). Although there has not yet been developmental research on the lesser-known and recently released Holocaust diary of Renia Spiegel, I had similar expectations for her diary, as well. With no past research to guide my expectations about which of these four themes of adolescence would be most prevalent in the diary passages, I used a theory-driven, etic coding scheme to classify each selected passage so that I could explore the relative prevalence of each.

Examining Resilience Via the Emotional Valence Expressed in Adolescent-Themed Passages

Individuals who are more resilient and experiencing psychological well-being have more positive affect and less negative affect (Mak et al., 2011). Bonano (2004) discussed extensively the link between positive affect and resilience and suggested that positive emotions enhance resilience through social relationships by reducing negative affect in the face of adversity:

Historically, the possible usefulness of positive emotion in the context of extremely aversive events was either ignored or dismissed as a form of unhealthy denial (e.g., Bowlby, 1980). Recently, however, research has shown that positive emotions can help reduce levels of distress following aversive events... by quieting or undoing negative emotion ... (p.24).

Since having more positive affect is associated with greater overall well-being, I wanted to explore the affective valence of the adolescent-themed passages I identified in the diaries. Each adolescent-themed passage was classified as either affectively positive (evidence that the subject matter of the passage was contributing to the girls’ resilience), negative (evidence that the subject matter of the passage was detracting from the girls’ resilience), or neutral (evidence that the subject matter of the passage was neither contributing to nor detracting from resilience).

While positive and negative affect might be at opposite poles, neutral affect is controversial in terms of whether it is associated with well-being, whether it is good or bad, or whether it involves affect at all. As Gasper et al. (2019) pointed out, neutral thoughts and feelings may be indicative of a highly prized state of homeostasis or moderation, thus neutral diary passages, especially in the context of WWII, may also be a sign of resilience. Neutral affect has been argued to be a cue that attention is not needed in a given situation, that one understands their immediate situation, and that all things are calm and “normal” (Carver & Scheier, 1990; Gasper et al., 2019). Given the growing recognition of the resilience of adolescence (e.g. Hauser, et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 1999), I expected that the adolescent-themed diary passages would be more likely to be infused with positive and neutral affect and less negative affect. While it may seem unreasonable to expect anything but negative affect to appear in Holocaust diaries, my expectations of more favorable affect are only concerning the entries related to adolescence.

I then conducted further coding to explore the underlying nature of positive and negative adolescent-themed diary passages using thematic analysis. I wanted to contribute a richer understanding of the nature of positive and negative emotions surrounding adolescence during trauma. Because this involved emic sub-coding for the nature of the emotions, I did not have any a priori expectations for the exact sub-types of positive and negative affect. I specifically avoided using any existing models that categorized emotions so that the patterns of emotions could emerge from within the voice and context of these two individuals. I did not sub-code the affectively neutral adolescent-themed passages for this analysis.

Research Questions and Expectations

To review, I had four overarching research questions that guided my work as I embarked upon this project. The first research question I asked was *is there adolescent-themed content*

evident in the Holocaust diaries of Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel? Based on past research, I expected to identify a substantial number of passages to be focused on adolescent matters in both girls' diaries. The second research question I asked was *what is the relative prevalence of the four themes of adolescence—evolving social-relationships, emotional fluctuation, cognitive-identity changes, and physical changes—in their adolescent-themed passages?* I did not have any specific expectations about which of the four themes would predominate since all are equally relevant to this maturational stage. The third research question I asked was *does their focus on adolescent-themed aspects of their lives contribute to resilience, as evidenced through their containing a relatively greater degree of positive and neutral valence rather than negative emotional valence?* Because of research advocating more affirming views of the resiliency of adolescent girls, I was optimistic that I would find their adolescent-themed passages to be less negative, thus contributing to their resilience and well-being. Finally, the fourth research question I asked was *what is the nature of the positive and negative emotions revealed in their adolescent-themed passages?* With little past research to draw upon concerning the nature of girls' privately written emotions, about adolescence, in diaries, written while living under the threat of the Holocaust, I had no expectations of what types of emotions would emerge. I approached this question with a purely emic mindset, working to identify emergent patterns in the array of their emotions as they revealed them in their private diaries.

Chapter 4: Methods

I use a qualitative archival diary methodology to analyze themes of resilience in two adolescent girl's Holocaust diaries. Qualitative methods have been relied upon in research on marginalized groups facing oppression (e.g. Hyers, 2007a; Swim et al., 1998) and in research on resilience (Ungar, 2003). As Hyers (2018), noted, the diary method is a form of direct witness testimony:

The diary method is distinguished in the qualitative methodological canon for its unparalleled potential to capture the details of otherwise time-sensitive and context-specific phenomena. The diary has always been among the options in the qualitative methodological repertoire, and as a secondary source material, it predates other common methods for data collection, such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and ethnography. Every qualitative method has its own approach and unique strengths. Just as the one-on-one interviews harnesses the intimacy of conversation and the focus group harnesses the energy of interaction, the diary harnesses the power of immediate personal witness. (p. 27).

Ayalon (2005) has noted that “most research on resilience and adaptation is based on case studies or qualitative interviews,” (p. 353), yet little has been done using archival diaries. Ungar (2003) has specifically pointed to Anne Frank's diary as a helpful window into “resilience in lives lived”, inviting “the rigour of structured qualitative analysis to understand the mechanisms which promote healthy outcomes” (p. 86). By applying qualitative analysis to diaries such as Anne Frank's, I can pair the details of her daily musings with a systematic qualitative analysis of themes of adolescent resilience. The method that I used for analyzing the diaries, described below, employs a Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Clarke & Braun, 2017), in which I

coded diary passages in both an Etic (theory-driven) and Emic (inductive) fashion. Thematic Analysis is a flexible, systematic method for qualitative data analysis that “is a method of identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning (‘themes’) within qualitative data” (Clarke & Braun, 2017, p.297). I will first describe the diaries and the diarists in more historic detail. Then, I will describe how I selected the diary passages. Finally, I will describe my systematic coding strategy.

The Diaries

I coincidentally started this research at a time when there has been a growing interest in publishing and analyzing adolescent Holocaust stories through their diaries (Goldberg, 2017; Rudin, 2018). Anne Frank’s diary has long been popular in primary school education, however in the last decade, a fuller, more explicit set of her passages has become available to the public. In addition, in the fall of 2019, Renia Spiegel’s diary was published. Because of the “newness” of Renia’s diary to the public and the lack of research (in comparison to Anne Frank’s diary), I felt the two diaries complimented each other as primary sources for my study. There are notable differences in their situation, their geographical location, and the timeline of their experiences, however, they are both adolescents who share in common an impressive aptitude for written expression.

Anne Frank and Her Diary

Anne Frank was born on 12 June 1929 in Frankfurt, Germany to her father, Otto, her mother, Edith, and older sister, Margot. Because of the rising antisemitism in Germany starting in 1933, the Franks moved to Amsterdam the following year. With the beginning of World War II in 1939 and the invasion of the Netherlands in the spring of 1940, the Franks could no longer

escape. Anti-Jewish laws and economic boycotts ensued, which prompted Otto Frank to quickly develop plans to go into hiding (Pressler, 2019). Meanwhile, Anne turned 13 in 1942 and received her diary as a birthday present. Only a month later, the Franks went into hiding, where most of the diary takes place. After the Franks settled, the Van Pels and Dr. Pfeffer (renamed in the diary as Van Daans and Mr. Dussel) relocated to the annex. The annex was located in Otto Frank's office building.

While in hiding, Anne started to revise her diary after hearing on the radio about the potential collection of wartime diaries. During this, Anne edited out some passages that her father later reincorporated into publishing. These two versions are now known as A and B (Prose, 2019). Her diary ends on 1 August 1944, and only three days later, the entire annex was arrested. Anne Frank perished in Bergen-Belsen, presumably of typhus in March 1945, only weeks before the liberation of the camp (Pressler, 2019).

After the end of the war, Otto Frank, the only survivor from the annex, discovered Anne's diary and began to ponder publishing. He typed up the diary, removing some of Anne's harshness towards her mother (Prose, 2009). In the 1960s, the rise of Holocaust denial sparked investigation into the authenticity of Anne's diary, and later the publication of *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Critical Edition*. This edition of the diary allows readers to compare the three versions of her diary, the original, her revisions, and Otto Frank's manuscript (Prose, 2019). Finally, in 1991, a "definitive edition" was published that included passages about her sexuality and difficult relationship with her mother. I chose to use this version of Anne's diary because of its raw nature of the adolescent girl's psyche. This diary spans two years, including 186 entries, and the bound published book is 198 pages. Due to being confined in hiding, Anne's entries were often essay length and in-depth musings upon a subject.

Renia Spiegel and Her Diary

Renia Spiegel was born on 18 June 1924 in southeast Poland. Renia started her diary in 1939 at the age of 14. Because the invasion of Poland did not occur until September, her diary documents much of the rise of antisemitism and the German occupation. This occupation inevitably tore her family apart, as her sister and mother moved to Warsaw to pursue her sister's acting career. Towards the end of her diary, we read much more about the hardships Jews faced, as the Nazis forced Renia into the ghetto in July 1942. To avoid deportation, Renia's boyfriend, Zygmunt, tried to secure work papers, however, his attempts did not lead to success. Zygmunt found a place to hide both Renia and his parents on 27 July 1942, and from that date until Renia's death, Zygmunt wrote seven entries. Only four days later, Nazis discovered and murdered the three in hiding.

After the war, Zygmunt kept her diary. In the 1950s, Zygmunt gave the diary to Renia's mother, who kept it until her death in 1969 when her sister discovered the 700-page diary. Her sister eventually allowed people to read the diary in 2012, which led to the eventual English publication in 2019. Advertisements about Renia's diary often described it as similar to Anne's. Renia's diary is quite a bit larger than Anne's, spanning three and a half years, including 300 entries, and the bound published book is 270 pages. Due to her relative freedom to move about in her community, her diary entries were often the short and spontaneous musings of someone who had a busy daily life. A considerable amount of Renia's diary writing was taken up with poetry.

Initial Selection of Passages with Adolescent-Themed Content

In order to prepare to identify adolescent-themed content in these diaries, I first reviewed a range of developmental psychology theories to develop a heuristic for what type of diary

passage would qualify as being adolescent-themed. Adolescence is, in part a biological construct, but it is psychological as well. Biological adolescence, or puberty, is a construct with cross-cultural and ahistorical consistency (World Health Organization, 2020). In contrast, the psychological aspects of the construct of adolescence have changed over time. Early in the history of the field of psychology, Hall characterized adolescence as a period of storm and stress (1904). This notion of adolescence as chaos continued to consume adolescent developmental literature in the United States and Europe throughout most of the 19th century. For example, Erikson (1963) defined adolescence as a time of identity “crisis.”

It has been only more recently that theory of adolescence has moved away from the idea that adolescence is a period of “storm and stress.” Lerner et al. (2001) has contributed to a new recognition of adolescent development as more nuanced than this uniform characterization as a troubled phase. Textbooks by Margolis et al. (2007) and Santrock (2018) have suggested that adolescence is a more logical phase that starts with physical changes and morphs into more complex identity and cognitive changes. Psychological growth leads the adolescent toward advances in cognitive processes, socio-emotional development, and contemplative considerations of morality, spirituality, and identity (Dahl et al., 2018).

