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Medizinische Fakultät

CONFERENCE READER

Interdisciplinary perspectives on Children Born of War – from World War II to current conflict settings

June 4–5, 2015
Conference Center of
Schloss Herrenhausen, Hannover

Edited by Heide Glaesmer and Sabine Lee

Contents

Introduction

The seventieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War has triggered a myriad of diverse activities, a wide range of commemorative events, public, media and academic engagement alike. In the context of all these activities the conference "Interdisciplinary perspectives on Children Born of War – from World War II to current conflict settings" took the Second World War and one of its lesser explored consequences as a starting point for exchange about children fathered by foreign soldiers and born to local mothers in a wide range of conflict- and post-conflict situations in the 20th and 21st century.

The meeting was timely, not just because of the above mentioned anniversary. It was opportune because the Children Born of World War II and the post-war occupations are at a stage in their lives when many feel the need and have the time and inclination to explore their own past. This has led – over the last few years – to exciting research collaborations which are now bearing fruit. Some of the results of these projects will be presented here. The symposium was devoted to academic study and exchange and with its combination of interdisciplinary research and public engagement it was testament to a spirit of genuine collaboration between the Children Born of World War II and the post-war occupations on the one hand and academics who have tried to shed light on their life experiences on the other hand. As such, it was fitting to combine in this workshop the results of inter- and multi-disciplinary academic study with the reflections of Children Born of War themselves who presented those thoughts in Thursday evening's book reading and round table discussion.

We are very grateful to the Volkswagen Foundation for supporting this symposium and the pre-conference early career workshop financially and thus for allowing us to share our research in this international meeting.

Recently it was reported in the news that France is investigating allegations of sexual misconduct of its peacekeepers in the Central African Republic, clearly alerting us to the fact that intimate relations between foreign soldiers and local women – consensual or coercive – are not a phenomenon of the past, but of the present and in all likelihood of the future. This demonstrates just how important engagement with this topic is.

The conference reader gives an overview about the program, some insights into the contributions of the speakers and the discussions during the conference.

Birmingham/Leipzig, November 2015 Sabine Lee, Heide Glaesmer

Programme Overview

Thursday, 4th of June 2015

9:30 – 12:00 and 13:00 – 14:00 Pre-Conference Workshop
Connecting Young Scientists with Senior Researchers

Chairs: Prof. Dr. Sabine Lee (University of Birmingham, Department of History, UK)
PD Dr. Heide Glaesmer (University of Leipzig, Germany)
PD Dr. Phillip Kuwert (University of Greifswald, Germany)

Gwendoline Cicottini (University of Aix-Marseille, France): Child of foreigner: Franco-german Children Born of War, seventy years after

Marie Kaiser (University of Leipzig, Germany) and Martin Miertsch (University Medicine Greifswald, Germany): Methodological specifics of participative research on Children Born of War in the European historical context: An investigation and comparison of German, Austrian and Norwegian Children Born of World War II

Maria Böttche (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany): Integrative Testimonial Therapy: Intervention and predictors of outcome

Daniela Conrad (University of Konstanz, Germany): Epigenetic modifications in the context of the treatment of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder with Narrative Exposure Therapy – A study with survivors of the rebel war in Northern Uganda

Yuriy Nesterko (University of Leipzig, Germany): Mental health in refugee populations

Allen Kiconco (University of Birmingham, UK): Children Born in Captivity: Growing up with stigma in Acholi region of Uganda

Eunice Apio Otuko (University of Birmingham, UK): Joseph Kony's politics of affiliating CBOW in the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA): 1998-2006

Wala' Maaitah (Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Germany): Psychological responses of Palestinian adult students to traumatic exposure to political violence

Dr. Emina Hadziosmanovic (University of Portsmouth, UK): Reflections on traumatic experiences of children born and growing up in war-time Bosnia & Herzegovina

12:00 – 13:00 Lunch Break

14:30 – 14:45 Welcome Note

14:45 – 16:15 Keynote Lectures

Vincent Oling (Chairman of Facilitation for Peace and Development, FAPAD, Uganda): Acceptance, CBOW's challenges of belonging and legitimacy

PD Dr. Heide Glaesmer (University of Leipzig, Germany): Growing up as a Child Born of War from a psychosocial perspective

16:15 – 16:45 Coffee Break

16:45 – 18:00 Symposium 1: Children Born of World War II in Europe – Historical Perspectives

Chair/Discussant: Prof. Dr. Sabine Lee, University of Birmingham, Department of History (UK)

Prof. Dr. Maren Röger (University of Augsburg, Germany): Ongoing silence: Children Born of World War II and Eastern European societies

PD Dr. Barbara Stelzl-Marx (Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institute for Research on Consequences of War, Graz, Austria): My father – the (former) enemy. Soviet Children of Occupation in Austria

PD Dr. Barbara Stelzl-Marx – Book presentation „Besatzungskinder. Die Nachkommen alliierter Soldaten in Österreich und Deutschland" (Children Born of Occupation. The offspring of allied soldiers in Autria and Germany) by Dr. Barbara Stelzl-Marx & Prof. Dr. Silke Satjukow

18:00-19:00 Dinner

19:00 – 21:00 Public Reading and Roundtable Discussion

Ute Baur-Timmerbrink – Book Reading „Wir Besatzungskinder: Töchter und Söhne alliierter Soldaten erzählen" (Ch. Links Verlag, 2015)

Roundtable Discussion
Winfried Behlau, Heide Glaesmer, Marianne Gutmann, Phillip Kuwert, Birgit Michler, Ingvill Mochmann

21:00 Drinks Reception

Friday, 5th of June 2015

9:00 – 10:30 Symposium 2: Experiences of Stigma and Discrimination in Children Born of War

Chair/Discussant: Prof. Dr. Ingvill Mochmann, Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Cologne (Germany)

Dr. Jennifer Scott (Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, USA): The impacts of stigma and acceptance on mental health outcomes and parenting attitudes among women raising children from sexual violence-related pregnancies in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

Marie Kaiser (University of Leipzig, Germany): Experiences of public stigma and self-stigma in German and Austrian occupation children

Dr. Martin Miertsch (University of Greifswald, Germany): Children Born of War: Stigma, self-stigma and discrimination of children fathered by German soldiers in Norway during WW II

10:30 – 11:00 Coffee Break

11:00 – 12:15 Symposium 3: Identity Issues in Children Born of War

Chair/Discussant: PD Dr. Heide Glaesmer, University of Leipzig (Germany)

PD Dr. Philipp Kuwert (University Medicine Greifswald, Germany): Subjective identity aspects in former German Children Born of Occupation of World War II

Prof. Dr. Dorett Funcke (University of Hagen, Germany): Parentage, kinship, identity. Empirical results from the field of sociology of the family

12:15 – 13:00 Lunch Break

13:00 – 14:30 Symposium 4: Human Rights and Children Born of War

Chair/Discussant: PD Dr. Barbara Stelzl-Marx, Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institute for Research on Consequences of War, Graz (Austria)

Eithne Dowds and Prof. Jean Allain (School of Law, Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK): The law and Children Born of War: Rape, slavery and consent across enemy lines

Dr. Benedetta Rossi (School of History and Cultures, University of Birmingham, UK): Children Born of War and the wartime enslavement of women in Africa: Linking the historical and the contemporary

Dr. Susan Bartels (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Boston, USA; Queen's University, Kingston, Canada): A qualitative assessment of parenting experiences among women with sexual violence-related pregnancies in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

14:30 – 15:00 Coffee Break

15:00 – 16:30 Symposium 5: Contemporary Challenges of Children Born of War from a Psychosocial Perspective

Chair/Discussant: PD Dr. Philipp Kuwert, University of Greifswald (Germany)

Dr. Elisa van Ee (Institute of Psychotrauma/Foundation Center 45, Diemen, The Netherlands): Traumatized mothers and mother-child-interaction

Amra Delić (School of Medicine, University of Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina): Shame and silence in the aftermath of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 22 years later

Jocelyn Kelly (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Boston, USA; John Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA): Children born from conflict: A synthesis of data from four conflicts in the Great Lakes Region

16:30 – max. 18:00 Outcomes and Open Questions

Prof. Dr. Sabine Lee, University of Birmingham, Department of History (UK)

18:00 – 19:00 Light Dinner

Pre-Conference Workshop

The Volkswagen foundation provided 10 travel grants and gave young scientists the opportunity to present and discuss their work with coworkers and senior researchers in an interdisciplinary and international setting of this pre-conference early career workshop. The participants were selected in an open comptetition on the basis of their research proposals.

Top row, from left to right: Eunice Apio, Martin Miertsch, Gwendoline Cicottini, Daniela Conrad, Yuriy Nesterko
Bottom row, from left to right: Marie Kaiser, Eithne Dowds, Emina Hadziosmanovic, Maria Böttche, Wala' Maaitah
not in the picture: Allen Kiconco

Topic 1: Children Born of World War II

Child of a foreigner: Franco-german Children Born of War, seventy years after
Gwendoline Cicottini (Master student, History, University of Aix-Marseille, France)

Children Born of War, all nationalities considered, refers to a topic which took it's time to find a place in the world of historical research. Such an issue has been a taboo for a long time, but has finally triggered some debate in the past few years in France. This improvement is partly due to the documentary *Enfants de Boche,* broadcasted in 2003, produced by Christophe Weber and co-directed by Fabrice Virgili. But that is not all. Let me also mention "*Les Enfants maudits"*, a book published in 2004 by the journalist Jean-Paul Picaper. And then another one: "*Naître Ennemi"*, published in 2009, by Fabrice Virgili. In the meantime, after the above-mentioned documentary was broadcasted, a lot of people finally became aware that they weren't the only Children Born of War in France. The next step was the foundation of two associations Coeurs Sans frontières (Herzen ohne Grenzen) and the ANEG. These two foundations have given Children Born of War a structure in which they could gather and discuss about their past, their story, and their future without any taboos. In 2008, Bernard Kouchner, the French Minister in charge of foreign policy at that time, outlined the need to officially identify such "Enfants de boche", during a speech he held at Berlin Humboldt

University. Following his intervention, Berlin accepted to recognize all Children Born of War born in France from German fathers in 2009. Proceedings are time-consuming, but since 2009, these children, who claimed for the dual citizenship for years, are finally allowed to get it.

The work of Fabrice Virgili deals with children, born from what we call a "*collaboration horizontale*". But what about the other French Children Born of War? Those who were born from German mothers and French fathers in Germany during World War II and during the Occupation? This shall be the focus of my project.

The choice of this specific topic

One of the difficulties in the study was to find a way to define the term Children Born of War. Therefore we decided to consider Children Born of War as being those who were born during the war itself, but also those who were born after the war, during the Allied Occupation of Germany.

Compared to the Franco-German Children Born of War in France, those born in Germany are just few, but again, German soldiers occupied all of France for five years, and French soldiers occupied only a part of Germany and for approximately three years only.

During World War II, more children were born to German fathers in France, than were born to French fathers in Germany. The cause was an imbalance in proportions: there were more German men in France than French men in Germany. First and foremost, in Germany, the only men who were there were war prisoners, or men of the STO, and they were forbidden to have a relationship with German women, punishable by death penalty. But there were still some relationships and children who were born from these prohibited relationships. During the war, German mothers had to hide their children because they could have been put in jail for this. After the war, people in Germany may have thought that these children from French fathers didn't suffer as France was no more seen as an enemy compared to the ongoing situation in France. But they suffered indeed. They mostly suffered from taboos. During the French Occupation in Germany, a lot of intimate relationships between German women and soldiers of occupation forces occurred. Even though relationships with German women were not appreciated by the French delegation in Germany, it wasn't forbidden. But then, the French government set up a return policy for these children. The government considered that these children were more "French" than "German". A lot of these children were repatriated to France, in the *Assistance Publique* and then placed in a foster family. But at that time, German children weren't welcome in France. They had the same fate as Children Born of War born in France. The fate of those who stayed in Germany wasn't better either. German mothers had to hide the French origins of their children so that the French government couldn't take them away to France. Therefore in order to protect their children, mothers didn't want French fathers to officially acknowledge the paternity.

Research topic: Associations

I have attempted to explain the essential role that associations have been playing for Children Born of War since their foundation in 2005. And associations have indeed done a lot for the public awarness. These are the first places where Children Born of War have been able to gather, exchange experiences, speak and listen to other similar fates. And the simple fact of sharing something enables them to put an end to all the years of taboos. But associations go further than this, as gathering enables them to be heard and understood by more people. Secondly, with the help of associations, and other members, it is easier to find their French

fathers. It's a real community based on mutual help. Those who speak French and German translate some documents, those who are used to searching archives help others to find information, and, as members come from everywhere in France and in Germany a real united collaboration between both countries exists.

Main sources

My main sources are testimonies from Children Born of War born in Germany fathered by French soldiers. I have collected seventeen testimonies so far and then tried to define the process through which these Children Born of War went. We could notice that each story is different from the others but they have all some common features. Since I am writing a historical study, I carefully tried to find out if they suffered while growing up, if their origin was a taboo, when they began searching for their father, if they found a new family, and what feelings they have about their own identity and nationality.

Main problems

It is interesting then to see that a story which happened seventy years earlier still triggers reflection today. While searching through their past, some have found out who their father was, and some even luckier ones have even found a new family in France. They have found more than merely their origin: they have found their identity. For most of Children Born of War whom I interviewed, they have the feeling that their identity is as German as it is French. But even today dual citizenship for German Children Born of War is not allowed. Is this the desire of the French government not to give them the dual citizenship because of political reasons or is it just because there are not so many requests coming from Germany? It's true that they are just a few asking for it: language barriers, administrative difficulties, the lack of will that comes from French archives making them give up… In my research I tried to see what such problems were. And to solve them, German Children Born of War need to be heard and understood by the French government, for example, with the help of politicians – as was the case with Bernard Kouchner among the French Children Born of War.

Conclusion

Time goes on, and these Children Born of War are no longer children. They come to think that it is too late. Some of them affirm that they've found a kind of serenity in finding the identity of their fathers and of their French family. But for themselves and for their families as well, it is not so easy to stir up the past seventy years later. Finally for both, those who have found a new family, but as well as for those who have not succeeded yet, they may never get the answer to their questions. Most important today is to be accepted by the French family, to follow in their father's footsteps, or, in case where they don't find their father, just to know that they have French origins. Looking for their father is a way to maintain hope and therefore enables them to shape an identity: They are now Children Born of War from French fathers, and if some of them are still looking for their true self, they at least know that they are a part of a Franco-German group and a part belonging to history.

It might be too late for Children Born of World War II to be covered by the state, by the psychologists, or historians, but what we can learn from them is the important issue of taking care of all other Children Born of War in the world, in different conflicts, different periods, and different areas. The study of the consequences of the war on children of World War II enables researchers to understand and to better analyse them nowadays.

BIO:

Gwendoline Cicottini is currently a master student in history at the University of Aix-Marseille. In 2013–2014, she undertook her first year of masters program at the Humboldt-University of Berlin as part of an Erasmus exchange, supervised by Ms Isabelle Renaudet, Professor of contemporary History and Mr Thomas Keller, Professor of German studies.

Her dissertation follows on from her previous work entitled: "Illegitimate children of the Second World War: The case of German children born from French fathers".

Her research is associated with war history, and more specifically with Children Born of War history. Coming under cultural history, her problems/issues cross-reference history of mentalities, emotions, childhood and gender. Her sources, mainly associatives, are composed of testimonies and private sources.

Gwendoline's master thesis is due at the end of June. This could be extended if she choses to enroll in a PhD. She is working on this project with the hope of eventually completing her PhD.

Methodological specifics of participative research on Children Born of War in the European historical context: An investigation and comparison of German, Austrian and Norwegian Children Born of World War II

Marie Kaiser (PhD student, Department of Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology, University of Leipzig, Germany) and Martin Miertsch (Post-doc, Department of Psychiatry, University Medicine Greifswald, Germany)

Children Born of Occupation in Germany and Austria as a consequence of WWII

Background

Ever since there have been wars, there have been intimate contacts between those who waged the wars and local women. These contacts might range from mass rape over business arrangements and even voluntary relationships. As a consequence of these sexual contacts children are born. These are called Children Born of War (CBOW). Mochmann and Lee (2010) developed four categories to describe them. For our target groups the first two are of relevance, namely "Children of foreign or enemy soldiers and local women" and "Children of occupation soldiers and local women". According to the historians Barbara Stelzl-Marx, Silke Satjukow and Sabine Lee, the definition of German and Austrian Children Born of Occupation is: "People born after 1940 whose biological father had served as soldier in a foreign (enemy) army during or after WWII and whose mother was a German or Austrian citizen" (personal communication). The overall estimate of German Children Born of Occupation (GOC) during the first decade after 1945 amounts to at minimum 200,000 (Satjukow, 2009). Thereof, 66,730 children are ascribed to Western occupation soldiers (Lee, 2011). The number of children fathered by soldiders of the Red army in Germany can only be estimated, occasionally as high as 100,000 (Satjukow, 2009). For Austrian Children Born of Occupation (AOC) the overall estimates range between 20,000 and 30,000 for all four occupation zones (Soviet, American, French, and British) (Stelzl-Marx, 2012). Thereof, at least 5,000 are GI-children and at minimum 1,000 children of British soldiers. Roughly 50% of AOC are offspring of Red Army soldiers. Of course there is a large grey number for both populations of Children Born of Occupation, since not all live-born children have been registered centrally.

During their childhood some living conditions of both GOC and AOC were similar to those of most children at the end of and after WWII in Germany and Austria – there was omnipresent deprivation (e.g. financial hardship, missing fathers, and post-war economy shortages). However, at the end of WWII societal attitudes towards children fathered out of wedlock were negative and particularly so for GOC (Glaesmer et al., 2012; Satjukow, 2011; Stelzl-Marx, 2009). Women who engaged in intimate relationships with foreign soldiers were regarded as lecherous; their intimate relationships were dealt as taboo. Consequently, their children either did not know much about their background ("wall of silence") or were discriminated against more or less overtly due to their fathers' background or the relationship their mother had out of wedlock (stigma). Hence, GOC carried a double burden, being "born out of wedlock" and being a "child of an enemy" (Satjukow, 2009). This was also the case for AOC (Stelzl-Marx, 2015).

It is to be expected that growing up in a rather disdaining social environment may have had a negative impact on living and developmental conditions of both GOC and AOC. Accordingly, historical and cultural studies report living conditions characterised by familial and societal areas of conflicts between integration and rejection. For these children, concealment, financial distress and public as well as familial repulse played a central role

(Glaesmer et al., 2012; Lee, 2009; Mochmann et al., 2009; Satjukow, 2011). So far mental distress and long-term consequences of specific living conditions have been reported by case analyses and oral-history studies on GOC and AOC as well as studies on other populations of Children Born of War:

- Great Britain, Germany & Austria: Sabine Lee & Barbara Stelzl-Marx, Brigitte Lueger-Schuster,
- Norway, Denmark: Ingvill C. Mochmann & Stein Ugelvik Larsen,
- Netherlands: Monika Diederichs.

Method & Sample

Empirical research on the psychosocial impact and long-term outcomes was missing up until now. Therefore, the project "Occupation children: Identity development, stigma experience, and psychosocial consequences growing up as a German occupation child" was initiated in 2013. When investigating the psychosocial consequences of growing up as an occupation child, three main factors seemed to be salient to examine current mental distress status: childhood adversities, identity as an "occupation child" and the experience of stigmatization or discrimination (Glaesmer et al., 2012).