Combining across various contemporary models of adolescence, I identified four consistent themes of adolescence: (1) Evolving social-relationships, (2) Emotional fluctuation, (3) Cognitive-identity changes, and (4) Physical changes. Themes of evolving social-relationships in adolescence include changes in relationships, ways of loving others, roles and responsibilities in relation to others, attachment to parents, dating and romantic relationships, parent-adolescent conflict, and intimacy in friendships. Themes of emotional fluctuation include amplified feelings, emotional expression, new emotions, changing emotions, and emotional

awareness. Themes of cognitive-identity changes in adolescence include changes in thoughts, knowledge, learning style, view of self and self-definition, sexual identity, and self-consciousness. Themes of physical changes include changes in the body from puberty, body image, menstruation, sexuality, body hair, height, and weight. These themes guided my focus when I conducted my initial passage identification and selection and I ultimately used them to develop my codes for subsequent etic coding.

Before I selected the passages related to adolescence that would be the focus of my analysis for this project, I read both diaries in total. Then, in a second pass through each diary, I re-read every diary entry, specifically looking for passages that contained themes of adolescence. I marked every such passage that contained at least one or more (of the four) adolescent themes. At this stage, I did not label or classify the passage further. I simply decided, is this passage relevant to adolescence? The majority of the diary entries were not related to adolescence. Though passed over for further coding, I would like to emphasize that there is a wealth of other information in these diaries, from mundane observations about everyday happenings to important and moving observations of the seriousness of their times. Here is an example of a particularly sobering passage from Anne's diary that was not selected for this project:

Today I have nothing but dismal and depressing news to report. Our many Jewish friends and acquaintances are being taken away in droves. The Gestapo is treating them very roughly and transporting them in cattle-trucks to Westerbork, the big camp in Drenthe to which they're sending all the Jews. (9 October 1942)

Here is an example of a passage from Renia's diary also not analyzed for this project and equally as grim:

My dear Diary, my good, beloved friend! We went through such terrible times together and now the worst moment is upon us. I could be afraid now. But the One who didn't leave us then will help us today too. He'll save us. Hear, O, Israel, save us, help us. You've kept me safe from bullets and bombs, from grenades. Help me survive, help us!
(25 July 1942)

For selected entries that contained adolescent-themed content, I transcribed only the relevant portions of passages into two separate word files of adolescent-themed passages, one from Anne's diary and one from Renia's diary. Selected passages varied in size from three words to 32 sentences. The only text I selected and transcribed was the portion of the entry when the adolescent-themed content started until the subject changed. Thus, if a diary entry was five paragraphs, but only two sentences were about adolescent-themed content, only those two sentences were selected and transcribed into the word file. I did not cut off a passage mid-sentence, however, selecting all text up to any closing punctuation. This process resulted in a fairly similar total number of adolescent-themed passages between the two diaries, however, this was a coincidence and not intentional. This set of transcribed passages became my "data" that I then worked through with co-coders for my thematic analysis. A second coder reviewed my selection of passages, to validate my selected passages. We agreed on 177 out of 180 (98.3%) passages, resulting in the removal of three passages that were deemed not adolescent-themed in content. The final set of 177 adolescent-themed passages became the "data set" used for all remaining analyses of the project.

Etic and Emic Coding Strategy

For subsequent coding and analysis, I used a combination of etic and emic coding using Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The etic portion of my coding involved using pre-

existing categories to identify passages in the diaries (Hyers, 2018). This etic approach was used for classifying the adolescent-themed passages into the four major themes of adolescence and for coding the emotional valence of the passages for positive, negative, or neutral affect. It is referred to as etic (or deductive) because my codes were identified a priori and were not “emergent themes.” The emic portion of coding followed Clarke and Braun’s (2017) traditional phases of Thematic Analysis: becoming familiarized with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing potential themes, and defining and naming themes. I used this emic strategy for characterizing the nature of the positive and negative affect evident in the adolescent-themed passages.

For both etic and emic coding, I employed a co-rater to also code all passages and then calculated interrater agreement. As Terry et al. (2017) describe, this was a “coding reliability” version of Thematic Analysis:

...[D]esigned to allow the researcher to test and report on coding reliability – indeed, it is seen as essential for quality. One crucial aspect of determining coding reliability is the ‘code book’ or ‘coding frame’ – a tool that guides the coding process. A code book consists of a definitive list of codes – for each code, there is a label, a definition, instructions on how to identify the code/theme ... details of any exclusions, and examples. Codes are either determined in advance on basis of pre-existing theory (deductive coding), or inductively, based on familiarisation with the data, or sometimes a mix of both. The code book is then used by at least two independent coders to code all, or (more commonly) a sample of, the data. The level of agreement between the coders is then calculated (p. 6).

Our initial co-rater correspondence, detailed in the next sections, was acceptable given the norms in qualitative diary research (Hyers, 2018; McHugh, 2012; Terry, Hayfield, Clarke, & Braun (2017). All identified discrepancies were resolved by a third coder. All final codes, definitions, and examples are provided in Appendix A.

Coding Passages for Four Major Themes of Adolescence

For this stage in the coding process, I examined the transcribed adolescent-themed passages and coded them with an assistant co-rater to systematically code them for which of the four adolescent themes was represented. Again, because I developed my coding system separately from the data, relying on existing developmental theory on adolescence, this was an etic coding scheme. I developed a codebook that included an explanation for the coding process, definitions of each of the four themes of adolescent development, and examples for each code. Diary passages were coded for whether they included each of four pre-existing categories based upon current models of adolescence (Margolis et al., 2007; Santrock, 2018): (1) Evolving social-relationships, (2) Emotional fluctuation, (3) Cognitive-identity changes, and (4) Physical Changes. A passage could be coded as containing multiple themes. For example, if a passage said “I feel like a new grown-up woman, I am so in love” it could be coded as cognitive-identity changes and emotional fluctuation.

A second coder was trained on the definitions and also coded all passages so that interrater agreement could be calculated. Interrater agreement was 83.3% overall, averaged across all four adolescent themes and for each separate theme was the following: 91.6% for evolving social relationship, 69.6% for emotional fluctuation, 78.2% for cognitive-identity changes, and 93.9% for physical changes. After calculating interrater agreement and highlighting

the discrepancies, the passages and data were given to a third coder to reconcile the discrepancies and so that final code labels could be applied to each passage.

Coding of Adolescent-Themed Passages for Positive, Negative, or Neutral Valence

Next, I incorporated into the codebook emotional valence coding with positive, negative, or neutral affect. The codebook included definitions and examples for each of these codes. Each passage was coded for whether the emotion was generally positive, negative, or neutral. A second coder was trained on the definitions and coded all passages, again for calculating interrater agreement. Each passage could only be coded using a forced trichotomy—it had to be labeled as generally positive, negative, or neutral. Interrater agreement was 83.1% for affect coding. After establishing these agreement ratings and highlighting the discrepancies, the passages and data were given to a third coder to reconcile the discrepancies and apply final codes to each passage.

Emic Sub-Coding of the Nature of the Nature of Positive, Negative, and Neutral Affect Evident in the Adolescent-Themed Passages

Next, I conducted emic, inductive coding of the positive and negative passages to examine themes in the simple and complex affect expressed. I did not further code the affect of neutral codes, because theoretically speaking, they did not have a valence. I followed the system of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012). First, I refamiliarized myself with the specific content of each passage. Then, open coded for different themes that arose. Then, I worked with a second coder, through discussion, to review potential themes and define and name a final set of themes. After discussion, we decided on nine positive codes: affiliation, love, joy, excitement, lust, self-efficacy, trust, contentment, and justice. We identified eight negative codes:

relationship conflict, sadness, loneliness, social-emotional distancing, confusion, embarrassment, frustration, and jealousy. These were added to the coder handbook that defined and provided an example for each type of code. Each passage could fit into more than one theme and therefore each could receive multiple codes, but only within their specific category of affect (positive or negative). For example, if a passage stated, “I was full of lust for him and it felt exhilarating,” it would have previously been assigned the etic code of positive affect, and then could receive any of the relevant emic positive affect codes; in this example, it would receive the codes for lust and excitement. As another example, if a passage stated, “I was fueled with raging jealousy of her and by the time I left, I was so sad, that I cried all night,” it would have previously received the etic code of negative affect and could then receive any of the relevant negative affect codes; in this example, it would receive codes for jealousy and sadness.

A second coder was trained on the definitions and coded all passages so that interrater agreement could be calculated. Interrater agreement overall was an average of 77.5% for coding of these emic themes and for each separate theme was the following: 78.3% for affiliation, 82% for love, 76.3% for joy, 74.4% for excitement, 85.6% for lust, 73% for self-efficacy, 78.1% for trust, 94.5% for justice. 81.6% for relationship conflict, 75.9% for sadness, 84.3% for loneliness, 78.2% for social-emotional distancing, 73% for confusion, 87% for embarrassment, 87.8% for frustration, and 97.8% for jealousy. After establishing these agreement ratings and highlighting the discrepancies, the passages and data were given to a third coder to reconcile all discrepancies, allowing me to assign final codes for each passage.

Chapter 5: Results

I want to begin by acknowledging the strength of these diarists. Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel were remarkably gifted girls whose expressiveness in documenting their daily experiences is a gift to posterity. I am forever grateful for the honor of getting to know Anne and Renia through their own voices. The tragedy of their untimely deaths serves as a stark reminder of humankind's inhumanity.

I will first describe the incidences of adolescent-themed content in their diaries. This will be followed by an analysis of the types of adolescent-themed content represented in their passages. I will then explore these adolescent-themed passages for indicators of resilience, examining the relative degree of positive, negative, and neutral affect expressed. Finally, I will turn to the emic coding that explores the nature of the positive and negative emotions revealed in their adolescent-themed passages. When I share the number, frequencies, and exemplary passages for each theme, I will always begin with the diarist for whom there was a higher proportion of incidences of that theme.

Adolescent-Themed Content Evident in the Diaries

For my first research question, I wanted to determine if there was adolescent-themed content evident in these Holocaust diaries. As expected, despite the backdrop of war and persecution, it was apparent that Anne and Renia found solace in their diaries and in their adolescence, as they acknowledged many aspects of this maturational phase in a rich array of diary entries. I identified 177 diary passages across the two diaries that contained adolescent-themed content. I identified a very similar number of such adolescent-themed passages; however, this was a coincidence. Renia's diary contained 90 passages with adolescent-themed content and

Anne's diary contained 87 passages. Because Anne's diary is substantially shorter overall than Renia's, the adolescent-themed content represents a larger proportion of Anne's total writings. It is impossible to know why there was a higher proportion of adolescent-themed content in 13-year-old Anne's diary. However, Cahn (1988), who examined the Holocaust diary of another 13-year-old, suggested that emerging adolescence may arouse intense interest and intrigue, leading to more attention in diary content. Although 17-year-old Renia may have focused less proportionately on adolescent themes, both diaries included a sizable amount of detail and dynamic musings of adolescent life, which were then coded by myself and my research team in multiple ways. Despite the terror of impending threats nearby, these girls saved some mental space to dialog within their diaries about matters of their coming of age.

Relative Prevalence of the Four Types of Adolescent-Themed Content in the Diaries

For my second research question, I explored the relative prevalence of the four themes of adolescence—evolving social-relationships, emotional fluctuation, cognitive-identity changes, and physical changes—in their adolescent-themed passages. Table B1 displays the frequencies for adolescent-themed content (see Appendix B). I expected to find many diary passages connected to evolving social-relationships, emotional fluctuation, cognitive-identity changes, and physical changes, given the age of the diarists. I will discuss each in order of prevalence in the diaries. A passage could be coded as revealing more than one dimension of adolescence, so percentages will not total 100% across the four categories. The higher percentages across all four categories in Renia's diary (compared to Anne's diary) reflects the greater likelihood that each of Renia's passages overlapped across multiple dimensions of adolescence. Renia's entries were often broadly focused, sometimes including both biographical accountings, reflection, and poetry.