Overall, a mixed-method two-phase study design was applied; the first phase being a questionnaire on experiences in childhood and adolescence as well as standardized instruments assessing current mental distress status (please refer to table 1 for a detailed list of instruments). For the second phase narrative interviews are planned.

With an estimated population size of more than 200,000, GOC are defined as a hidden population, which by definition are difficult to reach for researchers, and whose specific experiences are not covered by established instruments (The Center for Hidden Populations Research, 2014). Therefore, we applied a participative approach when developing our questionnaire. By including experts and subjects of the target group in the research process we ensured maximum proximity to the target group itself and relevance of the topics we covered (refer to figure 1).

Table 1: List of Instruments, Constructs measured and Population Data

Construct	Assessment instruments	Population data for comparison
Socio-demographic Data	Age, gender, education, family	
Specific Childhood Biography	Origin of father, kind of parent's relationship, attachment in early childhood growing up with mother / relatives / foster family / in childrens' homes), relationship with siblings, living conditions in childhood	
Psychological Well-Being	**Patient Health Questionnaire** (PHQ-D: Modules PHQ-9: 9 items assessing depression and PHQ-15: 15 items assessing somatic symptoms; Löwe, Spitzer, Zipfel & Herzog, 2002; English original version Spitzer, Kroenke & Williams, 1999)	Population data 2007 (N=2.510)
	Posttraumatic Diagnostic Scale (PDS: 17 items; Griesel, Wessa & Flor, 2006; Foa, Cashman, Jaycox & Perry, 1997)	Population data 2007 (N=2.510)
	Traumalist of the Munich Composite International Diagnostic Interview (M-CIDI: 10 items; Wittchen, Beloch, Garczynzki, Holly, Lachner & Perkonigg, 1995; English original version WHO, 1997)	
Satisfaction with Life	**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (SWLS: 5 items; Glaesmer, Grande, Brähler & Roth, 2011; Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985)	Population data 2008 (N=2.524)
Attachment	**Adult Attachment Scale** (AAS: 18 items; Schmidt, Strauss, Höger & Brähler, 2004; Collins & Read, 1990)	Population data 1998 (N=2.081)
Adverse Childhood Experiences	**Childhood Trauma Questionnaire** (CTQ: 29 items; Klinitzke, Romppel, Häuser, Brähler & Glaesmer, 2012; Bernstein et al., 2003)	Population data 2010 (N=2.504)
Stigmatisation	adapted version of **Inventory of Stigmatizing Experiences** (ISE; Schulze, Stuart & Riedel-Heller, 2009)	
	adapted version of **Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness Scale** (ISMI; Ritsher, Otilingam & Grajales, 2003)	
Identity	Open questions on self-representation as CBOW	
	Explorative, participative approach: items developed in focus groups with members of the target group and experienced researchers, in cooperation with I.C. Mochmann and S. Lee based on items of a study on Norwegian and Danish "Wehrmachtskinder" (Mochmann & Larsen, 2008)	

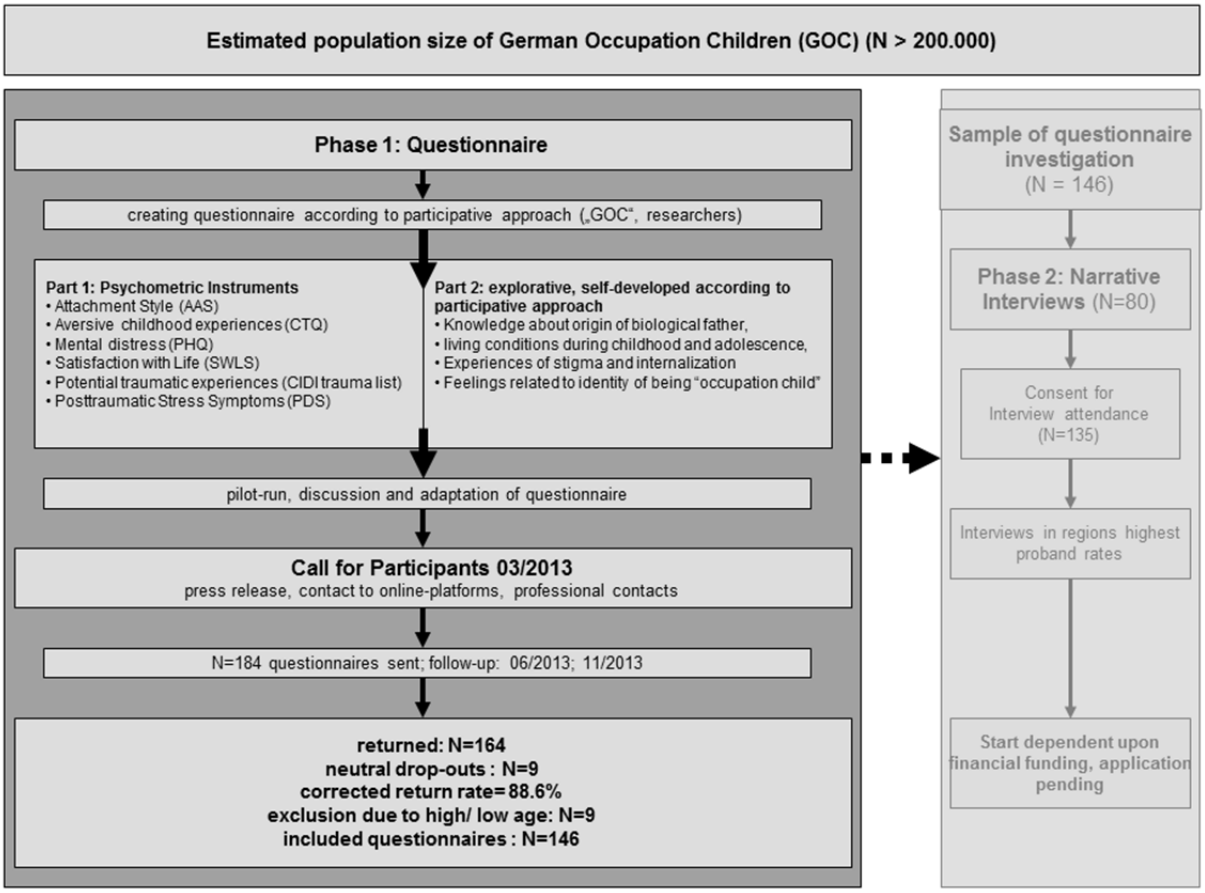

Figure 1: Diagram of study procedures for GOC study

A sample of GOC was collected in 2013. The call for participants was distributed via press release, different national and international networks (e.g. www.childrenbornofwar.org; www.bowin.eu) and online-platforms for GOC as well as other Children Born of War (e.g. www.gitrace.org; www.coeurssansfrontiers.com). Of 184 questionnaires sent, we were able to include 146 GOC born between 1945 and 1966 for analysis (participation rate: 88.6% corrected for neutral drop-outs). The study was reviewed and approved by the institutional ethics review board. Methodological approach, sample specifics and background are published in (Kaiser et al., 2015b).

In 2013 we were able to conduct a parallel study on Austrian occupation children (AOC) with the help from Barbara Stelzl-Marx from Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on Consequences of War in Graz, Austria. We adjusted the GOC questionnaire to cultural differences and added one more question asking specifically about the relationship with their mothers from the current compared to the childhood perspective. Of 161 questionnaires sent, we were able to include N=101 AOC for further analyses (participation rate: 65.6%). Of this sample the mean age was 63.5 years with 66.3% women. 74.3% (N=75) stated to have been fathered in a voluntary or positively connoted relationship, whereas 2.0% (N=2) were born of rape. About 23.8% (N=24) were unable to state their background of procreation. Of AOC most were fathered by an American soldier (38.6%, N=39), followed by Soviet Army soldiers (25.7%, N=26). 15.8% (N=16) stated their biological father had served for the British Army and in 13.9% (N=14) of cases for the French Army.

For both samples, AOC and GOC, subsequent narrative interviews were planned. Currently the EU funded Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie Actions Innovative Training Network (H2020-MSCA-ITN) CHIBOW (Children Born of War - Past Present Future) was

granted and will enable a number of interviews conducted by two PhD students. An application for further financial funding for more interviews is pending.

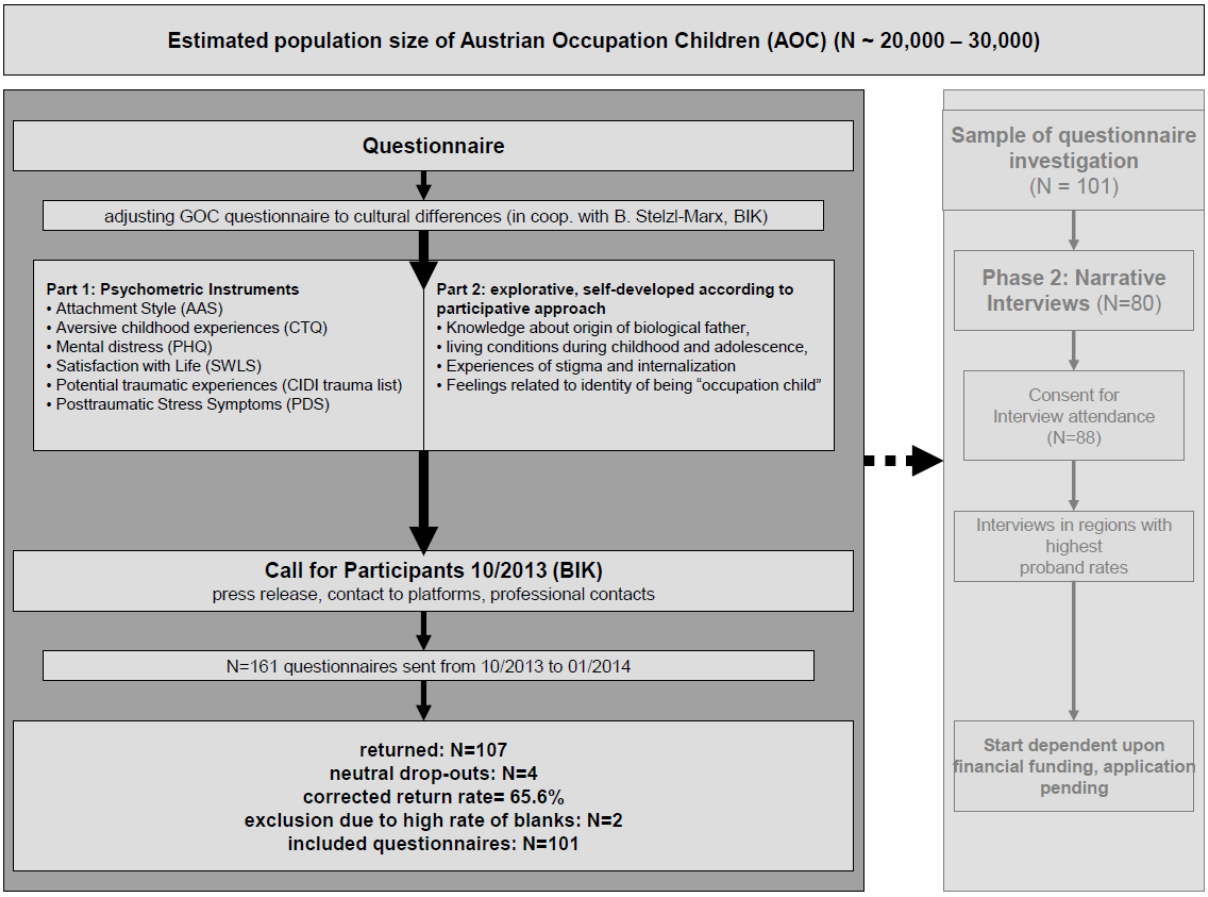

Figure 2: Diagram of study procedures for AOC study

"Wehrmacht"-children in Norway as a Consequence the German Occupation in WWII

Background

On 9th April 1940, German troops invaded Norway. Nine months later the first "Wehrmacht"-children were born. After the Norwegian Armed Forces had to capitulate on 10th June 1940, the occupation passed relatively peaceful in Norway. During the war up to 300,000 German soldiers were based in Norway. The soldiers were often billeted in private homes and close contact with the civilian population was thus almost inevitable. According to the "Nazi-regime" the Norwegian people were considered to be "Aryan" and thus from a racial perspective of "good and valuable blood". Therefore they encouraged relationships between german soldiers and Norwegian women as well as children born out of these relationships. In spring 1941, the department "Lebensborn" was founded in Norway, which belonged to the SS (Schutzstaffel) and was a government-funded association. The aim was to increase the birthrate of "Aryan" children, also from extramarital relations. During the war 12 "Lebensborn"-homes were founded in Norway. In these "Lebensborn"-homes pregnant women were housed and they could give birth to their children there. In the German Norwegian "Lebensborn"-statistics almost 8,000 children were registered, but it is estimated that altogether 10,000 to 12,000 "Wehrmacht"-children were born. However, many of these children were never in contact with

the "Lebensborn"-institution and thus are not included in the statistics. The actual total number of "Wehrmacht"-children is thus difficult to estimate.

Mochmann and Larsen (2005; 2008) carried out the first questionnaire-based survey among 650 members of the Norwegian war child association (NKBF) in 1997 and 400 members of the Danish war child association (DKBF) in 2003. From this study and many single-reports we know that the social environment discriminated and marginalized the Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children. They were ridiculed and, in many cases, physically and mentally abused. Mochmann and Larsen (2005; 2008) found 45.2% of the Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children had been called "German kid", 15.2% were "physically mobbed by adults" and 25.6% were "physically mobbed by other children and youth". 18.5% of the Norwegian sample answered "Teachers looked down at me – got no help when mobbed" and 20.2% of the Norwegian were "often beaten up" on the way to and from school. These results underline the discriminatory and marginalizing attitude of the common Norwegian people at this time.

Method & Sample

Today the Norwegian War Children Association ("Norges Krigsbarnforbund - NKBF") which was founded in 1986 has 275 members and the Norwegian Lebensborn Children Association ("Krigsbarnforbundet Lebensborn") founded 1999 has 105 members. In order to be allowed to conduct a study on Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children an ethics vote from the Regional Committees for Medical and Health Research Ethics Norway (REK-Norge) was necessary. REK set the obligation not to call for participants in the press or other open media. Their concerned was explained by the following: "'Wehrmacht'-children who read such a call could suffer flashbacks and get pulled out of their putative stable life". They agreed on contacting participants who were organized in associations because these associations were classified by REK as a stabilizing factor. Through these associations 380 questionnaires were sent to the participants. Until 31st May 2015 20.5% of questionnaires had been returned (N=78), thereof 49% women and 4% without information about gender. We offered personal contact via E-Mail and telephone. Furthermore, participants had the opportunity to get personal help. In this case one of the researchers visited the participants and gave assistance when working through the questionnaire. In the Norwegian study we used the same questionnaire like in the study on German occupation children. Due to different copyrights in Norway some instruments were replaced, namely:

- Impact of Event Scale (IES) instead of Posttraumatic Diagnostic Scale (PDS),
- Traumatic Experiences Checklist (TEC) instead of Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ).

Summary and Discussion

Concluding our first experiences with hidden population research is that, even though hidden populations are difficult to access, limited knowledge exists and new instruments need to be developed, research is possible and fruitful. In the following a few points for effective research strategies will be summarized from our perspective:

1. Especially when approaching a new target group methodologically interdisciplinary networks are recommendable to function as a resource for background knowledge and support.

2. When designing new instruments, contact to the target group is a fundamental source of first-hand experiences to tailor instruments to display their reality.
3. Furthermore, contact to support platforms and forums is recommendable for comprehensive recruitment.
4. Mixing standardized with self-developed instruments ensures a reliable base and enables gathering knowledge about specifics.
5. Finally, using representative population data as a comparative sample for standardized instruments can serve very useful for publishing results, for demonstrating the meaningfulness of the research project and for drafting continuative research and intervention programs with a strong base.

The results resemble an important step towards increasing transparency for GOC and AOC as well as for Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children as examples of hidden populations and thus increasing public awareness and acceptance. Nevertheless, there are some methodological limitations to our studies. First, the sampling procedure concludes in an accumulative and highly selective sample and thus rendering our sample not representative for the population in question and possibly biased. Press releases and calls for participants were spread selectively throughout the respective country, limiting their range and thereby disabling potentially interested occupation children from participating. In the case of Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children a higher acceptance for the investigation was expected initially. Hesitance in responses can be attributed to the formal and rather impersonal procedure of questionnaire distribution; questionnaires were sent to the participant via the associations and there was no individual contact to the researchers before. Overall it is a benefit to have a target group organized in associations; but there is a selectivity-bias if these are the only contact platforms, since a call for participants will not reach those who are not members of these organizations. Furthermore, you will have a positive self-selection bias for participants for whom the topic is of some relevance (Glaesmer et al., 2010). Also people who are very burdened by their specific experiences as well as subjects for whom the topic is of no relevance will most likely not participate in a study. Overall our samples consist of participants who report difficult experiences with long-term effects across the life span, as well as others who state that being an occupation child was of little relevance in their life, they "have been well". Second, our study focuses on elderly adults. When memorizing emotions, experiences and the appraisal from a time several decades back, there is a very high chance for reappraisal over the course of time and memory bias. Nevertheless, you will get reflections about long-term consequences across a whole life span, which is intriguing information considering the results impressive results from our samples compared with the general population (refer to Aßmann et al., 2015; Kaiser et al., 2015a, 2015b).

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank all participants of our study for dedicating their time and for their readiness to go back in memories that were not at all times happy places to return to. Special thanks to Ingvill Mochmann and those participants who additionally helped in constructing an instrument tailored to the reality of this rather hidden population. Furthermore, we would like to express our gratitude toward researchers (Sabine Lee, Ingvill Mochmann, Silke Satjukow, Barbara Stelzl-Marx) and all representatives of platforms for Children Born of War who answered questions, and helped in recruiting participants and establishing communication networks. And last but not least thanks to Gabriele Schmutzer for creating the matched-samples and helping with syntax.

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BIO:

Marie Kaiser studied Psychology at Leipzig University and completed her Diploma degree in 2009. Her thesis was on comorbidity of mental disorders in the elderly German population with traumatic experiences and PTSD. She is PhD student in the project "Psychosocial Consequences of growing up as an Occupation Child in Germany after World War II" at the Department for Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology at Leipzig University.

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He wrote his doctoral thesis in interventional radiology. In 2013 he started with the current research project on Children Born of War in Norway, in cooperation with Heide Glaesmer, Ingvill Mochmann, Marie Kaiser, Phillip Kuwert and with the Günter Jantschek research grant for German-Norway-cooperation-projects.

Topic 2: Therapeutic Intervention

Integrative Testimonial Therapy: Intervention and predictors of outcome

Maria Böttche (Post-doc, Berlin Center for Torture Victims, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

Introduction

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a common and disabling psychological consequence in the aftermath of traumatic events. Especially children exposed to war showed an increased prevalence rate of PTSD (14–41%; Allwood et al., 2002, Catani et al., 2009; Thabet et al., 2004). In the last decades, research started to focus on older adults exposed to war-associated traumatization during childhood. Results examined that this cohort of former War Children show moderate PTSD prevalence rates (5–10.8%, Kuwert et al., 2006, Teegen & Meister, 2000). However, PTSD in the cohort of older adults are often misdiagnosed due to the lack of knowledge concerning the individual (historical) background and therefore, therapeutic interventions often focus on secondary psychopathology (e.g. depression). When providing psychotherapy to older PTSD patients, particular challenges must be taken into account (e.g. age-specific cognitive changes).