Evolving Social-Relationships

The most frequently occurring adolescent theme across both diaries was that of evolving social-relationships, with 148 (83.6%) of the selected adolescent-themed passages across both diaries containing this type of content. This content occurred in 79 (87.8%) of Renia's adolescent-themed passages and 69 (79.3%) of Anne's. An example of a diary passage from Renia's diary that fits this theme of adolescence was written about her long-time boyfriend and love interest. Renia had these thoughts of missing him after she was closed-off in the ghetto, "I have missed Zyguś so much today, I thought about him all the time. I haven't seen him for a week, I've missed him so much and I still miss him, because his visit today wasn't a real visit" (16 July 1942). An example from Anne's diary was made about two years into her stay in the annex. Early on in their time, Anne and Peter had no interest in each other. After spending much time in confined quarters, they grew fond of each other, and Anne developed a love interest:

This is the first Saturday in months that hasn't been tiresome, dreary and boring. The reason is Peter. ... Whenever I leave the room, for example after a meal, and Peter has a chance and no one else can hear, he says, "Cheerio, Anne, see you later." Oh, I'm so happy! I wonder if he's going to fall in love with me after all? In any case, he's a nice boy, and you have no idea how good it is to talk to him! (4 March 1944)

Emotional Fluctuation

The next most frequently occurring adolescent theme was emotional fluctuation, with 121 (68.4%) of passages across both diaries containing this type of content. This content occurred in 78 (86.7%) of Renia's selected passages and 43 (49.4%) of Anne's. In an example of a passage from Renia's diary, she addressed Norka, her best friend from grade school. She often had to

wait days to see her boyfriend Zygmunt because he started studying medicine. At this point, she had experienced sexual intimacy and undetailed affectionate encounters with him that she clearly longs for. After some days lost in love and other days annoyed with his indifference, she begins this passage with exasperation and ends it with anticipation:

I was thinking yesterday and I said this to Nora, “You know, Norka, I’m tired of life.”

This sentence coming out of a 17-year-old girl’s mouth amuses me, and it’s not accurate.

It’s not life I’m tired of, because after all I haven’t really lived yet; I’m tired of

anticipation, idleness, and maybe precisely the desire for life. Because not so long ago

there was a time when I was intoxicated with sensual love, kisses, caresses, touches, and

all this was enough for me, so much that I forgot one can desire something more. (29

October 1941)

An example from Anne’s diary is one in which she described a heated disagreement with her mother over simple semantics—the word “maids” versus the phrase “domestic help.” Anne was frustrated that her mother did not understand her thought processes, and their relationship had grown somewhat troubled. Here in this passage, Anne described a loss of control of her emotions. She wrote, “Mother and I had a so-called discussion today, but the annoying part is that I burst into tears” (27 September 1942).

Cognitive-Identity Changes

The next most frequently occurring adolescent theme was cognitive-identity changes, with 120 (67.8%) of passages between the two diaries containing this type of content. This content occurred in 75 (83.3%) of Renia’s passages and 45 (51.7%) of Anne’s passages. For example, Renia had just left a school dance where she danced with everyone, not just Zygmunt.

Renia described her excitement that she now had a social life “like a regular 16-year-old girl would.” In addition, this led to her reflection on the meaning of life:

Perhaps my opinion will change one day, but for now it’s simple: life is worth living for the person you love, for the person you dream about and think about during sleepless nights. Living not for fame or knowledge, not for learning—these are just intellectual concepts. Living the sensual life, “getting to the bloody core of life,” snatching what’s best, satisfying yourself until you’re breathless. (16 March 1941)

This example from Anne’s diary was a common occurrence, as she often reflected on her past to assess her maturational changes. Here she refers to owning her self-development, separating herself from “the others” in her social circle:

I became a teenager, and was treated more like a grown-up. I began to think about things and to write stories, finally coming to the conclusion that the others no longer had anything to do with me. They had no right to swing me back and forth like a pendulum on a clock. I wanted to change myself in my own way. (7 March 1944)

The cognitive-identity theme was also revealed in a passage describing a charming exchange with Peter and how they were different people than before (Kitty is what she named her diary):

We talked about every imaginable thing, about trust, feelings, and ourselves. Oh, Kitty, he was just as I thought he would be. Then we talked about the year 1942, and how different we were back then; we don’t even recognize ourselves from that period. How we couldn’t stand each other at first. He’d thought I was a noisy pest, and I’d quickly concluded that he was nothing special. I didn’t understand why he didn’t flirt with me, but now I’m glad. (19 March 1944)

Physical Changes

Physical changes were the least frequently occurring, representing just 22 (12.4%) of passages across both diaries. This content occurred in 13 (14.4%) of Renia's selected passages and 9 (10.3%) of Anne's. Though less frequent, passages about physical changes and the body were often so enthusiastic, resulting in longer entries with richer in detail. For example, in this passage, Renia's perhaps is reflecting on her first experience with sexual intimacy with Zygmunt:

He proposed that we get a photograph taken together, the two of us. I have reasons to be pleased, and yet I yearn for "that night" ...

Such a night happens once in a lifetime

so in memories it can linger on

so it can be dreamed about day- and nighttime

and remembered as years are long gone

Such a night—it's in dreams it begins

In a girl's wishes

Such a night turns a memory, it seems

Like a smile, it perishes

Yes, I remember the charms of the moon

and holding the head I so missed

and a bird's midnight tune

and how you kissed

I can't write any more, but every night I miss that night so, I miss it, I miss those lips...

ah, that night lives in me. Those nights exist to awaken yearning, and then an unquenched thirst. (11 August 1941)

Renia also used poetry to express her physical feelings and new sensations in her body. She authored this poem a few weeks after her entry about Zygmunt asking her to a party:

Blood pumps, spring is about

And spring makes hearts open

It makes them grow and swell and sprout

eyes shine, the world dissolves into laughter

lips, breasts, hips enlarge

Spring is lavish, spring gives freely

Doesn't spare anything, by and large

Lips and eyelids kisses silly

Refreshes with sweet caresses

Spring's coming, be ready for its excesses

I want this power to seize me, to lift me

I want to write lopsided verses

Clumsy and savage, raunchy as can be

It simply must be so

I feel my blood boiling

I feel my heart beat faster

Spring storms are broiling

I want wind and bluster

I want my face slapped

Hit me, beat me, poison, torture

Bite me, throttle, kiss me, strap

Hellish power inside me's surging

So tie me up, be like a tyrant

Curb this force that is in me

'Cause I toss and turn in crisis

my blood shouts like some banshee

You have to overpower me

Or I will overtake you

You see, just look, this is still nothing. I find some wild, sadistic pleasure in people saying, "Rena is seeing Z." People talk about it at school, but I'd like to write something so indecent... and then find pleasure in it. (16 February 1941)

Although this topic was in low frequency in Anne's diary passages, the passages she did write on the topic were unusually lengthy and full of explicit content. They are quite compelling, exploring a range of feelings about sexuality. In this episode, she has read an article on puberty (by Dutch adolescent psychologist Heyster) and recalls lesbian attraction for her best friend Jacqueline:

Yesterday I read an article on blushing by Sis Heyster. It was as if she'd addressed it directly to me. Not that I blush easily, but the rest of the article did apply. What she basically says is that during puberty girls withdraw into themselves and begin thinking about the wondrous changes taking place in their bodies. I feel that too, which probably accounts for my recent embarrassment over Margot, Mother and Father. On the other hand, Margot is a lot shyer than I am, and yet she's not in the least embarrassed.

I think that what's happening to me is so wonderful, and I don't just mean the changes taking place on the outside of my body, but also those on the inside. I never discuss myself or any of these things with others, which is why I have to talk about them to myself. Whenever I have my period (and that's only been three times), I have the feeling that in spite of all the pain, discomfort and mess, I'm carrying around a sweet secret. So even though it's a nuisance, in a certain way I'm always looking forward to the time when I'll feel that secret inside me once again.

Sis Heyster also writes that girls my age feel very insecure about themselves and are just beginning to discover that they're individuals with their own ideas, thoughts and habits. I'd just turned thirteen when I came here, so I started thinking about myself and realized that I've become an 'independent person' sooner than most girls. Sometimes

when I lie in bed at night I feel a terrible urge to touch my breasts and listen to the quiet, steady beating of my heart.

Unconsciously, I had these feelings even before I came here. Once when I was spending the night at Jacque's, I could no longer restrain my curiosity about her body, which she'd always hidden from me and which I'd never seen. I asked her whether, as proof of our friendship, we could touch each other's breasts. Jacque refused. I also had a terrible desire to kiss her, which I did. Every time I see a female nude, such as the Venus in my art history book, I go into ecstasy. Sometimes I find them so exquisite I have to struggle to hold back my tears. If only I had a girlfriend! (6 January 1944)

Two months later, she revisited this topic, describing a meeting with Peter he "enlightens" her about various matters of puberty for boys. The next day, Anne pondered whether Peter knew what female genitalia looked like:

I'd like to ask Peter whether he knows what girls look like down there. I don't think boys are as complicated as girls. You can easily see what boys look like in photographs of pictures of male nudes, but with women it's different. In women, the genitals, or whatever they're called, are hidden between their legs. Peter has probably never seen a girl up close. To tell you the truth, neither have I. Boys are a lot easier. How on earth would I go about describing a girl's parts? I can tell from what he said that he doesn't know exactly how it all fits together. He was talking about the '*Muttermund*,' (cervix) but that's on the inside, where you can't see it. Everything's pretty well arranged in us women. Until I was eleven or twelve, I didn't realize there was a second set of labia on the inside, since you couldn't see them. What's even funnier is that I thought urine came

out of the clitoris. I asked Mother once what that little bump was, and she said she didn't know. She can really play dumb when she wants to!

But to get back to the subject. How on earth can you explain what it all looks like without any models? Shall I try anyway? Okay, here goes! When you're standing up, all you see from the front is hair. Between your legs there are two soft, cushiony things, also covered with hair, which press together when you're standing, so you can't see what's inside. They separate when you sit down, and they're very red and quite fleshy on the inside. In the upper part, between the outer labia, there's a fold of skin that, on second thought, looks like a kind of blister. That's the clitoris. Then come the inner labia, which are also pressed together in a kind of crease. When they open up, you can see a fleshy little mound, no bigger than the top of my thumb. The upper part has a couple of small holes in it, which is where the urine comes out. The lower part looks as if it were just skin, and yet that's where the vagina is. You can barely find it, because the folds of skin hide the opening. The hole's so small I can hardly imagine how a man could get in there, much less how a baby could come out. It's hard enough trying to get your index finger inside. That's all there is, and yet it plays such an important role. (24 March 1944)

Examination of the Adolescent-Themed Passages for Positive, Negative, or Neutral Affect

For my third research question, I examined whether the adolescent-themed aspects of their lives may have contributed to their resilience, as evidenced by the emotional valence of the adolescent-themed passages. As expected, these adolescence-themed diary entries were more positive than negative. Out of the 177 adolescent-themed diary entries across the two diaries, there were more than twice as many positively valenced passages, 115 (65.0%), than there were negatively valenced ones, 52 (29.4%). There were fewer neutrally valenced passages than

expected at just 10 (5.6%). The low amount of neutral comments may be due to an unforeseen byproduct of the nature of private diary writing, with diarists being more prone to record events of significant emotional valence—an issue I will address in more detail in the discussion. If positive and neutral affect both contribute to resilience, then together they made up the majority, 70.6%, of adolescent-themed passages that may be contributing to resilience. In Anne's diary, 51 (58.6%) passages were positive, 30 (34.5%) were negative, and 6 (6.9%) were neutral; in Renia's diary, 64 (71.1%) were positive, 22 (24.4%) were negative, and 4 (4.4%) were neutral. Table B1 displays the frequencies for emotional valence, broken down by adolescent-themed content and diarist (see Appendix B).

Emic Sub-Coding Exploring the Nature of Positive and Negative Affect evident in the Adolescent-Themed Passages

My final research question explored the nature of the positive and negative emotions revealed in their adolescent-themed passages. I conducted emic coding to explore the nature of the positive and negative affect associated with the diary passages. Because this involved emic sub-coding for the nature of simple and complex emotions, I did not have any a priori expectations for the exact sub-types of positive and negative affect. The richness of their experiences is revealed in the diversity of the themes.

Positive Emotional Valence in the Adolescent-Themed Passages

Emic coding of the positive valence passages revealed nine positive emotions. They were affiliation, love, joy, excitement, lust, self-efficacy, trust, contentment, and justice. Table B2 displays the frequencies for the positive emotional valence themes (see Appendix B). I will discuss each in order of prevalence.

Affiliation. The most common positive theme was affiliation, defined as spending time with others. It was the most common theme, representing 72 (62.6%) of passages across both diaries. Themes of affiliation occurred in 36 (70.6%) of Anne's passages and also in 36 (56.2%) of Renia's. Much of both girl's discussion of affiliation related to their romantic interests and wanting to be close to their significant other. The start of 1944 brought minor troubles for those in the annex, including increasing squabbles between Mr. and Mrs. Van Daan, adults from another family living in the annex and illnesses that had befallen their caretakers. Anne wrote, "Everything has become much worse here. But you already knew that. Now God has sent someone to help me: Peter" (12 January 1944). One month later, Anne reiterated this desire for affiliation with Peter, with fleeting mention of her older sister as a rival:

Whenever I go upstairs, it's always so I can see 'him.' Now that I have something to look forward to, my life here has improved greatly. At least the object of my friendship is always here, and I don't have to be afraid of rivals (except for Margot). Don't think I'm in love, because I'm not, but I do have the feeling that something beautiful is going to develop between Peter and me, a kind of friendship and a feeling of trust. I go and see him whenever I get the chance, and it's not the way it used to be, when he didn't know what to make of me. On the contrary, he's still talking away as I'm heading out the door.
(18 February 1944)

Renia also shared intense appreciation for her affiliation with Zygmunt, after a night where the two took a stroll together:

We had another wonderful evening. Two of us alone, properly alone. The sun had set and the stars started to emerge, and the moon floated up, and we sat next to each other and talked. And it was so... When we left, it was dark; we couldn't find the way. We got lost,

yes, we got doubly lost, or rather—only found ourselves. It was all so sudden and unexpected and sweet and intimidating. I was at a loss for words and terribly mixed up. He said, “Renuska, give me a kiss,” and before I knew it, it happened... He wanted more later, but I couldn’t, I was shaking all over.

Z said that he really liked this “intentional going astray,” he said, “We can do this again now, or tomorrow.” I feel so strange and nice. It was so light, elusive, ethereal, delicate. There was much, much more, but I'm only interested in that one thing—that he has become so close to me, the dearest person in the world, and I'm dizzy all the time... How did it happen. No more now, I need to think and dream... We’ll meet tomorrow—Z and I, and you and I. (20 June 1941)

Diary passages involving affiliation were very common, representing over half of the girl’s adolescent-themed passages, often noticeably disconnected to the dangers of their times.

Love. The next most common positive emotional theme involved explicit mention of love, defined as deep affection, intimacy, or fondness for another person. There were 66 (57.4%) passages with content related to this theme. There was a large difference in this theme, however, with Renia’s diary containing more than twice as many such passages, 49 (76.6%), compared to what was found in Anne’s diary, 17 (33.3%). Renia explicitly mentioned love as an expected part of adolescent development: “Now, according to the stages of a girl’s development I should ‘fall in love’ with a boy” (1 November 1939). Renia often turned to her love interest during her experience sequestered in the ghetto, framing the discriminatory relocation positively. She mused:

But it'll still be sweet, because Zyguś, my beloved Zyguś, is again my beating heart; he's so delightfully sweet. The world's good to us, even in the ghetto. It's just that I'm always a bit silly, I get embarrassed about going there. But Z is truly the most beautiful and curling up against him, seeking his protection, is the best. So today I'm much calmer. In this apartment "it" is wonderful as well. Now I will have sweet thoughts about everything! (19 July 1942)

Similarly, Anne mentioned how her time in the annex improved because of her love for Peter, after the many months of ignoring the parent's teases about them marrying. She expressed:

In the meantime, things are getting more and more wonderful here. I think, Kitty, that true love may be developing in the Annexe. All those jokes about marrying Peter if we stayed here long enough weren't so silly after all. Not that I'm thinking of marrying him, mind you. I don't even know what he'll be like when he grows up. Or if we'll even love each other enough to get married.

I'm sure now that Peter loves me too; I just don't know in what way. I can't decide if he wants only a good friend, or if he's attracted to me as a girl or as a sister. When he said I always helped him when his parents were arguing, I was tremendously happy; it was one step towards making me believe his friendship. (22 March 1944)

Both girls also wrote poems in their diaries, and these were often focused on the topic of love. Renia's poetry revealed her thought process of defining love, after a day of affection and teases coming from Zygmunt:

Oh, age, you! When one loves like never before

The one who knows you, can't ever find peace

The one who knows you, is drunk with ardor

And life only starts when the other heart is seized.

The one in love can never wake up

Stuck in a tormenting dream, in a feverish shake

Only to fall asleep when the dawn erupts

And dream of loving and heartache. (10 December 1940)

After a frustrating day thinking about the lack of love coming from her elders, Anne contemplated the true meaning of love in connection to her expectations of love in a relationship:

Love, what is love? I don't think you can really put it into words. Love is understanding someone, caring for him, sharing his joys and sorrows. This eventually includes physical love. You've shared something, given something away and received something in return, whether or not you're married, whether or not you have a baby. Losing your virtue doesn't matter, as long as you know that for as long as you live, you'll have someone at your side who understands you, and who doesn't have to be shared with anyone else! (2 March 1944)

Although Anne often described her love for her father, Renia expressed loving feelings toward her mother, who had been separated from her. For example, Renia described, "Today I got a postcard from Mama. It touched and moved me strangely. Because in all the turmoil of the day I felt that I have someone who loves me, who cares about me" (7 November 1941).

Joy. The next most common positive theme was joy, which I defined as emotions of happiness, euphoria, and elation. There were 51 (44.3%) passages across the two diaries that had

content related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 31 (48.4%) such passages, and Anne's contained 20 (39.2%). Despite having a particularly sad day, learning two of her closest friends lost their grandparents, noting the continued deaths because of the war, and realizing her mother had not written in a while, Renia related her joy in life to the boy she liked:

I'm 17 and when I look into his eyes I forget everything that's sad in the world. And I'd inscribe them in my heart in golden letters. Because I'm at the age and in that state when words, glance, caresses give joy. When I'm happy at the mere sight of my sweetheart. (26 January 1942)

Similarly, Anne specifically mentioned how Peter's presence brought her joy:

One Sunday morning I noticed, to my great joy (I'll be honest with you), that Peter kept looking at me. Not in the usual way. I don't know, I can't explain it, but I suddenly had the feeling he wasn't as in love with Margot as I used to think. All day long I tried not to look at him too much, because whenever I did, I caught him looking at me and then – well, it made me feel wonderful inside, and that's not a feeling I should have too often. (14 February 1944)

Excitement. The next most common positive theme was excitement, which I defined as expressions of wonder, curiosity, enthusiasm, and eagerness. There were 45 (39.1%) passages that contained themes of excitement. Anne's diary contained 21 (41.1%) such passages and Renia's diary contained 24 (37.5%). In this example, Anne's excitement is directly related to her curiosity toward her adolescent development as she awaited menarche. *Eva's Youth* is a book by Nico van Suchtelen that Anne read early on in her hiding to keep her occupied. She wrote:

There are also parts of *Eva's Youth* that talk about women selling their bodies on the street and asking loads of money. I'd be mortified in front of a man like that. In addition, it mentions Eva's menstruation. Oh, I long to have my period—then I'll really be grown up. (3 October 1942)

A month later, her anticipation escalated, as she noticed physical evidence that her period was soon to come. She expressed:

PS. I forgot to mention the important news that I'm probably going to have my period soon. I can tell because I keep finding a whitish smear in my panties, and Mother predicted it would soon start. I can hardly wait. It's such a momentous event. Too bad I can't use sanitary towels, but you can't get them anymore, and Mummy's tampons can be used only by women who've had a baby. (2 November 1942)

Renia's excitement related more to the potential of a relationship and the anticipation of sexual encounters. While participating in extra-curricular educational youth clubs, all she could think about was Zygmunt. In her diary, she wrote:

He stared at me, I stared at him. As soon as I turned my eyes away from him, I could feel his eyes on me. Then, when he said two words to me, I felt crazy, filled with hope. I felt as if a dream was coming true, as if the goblet was right by my lips.

But the goblet's still far away. A lot can happen before lips touch lips. So many things can happen to stop them from touching. This is the closest I've ever experienced to real love, because my victim is actually looking at me and saying two words. (19 October 1940)

Over two years later, Renia still had excitement at the thought of spending time with Zygmunt. She wrote, “It got me very excited and caused pleasurable unsettling shudders. Everything was sweet: kisses, glances and words, and all that wasn’t so ethereal, yes, that too” (6 February 1942).

Lust. The next most common positive theme was lust, which I defined as sexual desire and romantic feelings, sensual pleasure, and physical touch. There were 42 (36.5%) passages across the two diaries with content related to this theme. Renia’s diary contained substantially more lustful passages, with 32 (50.0%) compared to only 10 (19.6%) of Anne’s. One notable emphasis in Renia’s diary is her ongoing exploration of sexuality in encounters with Zygmunt:

I feel my own body. In fact this is the first time in my life that I am experiencing this feeling. I feel that my legs exist, I feel it all too well, I (cover your ears) would like to... well. I wanted to sgel ym neewteb mih ezeeuqs.¹ That’s monstrous. No! Not at all, in fact it’s pleasant! Why should I be shocked with something that seems to be delightful? Zygu’s not so innocent either. It was him who stirred me up today so much I trembled, and then, then he gave me one more kiss and left as if nothing had happened, left me alone with my burning heart, my trembling soul, with my pressing thoughts and my simply sick, “nervy” imagination! Not it can’t be like that! (8 May 1942)

A few weeks later, Renia explored the intense lustful passions in an encounter with Zygmunt:

You know, now I know what the word ecstasy means. I almost understand it. It’s indescribable; it’s the best thing two loving creatures can achieve. For the first time, I felt this longing to become one, to be one body and... well... to feel more, I could say. To bite

¹ Words written backward.

and kiss and squeeze until blood shows. (And then there's this other symptom.) And Zyguś talked about a house and a car and about being the best for me. Lord God, I'm so grateful to You for this affection and love and happiness! (2 June 1942)

Anne's passages on lust had a more naïve innocence to them than Renia's, as she wrote about her first kiss in the attic where she and Peter spent many nights together, comparing it with kisses other friends and acquaintances:

Remember yesterday's date, since it was a red-letter day for me. Isn't it an important day for every girl when she gets her first kiss? Well then, it's no less important to me. The time Bram kissed me on my right cheek and Mr. Woudstra on my right hand doesn't count. How did I suddenly come by this kiss? I'll tell you.