The aim of this research project was the development of an age-specific PTSD treatment approach for former children of World War II (WW II).

A life-review approach for former War Children with PTSD

Integrative Testimonial Therapy (ITT, Knaevelsrud et al., 2011, 2014) is a writing therapy developed especially for PTSD treatment in former War Children. The aim of this Internet-based cognitive-behavioral therapy is the integration of the traumatic event in the biography as well as a change in trauma-associated dysfunctional cognitions. This treatment approach combines techniques of life-review, testimony and trauma-focused cognitive-behavioral interventions and is based on case studies of Maercker (2002) and the Narrative Exposure Therapy (Neuner et al., 2004). In its structural design, ITT is based on the Internet-based intervention of Interapy (Lange et al., 2003).

Treatment Protocol

The treatment consists of 11 structured writing assignments that are facilitated through a database implemented on the Internet (www.lebenstagebuch.de) and lasts over a six-week period. To be included, participants had to have experienced a traumatic event as a child during WW II, report at least a subsyndromal level of PTSD and be able to write texts in German language. Exclusion criteria includes self-report of receiving psychological treatment elsewhere simultaneously, abuse of drugs or alcohol, severe depression, or suicide risk.

Participants receive therapeutic feedback and instructions for the next writing session within 24 hours. Therapists follow a scientifically tested treatment protocol, which consists of structured treatment elements adapted to the specific situation of the patient.

ITT consists of three treatment components:

- *Resource-oriented biographical reconstruction* (seven essays): The detailed recall of biographical events and feelings allows a coherent life narrative and permits an adaptive review of the biography.

- *Moderate exposure* (two essays): Before describing the life phase where the traumatic event occurred, the participant is asked to describe the traumatic event in detail. The aim of exposure is a reduction of the high level of trauma-related distress. The repeated written exposure also aims to break up the fragmented and disorganized trauma-associated memories and supports the development and encoding of a coherent trauma narrative.
- *Cognitive reappraisal* (two essays): The aim of the last treatment phase is to stimulate a new perspective on the traumatic event. Participants write a supportive letter to their younger self (the War Children) from their current perspective as an older adult and are instructed to challenge dysfunctional thinking and behavior patterns as well as to correct unrealistic assumptions and to reflect on the child's feelings.

Results

In an open trial, 30 former children of World War II (n = 17 women) aged 65 to 85 years (M = 71.73 years; SD = 4.8) with (subsyndromal) PTSD were treated (Knaevelsrud et al., 2014). Intent-to-treat analyses revealed a significant decrease from pre- to posttreatment in PTSD symptoms (Cohen's d = 0.43) and significant improvements of quality of life (Cohen's d = 0.48), self-efficacy (Cohen's d = 0.38), and posttraumatic growth (Cohen's d = 0.33). All improvements were maintained at a 3-months follow-up. Participants reported high levels of working alliance (M = 6.09, SD = .87, range 1-7).

In addition, we aimed at examining the influence of predictor variables on treatment outcome for PTSD in older adults (Böttche et al., accepted). Existing research showed inconsistent findings on evaluated predictors of PTSD treatment response (e.g. age, level of education, number of traumatic events). Thus, we also focused on additional predictors by including resource-oriented variables, which deals with distorted negative beliefs and expectations towards oneself and the world and are characteristic of PTSD. Fifty-eight older PTSD patients (M = 71.2 years; SD = 4.6, n = 42 women) who completed ITT were entered in this study. Hierarchical regression analyses revealed that higher scores of posttraumatic growth (β = -.38, t = -3.60, p = .001) and initial internal locus of control (β = -.26, t = -2.51, p = .015) predicted a better outcome at posttreatment, even after controlling for initial PTSD severity.

T-tests indicated that participants with higher scores of resource-oriented variables (internal locus of control and posttraumatic growth) did not differ in initial PTSD severity compared with participants with low scores on resource-oriented dimensions, but benefitted significantly more from the treatment: repeated measures ANOVAs showed a significant interaction between time and extreme group (low vs. high levels) for posttraumatic growth (F(1, 36) = 4.45, p = .042) and internal locus of control (F(1, 30) = 5.97, p = .021). Demographic variables did not influence the treatment outcome.

Conclusion

The findings provide promising insights into evidence-based age-specific treatment for PTSD regarding efficacy and potential outcome predictors. With regard to demographic change, it is a matter of urgency that clinical routine should effectively reach and address the needs of older adults. Additional research is needed to confirm the results of the open trial as well as of the reported predictor variables.

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BIO:

Maria Böttche studied Psychology at the Humboldt-University Berlin and completed her Diploma degree in 2008. She finished her PhD in 2015 at the Freie Universität Berlin and the Berlin Center for Torture Victims (bzfo). Since 2008 she trains to be a Psychological Psychotherapist and is currently head of the research department at the bzfo and a member of the AG Complex PTSD.

Epigenetic modifications in the context of the treatment of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder with Narrative Exposure Therapy – A study with survivors of the rebel war in Northern Uganda

Daniela Conrad (PhD student, Clinical and Neuropsychology, University of Konstanz)

Genetic factors contribute significantly to the risk of developing a Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) after exposure to traumatic events. Numerous candidate gene association studies and genome-wide association studies (GWAS) have been performed to identify causal genetic variants underlying the development of PTSD. According to previous findings, PTSD appears to be a complex disorder that might be best explained through multi-genetic risk markers located on many gene pathways with relatively small effect sizes. Moreover, prior research indicated epigenetic modifications (biological mechanism influencing gene regulation and expression) to be risk factors for PTSD development and potential predictors and correlates of treatment success. Thus, genetic pathways involved in PTSD development could be subject to epigenetic modifications.

This project aims to systematically investigate genetic pathways influencing PTSD development in a large sample of survivors of the rebel war in Northern Uganda and replicate potential findings in an independent sample of survivors of the Rwandan genocide. Furthermore, it will be investigated, if epigenetic methylation in these pathways predicts treatment success with Narrative Exposure Therapy and might change in the course or aftermath of therapeutic interventions.

By shedding light on neurobiological pathways underlying PTSD and its treatment, this PhD project aims to contribute to the development of new short-term and cost-effective therapy approaches, tailored to the patients' genetic and epigenetic characteristics.

BIO:

Daniela Conrad studied Psychology at the University of Freiburg and the University of Basel. She wrote her Bachelor's thesis about the influence of the chronotype on stress reactivity. After finishing her Bachelor's studies she completed a 5-months research internship at the department of Biopsychology at the Technical University of Dresden. She wrote her Master's thesis at the department of Molecular Neurosciences at the University of Basel and investigated the confounding effect of cryptic relatedness (the unintended sampling of close relatives) on the results of genetic association studies with healthy samples. Since September 2015 she is working as a PhD student at the department of Clinical and Neuropsychology, University of Konstanz, under supervision of Prof. Dr. Thomas Elbert (University of Konstanz) and Prof. Dr. Iris-Tatjana Kolassa (Ulm University). Her research interests include the role of genetic and epigenetic factors in the development and successful treatment of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) with Narrative Exposure Therapy (NET).

Topic 3: Recent and Current Conflict Settings

Mental health in refugee populations

Yuriy Nesterko (Department of Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology, Leipzig University/Germany)

Due to increased military escalations in conflict regions like Syria or Ukraine, the number of asylum seekers in high income countries is constantly increasing. People who leave their home country because of armed conflicts, organized violence and persecution, who were exposed to life-threatening, traumatic events while fleeing and who are often living under difficult and uncertain conditions in the host country are at high risk to develop mental disorders. In different host countries, the prevalence of mental disorders in refugee populations is varying. In Germany, with the highest number of refugees worldwide, no reliable data is available to date. However, the number of studies reporting insufficient psychosocial and psycho-therapeutic care for asylum seekers is growing. Therefore, aim of the project is to detect the actual psychotherapeutic needs of refugees living in Saxony in addition to population based prevalence assessment of the major mental disorders, which are associated with traumatic experiences. The symptoms of PTSD, anxiety, depression and somatoform disorders in newly arrived adult refugees should be assessed with the help of translators in a questionnaire and interview-based survey.

Unfortunately disasters and armed conflicts are happening constantly. As a result, people have to leave their homes and become a refugee. 51.2 million people around the globe were displaced because of armed conflicts, organized violence and persecution at the end of 2013. By the end of 2014, with 8.3 million people more, the highest annual increase in a single year of displaced persons worldwide was registered by the UN Refugee Agency – "a level not previously seen in the post-World War II era" (UNHCR, 2015). 38.2 of 59.5 million persons were internally displaced people, 19.5 were refugees – all those who crossed the border of their home countries, and 1.8 million were asylum-seekers. In addition, 51% of the refugee populations in 2014 were children below the age of 18. More than half (53%) of all refugees worldwide came from the Syrian Arab Republic (3.88 million), Afghanistan (2.59 million), and Somalia (1.11 million). The largest host country in 2014 was Turkey, followed by Pakistan, Lebanon and Islamic Republic of Iran. The largest number of new submitted individual asylum applications in 2014 was registered in the Russian Federation, followed by Germany, the United States of America and Turkey. On average, 45,500 fled their homes each day to seek protection elsewhere. In Germany, according to federal statistics 159,927 new asylum applications were registered so far this year (last update June 2015). In the same period in 2014 there were 67,441 initial applications. The majority of asylum-seekers are people from Syrian Arab Republic (20.3%) and countries of Former Yugoslavia (17.9% from Kosovo, 13.6% from Albania, 6.3% from Serbia). The arrangement policy of refugees in Germany is defined by tax revenue of each federal state, with 5.1% for Saxony. In the period between January and Mai 2015 8,373 applications were registered in Saxony (Landtag Sachsen, 2015).

In general, people, who are looking for protection and safety because of war, persecution and torture in their home countries, are at high risk to become mentally ill. As a consequence of traumatic experiences before, during and after the eviction mental disorders, such as posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety disorders, depression, somatoform disorders as well as substance use disorders and suicidality are likely to arise (Baumann et al., 2013, Bogic et al., 2012, Fazel et al., 2012, Gavranidou et al., 2008). In fact, there is evidence for higher

prevalence rates for PTSD and depression in refugees (Lämmlein & Grube, 2012, Sieberer et al., 2011, Ruf et al., 2010, Johnson & Thompson, 2008, Iversen & Morken, 2004). On the other hand there are also a number of studies, where no differences between refugees and other groups of immigrants as well as natives were reported (Fazel, Wheeler & Danesh, 2005). A systematic review of Lindert et al. (2008) detected weighted prevalence rates for PTSD in refugee populations within European countries of 36%, for depression of 44% and for anxiety disorders of 40%. The review of Steel et al. (2009) with over 80,000 participants detected comparable figures of prevalence rates. But having looked at the range (4%-68% for PTSD, 3%-81% for depression, and 5%-90% for anxiety) between the studies, it is actually not possible to say, we know the prevalence rates for sure. Moreover, the reported results of several studies were mostly gained based on fairly small and selective sample sizes. Consequently, there is a need for representative, refugee-population based surveys in Germany and other major host countries.

In our future project we are planning to measure the prevalence rates for common mental disorders in newly arrived adult asylum-seekers in Saxony. The intended sample size is defined by 750 participants during the measurement period of 6 months by using language interpreters' service. In a mixed methods approach (interview and a questionnaire-battery) the symptoms of PTSD, depression, anxiety, somatoform disorders, substance use disorders as well as suicidality should be assessed. Therefore, the aim of the project is to detect the actual, subjective and objective mental health care needs in refugees arriving in Saxony to deliver the data for planning and provision of psychosocial support for mentally ill refugees.
An application for funding of the project has been submitted, and the decision is expected soon.

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BIO:

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Children Born in Captivity: Growing up with stigma in Acholi region of Uganda

Allen Kiconco (PhD student, Department of African Studies and Anthropology/School of History & Cultures, University of Birmingham, UK)

I conducted a study on the lives and post-war reintegration experiences of formally abducted girls in northern Uganda, particularly in Acholi ethnic group.[1] These girls and young women were abducted by a rebel group, Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in their fight against the Ugandan government.[2] This study had 170 participants with whom I held conversations about questions of war impacts, development, (re)-integration and the future.[3] Among those interviewed, there were 57 formally abducted girls, 40 of whom had exited the armed group with children fathered by the rebel fighters (in Acholi sub region, these children are commonly referred to as Children Born in Captivity (CBIC)). There were 59 children born amongst the 40 women (28 girls & 31 boys). The age-groups at which the children entered their mothers' receptor villages valid with the majority in their early years of childhood (1-4 years).The mean age of these children stood at 1.8 years. Their mean age at the time of field study was much higher at 9.5 years.

The central finding of the research on CBIC is: stigma is the leading obstacle to their integration. Findings on CBIC in Acholi can help us go beyond what could be termed the apparent "paradox of stigma". Girls were unlawfully and forcibly recruited by the rebels, a fact that is acknowledged and accepted in both urban and rural contexts of Acholi region. This implies that, on their return, with their children should be accepted, protected, and treated with care and compassion by their families and villages. However, like their mothers, CBIC in Acholi continue to be highly stigmatized and marginalised. To understand this paradox, one needs to understand the profound value and need attached to maintaining social harmony in Acholi culture (see Porter, 2012; 2013; Ofumbi, 2012:116; Finnstrom, 2008) and the construct of "self" (see, p'Bitek, 1986, Oloya, 2010, Ofumbi, 2012). Because "[social harmony] denotes a state of normal relations among the living and the dead, linked to an idea of cosmological equilibrium and a social balance of power and moral order" (Porter, 2013:15), "social harmony is the highest goal of the Acholi community" (Ofumbi, 2012:116). An individual's life should thus be lived in line with achieving this harmony/moral order. People who negatively contribute to this harmony like the LRA are seen as, "internal strangers" (to borrow Behrend's [1999] phrase). By the virtue of their association with the LRA, CBIC are seen as "internal strangers" who are a "threat" to the Acholi culture. Because their conception circumstances and background are believed to cause serious misfortunes in the villages, there is great need to restore and protect the social harmony. Because their mothers were "forced" to transgress the social harmony, CBIC's case is seen as an acceptable level of disruption to social harmony. They are accepted to assimilate in their mothers' villages. However, to erase the "threat" that comes with their background, cleansing has to be done. Upon going through cleansing, they are "supposed to—in principle—be free from" any form of stigma including the stigma of possessing evil and vengeful spirits (see Baines, 2005). However, although Acholis have a rich culture with a number of traditional rites related to reintegration that formerly abducted persons participate in (ibid), rituals that CBIC can rely on to cleanse themselves are not clearly established. For example, a few of the interviewed women said they were allowed

[1] For a detailed political history and origin of Acholi people and culture, see Girling, (1960) and Atkinson (1994).

[2] For more information on this civil war in northern Uganda, see International Crisis Group (2004) and Branch, (2007) among others.

[3] Fieldwork carried out in 2012 and 2013 was to collect data for a PhD research.

to participate in one common welcoming ceremony *nyono-tong-gweno* (stepping on the egg) with their children. It is not clear the effect of such a ritual on the child. Since cleansing may be one way of addressing their stigma, there is an urgent need to identify which of the (re)-integration rituals in Acholi can actually benefit CBIC as they assimilate in their mothers' villages. Finally, the findings in Acholi suggest a notion of forgiving rather than forgetting any level of social harmony transgressions. Stigmatizing and marginalizing of CBIC shows that Acholis have not forgotten the wrongs the LRA and their abductees did to them and their society. Although they have been forgiven, such children remain a constant reminder of those "wrongs". In return villagers target them and their mothers to channel their frustration, guilt and mix-ups.

My study on ex-female combatants and their children directly connects to the topic of the conference Children Born of War (CBOW). This study contributes to the emerging research on CBOW in Uganda and Africa at large. The issue of this category of children in post conflict situations needs urgent research attention. A close diagnosis of their unique and complex needs remains crucial.

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BIO:

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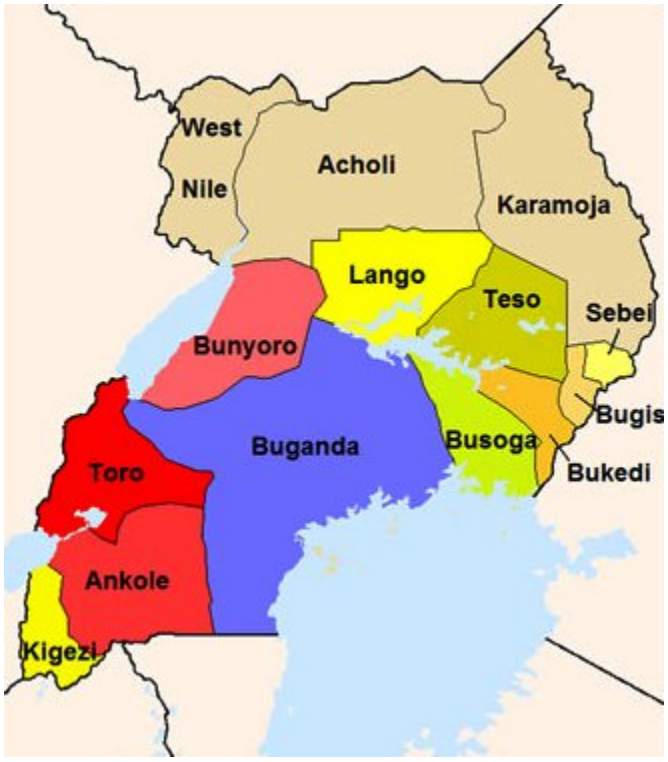
Uganda's Joseph Kony's politics of affiliating CBOW in the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA): 1998-2006

Eunice Apio (PhD student, Department of African Studies and Anthropology/School of History & Cultures, University of Birmingham, UK)

1. Introduction: The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda

In 1986, Alice Auma Lakwena, a 27 year old "spirit medium" (Finnstrom, 2008:75) from the outskirts of Gulu mobilised followers to join in a military struggle for a re-birth of the people. Many former UNLA soldiers readily joined, not so much for the mysticism that many had earlier disregarded in the call for "purification" but to form a front to repel what they (UNLA remnants) believed would be a repeat of ethnic cleansing of the 1970s (Behrend, 1999: 25). The Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) was this mystic rebel outfit. Men and youth from both Lango and Acholi joined. Upon their defeat in 1987, a number of similar resistance outfits persisted – most of them made up of remnants of the HSM and rebels of the Uganda People's Defence Army (UPDA) (Dolan, 2011:43-44). One such movement was the Holy Spirit soldiers of Joseph Kony, a "spirit medium" related to Alice Lakwena (Branch, 2011: 62-63). Joseph Kony's maiden rebel activities were launched in 1987. By 1988, this group that had numerous name changes before finally settling for the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), was shaping itself as the only outstanding rebel group in the region and relying on abduction as a major strategy of negotiating recruitment from among the Acholi and parts of neighbouring Lango (Behrend, 1999:179-183). The LRA campaign, initially launched as a mechanism for re-birth of a people, gradually changed character as it wrecked havoc on the Acholi and neighbouring Lango and Teso communities. According to Unicef, the LRA abducted more than 65,000 civilians, 53% of them children (people below the age of 18 years). At least a quarter of them were girls who were often allocated to male members of the LRA as "wives".



Source: http://www.safari-in-uganda.com/safariafrika-land-und-leute/geschichte-und-politik/kolonialzeit/

2. The Study

This brief is part of a PhD thesis on "Children Born of War in northern Uganda and the politics of integration". It draws its analysis on interviews conducted in northern Uganda between March 2013 and June 2015. At least 9 ex-combatant mothers from Lango and their 19 children fathered in the LRA were recruited for extensive and in-depth interviews throughout the period of fieldwork. The analysis also drew from information obtained from other women and elders in Lango. Further, empirical evidence from key informants is provided to give an impression of contemporary discourses regarding CBOW in post conflict settings.

2.1. The locking and unlocking of the wombs of girls in the LRA

According to study participants, girls who were not issued guns were referred to as "civilians" while the ones who went to combat were all called "amony" (soldier). Those, who had been with the LRA in the 1990s, stated that most women who were in the category of "amony" became known as "civilians", when Kony ordered their guns to be removed. Participants said that Kony had ordered that mothers were not to carry both babies and guns. This order, they said, was preceded by two other announcements of Kony that had come in early 1999 and 1997.

Four of the participants had attended the meeting of 1999 in which Kony or the spirit in him called Silindi[4] had announced that the wombs of women would be opened and a great number of children would be born. Kony or the spirit that spoke through him had further said that the rain would come in drizzles and that whoever would be hit by a drop of that rain would conceive and have a child. Study participants believed that this was a divine revelation, and that it indeed came to pass. They claimed that the spirit Silindi had locked the wombs of most women before 1999, so that the rate of births in the LRA was low. Kony or Silindi could decide if girls could have children or not and when. Kony or Silindi thus claimed the right to the reproductive potential of girls in the LRA. They could also therefore decide how and who could get access to these girls so as to affiliate their offspring if Silindi decided they could conceive. Kony or Silindi claimed the right to these girls' fertility and offspring, disregarding the normative descent practices that existed in the families of these girls in Lango. This claim by Kony on girls abducted from Lango suggested a usurpation of the rules of descent in Patriarchal Lango.

Study participants said that before Kony or Silindi's announcement, children who were born and living in the LRA camps were possibly not more than 200. Kony himself had at least 50 children. But after Kony's announcement, study participants said that most of the women became pregnant with an average monthly birth rate of 80 babies. Ayoo, for example, said:

> "From 1999, women started conceiving in great numbers because Kony wanted it. Kony had said to us that, 'women are now free to conceive. People will now start having children…there will be some rain, which will come in drizzles. Once a drizzle hits you, you know you will have a child'. We all believed him and that he was the one that had prevented women from conceiving. We all knew that it was the doing of the spirit that lived in Kony called Silindi. Silindi had all along locked our wombs and only a few women could give birth if the spirit so wished. Kony's announcement meant Silindi had finally relented and we could now conceive. Every month at least 80 children were born from the year 2000. When I gave birth to my first son in May 2000, 79 other women also had their babies. But before this prophecy in which Silindi relented, there were maybe just 10 babies born in a year. The ting-ting was also given

[4] Behrend (1999) alluded to a similarly named spirit, Silly Silindi, as one of the spirits that had possessed Joseph Kony at the onset of the war in 1997.

> just the major role of constantly offering prayers. But this changed when women started giving birth to so many children. They now left praying to become baby-minders for commanders' wives. Women who failed to space children were however often punished along with their bush husbands."

Kony often ordered the punishment of couples that failed to "space" – meaning conceive – children. Ariang, a former Second Lieutenant in the LRA testified on the strict rule, which Kony imposed on the "spacing" of children by couples.[5] Ariang identified himself as a Karamojong who was integrated in the UPDF and was based in Gulu at the time of the field study. He narrated his experience when his bush wife Akello conceived too soon after the first child. When their first child was seven months old, Akello became pregnant again. Kony had heard of it and sent word to the Brigade Commander to call the couple to order and ensure that both the seven-month old child and the pregnancy were sustained. If any of the two died or disappeared, the parents would receive similar punishment. The Brigade commander then called an assembly of the whole camp and caned Ariang and Akello. Ariang was given 150 strokes and his wife, Akello, 70 strokes so as to remind them to be more careful in the future. The strictness of Kony regarding this matter can be compared to the rules that he imposed against abortion. As will be discussed below, from 1999 as the LRA reduced on their incursions for recruits in northern Uganda, Kony looked inward for alternatives. He wanted children to be born and to grow up healthy and fit so as to meet future LRA needs.

Ex-LRA captain Kilama stated that in 2000, his wife had conceived, yet she was also breastfeeding their five months old daughter.[6] Kony was unhappy but did not punish them. Instead the LRA leader had reprimanded them with the words, "latin ioko dang pe otoo, latin iyic bene pe orweny" (the baby outside must not die, the one inside must not disappear). Kony's deliberate move to regulate births of children in his camps signalled his attempt to stamp "child birth" as an alternative means of recruiting new members into his LRA.

The announcement of the opening of wombs so "couples" could have children and the orders for "couples" to observe LRA standards of child "spacing" came at a time when the dynamics of war had started shifting significantly. There was a change in their relationship with Khartoum as Uganda got a nod from Sudan's government to go after the LRA deep in the bushes of Sudan. Study informants told of how Khartoum had eventually withdrawn its support of military and food aid to the LRA. The LRA had significantly reduced its operations in northern Uganda. They suggested that instead of launching raids for more recruits into northern Uganda, the LRA started looking inwards for food through farming and raids. They raided Dinka villages in the southern bushes of Sudan so as to try and sustain their food needs (see also Temmerman, 1999).

With the declaration that wombs would be opened to give rise to new life, Kony or Silindi had transformed motherhood into war machinery for the LRA. This shift in Kony's recruitment policy is in line with Enloe's (2000, 11) argument that women's reproductive abilities have been seen as a "public duty" through which armies are raised and replenished in many conflicts. Coulter (2009:12) linked this perception to the metaphoric association of nations with motherhood, such as when nations are referred to as motherland and mother country. She argued that it is such "motherhood" ideas that nurture the recruitment or targeting of women in war. By recruiting women as mothers, the group or nation guarantees the source of its armies in the offspring of those women. Conversely, by targeting women in an enemy group, the

[5] Interview: Ariang, Gulu, Uganda, 19th January 2015.

[6] Interview: Kilara, Gulu, Uganda. 19th January, 2015.

victim group is deprived of its source of recruitment and weakened. This also applied to the LRA whose leader Joseph Kony was quoted by Temmerman (2001:74) as having said:

> "I could kill all Acholi and put their heads on the road, for I will deliver a new Acholi generation!"

Study participants further explained that Kony often addressed them as the fountain of purity that would give rise to "Acholi A" rather than "Acholi B" who were the ones living in northern Uganda. By so saying, Kony and his LRA continued the narrative of Acholi purification or rebirth that had been advanced at the onset of the HSM and the LRA in the 1980s.

The ability of girls like Ayoo to become mothers was therefore seen as a means to sustain war by the LRA. Their motherhood status thus became a tool of levying a war in much the same way as the factories that produced ammunitions and guns. All eight female ex-combatants who participated in this study said they were all paired up with lovers while with the LRA. Once pregnant the women were restricted from joining others in attacks on enemies. Instead, they were confined in a women's camp to ensure safety of the pregnancy and proper care of newborn babies.

This is reminiscent of the late 19th and early 20th century practice in Lango, where girls were taken from other neighbouring language groups such as the Madi and Banyoro for their reproductive abilities so the Langi could populate their warrior bases as discussed in chapter two above. The children born in this way thus became part of the weaponry to fight enemies as Temmerman (2001:73) further noted of Kony's own children who were born and growing up in the LRA camps in Sudan:

> "He also had many children, all born in the movement. One of his sons was five and he was already a corporal."

This trend seemed to have continued in the LRA even after the group was flushed out of Sudan to seek new bases in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Central African Republic (CAR). In 2014, The Guardian, quoting Sam Kavuma, a Ugandan army general wrote:

> "Salim Saleh, reported to be 22 (years old), is understood to have spent his entire life in the bush with his father's force, which continues to defy international efforts to hunt them down. Previously the son was in charge of the group providing security to the father, but now he has an added responsibility of field command."

The LRA thus turned to the offspring of "bush wives" and their "bush husbands" as recruits for their war. The enemies were not only the Uganda government soldiers. But they also mostly targeted civilian communities to kill, abduct and plunder. When the women re-entered their pre-abduction communities with their children therefore their contribution to the LRA war machineries was not lost on receptor communities. In the case of Ayoo's sons the community in Amia Abil referred to them as "kony" after the name of the LRA leader Joseph Kony. But people in Lango used the term *otino onywalo ilum* (children born in the bush) as a general reference to these children.[7]

Elsewhere in Africa, similar references have also been made as seen in Sierra Leone, Darfur and Rwanda. People in Sierra Leone referred to children fathered in the RUF as *rebel pikindem* - rebel children (Coulter, 2009: 115). Coulter's Sierra Leoneans thought that the *rebel pikindem* had "bad blood" like their parents. Similarly, in Darfur, local communities referred to them as "Janjaweed" - devil on horseback (The New York Times 11, 2005;

[7] Field notes, Lango, Uganda, March 2013.

Weistman, 2008:567). "Janjaweed" is a term that Darfuri people used to refer to the government backed Arab militiamen from northern Sudan who, since 2004, has carried out mass rape on Darfuri men and women, giving rise to mixed race children (Carpenter, 2007). In Rwanda, children born during the 1993 genocidal war were called "enfants de mauvais memoires – children of bad memories" (Goodwin, 1997), "children of hate" (Nowrojee, 1996:79) and "little killers" (Wax, 2004).

Like the women in those conflicts, the wombs of girls like Ayoo therefore became pawns in the LRA war. To a large extent, they were recruited for their ability to reproduce and by that, they became part of the LRA. Scholars such as Manjoo & McRaith (2011:11) have made similar arguments, suggesting that sexualized violence can sometimes be used as a tool in war. Coulter (2009:9) further linked these wartime experiences of women to the gender ideology and relations that existed in their peacetime communities. For girls like Ayoo, their wombs became tools of nurturing the war against their own peacetime communities in much the same way that old Lango abducted Madi and Banyoro for their fecundity (Tosh, 1978; Driberg, 1923). In old Lango, the offspring of these trophy women from Madi and Bunyoro were seen as lineage members in the same way as Ayoo's sons were said to be Kony or LRA, effectively linking these women's fertility to ethnicity and war. As discussed earlier, LRA fathers who took on the responsibility of naming and affiliating children of their lovers further re-enforced this tendency. But their doing that also defied long established beliefs and practices associated with lineages and ethnicity back in Lango, putting the children in an ambiguous social position once they entered Lango with their mothers.

2.2. Conclusion

Through abduction and affiliation of girls as "wives" the LRA also hijacked the right of these girls' sexuality and reproduction. The creation of male headed "households" to whom these girls were affiliated as "wives" ensured a patriarchal undertaking similar to that in Lango and Acholi which served as a guarantee to the rights they had hijacked. They could thus expect to make the girls pregnant, name the children as they wished and raise the women's offspring in their "households".

In Lango, ideas of motherhood and offspring are predicated upon idioms of ethnicity and kinship. It is these ideas in return communities that interacted with the experiences of ex-combatant mothers and their children, mediating their social lives. By influencing the social lives of these women, these factors also influenced the structural aspects of kinship for their children after war.

The LRA mimicry of patriarchal practices associated with lineages and clans in Lango therefore underlined two significant outcomes for CBOW. First, the wombs of these girls had become a recruitment ground for fighters that targeted their mothers' communities. Wombs were associated with populating lineages and therefore clans. CBOW were thus as much a part of LRA as their fathers, hence the stigmatizing references such as "Kony" and "rebel". Second, the LRA defied the local lineage norms in Lango. In the eyes of fathers, siblings, mothers and lineages, the motherhood of these girls had been hijacked and deployed to subvert local social norms of marriage and patriliny.

Among the Langi women's wombs have always been linked to ethnicity either through marriage or patriarchal affiliation. The hijack of wombs by LRA was therefore an attack on lineages and what they represented. It destabilised local Lango perspectives on marriage, patriliny and reciprocity, exposing CBOW to further stigma and perils against survival, proper growth and development.

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BIO:

Eunice Apio is a PhD candidate of Anthropology at the University of Birmingham. She is studying the situation of CBOW in the Lord's Resistance Army [LRA]. In the last two years she also worked on Africa's CBOW as an IIF/Marie Curie Research Fellow at the University of Birmingham. This project is still not concluded. She currently lives in Uganda with occasional travels on CBOW-related advocacy work.

Psychological responses of Palestinian adult students to traumatic exposure to political violence

Wala' Maaitah (PhD student, Department of Social Psychology, Friedrich Schiller University Jena, Germany), Thomas Kessler, Nicole Harth

Psychological responses to chronic political violence have become a momentous hurdle to the academic performance and peace directed political attitudes of Palestinian adult students residing in the Palestinian-occupied territories. Uncommonly, Israeli and Palestinian trauma experts and scholars combined acquiesce in the disquieting augmentation of pathologic repercussions of political conflict within their communities.

Psychological screenings for mental illnesses within the West Bank general population aiming at quantifying the average of psychologically traumatized students infer that roughly over half of the Palestinian student population (1.4 million) was faced with at least one war-related traumatic exposure (Khamis, 2005).

In this longitudinal quasi experimental study, we investigate the diversified modes by which a contrastive set of social and psychological factors correlate, interact, and mediate the relationship between frequent exposure to traumatizing political violence on the one hand, and students' level of academic performance and political attitudes on the other hand. The prime psychological and social factors we conspicuously scrutinize are levels of emotion regulation, ability to self-control, coping self-efficacy, social identification, and social dominance orientation.

Upon a great deal of research queries we have riveted on symmetric psychological key factors composing and regulating adult students' academic performance and political behavioral intentions concurrently, the primary literature- informed observation we developed about adult students in war zones, is an apparent state of concomitance of lower academic performance and pro- war behavioral intentions mediated by psychological distress, depleted emotion regulation, decreased self-control, decreased coping self-efficacy, and to a great degree inflated social dominance orientation.

The 300 adult university student sample represents a student body from high and low risk areas in the West Bank. We expect that students showing higher emotion regulation and self-control capabilities are more likely to demonstrate peaceful behavioral intentions and better academic performance.

A major goal of the study is to examine how emotion regulation and perceived coping self-efficacy are affected by exposure to frequent psychological traumatization in a context of protracted conflict. In addition, it seeks to observe whether or not shared experiences of conflict exposure lead to a collective sense of coping self-efficacy and symmetric patterns of collective emotion regulatory strategies. Finally, we aim to inquire whether or not different levels of academic performance are predictive of certain political orientations.

The first data collection as planned had been carried out in a period marked by extreme political violence intensity between Palestinians and Israelis, after an 18-month-old Palestinian toddler was burned to death by Israeli settlers who set fire to his house in the occupied Palestinian territories on the 31st of July, 2015.

Very interestingly, the chosen student sample predominantly grew up in the occupied territories post the construction of segregation wall Israel has implanted in the country. In different words, this student generation has been blockaded in West Bank and seriously denied an abundance of basic civil rights due to the mentioned partition of land, ever since they developed sufficient cognitive tools necessary to first rationalize their environment. However, their prolonged entrapment in a single area fenced with checkpoints from all

conceivable directions, and lack of knowledge pertaining to a normal life where civil rights are preserved, has markedly altered and modified their awareness of their environment from a politically hostile environment to a perfectly normative and functional environment. Thus, to some, the appraisal of the frequent episodes of political traumatization including daily exploitations, physical and verbal harassments, and abuse on checkpoints have not been either negatively received or perceived, the fact that gave rise to novel questions and future research directions.

As we also expected, the previously listed psychological and social factors seem to strongly and significantly correlate and interact showing a strong relationship that has not been extensively researched between various levels of academic performance and political attitudes. Furthermore, certain psychological and social factors in the study tend to prominently either attenuate or exacerbate traumatization resulting from political violence. These findings however are not final and quite indefinite as they draw on premature analysis of data.

Amongst the different symposiums I have attended during my doctoral study, the symposium "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Children Born of War – from World War II to Current Conflict Settings Conference" was by far the most platonic setting for an incredibly edifying exchange of novel knowledge, expertise, and serious eye-opening life stories and experiences on how psychological trauma penetrates and deeply roots itself into who we actually are. The understanding of psychological trauma, its classifications, origins, and its psychosocial and genetic repercussions, which were elaborately and minutely evidenced at the symposium, are of topmost significance to my research, which is wholly contingent upon the concept of psychological trauma. Furthermore, the symposium shed the light on certain widely practiced trauma therapy techniques in contexts where human integrity has been violated on a wide scale as in Bosnia, and Uganda, in addition to cases of wide societal engagement in community-based healing models, which all together serve as a solid ground on which wounded nations as Israelis and Palestinians should first stand to embark on an earnest path to reconciled relations.

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BIO:

Wala' Maaitah is a Palestinian female born 1987 in East Jerusalem. She is a Fulbright alumnus, and is holding an M.Sc in Language Education from the Southern New Hampshire University in the USA. She worked as a language teacher for international refugees in refugee camps and centers in the United States and Palestine. She started her PhD in the field of peace building education at the University of Jena in 2013, where she is currently teaching a graduate course on Language through Conflict.

Her research interest is facilitation of impactful education in conflict zones through consciously directed psycho-emotional processes. She is interested in the influences of traumatic exposure caused by intergroup conflict on emotion regulation and academic performance of adults. Her PhD project is centered on: correlation between traumatic exposure, emotion regulation, social identification, and academic performance. In addition, she is interested in conditions under which effects of traumatic exposure on academic performance are buffered/exacerbated.

Reflections on traumatic experiences of children born and growing up in war-time Bosnia & Herzegovina

Emina Hadziosmanovic (Post-doc, School of Health Sciences and Social Work, Faculty of Science, University of Portsmouth, UK)

Introduction

"Repeated traumatization erodes the personality of an adult, but it deforms the identity of children", said Dr Hasimbegovic, a Bosnian psychologist about individuals who were children at the time of war in Bosnia 1992–1995. It aimed to qualitatively assess the social and psychological impact of war, as seen through the eyes of an adult recounting their childhood, focusing on the experiences of individuals who lived through the war as children and subsequently became displaced to the UK, along with those that remained in Bosnia (internally displaced or not displaced from their pre-war homes).

Due to the limited understanding and participation of children in the war, looking at the ways in which children have been affected by the war in a social, political, and environmental context provides an insight into the longer-term effects of war and into possible intergenerational differences. The research aimed to address questions relating to the type of war experiences children had and how they have made sense of these experiences later in life, in addition to the social, psychological, and environmental impact these early life experiences have had upon them.

Interviews were carried out with 20 former War Children and thematic analysis was conducted to generate themes using the six phase approach recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006) as the most efficient and rigorous way of conducting thematic analysis. The focus of this paper was on the theme, "the effects of war" which included the broad subthemes of positive and negative effects of war, further broken down into short and long-term effects.

Short-term negative effects of war

Death

Participants discussed the negative impact the war had in their lives, upon their childhood, their families, and their lives today. Most lost family members during the war. Every participant in Bosnia & Herzegovina had lost at least one close family member and participants in the UK also experienced such loss. For some, this loss was the most difficult experience of the war and helped to highlight the reality of war and to increase their childhood understanding of what war actually meant.

> "They killed my father [...] at the very beginning of the war. He died in the cruellest way possible, because they tortured him whilst he was still alive." (Irma)

Injury

Some individuals experienced physical injuries during the war, including being shot by a sniper or being injured by a grenade. Alisa and Ajla were both injured whilst hiding in the cellars of their houses and the shrapnel from exploding bombs that had fallen close to their houses injuring them. Other children were more severely injured with long-lasting consequences.