Last night at eight I was sitting with Peter on his divan and it wasn't long before he put an arm around me. (Since it was Saturday, he wasn't wearing his overalls.) 'Why don't we move over a little,' I said, 'so I won't keep bumping my head against the cupboard.' He moved so far over he was practically in the corner. I slipped my arm under his and across his back, and he put his arm around my shoulder, so that I was nearly engulfed by him. We've sat like this on other occasions, but never so close as we were last night. He held me firmly against him, my left side against his chest; *my* heart had already begun to beat faster, but there was more to come. He wasn't satisfied until my head lay on his shoulder, with his on top of mine. I sat up again after about five minutes, but before long he took my head in his hands and put it back next to his. Oh, it was so wonderful. I could hardly talk, my pleasure was too intense; he caressed my cheeks and arm, a bit clumsily, and played with my hair. Most of the time our heads were touching. I

can't tell you, Kitty, the feeling that ran through me. I was too happy for words, and I think he was too.

At nine-thirty we stood up. Peter put on his gym shoes so he wouldn't make much noise on his nightly round of the building, and I was standing next to him. How I suddenly made the right movement, I don't know, but before we went downstairs, he gave me a kiss, through my hair, half on my left cheek and half on my ear. I tore downstairs without looking back, and I long so much for today. (16 April 1944)

Self-Efficacy. The next most common positive theme was self-efficacy, which I defined as expressions of independence, pride, and taking control of her life. There were 31 (27.0%) passages across the two diaries. Anne's diary contained 21(41.2%) more passages in this category, than did Renia's 10 (15.6%). Anne's reflections about self-efficacy developed not long after a burglary had occurred. She felt her mother showed a lack of courage during the incident:

I'm becoming more and more independent of my parents. Young as I am, I face life with more courage and have a better and truer sense of justice than Mother. I know what I want, I have a goal, I have opinions, a religion and love. If only I can be myself, I'll be satisfied. I know that I'm a woman, a woman with inner strength and a great deal of courage! (11 April 1944)

About a month later, after much conflict with her mother, she declared independence:

I'm independent in both body and mind. I don't need a mother anymore, and I've emerged from the struggle a stronger person. Now that it's over, now that I know the battle has been won, I want to go on my own way, to follow the path that seems right to

me. Don't think of me as a fourteen-year-old, since all these troubles have made me older; I won't regret my actions, I'll behave the way I think I should! (5 May 1944)

One notable passage of self-efficacy in Renia's diary was written shortly after started a job at a factory, "Today is a memorable day. I've received the first money I earned" (15 May 1942).

Trust. The next most common positive theme was trust, which I defined as confiding in another person, gossiping, and self-disclosure of personal information to another person. There were 24 (20.9%) passages across the two diaries with this theme. Anne's diary included a higher proportion, 18 (35.3%) of these passages compared to Renia's with 6 (9.4%). Anne enjoyed a growing trust with Peter, as she described this long discussion between the two:

He also told me that he didn't mind my coming to his room the way he used to; in fact, he liked it. I also told him that all of Father's and Mother's pet names were meaningless, that a kiss here and there didn't automatically lead to trust. We also talked about doing things your own way, the diary, loneliness, the difference between everyone's inner and outer selves, my mask, etc.

It was wonderful. He must have come to love me as a friend, and, for the time being, that's enough. I'm so grateful and happy, I can't find the words. I must apologize, Kitty, since my style is not up to my usual standard today. I've just written whatever came into my head!

I have the feeling that Peter and I share a secret. Whenever he looks at me with those eyes, with that smile and that wink, it's as if a light goes on inside me. I hope things will stay like this and that we'll have many, many more happy hours together. (19 March 1944)

Renia discussed how she trusted Zygmunt, allowing him to read parts of her diary:

Do you know that we talked with Z about children today? About my, or rather, about our children? When he mentioned it I was very upset that he read it here (you spilled the beans again), but it was true. Zyguś was so loving when he asked me, “Boy or girl?” I almost went crazy with happiness. (26 April 1942)

Contentment. The next most common positive theme was contentment, which I defined as comfort, akin to the German word *gemütlichkeit*, which means the feeling and atmosphere of comfort, coziness, and relaxation. There were 20 (17.4%) passages across both diaries reflecting this theme. Anne’s diary contained 13 (25.5%) and Renia’s contained 7 (10.9%). Both Anne and Renia discussed their contentment in connection to their closeness with a love interest. In this example, Anne wrote about the contentment she felt with Peter in the attic of the annex, which became their safe space:

...when Peter and I are sitting close together on a hard wooden crate among the junk and dust, our arms around each other’s shoulders, Peter toying with a lock of my hair; when the birds outside are trilling their songs, when the trees are in bud, when the sun beckons and the sky is so blue. (14 April 1944)

After writing about fighting in Russia and along the Eastern Front, just three days later, Renia insists on finding contentment:

No! ... war, who knows? Maybe in two years... But Zyguś. so wonderful, tender, sweet and good, and lovely, that he exceeded my dreams. I felt so good today. I would like to tell someone about the happy moments I’m experiencing within this misery. The way Zyguś was, it would be a sin not to love him like I love him. (11 December 1941)

Justice. A final positive theme was that of justice, which I defined as thoughts of activism, questioning how society operates, and wanting equity or a change in social systems. There were just 4 (3.5%) passages with content related to this theme. Anne's diary contained 3 (5.9%) passages in this category and Renia had just 1(1.6%). In her later writings, Anne wrote more complex, often feminist, contemplations of justice, like this one, about a month before her arrest put an end to her diary:

One of the many questions that have often bothered me is why women have been, and still are, thought to be so inferior to men. It's easy to say it's unfair, but that's not enough for me; I'd really like to know the reason for this great injustice!

Men presumably dominated women from the very beginning because of their greater physical strength; it's men who earn a living, beget children and do as they please... Until recently, women silently went along with this, which was stupid, since the longer it's kept up, the more deeply entrenched it becomes. Fortunately, education, work and progress have opened women's eyes. In many countries they've been granted equal rights; many people, mainly women, but also men, now realize how wrong it was to tolerate this state of affairs for so long. Modern women want the right to be completely independent!

But that's not all. Women should be respected as well! Generally speaking, men are held in great esteem in all parts of the world, so why shouldn't women have their share? Soldiers and war heroes are honoured and commemorated, explorers are granted immortal fame, martyrs are revered, but how many people look upon women too as soldiers?

In the book *Men against Death*, I was greatly struck by the fact that in childbirth alone, women commonly suffered more pain, illness and misery than any war hero ever does. And what's her reward for enduring all that pain? She gets pushed aside when she's disfigured by birth, her children soon to leave, her beauty is gone. Women, who struggle and suffer pain to ensure the continuation of the human race, make much tougher and more courageous soldiers than all those big-mouthed freedom-fighting heroes put together!

I don't mean to imply that women should stop having children; on the contrary, nature intended them to, and that's the way it should be. What I condemn are our system of values and that men who don't acknowledge how great, difficult, but ultimately beautiful women's share in society is.

I agree completely with Paul de Kruif, the author of this book, when he says that men must learn that birth is no longer thought of as inevitable and unavoidable in those parts of the world we consider civilized. It's easy for men to talk—they don't and never will have to bear the woes that women do!

I believe that in the course of the next century the notion that it's a woman's duty to have children will change and make way for the respect and admiration of all women, who bear their burdens without complaint or a lot pompous words! (13 June 1944)

Because the war preventing a permanent reunion with her mother, Renia contemplated justice concerning wartime separations. In this passage, she creatively addresses the coming calendar year:

It was a year overflowing with love. Everything, tears, sighs, explosions of anger, jealousy, all this stemmed from that one emotion. And you, New Year being born, will you be sympathetic to Cupid hearts? You are young after all. You too know how to love. And if you want to be loved as well, for people to say goodbye to you with regret and not a sigh of relief, if you want your date to be entered in golden numbers into the world's history and in a flowery garland into people's hearts, become worthy of it. Bring a branch of peace into this howling, fighting world and quiet it like a rough sea with a magic wand. And let me still love the one I have fallen in love with, and let me be loved. Make it so that people who were separated by the war are joined in a blissful calm. And return parents to children and my Mama to me. (30 December 1941)

Negative Emotional Valence in the Adolescent-Themed Passages

In both diaries, there were substantially fewer negative adolescent-themed passages than positive ones. Table B3 displays the frequencies for negative emotional valence for emic themes (see Appendix B). Emic coding of negative affect revealed eight themes: relationship conflict, sadness, loneliness, social-emotional distancing, confusion, embarrassment, frustration, and jealousy.

Relationship Conflict. The most common negative theme was relationship conflict, which I defined as problems with parents, longing for parents, or interpersonal struggles. There were 23 (44.2%) such passages across the two diaries. Anne's diary contained 18 (60.0%) such passages, and Renia's contained just 5 (22.7%) of her passages with this content. Only a few months into her diary, Anne's teenage angst is expressed with regard to relationship difficulties with her mother. Anne wrote about the frequent "sermons" she received from her mother:

Yesterday Mother and I had another run-in and she really kicked up a fuss. She told Daddy all my sins and started to cry, which made me cry too, and I already had such an awful headache. I finally told Daddy that I love 'him' more than I do Mother, to which he replied that it was just a passing phase, but I don't think so. I simply can't stand Mother, and I have to force myself not to snap at her all the time, and to stay calm, when I'd rather slap her across the face. I don't know why I've taken such a terrible dislike to her. Daddy says that if Mother isn't feeling well or has a headache, I should volunteer to help her, but I'm not going to because I don't love her and don't enjoy doing it. (3 October 1942)

Renia had frequent relationship conflicts with Zygmunt. For example, believing that Zygmunt was not as interested in her, she expressed, "If Z wanted, he could find me, but it doesn't matter. I am the one who loves the most; all I want in return is a bit of fondness, not love as big as mine" (26 April 1941).

Sadness. The next most common negative theme was sadness, which I defined as crying, depression, and mental illness. There were 18 (34.6%) passages that had content related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 9 (40.9%) such passages and Anne's also contained 9 (30.0%). Renia mentioned multiple times how she missed her mother, especially in times when she needed comfort. On this particular occasion, she was not elected for a special position at school. She wished she had her mother there to console her. She wrote:

You should know, my dear diary, life is hardest for children without their parents, especially for those whose mothers are far away. Yes, know it, my dear diary, and feel my pain, because I'm in pain too! How bitterly I cry sometimes. (10 May 1940)

Just a little over a year into living in the annex, Anne noted how much relationship conflicts had taken a toll on her mental health. Anne discussed her sorrow:

I've been taking valerian every day to fight the anxiety and depression, but it doesn't stop me from being even more miserable the next day. A good hearty laugh would help more than ten valerian drops, but we've almost forgotten how to laugh. Sometimes I'm afraid my face is going to sag with all this sorrow and that my mouth is going to permanently droop at the corners. (16 September 1943)

Loneliness. The next most common negative theme was loneliness, which I defined as the need for a confidante, feeling lonely, and the need for a companion. A total of 12 (23.1%) passages had content related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 6 (27.3%) and Anne's diary also contained 6 (20.0%) passages with content related to loneliness. Both girls started their diaries expressing their need for a confidante. Renia's first diary entry began with the question, "Why did I decided to start my diary today? To answer this question, Renia wrote:

I just want a friend. I want somebody I can talk to about my everyday worries and joys. Somebody who will feel what I feel, believe what I say and never reveal my secrets. No human could ever be that kind of friend and that's why I have decided to look for a confidant in the form of a diary. (31 January 1939)

Anne started her diary similarly. With a one-sentence diary entry, Anne expressed, "I hope I will be able to confide everything to you, as I have never been able to confide in anyone, and I hope you will be a great source of comfort and support" (12 June 1942).