> "I was outside playing, I was four at the time and just like that a bomb exploded and a piece of shrapnel just went into my spine, which resulted in a paralysed spinal cord." (Edis)

Some children experienced the injury of a close family member and for most of those displaced to the UK; this was a key reason for their arrival. The children were medically evacuated with their parents to the UK. For some, fathers had been in combat and sustained serious injuries, in one case the father had stepped on a land-mine, and Merisas mother needed a kidney transplant. This also meant that a lot of time was spent in and out of hospital and helping to care for ill parents.

> "My dad had been injured in the war on the frontlines; actually a grenade hit him on the way back home […] they didn't know whether he would survive the plane ride to the UK. I mean, he'd lost the whole side of his lung, his ribs were completely gone, he had huge internal damage, he had lost a lot of blood." (Edina)

Living conditions

One UK participant had been rescued from a concentration camp, along with his family, and another was the daughter of a concentration camp survivor, who had been evacuated from Bosnia along with his family. Even the children that had escaped part of the war by coming to the UK spent time in the war zone living in terrible conditions and facing death on several occasions. This can be seen in Merisa's account of coming to the UK and delight at the fact that there was food.

> "In Sarajevo there was better food, but nothing like when we came to England you know, we were put on benefits […] I put weight on, I was stick thin you know in Bosnia and err it was just great." (Merisa)

The children who remained in war-time Bosnia discussed the difficult living conditions imposed upon them. This included the physical absence of food, of water, of shelter, of electricity, of clothing and shoes. A common theme was absence, an absence of the basic conditions for living a normal existence. If we consider Maslow's triangle of hierarchical needs (Maslow, 1943) then not even the most basic needs for food and shelter were met.

> "Srebrenica didn't have electricity or water or anything […] I mean everyone, from little to big was hungry and thirsty and barefoot. Nobody can say they weren't hungry for at least 10 days." (Asmir)

Forced displacement

In addition to living in these conditions, some of the children were forced to leave their homes by the Serbs, watched their homes being destroyed but were unable to do anything to stop the Serbs, or had to leave for a fear of their own lives if they remained in that particular village. They lost all their possessions. One participant described the experience of being forced out of his own home in Doboj.

> "The Chetniks, Police, Chetnik Army Police came to our home and then told us that we only have half an hour to leave, a bus is waiting for us outside the high school centre, leave the keys in the door, take the most fundamental things, and we never want to see you here again. And we had to do as they told us." (Mirsad)

Living in fear

To further highlight the dismal situation in war-time Bosnia, the majority of participants at one time or another experienced a direct threat to their lives or were fearful for their lives. In some circumstances, if they were male this fear was accentuated particularly in Srebrenica (because

of what was to happen there later) and the older female participants feared being subjected to rape, especially where they had seen other females after a rape had taken place.

> "I was most afraid to go in their hands, they did all kinds of things, rape, that was what I was most afraid of because I was a young girl. But I heard that women were raped. I was afraid of being raped […] that fear stayed and it will never pass. You can't forget that, ever." (Hajrija)

Long-term negative effects of war

Witnessing and reacting to traumatic events

The trauma experienced or witnessed affected many children over the long-term, whether they escaped to the UK or remained in Bosnia. Individuals described both physical and psychological effects, with aches and pains that they attributed to the war. Many described these symptoms as manifesting through dreams in the form of nightmares or sleepwalking. Others were more consciously aware of them and said the trauma of war contributed to changes in their personality styles, such as chronic nervousness, a fear of loud noises, angry outbursts, and constant worry. Some expressed that they will live with the fear induced by war for the rest of their lives, thus highlighting very real and long-lasting effects.

> "I am somewhat psychologically affected in that I am short-tempered and get easily upset, as our people would say gets angry easily. I don't have the patience for anything […]. I am not stable […]. I was very frightened as I came out of a bad dream about the massacre." (Fahrudin)

The images which some participants reported seeing had long-lasting effects upon them and their lives. The images included watching the Serbs roast a baby alive and bring it back to its mother, witnessing the suicide of a young couple in Srebrenica who feared being killed by the Serbs more than taking their own lives, and instances of having to run over dead bodies or pieces of the bodies, in order to take shelter and survive. Participants described some of the most horrific scenes one can endure and talked of how they cannot get rid of the images in their minds. This perhaps depicts the extremes of the trauma and parental inability to always shield the eyes of their children from seeing such atrocities.

> "What happened to people [in Srebrenica], it is a problem to tell it to other people in the world because there isn't a language for that and people have not invented a language for it […] I will not tell you of how only one man died, but for you to see how one hundred and fifty people died in one instant. That is difficult to narrate, one is crying, one is begging you to kill him, one is asking for help, one this, one that […] I had the opportunity to listen to not only one man, but at least 600 or 700 people who start to scream and cry. That is not the world; it is not a human being's mind, that silence…" (Asmir)

Other negative or adverse psychological effects included the subsequent development of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety or other mental disorders as a result of the war. This was more evident in the children describing their parent's symptoms; however a couple of the children mentioned how they suffered from depression or PTSD growing up after the war years. They attributed these adverse effects to the war. The symptoms were described in detail as were their subsequent reactions or what they choose to do about them. The same was true of participants both in Bosnia and the UK.

Coping through avoidance

For some participants, coping involved the avoidance of anything which had the potential to activate neural pathways connected to the memory of the original trauma. For example, Merisa described how her brother avoided any discussion of the war and its impact upon him.

> "He doesn't talk about anything, you know the shootings, all the bad things he's seen, he never talks about that." (Merisa)

Turbulent/stolen childhoods

The notion of experiencing a subnormal childhood because of the war was raised by the large majority of interviewees, who felt that they missed out on living a normal childhood, such as being unable to play outdoors because of falling bombs and sniper attacks. Most lamented on this, some were sad, and others angry that someone had stolen their childhoods. Some discussed how a war-time childhood was normal for them as they didn't know what a non-war-time childhood should be like and thus were not sure on what they were missing out on.

> "During the war we hid, we spent our childhoods in the basement. There were no toys to play with, only shells and grenades […]. My childhood was stolen, my childhood was destroyed practically thanks to those certain monsters, certain thieves…" (Irma)

Long-term positive effects of war

Experiential learning

Some participants viewed the war in a positive light, enabling them to learn about themselves and the world to facilitate positive changes. It gave them greater empathy and understanding later in life and made them prouder of their achievements despite the obstacles that they faced. This is seen in most of the transcripts. Kerim believed that the war helped him to see what humans were capable of at an early age.

> "It's opened my eyes to the cruelties that people can do, how cruel some people can be and what they're able to do." (Kerim)

Developing resilience

For some, the war led to the development of resilience and increased coping skills in stressful situations. Participants made comments like, "if I can survive the war, then I can survive anything" which implies the acquisition of additional coping skills to deal with other potentially negative life situations. They discussed how experiences of war have made them into stronger individuals now.

> "You know the saying 'what doesn't break you makes you stronger', that is how I feel, it made me personally stronger and I am a stronger person now. I feel like I can take anything that is thrown at me […] I am definitely stronger." (Selma)

Feeling grateful

Other participants talked about feeling grateful either about their survivor-hood or the way their lives subsequently turned out. The majority of participants felt lucky to be alive. A sense of greater accomplishment was seen in the UK participants. However, this is not surprising as there are more opportunities in the UK and Bosnia has many environmental problems.

> "I think it has had a positive effect, because I am like.. I appreciate like that I'm still alive, and whatever I have lost I can still get back […]. It makes you realise, even though we were kicked out, it makes you glad to be alive and .. So just basically appreciate what you have." (Ajdin)

Conclusion

The present paper aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the effects of war on individuals who were children at the time in Bosnia & Herzegovina; and subsequently became displaced with their families to the UK or remained in Bosnia. There were definite long-term and long-lasting effects of war documented on the lives of these individuals, both positive and negative. Loss characterised the negative experiences; both the physical losses of loved ones but also metaphorically the loss of parts of their identities and homes they became displaced from.

Despite living their childhoods in some of the most traumatic circumstances, exposed to shells, bombing, sniper fire, starvation, and watching death on a daily basis, a significant number of participants exhibited resilience and post traumatic growth in the face of adversities and managed to positively turn their lives around. This can be summarised by Nietzsche who said, "That which does not kill me makes me stronger."

The present study utilized a small sample size and a non-random recruitment method which makes generalisation to the wider population more difficult. With this selection bias, it is unknown whether individuals that were more or less traumatised by the war as children chose to take part in the study as adults. Some individuals reported "feeling better about the war" after the interview, which suggests that the use of narrative techniques might add value to such research and prove in some ways therapeutic.

Further research should consider the psycho-social impact on the children who were born directly as a result of the war, either through rape or consensual relationships with soldiers or other military personnel in Bosnia, in addition to the effects upon the families of these children. This is currently an under researched area in Bosnia and almost a "hidden topic" but one that further funding would definitely merit exploration of.

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BIO:

Dr. Emina Hadziosmanovic is a Senior Research Associate at Portsmouth University working on a project funded by the Forces in Mind Trust to assess the effectiveness of the veteran outreach support service former military personnel receive. She has a PhD in Clinical Psychology from the University of Nottingham and her thesis was entitled "Towards narrating trauma: the long-term psycho-social impact of war in Bosnia & Herzegovina". She conducted a mixed methods cross-country comparison between externally displaced Bosnians in the UK and non-displaced individuals within Bosnia today. Emina holds a Rayne Foundation Fellowship and is currently working on trialling narrative exposure therapy with war-related PTSD sufferers in the UK. Her work to help the refugee community in the UK was recognised by the Migrant Forum and Emina was awarded Young Woman of the Year (Honorary Award) in 2013.

Summary: Pre-Conference Early Career Workshop

Marie Kaiser (University of Leipzig)

Despite all cultural, social and political differences between populations under study and scientific backgrounds of the early career researchers in the session, it was intriguing to notice how there are mutual and collective topics which seem almost generalizable for Children Born of War (CBOW) as a group.

In his speech, Vincent Oling, pointed out so eloquently, the greatest issues for CBOW are those of (1) Acceptance, (2) Identity, (3) Belonging and (4) Illegitimacy.

Therefore, when considering cultural and societal/social dynamics you can see that stigmatizing or prejudicial attitudes are high within each of the cultures whilst readiness for acceptance of these children and the situation of their mothers is fairly low (e.g. internalized shame as a result of prolonged exposure to stigma or other difficult experiences).

Furthermore, we heard how important one's own narrative is for both identity construction in the course of life even after having managed successfully (Gwendoline Cicottini) and for overcoming hardship and traumatic experiences (Maria Boettche, Emina Hadziosmanovic, Daniela Conrad) at different stages in life.

However, we also see a tendency that if you have groups with different cultural/religious backgrounds who have formerly been in war and now are living next to each other, you will find the former perpetrators still enacting rituals conveying oppression and thus constantly reliving the victimization status but also practicing it as a means to demonstrate their powers. So when looking at countries like Bosnia and Herzegovina (Emina Hadziosmanovic), Israel (Wala' Maaitah) or Northern Ireland (Eithne Dowds) today you can find a pseudo-peaceful coexistence. The mentioned ritualized demonstrations of power enacted by the former perpetrators make social reconciliation very difficult when instead it would be so important for healing (Emina Hadziosmanovic).

When I heard about the current situation in Northern Uganda I found it very interesting but also frightening to think about the psychosocial consequences of growing up in a camp, being raised as a "pure generation of fighters", on the individual but also on the societal level. How will they enact their indoctrination and how will their experiences impact next generations procreated and raised by them?

Lastly, I am thankful for both the international and the interdisciplinary setting chosen for this conference and likewise for the early career workshop. It offers the chance for exchange and thereby acts strongly in building a better understanding for the topic on a broader level. Additionally, interdisciplinary collaboration may serve as a substantial link for initiating change and taking interest in "fate" of CBOW beyond current state (descriptive) research.

I would like to thank Heide Glaesmer and Sabine Lee for organizing this wonderful event and thank you for everyone who contributed in making these days such an enriching experience.

Keynote Lectures

Acceptance, CBOW's challenges of belonging and legitimacy

Vincent Oling (Chairman of Faciliation for Peace and Development, FAPAD; Uganda)

1. Introduction

It is a great honour, ladies and gentlemen, to be one among you – invited by the illustrious visionary symposium organizers. Special thanks go to Professor Dr Sabine Lee and colleagues Heide and Philipp – psychologists and psychiatrist respectively, for suggesting, inquiring my willingness to come.

The CBOW cause, with all the issues generated, is a mind-capturing world phenomenon humanity has had to be aware of, live with or simply observe as some strange human challenge in some quarter of the globe. Some who I believe are here went a step further and put heads together to concertedly try to discover more than just the prevalence of the phenomenon. Historical perspectives, along with emphasis on any stigma associated, identity, and childhood adversities, are important, and key issues a researcher ought to be concerned about; their understanding is necessary for likely follow up initiatives, for making their undertaking proactively fruitful.

Been partially visually progressively impaired for a good deal of my earlier years, and for more than a half of my life in darkness today, I have lived through to witness the ugliest of human violence and inhumanity in over two decades of the Lord's Resistance Army war in Northern Uganda – a war of attrition, lacking in identifiable political motives:

I suffered several excruciating war inflicted incidence-atrocities, and horrifying experiences – the abduction of my only one daughter from a secondary school, 24th June, 1990 then sixteen, by the LRA Tereka Brigade, commanded by one Vincent Oola (Bebabeba).

My last born, now 24 here by my side, a public administration and management graduate, must have been conceived between 22nd or 23rd June, 1990, and possibly absorbed the horrendous shock and trauma his sister's abduction had caused to the mother then consequently hospitalized for weeks. Whether this contributed to his left hand impairment, is a question.

With my fearless vocal human rights activism, a social worker amidst the war situation victim communities, facing intimidations and threats for speaking out despite obvious dangers, I was identified, dragged and forced into being elected for my constituency of Minakulu Sub-county, as a representative in Apac District Council in 1992; subsequently in a row till my rejecting any further standing for re-election in June, 2006, then the District Secretary for Education, Security, and Civil Society/Humanitarian Affairs.

1.1. Challenges

The closure of my council political chapter was simply a shift of approach against the war situation against the social, humanitarian and human rights disaster which the former UN envoy for humanitarian affairs, Jan Egeland termed in 2003 the world's worst forgotten humanitarian disaster. I am now active with several human rights organizations, chief among which is Facilitation for Peace and Development [FAPAD], whose board I chair.

CBOW experience challenges around the realities of coming to being of the war: challenges of stigma and identity add to known childhood adversities, more in poverty-stricken war-ridden third world situations. Subjected to several perceptions against background, social

and cultural factors with historical perspective, as well as associated stigma and identity issues, the child in question has more adversities than the normal, demanding sensitivity.

1.2. Who is a CBOW?

Whatever agreed perception as to who qualifies to be termed a Child Born of War, we ought to accept that with varied situation and circumstances, aims and purpose, modus operandi and activities, code of conduct and individuals' discipline, etc., war can give rise to unplanned or undesired pregnancies, and child birth. Diverse war circumstances, conditions, behaviour, and activities provide for, and contribute to vulnerabilities.

The First and Second World War left behind CBOW resulting from either coerced sex, or developed intimacy resulting in consensual relationship between the occupying army soldiers, and "enemy" victim community females.

The Uganda's LRA war has an even bigger story to tell about CBOW circumstances and challenges.

It may be an overlooked reality, creating surprise that there were too many unprotected sexual activities during LRA War campaigns in the various war time settlements camps – military and civilian. Yet there was high deprivation, neglect, hunger, homelessness and various insecurities, with accompanying trauma, etc.

Two sons born of war time rape by armed unidentified uniformed persons in 2002 and 2005.

Young female abductees could be too sure of their plight and status in the bush, once under LRA captivity. Terrifying sexual engagement, and occasional pregnancies, with eventual child-birth under such circumstances occurred.

Casual rape by men of both rebel and government armies alike were commonplace. A very disturbing study was carried out by the Uganda Joint Christian Council in early 2005 at an IDP camp in Apac District, at Acimi in Minakulu, with my participation. Said sex starved mobile government troop reportedly swarmed on Acimi Primary School, and started chasing any school girl sighted. One 13-year old girl unsuccessfully tried to flee, and was cornered by the back of a camp hut. The pregnancy that ensued resulted in one twin still-birth, and the other twin in some level of trauma – the child – mother herself passing away in the local birth delivery process.

Another is a case of a girl raped twice first in 2013 then in 2015 on being intercepted by two small groups of armed uniformed soldiers respectively suspected for rebels. The woman speaks bitterly of the incident complaining that the two sons suffer stigmatization and are discriminated against, regarded as alien and not belonging to the clan family.

The third is a case of three children born of a female abducted, this time not under the LRA, but Karamojong cattle rustling raiders in the open raid spree with impunity of late nineteen-eighties in Northern Uganda.

Three fathered by Karamojong cattle raider and a Lango abducted mother complaining of rejection by mother's clan.

Coerced sex with destitute female war victims at the hands of powerful males contributed to circumstantial pregnancy blamed on both military and other perpetrators. Needs-driven sex in return for favours was a common feature, too, in the desperation-driven excesses in IDP camps and other displaced's settlement.

Trauma, rampant loss of hope, with resignation, and collapse into moral degeneration also account for loose sexual behaviour generally not fitting with cultural norms. These also brought about unplanned unwanted pregnancy seem as one contributor to the camp population explosion during the war.

Notwithstanding variation, all these offspring categories suffer finger-pointing as for example, a war created problem, despite the fact that innocent children are deserving in terms of legitimacy and belonging. For the purpose of this talk, I will however, specifically use the case of the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) of Northern Uganda and beyond.

2. The LRA War in Northern Uganda and Beyond

The war of the LRA was and has been an ugly campaign, indisputably in every respect a war of attrition – targeting innocent civilian communities, but not threatening any state stability. Opinions put it that it was by fact and realities a campaign by proxy to persecute Northern Uganda, and keep it backward for ever through this costly war of attrition, with a shadowy rebel group without any political agenda, the "holy spirit-linked" led by Joseph Kony.

The consequences of the war were, and have been outrageous, and horrifying, with short, medium and long term effects. The LRA marauded across the length and breadth - killing, abducting, maiming and inflicting mutilation, looting and destroying property, depriving, driving and displacing victim populations into homelessness, destitution, desperation and utter misery: trauma-ridden, denied and hungry without any food security, or property, dislodged off economic or valuable social, and cultural activities. Families were scattered, breaking up clan cultural systems; ethnic traditional social control mechanisms collapsed and were rendered ineffective and voiceless. A lot remains to be researched to established the whole truth surrounding the war, effects and the creation of the generational gaps currently bedevilling Northern Uganda in particular, with the CBOW being part of the critical challenges.

Sometimes preaching God's Ten Commandments while killing and vandalizing life, Joseph Kony affronted by one of his brave so-called wives, replied saying, God did not hate or disallow bloodletting, but rather was pleased and appeased by it. Abductees allocated off as slave wives, and conscripted were driven to becoming insensitive to regards for social norms and human value, to violence with impunity, in anarchy, even to killing their own parents once ordered to.

The typical born of war child, of female abductee victim, and captor male rapist, or through just sex out of fear in submissiveness, had and has far from enviable a background, in terms of conception, birth, parentage, and growth and development environment.

It is important to note that Joseph Kony, the self-declared spirit medium himself, once in some of his tantrums roared, that the entire population in Northern Uganda, all fools, would be eliminated, and replaced with the children born, and yet to be born in the bush the ones, by our terminology/gies, not far from our known CBOW.

In the meantime, the dismantled social and cultural situation and circumstance, with displaced disintegrated families and community group, amidst horrendous suffering and deprivation denial and neglect, brought about the breakdown of family norms and destruction of the extended family system bond. The consequences as today being experienced are serious and far-reaching.

Impoverishment, distribution and desperation have turned people into the only capital asset, land as the only exchangeable into badly wanted cash, heralding land grab violence competing for the single and scarce resource.

The social and cultural disintegration, with family separation in population displacement, against exacerbated economic and livelihood hardship and insurmountable hurdles, in and in

the aftermath of the war the situation deteriorated against unrealistic post-conflict expectation. In the midst of fighting to secure essential survival means and scarce resources, the self was placed top above all other consideration; not even one's own sanguine offspring, not saying much of a wife scored close to self in the choice of survival with limited opportunity.

Access to services and rights like education, health, food, clothing and shelters, among other incumbent on the father and mother to provide for children, are no longer a tight responsibility by sentiment and force of circumstance, poverty with trauma contributing. The child considered bad, or whose birth origin is in dispute, provided ready excuses for discrimination. Long cherished clan protection and support for members against one of another clan, involving heavy costs, long since all born by the clan, has now got loose, such responsibility untied and placed squarely around the perpetrator's neck. Anything else is rendered thus optional, dependent on personal understanding and touch. The CBOW with alleged and real unwanted behaviour traits thus rendered vulnerable, and victim.

Where do all these circumstantially driven developments lead, and leave the born of war child, against their birth background? With the rather insensitive social disposition, as and when state apathy seems slow delivering on a transitional justice framework that may provide for truth telling, justice and reconciliation, and all the consequences of unravelling some uncomforting facts, what can be the way forward for CBOW?

3. LRA Campaigns, Effects and Accuring

Although humans generally have their good and bad sides, it is difficult to quote anything credit worthy in the campaigns, behaviour and activities of the LRA in the war. Outsiders would believe that the rebel army had the cause of the populations in Northern Uganda as their main drive and reason for the war; the shocking reality is that the rebels presented themselves as indifferent ruthless hostile, murderous, as human abductors, and vandals conducting anti-people terror, much as hired mercenaries against the communities.

All within LRA camp were drilled or forced to demonstrate enthusiasm and the spirit of cruelty, of maximum violence by one against another. In order to avoid risk of being misunderstood as sympathizing with civilian communities, or contemplating escaping, acting violently was the best way to keep in their commanders' good books, and survive. Hate for, and unpopularity of the LRA and whoever seen their associate, or behaved like them, earned automatic stigma.

Young girls were abducted to make them sex slaves; out of these sexual activities or behaviours children were conceived and born into horrifying situation and condition – these among the very traumatizing aspects of LRA culture. Not of their own choice, such vulnerable children were conceived in and with violence, born into violent environments, living, surviving facing and fearing death or dying each day, forced to develop survival mechanisms.

4. CBOW Parentages

The CBOW were often conceived by mothers in captivity, through violence with no true love. The male father has in many cases been the abductor, resented, and only getting his way through violence. The violence is a way of life, and none at all strange to the bush-born child.

5. Challenges to CBOW Acceptance, Belonging and Legitimacy in Community

Conflict and post-conflict Ugandans were a deeply war-affected population. They suffered displacement with deprivations; social disintegration resulted in families breaking and separating to different refuge destinations, with untold impoverishment and dire need. Many lost any sense of social touch and warmth. Long cherished traditional cultural relationship as on sanguine bond, could not be kept warm, intact, active, but, could only be observed waning as circumstances rendered it impossible to preserve, protect or promote cohesion.

A lot did happen in IDP refugee camps: sexual activities no longer featured on family and social taboo lists, as trauma effect brought about alcohol self prescription. Strong social or community ties weakened, with individualism taking precedence over collective norms. Anti-social trauma outcome grew, and the previously sacrosanct supreme commandment of loving one's neighbour as would one oneself was abandoned.

Rediscovering the oneness that once existed before the war, including long-valued extended family systems competed with the new-found scarcities, needs and wants; self-dictating one's own survival was prioritised and life became the uphill journey through the social mess. It was in these circumstances that nephews and nieces born of unmarried sisters, and other clan members in need of support were disregarded, getting increasingly alienated from any family consideration.

Belonging, not to speak of acceptance, in the African cultural traditional context, had been insurance, with full survival guarantee. Legitimacy then became a matter of course, and unchallengeable. This was no longer the case in post-LRA Uganda. Daughters in particular, who had been denied protection by first, their own parents, then by relatives around the parents, by clans, and local social systems, and by a whole array of government structures mandated to protect, defend, and preserve the legitimacy of the child, were failed comprehensively. And her own blood product, the child, though born out of undesired sexual activity, was similarly denied human considerations for acceptance and belonging.

6. Conclusion

Any child born of man and woman, no matter the circumstances of conception, is a deserving human being, entitled under moral consideration to belonging. The denial, neglect, and stigmatization of CBOW by families and communities of formerly abducted daughters, now rampant, not only in Northern Uganda in the aftermath of the vicious LRA war of attrition, but elsewhere in Africa and beyond, is evil. It is inhuman and deserves serious attention from all responsible and concerned quarters.

If war is the mother evil, responsible for such side realities, then society at all levels should speak with one voice against it where its eruption is seen to lean, not on inevitability, but on human insanity.

Last but not least, while thanking and congratulating the fraternity around CBOW, conducting research, and unearthing whole lot of information, the greater concern of the illustrations committed academicians ought to be not just their output but the outcomes and impacts of their struggle for the cause of the innocent disadvantaged and vulnerable Child Born of War stigmatised, denied acceptance belonging and legitimacy. The work should end with being merely an academic exercise; what matters to humanity must be the proactive commitment to engage society to take seriously with deserving sensitivity all issues surrounding CBOW.

BIO:

After a 7 year seminary training / Education from 1960 to end of 1966, Vincent Oling worked in Public Administration, before training in social works (1970-1971). From 1971 he worked under the Ministry of Culture and Community Development as Youth Organiser. He retired from the civil service after his deteriorating eyesight led to complete blindness.

In 1992 he was elected sub county representative to champion the constituents' cause, at a time when the North of Uganda was engulfed in Civil War between the Lord's Resistance Army and a not altogether faultless government-backed Army.

Re-elected subsequently several times, he eventually pulled out of active politics, after a challenging term as secretary for Education, Security and Civil Society Affairs from 2002 to 2006 within which was the infamous military operation Iron Fist with the LRA's worst atrocities in Acholi, Lango, and Teso.

Active in civil society affairs, he championed the coming to being of Concerned Parents Association (CPA) to fight the cause of war victims, following the abduction of 109 Aboke girls.

He is currently Board member of the Northern Uganda Anti-Corruption Coalition, Chairman of the Northern Uganda Coalition for Health Advocacy Board and Chairman of the Board of Facilitation For Peace and Development (FAPAD) as well as the Board of Uganda Victims Foundation and Chairman of the Lango Cultural Board of Trustees. Since 2008 he has been planning and conducting PEACE VISION weekly topical issue radio panel talks.

Growing up as a Child Born of War from a psychosocial perspective

Heide Glaesmer (University of Leipzig, Germany)

Whenever there have been wars and armed conflicts with lengthy periods of foreign soldiers in close proximity to local civilian populations, there has been contact between troops and civilians, from the superficial to the intimate; and whenever there have been these contacts, children have been born, fathered by foreign (enemy) soldiers and local women. The existence of these Children Born of War (CBOW) has long been a widely ignored reality.

Of the few academic studies of CBOW, most have concentrated on Children Born of Rape (e.g. Carpenter, 2007). Only recently has attention been drawn to children whose parents had been in consensual or even love-based relationships, and first historical and psychological studies have addressed their experiences (Lee, 2011; Glaesmer et al., 2012). In the literature, CBOW are now often explored within the categories developed by Mochmann and Lee (2010) namely: (1) Children of foreign or enemy soldiers and local women, (2) Children of occupation soldiers and local women, (3) Children of child soldiers and (4) Children of UN Peace Corps and local women. The starting point of our symposium is World War II, which, due to its global character, its long duration, and its long periods of both friendly and inimical "occupations" which saw troops stationed on foreign territory in preparation for, during and after the conflict. This led to intensive contact between foreign soldiers and local civilians in a variety of circumstances, and as a direct consequence of this, World War II saw large numbers of CBOW all over Europe, Asia and Africa (Ericsson & Simonson, 2005). Following the above categorisation, these children would fall into the first two categories. It is in the nature of the situation into which CBOW are born that no exact data exist about their numbers. Many grow up unaware of their biological origins, because mothers, families and local communities choose to keep this knowledge hidden (Stelzl-Marx, 2009). Yet, persuasive estimates on the basis of population surveys and official statistics as well as extrapolations from these exist which suggest that hundreds of thousands of CBOW may exist. One study from 1955 reported 66,730 children of western occupation soldiers in Germany, of which 37,000 had American soldier fathers, 4,000 children had Afro-American fathers (Lee, 2011). Recent estimations assume that there are at least 200,000 German occupation children.

For World War II, some historical and social empirical data exist and recent research has led to important insights, drawing on a variety of different disciplinary approaches from history, politics and social sciences to psychology, psychiatry and law. Data have been gathered about German (e.g. Stelzl-Marx & Satjukow, 2015), Norwegian, Dutch and Danish CBOW (Mochmann & Larsson, 2005), historical research has explored children on either side of the Franco-German divide: children of French soldiers and German mothers as well as German soldiers and French mothers (Virgili, 2009), and most recently scholars have started exploring CBOW in Eastern Europe, both children fathered by "Wehrmacht"-soldiers in occupied territories, but also children fathered by Soviet soldiers in Eastern and East-central Europe (Westerlund, 2011), a process still in its infancy and hampered by challenges of access to sources.

Another factor contributing to the value of World War II as starting point for the analysis is personal as well as scientific interest of CBOW of World War II in their own history, which has allowed most fruitful participatory research in recent years. World War II serves as an anchor for the historical analysis of CBOW in this paper, but the symposium reached far beyond this particular conflict and explored core issues affecting CBOW from different disciplinary angles.

Living conditions and psychosocial consequences of growing up as a CBOW in WWII

The living conditions of CBOW of WWII in Germany, similarly to those in other (post-)conflict zones world-wide, were characterised by familial and societal areas of conflicts between integration and rejection. Concealment, financial distress, public and familial repulse often played a role. When observing the psychosocial consequences three central aspects are of salient importance: *Identity, stigmatisation/discrimination* and *adverse childhood experiences*. Glaesmer et al. (2012) described that the occurrence of these three aspects is related to the long-term psychological well-being of CBOW.

Identity and identity development of CBOW

One's biological background is of pivotal meaning for identity development (Turner & Coyle, 2000). Perception and denotation by social contacts and society are other important factors for identity development. For CBOW it is of central importance to know the circumstances of their conception and their biological origin. On the basis of psychosocial research on sperm donor offspring and adopted children we understand that searching for their fathers is an existential aspect of identity development in CBOW. In adopted children fantasies about their biological parents seem to be of great importance.

Compared to fantasies about their adoptive parents the fantasies of the CBOW are not prone to necessary experience-related corrections and may serve as an introject for identity formation (Rosenberg & Horner, 1991). In CBOW the identity of their fathers was often kept secret for reasons, as their biological origin remained a taboo in post-war society, and secrecy was judged to prevent stigmatisation and/or discrimination – not only in Children Born of Rape but for those born of non-coercive relationships with occupation soldiers. Those who learned of their biological background later on in life, often report to have had diffuse anticipation or respectively have struggled with the taboo of their ancestry (Lee, 2012; Satjukow, 2011; Stelzl-Marx, 2009). One important aspect for children's identity is the relationship of their biological parents. Children fathered through rape exist in a field of conflict being the "product of a violent act" and "offspring of the perpetrator" (Erjavec & Volcic, 2010). Furthermore, how a Children Born of Rape was judged depended on the origin of their fathers. Although Soviet soldiers were officially declared liberators and friends in the Soviet occupation era and later GDR, resentment against "the Russians" rooted deep in National Socialist ideology remained existent long after (Stelzl-Marx, 2009; Satjukow, 2011). In contrast American soldiers were reframed from belonging to an occupation power to liberators shortly after the war ended and thus identity development of these "occupation children" has to be considered in their specific context.

Stigmatisation/Discrimination

Today, it is beyond question, that more or less overt discrimination and/or stigmatisation was a formative experience of CBOW. In fact most carried a double burden, being the offspring of the enemy and being born out of wedlock. Some also experienced open violence and social exclusion in school, neighbourhood or family. In families, e.g. stepfathers sometimes declared these children alien (Satjukow, 2011; Stelzl-Marx, 2009; Aßmann, 2014). It is agreed on that stigma negatively affects members of the stigmatised group (Schomerus et al., 2009). Thus the stigma experiences of CBOW and their consequences across the lifespan are a very important topic.

Adverse childhood experiences

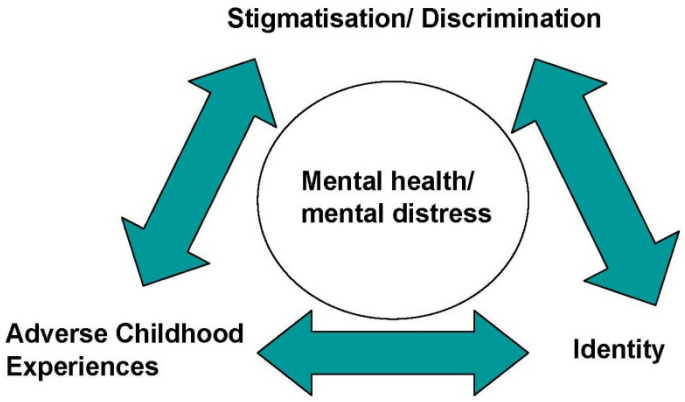
Adverse childhood experiences are classified as emotional, physical and sexual abuse, as well as emotional and physical neglect. Various CBOW report such adverse experiences during childhood and youth. The origins of these experiences are manifold. Children Born of Rape report difficult developmental conditions within their families, especially if they grew up with their mothers or close relatives. They might be an expression of a mother's possible ambivalence toward their children, and an indication for excessive demand caused by difficult living conditions, the mothers' way to cope with their traumatic experience (van Ee & Kleber, 2012). About one third of the "occupation children" grew up in foster homes or were given up for adoption. It is beyond question that adverse childhood experiences are associated with negative effects on development of the affected children (Valentino, 2006) and on mental and physical health (Glaesmer et al., 2011). Therefore, the investigation on adverse childhood experiences in CBOW is of great interest.

Psychological well-being

Up to now empirical research on psychological well-being of CBOW was more or less missing not only for German Children Born of Occupation but internationally and for current conflict and post-conflict zones as well. There were few reports on this topic stating impairments of mental and physical health. However, these are based onless exigent methodological status like case reports (van Ee & Kleber, 2012). In consideration of the adjacent fields of research, it is to be expected that stigmatisation/discrimination, adverse childhood experiences might be related to negative consequences for development in affected children and to possible long-term consequences for physical and mental health. Nevertheless, there are protective factors (e.g. personality traits like dispositional optimism, resilience, positive experiences of attachment to alternative important people like grandparents, friends, teachers…), that might have had a positive effect on the development of CBOW in Germany.

Two recent studies about German and Austrian occupation children investigate the core psychosocial issues based on a framework that has been developed in preparation for the studies (Glaesmer et al., 2012; see figure 1).

Figure 1. A framework of psychosocial consequences of growing up as a CBOW



Identity development, stigma experience, and psychosocial consequences growing up as a German occupation child – An empirical study

In 2013 a first study investigating German occupation children (GOC) from a psychosocial perspective was conducted. The rationale and methodology of this study is described in detail in two recent publications (Kaiser et al., 2015a, 2015b). Methodological challenges of the study are discussed in the paper of Marie Kaiser and Martin Miertsch (see pages 11–19). A short overview about some core findings will be given below.

Participants

184 questionnaires were sent out between March and December 2013, 164 were returned; nine were excluded since they did not fit the definition of "occupation children" (participation rate: 88.6% corrected for neutral drop-outs). Another nine were excluded to correct for outliers in age, leaving 146 participants born between 1945 and 1966 to be included in our statistical analyses. Table 1 gives an overview about the sample.

Table 1. Sample of the study on German occupation children by origin of father and kind of relationship of the biological parents.

	USA (n=71) N (%)	France (n=33) N (%)	Russia (n=32) N (%)	Great Britain (n=6) N (%)	Total (N=146) N (%)
Voluntary/positive	57 (51.8)	26 (23.6)	21 (19.1)	6 (5.5)	110 (75.3)
Rape	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	7 (77.8)	-	10 (6.8)
Unknown	13 (56.5)	6 (26.1)	4 (17.4)	-	26 (17.8)
Total	71 (48.6)	33 (22.6)	32 (21.9)	6 (4.1)	146 (100)

A small number (n=4) of people did not know the origin of their father. Frequencies for single countries thus refer to N=142; information on total sample however refers to N=146.

84% (n=123) of the participants were born between 1945 and 1955 and 63% (n=92) were female. The majority of the participants stated to have been fathered by voluntary relationships. Children Born of Rape are underrepresented in the sample. The participants often report about poverty and economic problems. Around 20% reported to have specifics in their physical appearance (e.g. colour of hair or skin). Only 2 out of the 146 participants grew up with their biological father (over a limited period of time). For more details about the sample and the specific experiences during childhood see Kaiser et al. (2015b).

Our study was focusing on the major psychosocial aspects of growing up as a Child Born of War.

Different major psychosocial aspects of growing up as GOC (see figure 1) as introduced above had been assessed in the study. The results for *identity* of GOC are presented in the paper of Philipp Kuwert (see abstract at page 73), the results for *stigmatizing experiences and discrimination* are presented in the paper of Marie Kaiser (see pages 62–69).

Adverse childhood experiences

Adverse childhood experiences are quite common among the participants of our study. We assessed these experiences with the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ) and we compared the findings with a birth-cohort matched sample (BCMS) from the general population. The CTQ has five subscales assessing five different aspects of adverse childhood

experiences: Emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect and physical neglect. The participants of the German study reported higher frequencies in all five aspects of adverse childhood experiences (see figure 3 below).

Traumatic experiences and current mental disorders

Traumatic experiences, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), somatization and depression in GOC were assessed using self-report instruments (Posttraumatic Diagnostic Scale (PDS), Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ)). Findings have then been compared with a representative birth-cohort-matched sample (BCMS) from the German general population (N=977). GOC show significantly higher prevalence rates of most traumatic experiences (48.1% vs. 18.0% with at least one traumatic experience), higher point prevalence of PTSD (11,6% vs. 1,4%), depression (10,0% vs. 1,7%) and somatization (7,4% vs. 4,0%) than the general population control group (Kaiser et al., 2015a). These findings underline the complex and long-term impact of their burdened social, financial and familial conditions. Furthermore, these results underpin the importance of conceptualizing occupation children as a vulnerable group in post-conflict settings.

Current life satisfaction

Finally we assessed current life satisfaction with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS). Fortunately there are no differences in life satisfaction between the German occupation children and the general population control group.