Social-Emotional Distancing. The next most common negative theme was social-emotional distancing, which I defined as avoidance or isolation from others, romantic feelings,

and parents' affection. A total of 12 (23.1%) passages had content related to this theme. Anne's diary contained 8 (26.7%) such passages and Renia's contained 4 (18.2%). Anne mused about her distancing from her parents, as she started to feel more grown-up:

There's something else that displeases them: I no longer feel like giving them little kisses morning, noon and night. All those little nicknames seem so affected, and Father's fondness for talking about farting and going to the lavatory is disgusting. In short, I'd like nothing better than to do without their company for a while, and they don't understand that. (17 March 1944)

Renia wrote more about her distancing from friends and romantic interests. In the following passage, she wrote about a party she unwillingly attended, where she rejected dances from others:

Then I went to that wretched party. Cukierman asked me. I said I couldn't dance, so he excused himself. Then Major. I didn't want to go, so I stood there on my own while Norka was dancing. I left. I walked through the wet streets, trying not to cry loudly. I thought, 'This evening I won on a spiritual level, but I lost in life.' I vowed I would not go to a party again. But no, I will. Shy or not, I need to win in this other arena. (6 November 1940)

Confusion. The next most common negative theme was confusion, which I defined as the lack of understanding about a situation, an unclear opinion, or wavering sentiments. A total of 11 (21.2%) passages had content related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 5 (22.7%), while Anne's diary contained 6 (20.0%) passages in this category. Both girls made comments about confusing emotions toward their male companions. Renia's confusing feelings toward her

boyfriend probably stemmed from the lack of time spent together, as Zygmunt was gone for days or weeks at a time studying medicine. Renia wrote:

There is something I would like to say about Zygmunt. Something that worries me. Namely- I don't hate him, but I don't love him either. Maybe it's not true, maybe it's only temporary, and I did swear, did make solemn promises. And I did promise to last throughout the war, but I don't know how it happened and where it came from but here it is. (23 December 1941)

Similarly, Anne wrote about her internal struggle with her feelings for Peter. She wrote about her confusion after Bep, one of the annex helpers, had shared a similar relationship conflict:

Peter's reached a part of me that no one has ever reached before, except in my dream! He's taken hold of me and turned me inside out. Doesn't everyone need a little quiet time to put themselves right again? Oh, Peter, what have you done to me? What do you want from me?

Where will this lead? Oh, now I understand Bep. Now, now that I'm going through it myself, I understand her doubts; if I were older and he wanted to marry me, what would my answer be? Anne, be honest! You wouldn't be able to marry him. But it's so hard to let go. Peter still has too little character, too little will-power, too little courage and strength. He's still a child, emotionally no older than I am; all he wants is happiness and peace of mind. Am I really only fourteen? Am I really just a silly schoolgirl? Am I really so inexperienced in everything? I have more experience than most; I've experienced something almost no one my age ever has.

I'm afraid of myself, afraid of my longing is making me yield too soon. How can it ever go right with other boys later on? Oh, it's so hard, the eternal struggle between heart and mind. There's a time and place for both, but how can I be sure that I've chosen the right time? (28 April 1944)

Embarrassment. The next most common negative theme was embarrassment, which I defined as feelings of self-consciousness, awkward moments, and discomfort with a situation. There were 5 (9.6%) passages related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 3 (13.6%) and Anne's contained 2 (6.7%). Both girls' embarrassment related to sex. Renia's embarrassment came after discussions of sex while walking back from school with Zygmunt and his friends:

On our way back they began an academic discussion on sexual matters. I felt a bit embarrassed. But they started explaining that if I am to study medicine then this and that. They think I'm still such a child and Zygu doesn't let them tell any vulgar jokes (I mean, to me). (27 February 1941)

Similarly, Anne wrote about Mr. Dussel who was the eighth and final member of the annex. He joined the Franks and Van Daan family about four months after the two families moved there.

Mr. Dussel, a dentist, evaluated Anne's health after she had fallen sick:

Mr. Dussel decided to play doctor and lay his pomaded head on my bare chest to listen to the sounds. Not only did his hair tickle, but I was embarrassed, even though he went to school thirty years ago and does have some kind of medical degree. Why should he lay his head on my heart? After all, he's not my boyfriend! (22 December 1943)

Frustration. The next most common negative theme was frustration, which I defined as feeling unable to change the situation. A total of 4 (7.7%) passages had content related to this

theme. Anne's diary contained 3 (10.0%) passages, while Renia's contained just 1 (4.5%) passage in this category. Anne described frustrations with being treated like a child, despite feeling more grown up in this example:

By that I mean that we're treated like children when it comes to external matters, while, inwardly, we're much older than other girls our age. Even though I'm only fourteen, I know what I want, I know who's right and who's wrong, I have my own opinions, ideas and principles, and though it may sound odd coming from a teenager, I feel I'm more of a person than a child-- I feel I'm completely independent of others. I know I'm better at debating or carrying on a discussion than Mother, I know I'm more objective, I don't exaggerate as much, I'm much tidier and better with my hands, and because of that I feel (this may make you laugh) that I'm superior to her in many ways. To love someone, I have to admire and respect the person, but I feel neither respect nor admiration for my Mother! Everything would be all right if only I had Peter, since I admire him in many ways. He's so decent and capable! (17 March 1944)

Renia's frustration stemmed from a conversation she had with Zygmunt:

It started with him saying that I'm childish, that I've got a child's mentality, that I have not matured physically to the level of my 17 years. Actually at first he said that it's usually the boy who's not mature, doesn't think about the future or marriage, only the girl does. And in our "relationship" it is different, i.e. the opposite. But I don't think it is opposite at all—I do think seriously. So I told him he doesn't know me at all. Then Z took the offensive and accused me of being like a doll that he plays with and if he presses a button, it makes me react; he said I'm passive, that he didn't know this until our first "real" meeting. He kept adding that it's not an accusation and that I shouldn't consider it

a reproach. Finally he said I'm like the North Sea or the Arctic Ocean, or ice, that I have no initiative, in a word-- I lack temperament! (8 November 1941)

Jealousy. The least common negative theme was jealousy, which I defined as envious and resentful feelings toward a specific person, achievement, or advantage. There were just 2 (3.8%) passages that had content related to this theme. Renia's diary contained 1 (4.5%) and Anne's diary contained 1 (3.3%). Renia's jealousy is evident in this poetic entry that seems to describe her sister who is an actress with "all the boys in tow":

If I was just like you are now

I would have all the boys in tow

I'd be surrounded by many a lad

And let them kiss!

let them go mad!

I wouldn't mind, I wouldn't care

the young girl's shame would not be there

I'd fling my arms wide open, then

I would deny it all again

I'd kick back those who are a drag

Then I would show a lot of leg

And hike my dress up high enough

To let the blinding light shine through

With so much grace

Who could ever face

So much temptation and resist?

The righteous ones would not be missed

The chaste old souls could let tongues fly

against my body, till they die

against my lips, and all my hair

I'd keep all boys so sweet right there

I'd make them choke on bliss –and how!

if I was just like you are now...

But I am not, and that is why

I'll love no other, even if I try

my love is young, ashamed, aware

and so unhappy, so full of care.

(30 January 1942)

Anne expressed jealousy about the relationship her sister Margot has with their father:

It's different with Father. When I see him being partial to Margot, approving Margot's every action, praising her, hugging her, I feel a gnawing ache inside because I'm mad

about him. I model myself on Father, and there's no one in the world I love more. He doesn't realize that he treats Margot differently from me: Margot just happens to be the cleverest, the kindest, the prettiest and the best, But I have a right to be taken seriously too. I've always been the clown and mischief-maker of the family; I've always had to pay double for my sins: once with scoldings and then again with my own sense of despair. I'm no longer satisfied with the meaningless affection or the supposedly serious talks. I long for something from father that he's incapable of giving. I'm not jealous of Margot; I never have been. I'm not envious of her brains or her beauty. It's just that I'd like to feel that Father really loves me, not because I'm his child, but because I'm me, Anne. (30 October 1943)

As an ironic testament to the insular nature of the girl's adolescent focus, not only were passages involving jealousy infrequent but did not describe justifiable envy of teenagers who were not living in the ghetto and not facing persecution by Hitler's Gestapo.

In summary, both the positive and the negative emotions that emerged in the emic coding revealed rich adolescent-themed experiences. Their passages were complex, and they expressed their emotions in rich detail. When the focus was on adolescent themes, the diarists mentioned little about the threats around them.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel were courageous adolescent girls. The horrors that eventually halted their writing are unspeakable. Yet their diaries contained their heartfelt and sincere voices about all aspects of this difficult time in their lives. As we had expected, the girls' adolescent experiences seemed to have offered a distracting (at worst) and hopeful (at best) reprieve from the terror that had befallen them.

Based upon evidence from this study, I found that adolescent-themed content was well represented in the Holocaust diaries of Anne Frank and Renia Spiegel. Both girls spent a considerable amount of their writings discussing their adolescent development, whether they noticed this pattern or not. There were interesting similarities and differences between the diarists, but it was clear that when their diary entries turned specifically to adolescence, they became like any other "typical" adolescent. They wrote about their interests in boys, conflict with friends and families, and hopes and dreams. While both diarists discussed the war, it was usually remote from their adolescent-themed musings.

I made no predictions as to what aspects of adolescence would predominate in their writings. As it turned out, the most common theme was that of evolving social relationships. This is an exciting pattern to unveil since one of the most robust findings in the literature on women's resilience suggests that friendships and familial ties are the keys to successful coping in the face of trauma (De Goede et al., 2009). The fact that both girls spent so much time contemplating their changing social relationships, often in passages infused with positive emotion, speaks not only to their obvious resilience, but to this unique and easily accessible strength exercised in girls' adolescence. The next most common theme was emotional fluctuation, and again, the emotions being contemplated were almost entirely about their social relationships.

Cognitive-identity adolescent-themed passages often contained elements of the coming-of-age process, as the girls looked to identify indicators of their maturational coming of age. Research suggests that adolescents are more resilient if they are given clear markers of their emerging adulthood (Okwumabua et al., 2016)—and these girls were intuitively and actively scanning their lives for such signposts. Interestingly, pubertal physical changes are often hailed as the most indisputable markers of coming of age, yet such topics were the least common subject in these girl's diaries. Nonetheless, physical changes and bodily experiences were clearly a wondrous part of these girls' adolescent experiences. As with other adolescent-themed experiences, diary entries about physical changes and the body were far removed from their concerns of war or the impending dangers facing these girls.

As a testament to the ways adolescence contributes to resilience, the adolescent-themed diary passages were more likely to include positive than negative emotions. If neutral and positive passages are combined, then the majority of the adolescent-themed experiences they documented seemed to have contributed to their well-being and resilience. Neutral comments occurred at a lower rate than I expected, perhaps due to recognition and recall effects, since research suggests that positive and negative events are more attended to and recollected than neutral ones (D'Argembeau, et al., 2003; Talarico et al., 2004). Even though about a fourth to one-third of Renia's and Anne's passages (respectively) were negative, in many cases, negatively valenced passages were about somewhat mundane matters. Perhaps another sign of resilience, it may have been less stressful for them to focus on mundane negative experiences (such as not being recognized at school for an honor or arguments with their parents) than to focus on the terror of genocide.