Identity development, stigma experience, and psychosocial consequences growing up as an Austrian occupation child – A comparative study

Based on the study on GOC a succeeding study in Austria was conducted between October 2013 and January 2014. The German questionnaire was adjusted for cultural and linguistic differences to Austria. In cooperation with Barbara Stelzl-Marx (Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institute for Research on Consequences of War, Graz) 161 questionnaires were distributed in Austria of which 107 had been returned and 101 were included in the statistical analyses. 66.3% of the participants are female and 97.9% of the participants were born between 1945 and 1955. Table 2 gives an overview about the study sample.

Table 2. Sample of the study on Austrian occupation children (AOC) by origin of father and kind of relationship of the biological parents

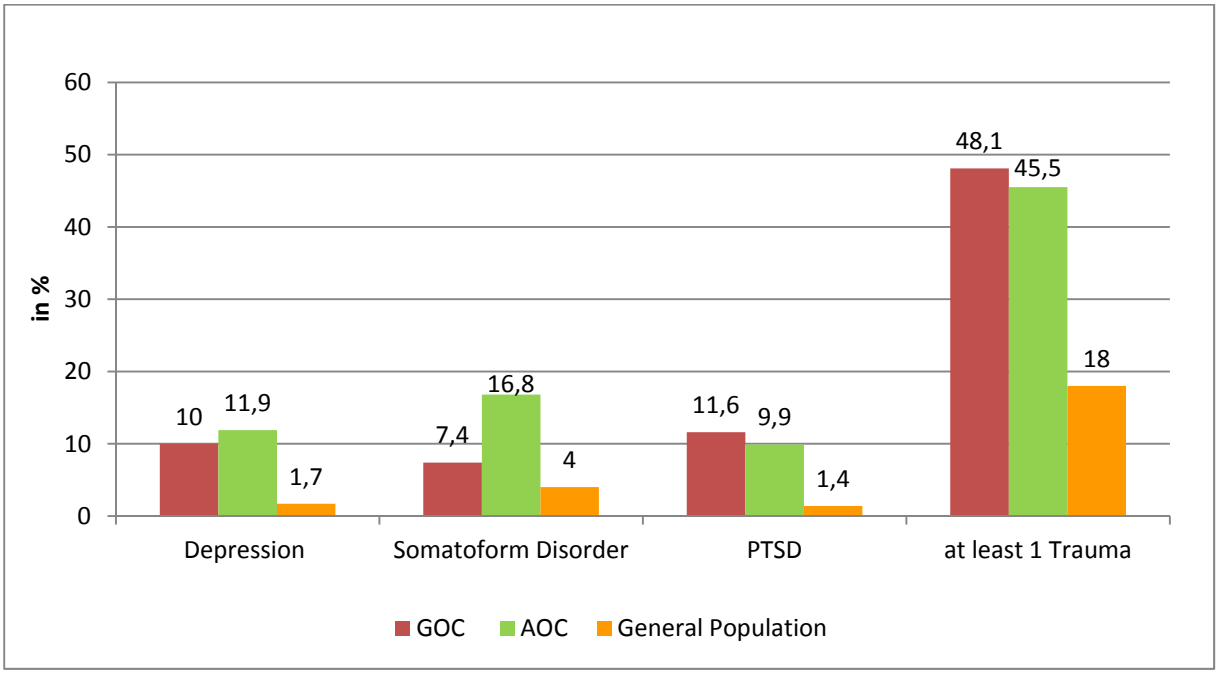
	USA (n=39) N (%)	France (n=14) N (%)	Soviet Union (n=26) N (%)	Great Britain (n=16) N (%)	Total (N=101) N (%)
Voluntary/positive	30 (40.0)	12 (16.0)	20 (26.7)	12 (16.0)	75 (74.3)
Rape	-	-	1 (50.0)	-	2 (2.0)
Unknown	9 (37.5)	2 (8.3)	5 (20.8)	4 (16.7)	24 (23.8)
Total	39 (38.6)	14 (13.9)	26 (25.7)	16 (15.8)	101 (100)

A small number (n=6) of people did not know their fathers country of origin. Frequencies of individual countries thus refer to N=95; although for total sample refer to N=101.

The preliminary results from the Austrian sample show more or less comparable rates of depression, PTSD and traumatic experiences in GOC and Austrian occupation children (AOC).

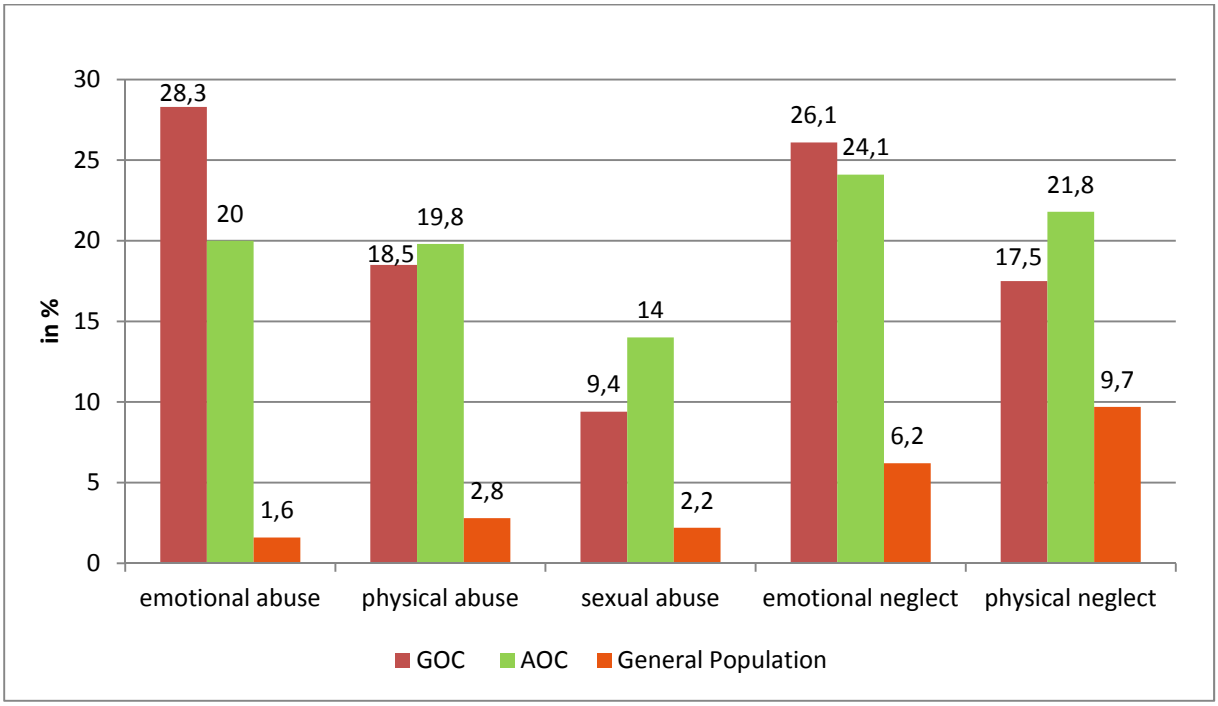
Somatoform disorders are more common among the AOC (figure 2). The yellow bar shows the findings from the BCMS from Germany.

Figure 2. Traumatic experiences and current mental disorders in GOC, AOC and BCMS



The findings for severe experiences of abuse and neglect in GOC and AOC show nearly comparable patterns, although emotional abuse is less common and sexual abuse is more common in AOC compared to GOC. Comparing rate of both AOC and GOC to the BCMS as a reference group im pressively highlights the severity of burden carried by occupation children.

Figure 3. Severe experiences of abuse and neglect in GOC, AOC and BCMS



Discussion

Children Born of Occupation in Germany and Austria report very high rates of childhood adversities, traumatic experiences, depression, somatization, and PTSD. This becomes most prominently illustrated by comparing these results with the general population in Germany. On the other hand there are no differences in current life satisfaction of GOC and the German general population. It is not easy to find out if this finding reflects a long-term positive development or a shift in individual criteria of life satisfaction.

Although both studies deliver empirical evidence on core psychosocial aspects and mental health outcomes of growing up as a Child Born of War, numerous questions remain unanswered. Here are some examples:

- In case of Children Born of Occupation after World War II we are now investigating a sample of CBOW at the ages of 60 or 70 – thus we are investigating the outcomes of a development across the lifespan. Unfortunately we do not know much about the longterm course of mental distress across the lifespan in this group and about predictors of positive developments and resilience.
- The first results from the Austrian sample show more or less comparable results. Is this an indication of more or less comparable experiences and outcomes across different periods and regions? Are those findings consequently transferable to CBOW from more recent conflict settings?
- The longterm negative outcomes underline the importance of preventive strategies in more recent conflict zones to protect CBOW. What should be the targets of preventive strategies of negative developments and outcomes? Should we address the individuals, their neighborhoods or the society as a whole?

The above described psychosocial consequences of growing up as a CBOW remain powerful determinants of the life courses of children born of conflict-related sexual violence in current conflict and post-conflict societies. The phenomenon has become even more pressing with the increasing use of conflict-related sexual violence as a weapon of war since the 1990s, and it is now recognised that children born of conflict-related rape have to be treated as victims and need to be included in post-conflict support of war victims. (https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/sexual-violence-in-conflict). Thus, CBOW should be addressed in post-conflict reconstruction and disarmament-demobilisation-reintegration-programming.

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BIO:

PD Dr. Heide Glaesmer is the head of the working group "Psychotraumatology" at the Department of Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology at the University of Leipzig. Her main research focus is the epidemiology of mental disorders and particularly of traumatic experiences and PTSD in the elderly as long-term sequels of World War II (WWII). In 2012 she completed her habilitation about this topic at the Medical Faculty of Leipzig. Her habilitation was awarded with the "Gerd-Sommer-Award of Peace Psychology" in 2012. Arising out of her work on the WWII consequences she started to investigate the psychological consequences of growing up as a Child Born of Occupation in the post-war period in Germany. She initiated the first study about this topic which commenced in 2013 in Germany. Data collection has been completed and the publication of the results is being prepared. To enlarge the empirical evidence she initiated comparable studies in Austria (Cooperation with PD Dr. Barbara-Stelzl Marx, Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Kriegsfolgenforschung) and in Norway. The study about the German "Wehrmachts"-children in Norway is done in

collaboration with PD Dr. P. Kuwert and Dr. M. Miertsch (Greifswald) and Prof. I. Mochmann (Köln). The study group received financial support for this study (Günther-Jantschek-Preis of the German College of Psychosomatic Medicine 2014). She is member of the International Network for Interdisciplinary Research on Children Born of War (INIRC) (www.childrenbornofwar.org). Heide Glaesmer published more than 150 scientific articles and book chapters and has experience in the organisation of scientific meetings. Her work was awarded with the Falk-von-Reichenbach-Award 2014.

Symposia

Symposium 1: Children Born of World War II in Europe – Historical Perspectives

Ongoing silence: Children Born of World War II and Eastern European societies

Maren Röger

During World War II German soldiers caused not only the death of millions of people in Europe and around the World, but they also procreated new life. Up to one million children were assumedly born after sexual contacts between German men and local women. Although public debate and research was and is still vivid, it focussed mainly on Scandinavian and Western European countries. The Children Born of War in Central and Eastern European countries remained a blind spot for a long time. Only recently, research on sexual contact – forced and consensual – of German men with the locals and its consequences, the children, started (Mühlhäuser 2010 on Soviet Union, Röger 2015 on Poland). Research on Soviet men and their sexual contacts in the the territories of Central and Eastern Europe is still rare. Pető (2003) was a pioneer on Hungary, but without integrating the offspring. Only recently, this seems to change and a Polish journalist started to interview children who were born out of rape (Majewska-Howis 2011). But still, the silence in the respective societies is ongoing.

BIO:

Prof. Dr. Maren Röger, Assistant Professor (Juniorprofessorin) for "Germany and Eastern Europe" at the University of Augsburg from April 2015, before (2010–2015) research fellow at the German Historical Institute, Warsaw, Poland, and guest professor at the University of Hamburg in 2014. Her main fields of interest are the European history of the 20th century, the research focused especially on the history of the National Socialism and the World War II as well as the postwar expulsions in Europe – both the history of first and second degree. On those topics she has published quite widely. Her most recent book is about sexual policies and everyday life of the occupiers in World War II-Poland: „Kriegsbeziehungen. Intimität, Gewalt und Prostitution im besetzten Polen 1939 bis 1945", Frankfurt am Main: Fischer 2015. Her recent project is about binational marriages in modern Germany (1870–today).

My father – the (former) enemy. Soviet Children of Occupation in Austria
Barbara Stelzl-Marx

Soviet children of occupation were born between late 1945 and mid-1956 in Austria; some following voluntary sexual relations between local women and Red Army soldiers, others as a result of rape. They were considered by many to be "children of the enemy", and encountered various forms of discrimination and stigmatisation.

The children involved were largely a "fatherless" group. By the time of their birth even fathers who wanted to stay in touch had generally been either sent home or transferred to another barracks in line with the Kremlin's view that intimate relations between Soviet soldiers and Austrians were politically and ideologically reprehensible. Even after the signing of the Austrian State Treaty and the end of the occupation in 1955, the political situation largely ruled out further contact. This situation was exacerbated by the onset of the Cold War.

Frequently children of occupation grew up with grandparents or other relatives, with foster parents or in institutions. This could happen if their single mother went out to work, or if a new stepfather refused to take them on. Some even tell of coming up against hatred. Neither the individual Red Army soldiers nor the Soviet government could be forced to pay alimony.

In many cases, the children of occupation were hemmed in by a wall of silence that in some cases persists to this day. This has led to widespread questions about personal identity and searches for their "roots". Against this background, the presentation analysed the impact of the specific historical, political and social background on the lives of Soviet occupation children.

BIO:

PD Dr. Barbara Stelzl-Marx, born in Graz, Austria, in 1971, deputy director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on Consequences of War (BIK), Graz – Vienna – Raabs, Austria, and vice-president of the Austrian UNESCO Commission, Vienna. She studied history, Russian and English/American studies in Graz, Oxford, Volgograd and the Stanford University, CA. In 2010 she finished her prize-winning habilitation in contemporary history.

Fields of research: Soviet occupation of Austria 1945–1955; children of occupation after World War II; Cold War; Prisoners of War and forced labourers in the "Third Reich" and in the USSR; Vienna Summit 1961 and others.

Numerous publications, among them the monography „Stalins Soldaten in Österreich. Die Innensicht der sowjetischen Besatzung" (Böhlau 2012) and „Besatzungskinder. Die Nachkommen alliierter Soldaten in Österreich und Deutschland" (Böhlau 2015), that she edited together with Silke Satjukow.

Symposium 2: Experiences of Stigma and Discrimination in Children Born of War

The impacts of stigma and acceptance on mental health outcomes and parenting attitudes among women raising children from sexual violence-related pregnancies in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

Jennifer Scott, Shada Rouhani, Ashley Greiner, Katherine Albutt, Philipp Kuwert, Michele Hacker, Michael VanRooyen, Susan Bartels

Background: Sexual violence in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has mental health and psychosocial consequences, including stigma and social rejection. There are limited data on how stigma and acceptance impact mental health and parenting attitudes for women raising children from sexual violence-related pregnancies (SVRP).

Methods: Adult women raising children from an SVRP were recruited using respondent-driven sampling in South Kivu Province, DRC, in 2012. Symptom criteria for major depressive disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, and suicidality were assessed. Stigma toward the woman and her child and acceptance of the woman and child from the spouse, family, and community were analyzed. A parenting index assessed the maternal-child relationship. Univariate and multivariable analyses were performed. Qualitative data were analyzed using content thematic analysis.

Results: Among 757 women, those reporting stigma from the community or stigma toward the children from the spouse, family, or community were more likely to meet symptom criteria for most mental health disorders. Although not statistically significant, women reporting acceptance of themselves and their children from the spouse, family, or community were less likely to meet symptom criteria. Stigma toward the child and maternal depression and anxiety were associated with less adaptive parenting attitudes, while acceptance of the woman or child was associated with more adaptive attitudes. Themes related to the complexity of emotions toward the SVRP emerged from the qualitative data analysis.

Conclusions: Stigma and acceptance correlate with mental health outcomes and parenting attitudes among women raising children from SVRPs and should be considered as part of comprehensive research and programming.

BIO:

Dr. Jennifer Scott is an Instructor at Harvard Medical School and holds academic appointments at Harvard-affiliated hospitals as an Obstetrician-Gynecologist at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center and as an Associate Scientist at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts, United States. After completing her residency in Obstetrics and Gynecology at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center, she pursued a two-year Global Women's Health Fellowship at Brigham and Women's Hospital and Master of Public Health from Harvard School of Public Health. In collaboration with Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, she has conducted research on gender-based violence and psychosocial consequences in humanitarian settings. She was a co-investigator on a study led by Dr. Susan Bartels evaluating sexual violence-related pregnancies in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.

Experiences of public stigma and self-stigma in German and Austrian occupation children

Marie Kaiser, Anna-Lena Assmann, Philipp Kuwert, Heide Glaesmer

Introduction

Ever since there have been wars, there were intimate contacts between those who waged these wars and local women. These contacts might range from mass rape over business arrangements to voluntary relationships. As a consequence of these sexual contacts children are born. These are called Children Born of War. In Germany and Austria many of these children were born whose biological father had served as soldier in a foreign (enemy) [occupation] army during or after WWII and whose mother was a German or Austrian citizen. Although there has been historical and social research on these Children Born of Occupation of World War II in Germany (GOC) and Austria (AOC), studies investigating specific experiences when growing up as occupation child from a psychosocial perspective were missing. Please refer to Heide Glaesmer's keynote for a comprehensive introduction on Children Born of War and Children Born of Occupation as well as for a background on considerations for psychosocial research (see pages 50–58).

It is beyond question that experiences of stigmatization and discrimination, on a more or less overt level, have been a fundamental and formative part of occupation childrens' childhood and adolescence. They carried a double stigma as being both a child born out of wedlock and a child of the enemy. This fact is evident in frequently used cusses like "Russian brat" or "Ami bastard", but also in experiences of segregation and discrimination within their own social environment.

According to (Goffman, 1963, p. 3), stigma is an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" and that reduces the bearer "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one". Thus a stigma may result in marginalization and devaluation of a person by others. The stigma process includes four steps: labelling (taking notice of and naming a variation), attribution with negative stereotypes, followed by an emotional reaction resulting in separation and finally discrimination. For this process, a certain power gradient is necessary, meaning the stigmatized individual/ group is perceived to have a lower status. For public stigma three forms are described:

(1) Social discrimination: Person A discriminates person B
(2) Structural discrimination: takes place at the level of rules, laws or procedures
(3) Stigma experience → self-stigma.

According to (Corrigan, 1998), "internalized stigma is the devaluation, shame, secrecy and withdrawal triggered by applying negative stereotypes to oneself". Internalization of stigma is facilitated if the stigmatized individual starts to agree to contents of stigmata, and in the process applies these prejudices to him-/herself. Consequently, this might result in the loss of self-esteem and in self-devaluation.

Method

In 2013, both a GOC and AOC sample were recruited. For details please refer to "Methodological specifics of participative research on Children Born of War in the European historical context: An investigation and comparison of German, Austrian and Norwegian Children Born of World War II" (see pages 11–19). Taken together, 247 individuals participated (146 from Germany, 101 from Austria). They completed a comprehensive questionnaire with open and closed questions about living conditions in childhood and

adolescence as well as their current mental health. One part of the questionnaire specifically aimed at investigating experience of stigmatization in occupation children. For this aim, two established instruments were adapted to the target group.