The emic coding exploring the nature of the positive and negative adolescent-themed passages revealed a diverse range of emotions. Echoing the earlier discussion that the content of the adolescent-themed entries, it was so often the case that positive (and negative) emotions revolved around socio-emotional relationships. Positive emotions arose when discussing love, lust, and relationships, and they were fueled when the girls were spending time with others. Even negative emotions often revolved around relationships--feelings of lack of companionship, frustration, and jealousy. The attention the girls paid to affiliation and socio-emotional coping is highly consistent with women's patterns of resilience (De Goede et al., 2009; Ferren, 1999; Jefferis & Theron, 2018; Morano, 2010).

One emotion that was surprisingly absent from the adolescent-themed passages was anger. One would expect to see anger, in part because of the stereotypical intensity of teenage angst, but also due to the criminal injustices and mortal threats facing their communities. One explanation for the absence of anger could be that the girls were buffered by their resilience. Alternatively, the lack of anger could be due to gender role-related suppression of anger in girls (Kerr & Schneider, 2008). However, since fear, which is a gender stereotypically "feminine" emotion (McLean & Anderson, 2009) was also relatively absent from their adolescent-themed content, this again points to resilience as the possible reason for its absence in their adolescent-themed entries. In fact, the girls themselves occasionally commented directly on how their adolescent development enhanced their resiliency by distracting them from the surrounding atrocities, as in this passage from Renia's diary:

It's so ironic. They are closing our quarter (I won't be able to see Norka); they are moving people out of town; there are persecutions, unlawfulness. And on top of that—

there's spring, kisses, sweet caresses, which make me forget about the whole world. (25 March 1942)

It is also important to point out that these two girls, though both in adolescence, were of different family contexts and different ages. Renia, distant from her mother and older, was socially more independent than Anne. This led to subtle differences in the stages of adolescence the two were experiencing. For example, Renia discussed lust and love at a much higher percentage than did Anne. Renia's diary encompassed her ages from fourteen to eighteen years old, while Anne's covered her ages from thirteen to fifteen. This age difference may also contribute to Anne having a higher percentage of passages related to experiences of self-efficacy and relationship conflict, as she was just entering what Cahn (1988) described as the individuating period of her adolescent development.

Because of the low incidence of neutral passages and because I labeled them as not emotionally valenced, I did not further code for sub-themes. However, the neutral passages do merit discussion and may have contributed to the resiliency of adolescent girls. Notably, two of Anne's six neutral passages consisted of a very professional and mature discussion of sex, advocating for the end of secrecy and shame surrounding sexuality:

Before I came here, whenever anyone at home or at school talked about sex, they were either secretive or disgusting. Any words having to do with sex were spoken in a low whisper, and those who weren't in the know were often laughed at. That struck me as odd, and I often wondered why people were so mysterious or obnoxious when they talked about this subject. But because I couldn't change things, I said as little as possible or asked my girlfriends for information.

After I'd learned quite a lot, Mother once said to me, 'Anne, let me give you some good advice. Never discuss this with boys, and if they bring it up, don't answer them.' I still remember my exact reply. 'No, of course not,' I exclaimed. 'Imagine!' And nothing more was said. (24 January 1944)

In one of Renia's neutral passages, she described people-watching:

Now I stand at the window and watch the wild ivy getting wet, look at various people moving in the street and think about their worries and how they feel. Or I look at the women and think about which one has already had intercourse and what she did look like then? Yes, this one is old and wrinkled, but she used to be young and then... and this one, how strange, and that one. (25 October 1941)

Other neutral passages concerned speculation about adult relationships and observation of social norms, as if they were trying to figure out the world. Dahl et al. (2018) described the importance of this type of learning in human adolescence:

We gain more nuanced understanding of the workings of adult society, which involves learning to reason about abstract concepts and future consequences, and creating a more mature understanding of self, others and the complexities of adult social relationships. We also acquire skills to navigate a growing range of novel, uncertain and emotionally charged social situations. (p. 44)

Such experiences are a healthy part of adolescent cognitive development that may be relatively neutral in affective valence but are also likely to contribute to resilience.

Future Directions

During the Holocaust, the Nazis and their collaborators murdered approximately six million Jews and six million other victims. Some documents, like Renia's and Anne's diaries, survived beyond the war and persecution. Some individuals survived to tell their story, like the approximately 50,000 testimonials archived at the USC Shoah Foundation. Despite these records, the Nazis not only murdered millions of individuals, but they also killed their stories, experiences, and perspectives of the event. Thus, when reading or listening to first-hand accounts, we must remember the limited lens through which we learn about such atrocities. To expand this study for a more nuanced understanding of the resilience of adolescence during genocide, more voices from the Holocaust and other mass atrocities should be included. A look at different genders and different victim groups merits future research to better understand gender differences in adolescent development during mass atrocities, as well as religious or ethnic differences. A look at different life stages to compare adolescence to different age groups could also merit future research.

Much of the previous work done on resilience during mass atrocities has focused on those who survived, utilizing post-war testimonies and explicit questions about how they survived and coped during the crisis. However, these diaries used in the present study demonstrated ongoing resilience in the face of trauma. Resilience does not have to be viewed as only an outcome. Resiliency takes many forms and can also be viewed as a process. One measure of resilience displayed in many of Anne's and Renia's adolescent-themed passages is the degree to which one is finding commonplace joy of life during trauma. Aspects of their adolescence that may be contributing to resilience, partly because adolescent affairs are impossible to ignore and extinguish. Anne is distracted by bliss:

Once or twice a day [Peter] gives me a knowing glance, I wink back, and we're both happy. It seems insane to talk about his being happy, and yet I have the overwhelming feeling he thinks the same way I do. (3 March 1944)

Renia is equally distracted: "Somehow I love him with my whole body and having him close is like having a personification of spring by me. And spring can be intoxicating!" (28 May 1942).

Some might debate the idea that having such a positive outlook on life despite grave danger will result in favorable adjustment. In view of the overwhelming amount of positivity stemming from the diarists' adolescent development, one might ask, "What happens with the unexpected and otherwise content adolescent girl would then experience deportation, forced labor, concentration camps, or even death camps--would they be ill-prepared?" One could argue that the positive outlook could lead to more shock when faced with mortal terror. Depressive realism has sometimes been shown to result in more accurate threat assessment (Moore & Fresco, 2012). However, the girls did recognize the atrocities surrounding them and discussed grave matters at length in their diaries. For example, Anne wrote about a "tumultuous day" involving sirens and heavy bombing:

At two-thirty Margot had finished her office work and was just gathering her things together when the sirens began wailing again. So she and I trooped back upstairs. None too soon, it seems, for less than five minutes later the guns were booming so loudly that we went and stood in the passage. The house shook and the bombs kept falling. I was clutching my 'escape bag', more because I wanted to have something to hold on to than because I wanted to run away. I know we can't leave here, but if we had to, being seen on the streets would be just as dangerous as getting caught in an air raid. (26 July 1943)

Similarly, Renia described her city and Poland at large were ruined from the fighting. She wrote:

I'm terrified. Almost the whole city is in ruins. A piece of shrapnel fell into our house. These have been horrific days. Why even try to describe them? Words are just words. They can't express what it feels like when your whole soul attaches itself to a whizzing bullet. When your whole will, your whole mind and all your senses cling to the flying missiles and beg, "Not this house!" You're selfish and you forget that the missile that misses you is going to hit someone else. (26 June 1941)

Throughout the diary, Renia also brings up the possibility of confinement to the ghetto. She finally wrote:

We feared it, it threatened us and then it finally happened. What we were so afraid of finally did come after all. The ghetto. The notices went out today. We might stay here; we might not. Oh, Lord, You gave me so much hope, so much comfort—thank You for it.

It's so terrible. You don't know how terrible, you know nothing. You will come with me, because, of course, I will take my soul with me, my little looking glass. Just think, what remained in some old, yellowed books, in vellum scrolls covered with writing, what lived in legends, what one learned with surprise at school—has now come true. The truest truth of all. And it's so terrifying. We fear deportation, supposedly they're planning to deport half the people. (5 July 1942)

Despite the overwhelming positivity in their adolescent-themed entries, the girls do have a grasp on the stark realities of their situation. Perhaps, ignorance was bliss for these girls not knowing the full extent of the atrocities. It is more important for readers, however, to dwell on the fact that

the girls could develop somewhat normally as adolescents, despite going through this crucial stage in life knowing that their life was in danger.

Implications for Humanitarian Aid Workers and Therapists

Humanitarian aid workers and therapists alike have a unique role in working with adolescents in conflict or post-conflict environments, as one aspect of their jobs might help build resilience and enhance coping mechanisms in the populations they serve. Youth are going to be distracted by their life changes. We should not underestimate youths' capacity to dream, to focus on love interests, to have conflict with their family members, and to gossip about their friends. These ruminations should not be viewed as denial of the traumatic events or that they are dissociative, but rather humanitarian aid workers and therapists should emphasize this as a strength for the adolescent girls.

This recognition extends to the readers of the present study and the girls' diaries at large. At times, it might be difficult to read the positive sampling of passages knowing that what the girls experienced in retrospect. Readers may feel guilty or offended at their delight in the passages. If you are shocked by the overwhelming positiveness of adolescent-themed passages, sit with these emotions and do not judge the writer for having such positive feelings. The ability to laugh, tell jokes, celebrate weddings, and have sexual relations during a mass atrocity are a sign of resilience (Bonano, 2004; Morano, 2010; Zandvoort, 2012). Such behavior may seem inappropriate for the situation they are in; however, their life continues.

Conclusion

Over 30 years ago, psychotherapist Theresa Cahn explored a single Holocaust diary as it related to adolescent development to better understand the psyche of teens during the Holocaust.

The present study honors her early work, enriches the research on coming of age during the Holocaust, and encourages further research on how to apply these understandings for adolescents currently living through mass atrocities.

The American Psychological Association (2018) highlighted the need for psychologists to recognize the unique strength and resilience of girls. With this addition to the guidelines, psychologists are to take a strength-based approach to care, while also considering the adversities the individual faces. For Anne and Renia, their common strength was their adolescent development. Perhaps, others experiencing trauma can harness the power of their adolescent developmental stage to be resilient. This presents an opportunity for changes in how educational systems teach about adolescence, adolescent girls, trauma, and coping.

The present study illuminates the gaps in current teaching and focus of Holocaust education in secondary schools. Like many readers, I read Anne Frank's diary in its more "censored" version as a middle-school student. While authors of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum lesson plan for teaching Anne Frank's diary note the different published versions and the need to prepare for discussions on sexuality if using the less "censored" edition, they do not elaborate on how to lead discussions of more sexually explicit passages. Girls reading these diaries during their adolescence should read Anne's definitive edition, and young women in high school should explore Renia's diaries to pair with both their Holocaust education and sex education. Both diaries allow adolescent females the chance to explore their sexuality and relate to the experiences of "growing up" with the caution of acknowledging that our lives will never mirror the diarists' lives, as we are not living through a genocide or experiencing the levels of persecution Anne and Renia did as adolescents. These diaries honor budding sexuality; discussions should do the same by avoiding hidden secrets or shame. Anne and Renia remind us

how adolescence represents vitality and strength, and readers will be empowered by these memorable diaries.

Final Reflexivity

Within the final days of writing this thesis, *The Guardian* published a news article highlighting the upcoming release of diary entries written by Naomi Adamu, one of the schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram in 2014. Naomi wrote in her notebooks on days when it was safe to do so. The article gives insight into the psyche of Naomi and the other girls, as they smuggled and distributed food to others, despite forced starvation and their defiance to their captors. Even when their secret food began to run out, Naomi maintained hope and remained defiant until the end by keeping her diary strapped to her body. Naomi Adamu was one of the 82 girls released in May 2017.

The kidnapping and release of the Chibok girls have more of a personal connection to me than a new release of diaries written during a current mass atrocity. The majority of the girls attended congregations in the Ekklesiyar Yan'owa a Nigeria (EYN, the Church of the Brethren in Nigeria). As mentioned in my introduction reflexivity statement, I was raised in the Church of the Brethren, and I became an official member of this denomination in August 2014, a few months after the kidnappings. The Church of the Brethren in the United States has a longstanding global mission in Nigeria, helping plant the church and supplying aid in times of crisis. This incident was no different.

The publication of this diary comes at a time in history when violent conflict ravages a plethora of countries daily. The writing of this thesis highlights the beneficial factors of adolescent development during times of crisis. I hope that this thesis not only adds to the body of literature on adolescent development, resilience, and genocide but informs those living and helping those who live in countries experiencing mass atrocities.

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Appendix A: Codebook

Coding for Adolescent-Themed Content

Part 1: Coding for Etic Themes (Markers of adolescence)

Instructions: Put a 1 in the column with the corresponding passage # for each of the codes that match the corresponding passage. Put 0 in the column that does not match.

Evolving Social-Relationships: Changes in relationships, ways of loving others or roles and responsibilities in relation to others

Parts of Social/Relationship Development: attachment to parents, dating/romantic

Relationships, parent-adolescent conflict, intimacy with friendships

Example: "I hate my mom! I just want to be independent and she is smothering me!"

Emotional Fluctuation: Changes in feelings or emotional expression

Parts of Emotional Development: Emotional highs and lows, depression, extreme or fleeting emotions

Example: "Yesterday, I was so in love with Simon. But today, I cannot stand his Presence!"

Cognitive- Identity Changes: Changes in thoughts, knowledge, or learning style

Parts of Cognitive Development: Abstract thought, logic, metacognition, hypothetical, reasoning, idealism, decision-making

Adolescent egocentrism: the heightened self-consciousness of adolescents, which is reflected in adolescents' beliefs that others are as interested in them as they are in themselves, and in adolescents' sense of personal uniqueness

Identity development: Changes in one's view of self and self-definition, self-consciousness, contradictions within the self, Fluctuation, real versus ideal self, decreased self-esteem, sexuality, sexual exploration And experimentation

Erikson's View: identity versus identity confusion- deciding who they are, what they are all about, where they are going in life; psychosocial moratorium- gap between childhood security and adult autonomy

Example: "I cannot believe I thought like that when I was a kid."

Example: "Today, I was hanging out with Hannah and I just wanted to touch her breasts! I think I like guys AND girls!"

Physical Changes: Changes in the body

Parts of Physical Development: Puberty, body image, menstruation, body hair, height, weight

Example: "I am so excited that I had my first period."

Part 2: Coding for Protective Factors of Resilience

Instruction: Put a 1 in the column with the corresponding passage # for each of the codes that match the corresponding passage. Put 0 in the column that does not match.

Note: It does not matter if it directly implies anything about genocide or the Holocaust because adolescent experiences distract from these experiences.

Positive: Contributing to well-being and resilience

Example: “I hope that the war will end, and we will all live in peace and harmony.”

Negative: Contributing to vulnerability or exacerbating hardship

Example: “Today, I felt very lonely. I wish I had a friend to confide in.”

Neutral: If does not fit into either category

Example: “I bought tampons today.”

Part 3: Noting for Emic Themes

Instructions: Make note either in the excel spreadsheet or a separate document of any themes you notice that do not fit the above five categories.

Sometimes codes do not fit into a pre-existing model. Please note any themes that you notice that do not fit into this large structure of different developments

Example: Social Justice issues: “I cannot wait to be free so that I can make by voice heard.”

Coding for Emotional Valence

Instruction: Put a 1 in the column with the corresponding passage # for each of the codes that match the corresponding passage. Put 0 in the column that does not match.

Part 1: Coding for Positive Themes

Affiliation: Spending time with others

Example: “The time around the kitchen table listening to the radio was nice.”

Love: Deep affection for another, fondness, intimacy

Example: "I'm starting to feel more than just a friend with him."

Joy: Emotions of happiness, euphoria, elation

Example: "I get all giddy when I see him looking at me."

Excitement: Expressions of wonder, curiosity, enthusiasm, and eagerness

Example: "I am looking forward to riding my bike again."

Lust: Sexual desire and romantic feelings, sensual pleasure, physical touch

Example: "I long for his kisses and hugs."

Self-Efficacy: Expressions of independence and pride, taking control of her life

Example: "I am not following my parents anymore. I'm making my own decisions."

Trust: Confides in another person, gossips, self-discloses personal information to another person

Example: "Tonight I talked to my friend about my crush. It was nice to talk to someone else about it."

Contentment: Comfort, contentedness

Hygee- a quality of coziness and comfortable conviviality that engenders a feeling of contentment or well-being

Gemutlichkeit- the feeling of comfort and coziness, comfort, relaxation; comfort of atmosphere or situation

Example: "Sitting here, looking at the sky, with my love takes away all my worries."

Justice: Thoughts of activism, questioning how society operates, wanting equity or a change in systems

Example: “I do not understand why women are treated less than men. I think they should have the same position in society.”

Coding for Negative Themes:

Relationship Conflict: Family dynamics, problems with mother or others, longing for father or others, struggles between X and Y (Two individuals)

Example: “My mother and I do NOT get along.”

Sadness: Crying, depression, mental illness

Example: “I have been crying for I do not know how long.”

Loneliness: Need for confidante, feeling lonely, need for companion

Example: “I do not have any friends or anyone to confide in.”

Social-Emotional Distancing: Avoiding or isolation from others, romantic feelings, and parents' affection

Example: “I do not want to spend any more time with people.”

Confusion: Lack of understanding about a situation, unclear opinion, wavering sentiments

Example: “Sometimes I like him. Sometimes I do not.”

Embarrassment: Feelings of self-consciousness, awkward moments, discomfort with situation

Example: “It’s awkward sharing a room with a man for many reasons, but mainly because I have to pee in front of him since we do not have plumbing and I have to pee in a bucket.”

Frustration: feeling unable to change a situation

Example: “My parents continue to treat me like a child, but I am so much more grown up than they think.”

Jealousy: Envious and resentful of a specific person/achievement/ advantages

Example: “My sister gets all of our parents’ attention. I wish I got half the attention she does.”

Appendix B: Tables

Table B1

The Intersection of Adolescent-Themed Content by Emotional Valence, Overall and by Diarist, n and Frequencies

Valence	Dimensions of Adolescence				
	Evolving social relationship	Emotional fluctuation	Cognitive-Identity changes	Physical changes	Total
Positive	96 (64.9%)^a	81 (66.9%)	82 (68.3%)	18 (81.8%)	115 (65.0%)
Anne	38 (55.1%)	24 (55.8%)	28 (62.2%)	8 (88.9%)	51 (58.6%)
Renia	58 (73.4%)	57 (73.1%)	54 (72.0%)	10 (76.9%)	64 (71.1%)
Negative	46 (31.1%)	39 (32.2%)	32 (26.7%)	3 (13.6%)	52 (29.4%)
Anne	28 (40.6%)	19 (44.2%)	13 (28.9%)	0 (0.0%)	30 (34.5%)
Renia	18 (22.8%)	20 (25.6%)	19 (25.3%)	3 (23.1%)	22 (24.4%)
Neutral	6 (4.1%)	1 (0.8%)	6 (5.0%)	1 (4.5%)	10 (5.6%)
Anne	3 (4.3%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (8.9%)	1 (11.1%)	6 (6.9%)
Renia	3 (3.8%)	1 (1.3%)	2 (2.7%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (4.4%)
Total	148 (83.6%)	121 (68.4%)	120 (67.8%)	22 (12.4%)	177 (100%)
Anne	69 (79.3%)	43 (49.4%)	45 (51.7%)	8 (10.3%)	87 (49.1%)
Renia	79 (87.8%)	78 (86.7%)	75 (83.3%)	13 (14.4%)	90 (50.8%)

Note. Percents do not total 100 for dimensions of adolescence because they are independent categories.

^a: Column percentages are calculated by the total numbers within the column. So, the percentage for positive evolving social relationships is calculated by dividing the overall positive evolving social relationships by the overall evolving social relationships total.

Table B2*Emic Codes for Positive Emotional Valence Overall and by Diarists, n and Frequencies*

Positive Codes	Anne	Renia	Total
Affiliation	36 (70.6%) ^a	36 (56.3%)	72 (62.6%)
Love	17 (33.3%)	49 (76.6%)	66 (57.4%)
Joy	20 (39.2%)	31 (48.4%)	51 (44.3%)
Excitement	21 (41.2%)	24 (37.5%)	45 (39.1%)
Lust	10 (19.6%)	32 (50.0%)	42 (36.5%)
Self-Efficacy	21 (41.2%)	10 (15.6%)	31 (27.0%)
Trust	18 (35.3%)	6 (9.4%)	24 (20.9%)
Contentment	13 (25.5%)	7 (10.9%)	20 (17.4%)
Justice	3 (5.9%)	1 (1.6%)	4 (3.5%)
Positive Totals	51 (58.6%)^b	64 (71.1%)	115 (65.0%)

Note. Since a passage could be categorized as more than one code, columns do not add to the totals presented in the last row.

^a: Column percentages are calculated by the total numbers within the column. So, the percentage for Anne's passages that are affiliation is calculated by dividing the number of affiliation passages by the total of Anne's positive passages.

^b: The percentages in the "positive totals" row represent the percentage of Anne's, Renia's and total passages respectively that are positive. These correspond to percentages in Table B1.

Table B3*Emic Codes for Negative Emotional Valence Overall and by Diarists, n and frequencies*

Negative Codes	Anne	Renia	Total
Relationship Conflict	18 (60.0%) ^a	5 (22.7%)	23 (44.2%)
Sadness	9 (30.0%)	9 (40.9%)	18 (34.6%)
Loneliness	6 (20.0%)	6 (27.3%)	12 (23.1%)
Social-Emotional Distancing	8 (26.7%)	4 (18.2%)	12 (23.1%)
Confusion	6 (20.0%)	5 (22.7%)	11(21.2%)
Embarrassment	2 (6.7%)	3 (13.6%)	5 (9.6%)
Frustration	3 (10.0%)	1 (4.5%)	4 (7.7%)
Jealousy	1 (3.3%)	1 (4.5%)	2 (3.8%)
Negative Totals	30 (34.5%)^b	22 (24.4%)	52 (29.4%)

Note. Since a passage could be categorized as more than one code, columns do not add to the totals presented in the last row.

^a: Column percentages are calculated by the total numbers within the column. So, the percentage for Anne's passages that are relationship conflict is calculated by dividing the number of relationship conflict passages by the total of Anne's negative passages.

^b: The percentages in the "negative totals" row represents the percentage of Anne's, Renia's and total passages respectively that are negative. These correspond to percentages in Table B1.