The Inventory of Stigmatizing Experiences (ISE; Schulze, Stuart & Riedel-Heller, 2009; Stuart & Milev, R. Koller, M., 2005)

The original instrument assesses the extent and impact of stigma experiences in people with mental illness. It consists of two scales: stigma experience scale and stigma impact scale. Additionally, four items measure coping strategies. To assess stigma experiences in Children Born of Occupation we substituted the part of the items referring to "mental illness" by referring to the origin of their biological father (e.g. "Have you ever experienced prejudice, because of your father being an occupation soldier?", "Have you ever tried to hide the origin of your biological father from others?").

Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness Scale (ISMI; Ritsher, Otilingam & Grajales, 2003)

The original ISMI inquires the degree of stigma internalization in individuals with mental illness. It consists of 29 items designated to five subscales, namely: alienation, stereotype endorsement, discrimination experiences, social withdrawal, and stigma resistance. Since the majority of the ISMI scale was very specific for experiences of people with mental illness, only a few items of the original instrument were adopted for the occupation children questionnaire. In large part items needed to be developed according to specific experiences of Children Born of Occupation (e.g. "I felt different and separated, because I am an 'occupation child'".).

The adaptation of both instruments was carried out in cooperation with experienced researchers. For a more detailed description in German see (Aßmann et al., 2015).

Multiple responses were possible for some closed format questions. Open format questions were analyzed according to Mayring's (2010) content analysis to identify joint overall categories.

Results

Stigma experiences of GOC

More than half (54.6%) of GOC reported stigma experiences in childhood and adolescence because their father was an occupation soldier. With regard to frequency of stigma experiences in these individuals, 50.6% reported they sometimes and 19.5% often experienced stigmatization. Concerning reasons for being stigmatized, "mother having a relationship with a foreign soldier" was an anticipated reason for the prejudice experienced of 57.1%, whereas 24.7% stated "biological background or inherited characteristics in appearance" as the source for rejection. There was an additional field with "other, namely", in which 11.7% specified "being born out of wedlock". Furthermore, participants were asked to name the worst experience/s as well as the context of this experience / these experiences in an open format question. Three settings of worst prejudice experience were identified, namely:

(1) Social environment (neighborhood, village community, acquaintances and peers):
   a. *"That my mother was titled Tommywhore and I was called Monkey." (ID86)*
   b. *"That I wasn't allowed to be seen on the same street with my mother in the Hessian town my grandmother originated from and my great aunt lived in." (ID27)*

(2) Public institutions
   a. *"A teacher (monastery school) had it in for me and hit me in front of the class. There was dead silence in the class room – everyone was shocked…" (ID114)*
   b. *"When the decision was up to become altar boy. This was denied by the former pastor, justification: He cannot use a 'read head' at the altar. To be precise a 'Russian'!" (ID44)*
(3) Family context
   a. *"When I was three years old and my mother needed help from her mother, she was not admitted to her apartment because a friend of her sister was visiting at the moment." (ID58)*
   b. *"That my stepfather kept calling me Frenchman and constantly accused my mother, that really hurt." (ID119)*

Another open format question asked for coping strategies applied when faced with prejudicial experiences. Three strategies were identified, namely:

(1) Avoidance
   a. *"I have always backed down, no protest. I never wanted to attract attention, avoid these situations. But there weren't many such situations." (ID76)*
   b. *"(I) have tried to be as friendly as possible und unconspiciously, was able to analyse quickly what it needs to relieve tension from a situation; became the ‚clown', spread what I didn't have: courage and cheerfulness." (ID98)*
(2) Disengagement/Withdrawal
   a. *"I ran away, never told anyone about it, bottled everything up. Instinctively I felt this topic being a taboo for my family." (ID153)*
(3) Active confrontation
   a. *"In personal confrontations I was eager to remain calm and objective. If a conversation was impossible I remained silent." (ID88)*

Interestingly, a number of participants (N=11) described emotional reactions (fear, anger, sadness) rather than actions.

Two open questions concerned the topic more globally. Participants were asked for their opinion on causes for prejudices against Children Born of Occupation. Overall, four backgrounds were identified:

(1) Consequences of offence taken by lost war,
(2) Racism and aftermath of National Socialist ideology: wrath, humiliation, and the vilification of women who got involved with the "enemy",
(3) Illegitimate status of children, and
(4) Missing awareness about these children.

The last question (also open format) asked participants to think of their childhood and state what might have helped to reduce prejudices against Children Born of Occupation. Three overall strategies were identified:

(1) Societal change of views
(2) Governmental support and recognition, and
(3) Support within own family.

Examples:

> "I think there was no willingness to reduce prejudices in the post-war period. Many men in my neighborhood had been to war and fought the Russians. Establishing objectivity here? Tolerance towards children of the enemy? The church would have had a duty here. Teachers …" (ID44)

> "Discussion of guilt and conciliation: individual contacts: individual encounters. Openness. Liberation from state-imposed ideology of the hereditary enemy/ anticommunism etc.. To rethink the purpose of 'occupation children' as guides towards future. No denial of the topic in politics." (ID46)

Stigma experiences of AOC

Forty-nine-point-five percent of Austrian occupation children also reported experiences of prejudice. Of these equally one out of three often or sometimes. When asked to opt for reasons, 66% stated "… the fact, that my mother got involved with an occupation soldier…", 48% checked "biological background of father" and 8% "inherited characteristics in appearance". "The fact of not having a father" was mentioned by 4% in the "other, namely" section.

The answers for settings of worst experiences concluded in the same categories as for GOC.

(1) Social environment (neighborhood, village community, aquaintances and peers)
   a. *"You are the ‚Amibua from the whore'."* *(ID 132)*
   b. *"To walk on mothers hand and having to hear ‚Russian whore, Russian brat, etc.' from several coinhabitants"* *(ID 157)*

(2) Public institutions
   a. *"Insults and physical violence throughout the entire duration of my childrens' home residence!"(ID 71)*
   b. *"First grade of school. My teacher told my grandmother during first term ‚Lewis is an idiot and will always be an idiot' she didn't want children like that."* *(ID 61)*

(3) Family context
   a. *"Through my mother! That she accused me of being responsible for my abuse! Same character like my father, I was a no-good and would be a burden for her whole life!"* *(ID 30)*
   b. *"To constantly keep hearing from my adoptive parents how gracious I have to be, since I am so well off, since I am only a crossbread."* *(ID 37)*

Coping strategies mentioned by AOC also resulted in identical categories like those for GOC.

(1) Disengagement/Withdrawal
   a. *"I withdrew to my room! Did not show any reaction, especially emotionally! On blows, I did not cry but coldly focussed one spot! Insults – humiliation I simply laughed either in their face or just laughed!"* *(ID 30)*
   b. *"I was shut off withdrew or quarreled a lot (aggression) I was lacking sense of basic trust."* *(ID 75)*

(2) Avoidance
   a. *"Just turned away and kept on walking."* *(ID 144)*
   b. *"kept silent"* *(ID 43)*
   c. *"I avoided any kind of confrontation!"* *(ID 158)*

(3) Active confrontation
   a. *"Wrath and resignation, desperation, hopelessness (in school) but within my family more and more rebellion." (ID148)*
   b. *"I faced these problems frontally. Consistent friction with schoolmates from NS-burdened homes." (ID 91)*

For AOC, just like for GOC, a number of participants solely described their emotional reaction: "*I became almost depressed, cried a lot!" (ID 39)*.

Overall AOC assume similar causes for prejudices against "occupation children" like GOC, namely: Consequences of mortification by lost war, racism and aftermath of National Socialist ideology, as well as the illegitimate status of children. Additionally, they state that missing awareness about these children and the rapes committed by foreign soldiers were sources for resentment. Possible strategies to reduce prejudices towards Children Born of Occupation were pointed out to be:

(1) Institutional / medial / societal reconnaissance, governmental support and recognition, social acceptance, and societal change of views,
(2) Support within family,
(3) Equal treatment of children, and
(4) Some state that nothing would have helped.

Self-stigma: Impairment as a consequence of stigma experiences in GOC vs. AOC

Since we used the original instrument to reassemble an instrument tailored to the needs and specificity of our target groups, scale structure needed to be reexamined. The factor analysis for the self-stigma questionnaire turned out with two factors (table 1), namely:

- Factor 1: "Experience of discrimination and loss of social status",
- Factor 2: "Self-stigmatization".

Table 1: 2-factor solution (mean/SD) and level of impairment

	GOC (N=139)	**AOC**
F1: "Experience of discrimination and loss of social status" Mean/SD	1.90/0.80	1.84/0.85[1]
High level of impairment*	28.5%	22.0%
F2: "Self-stigmatization" Mean/SD	2.08/0.97	1.87/0.87[2]
High level of impairment*	33.6%	23.7%

* According to Ritsher & Phelan, 2004; cut-off at center scale, > 2.5 equals high impairment; [1] due to missing responses N=91; [2] due to missing responses N=93

The mean values of both factors are located in lower region of scale (cut-off at center scale > 2.5 equals high impairment), which refers to a "does rather not apply" answering pattern, and henceforth indicates a low perceived burden at first sight.

Nevertheless, when analyzing higher and lower score patterns we find that 28.5% of GOC and 22.0% of AOC feel strongly impaired by these experiences of discrimination and status loss.

Furthermore, 33.6% of GOC and 23.7% of AOC report high levels of impairment by self-stigmatization as a long-term result of experiences of prejudices because of their occupation background.

Subjective degree of stigma resistance in GOC vs. AOC

Table 2 shows that although one out of four in GOC and 30.8% in AOC were not comfortable hawking their occupation status publicly, the majority of both samples state, that this did not have a profound long-term effect on conducting their own lives. In contrary, about half of both samples state, that "living as an occupation child" has made them stronger. Overall AOC tend to feel more resistant to stigma.

Table 2: Subjective stigma resistance – "rather or fully applies"

	GOC[1]	AOC[2]
"'Occupation children' make important contributions to society."	56.8% (n=75)	64.1% (n=57)
"I felt comfortable being seen in public with another 'occupation child'."	25.2% (n=34)	30.8% (n=28)
"Living as an 'occupation child' has made me a tough survivor."	52.5% (n=72)	61.1% (n=58)
"In general, I was able to live life the way I wanted to."	75.5% (n=105)	78.5% (n=77)
"I can have a good, fulfilling life, despite I am an 'occupation child'."	89.3% (n=125)	91.7% (n=89)

[1] changing sample sizes, range N=135-140; changing sample sizes, range N=89-98

Discussion

In line with prior research, Children Born of Occupation in both Germany and Austria report high frequencies of experiences of stigmatization (e.g. Lee, 2009; Mochmann, Lee & Stelzl-Marx, 2009; Satjukow, 2011). According to stigma theory, stigmatization took place on individual and structural as well as on self-stigma levels. Primarily reported reasons for prejudice in both populations are "…the fact that my mother got involved with an occupation soldier…" (57.1% vs. 68.8%) and "country of army father had served for (40.4% vs. 50.0%). Furthermore, illegitimacy, unawareness and the mortification by the lost war are associated causes. To counter prejudice against Children Born of Occupation for interventions, support

and awareness in societal and institutional settings were mentioned. Also support and acceptance on the family level were pointed out to be of high relevance to avoid impairment and overcome ostracism. The degree of impairment as a consequence of stigma experience, the loss of social status or self-stigmatization was at high levels for about one out of four of AOC and up to one out of three of GOC. These results were countered by high frequencies for stigma-resistance; the majority showed a positive attitude towards their occupation background, and even reported having benefitted from living as an occupation child.

Differences between both samples of occupation children are minimal when looking at reported stigma experiences. AOC tend to have experienced stigma slightly more frequently because of their mothers' relationship with an occupation soldier and the fact that he was from a certain foreign country, whereas physical attributes seem to have been of higher weight in the GOC sample. Considering consequences of stigma experience, GOC tend to feel more impaired by stigma experiences and self-stigma, and AOC tend to feel more resistant to stigma.

In summary, large proportions of both samples report stigmatizing experiences for childhood and adolescence, partially with the long-term consequence of high perceived impairment caused by internalization of stigmatizing concepts. Nonetheless, both samples seem to have an overall positive attitude towards their own occupation child status as of today. This is an intriguing and promising aspect considering the overall burden Children Born of Occupation report in the investigated fields of mental distress (see symposia 2, pages 61–72). One explanation can be found in reflection processes and re-appraisal as positive long-term consequences of a life course. Furthermore, having an (unknown) occupation soldier as a father and possibly meeting others who share a similar background might have an identity-generating function, which is special for occupation children in comparison to other people who grow up without a father and without the international heritage of a "liberator". Especially for Children Born of Occupation whose parents had a positively connoted intimate relationship, there might be an opportunity to feel collectivity integrated and proud of one's background. For Children Born of Rape there might be more of a threshold to approach the topic of their origin. Possibly, they harbor more of an interest to find out more, rather than the eagerness to identify themselves with their procreator and his country.

The results of both studies impressively underline the high likeliness to be confronted with prejudice and discrimination when growing up as a Child Born of Occupation and how these experiences have affected the lives of these individuals. However, what happens to stigmatized individuals in a society with constant threats and forceful disturbances, in a culture in which a whole village will ostracize mother and children? As we know from other speakers of this conference (see Susan Bartels, page 82; Jennifer Scott, pages 61; Allan Kiconco, pages 27–28), discrimination and stigmatization are common experiences for Children Born of War in current and post-conflict settings. Therefore, sustainability of studies on Children Born of War is very important. With these results we were able to point out necessary intervention onsets to hopefully facilitate, support, initiate and maintain destigmatization and reconnaissance processes in current conflict and post-conflict scenarios where the experience of stigma and rejection are on the daily agenda for Children Born of War and their mothers.

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BIO:

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Children Born of War: Stigma, self-stigma and discrimination of children fathered by German soldiers in Norway during WWII

Martin Miertsch, Heide Glaesmer, Ingvill C. Mochmann, Marie Kaiser, Harald J. Freyberger, Ketil J. Ødegaard, Philipp Kuwert

Introduction

This presentation gives a brief summary of the preliminary results on stigma, self-stigma and discrimination of children fathered by German soldiers in Norway during WWII. They were presented on the conference: "Interdisciplinary perspectives on Children Born of War – from World War II to current conflict settings" in Hannover, June 4–5, 2015. It is based on the on-going survey "Norwegian 'Wehrmacht'-children – psychosocial consequences, identity development and experiences with prejudice". Rationale and methods of the study are described elsewhere (Miertsch et al., 2015).

Background

On 9th April 1940, German troops invaded Norway. Nine months later the first "Wehrmacht"-children were born. After the Norwegian Armed Forces had to capitulate on 10th June 1940, the occupation passed relatively peaceful in Norway. During the war up to 300,000 German soldiers were based in Norway at the same time. The soldiers were often billeted in private homes and close contact with the civilian population was thus almost inevitable.

According to the "Nazi-regime" the Norwegian people were considered to be "aryan" and thus from a racial perspective of "good and valuable blood". Therefore they approved relationships between its soldiers with Norwegian women and children born out of these relationships.

In spring 1941, the department "Lebensborn" was founded in Norway. The department "Lebensborn" belonged to the SS ("Schutzstaffel") and was a government-funded association. The aim was to increase the birthrate of "aryan" children, also from extramarital relations. During the war 12 "Lebensborn"-homes were founded in Norway. In the "Lebensborn"-homes pregnant women were housed and they could give birth to their children there. In the German Norwegian "Lebensborn"-statistics almost 8,000 children were registered, but it is estimated that altogether 10,000 to 12,000 "Wehrmacht"-children were born. However, many of these children were never in contact with the "Lebensborn"-institution and thus are not included in the statistics. The actual total number of "Wehrmacht"-children is thus difficult to estimate.

In the meantime it is well known that many of these children were exposed to severe stigmatisation and discrimination in the Norwegian post-war society. As one "Wehrmacht"-child emphasized: "We are used to think that the 2nd World War finished in Norway 8th of May 1945, but for a lot of people the war continued had a high impact on their lives for a long time." (Ericsson, K. & Eva S., 2005). The "Wehrmacht"-children carried a double stigma: Being born out of wedlock and being the result of a relationship with the enemy. Their social environment was discriminatory and segregated them; they were ridiculed and, in many cases, physically and mentally abused. The children also suffered a variety of reprisals from the state (Borgersrud, 2004; Mochmann & Larsen, 2008).

Methods

The results are based on a questionnaire survey which was carried out among members of two Norwegian associations of "Wehrmacht"-children. Until 31st May 2015 78 questionnaires had been returned. The questionnaire used contained standardized psychometric instruments and explorative questions. Stigmatizing experiences were assessed with slightly modified scales of the "Inventory of Stigmatising Experiences" and "Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness Scale". The Internalized Stigma of Mental Illness (ISMI) scale was designed to measure the subjective experience of stigma, with subscales measuring "alienation", "stereotype endorsement", "perceived discrimination", "social withdrawal", and "stigma resistance". The ISMI was developed in collaboration with people with mental disorders and contains 29 items with a Likert scale answer format. The Inventory of Stigmatising Experiences (ISE) is a semi-structured questionnaire composed of two scales: one measuring the scope of stigma experienced in different life domains (SES; 9 items), the other assessing their psychosocial impact (SIS; 7 items). Moreover the questionnaire contains information on different incidences of stigmatizing experiences specifically addressing the particular situation as a "Wehrmacht"-child.

Selected Results and Discussion

From 2000 to 2004 the Reseach Council of Norway funded a research project called: "War childrens life conditions" (Ellingsen, 2004). This was a register based survey based on the data from the Norwegian statistics bureau (Statistics Norway), the central Norwegian office for official government statistics. A sample of 1,150 "Wehrmacht"-children was selected from the "Lebensborn"-archive. This group of 1,150 "Wehrmacht"-children was compared with a group of Norwegian children (who where no "Wehrmacht"-children) in the same age cohort (N = 255,000) and a group of children with single mothers (N = 5900). Among other things it was shown that mortality due to cardiovascular disease and suicide rate are higher among the "Wehrmacht"-children (born in 1941 and 1942) in comparison to the control group of the same age cohort (12.5% vs 5.5%; $p < 0.05$). Ellingsen also analyzed the educational level and found that the "Wehrmacht"-children had a significantly lower educational level. Here the biggest difference could be found with respect to university degree. Only 13% of the "Wehrmacht"-children had a university degree compared with 22% of the Norwegian sample of the same age. The following statement by a "Wehrmacht"-child emphasizes how this was experienced at the individual level: "It was in school, when the war began for me". In qualitative studies and biographies many "Wehrmacht"-children tell that they experienced prejudices by the teacher and the pupils. Therefore it may be no surprise that many decided to leave school as early as possible and started to work. However, working life was not an easy task. The study by Ellingsen showed that 8.4% of the "Wehrmacht"-children got disability pension before the age of 50 compared with the 6.8% of the Norwegian cohort.

73% of the respondents of our survey answered that they experienced prejudices because their father was a German soldier, whereas 24.4% answered that they never had experienced prejudices because of their origin (2.6% gave no answer). 29.5% indicated that they think stereotypes about "Wehrmacht"-children apply to them. But 46.2% pointed out that the experiences with stigma did not affected their satisfaction with or quality of life and 89.8% indicated that in general they are able to live life the way they want to.

The preliminary results presented above show that the Norwegian "Wehrmacht"-children experienced different kinds of stigma which had a high impact on their life chances and life developments. Future research will analyze in further details the interrelationship between stigma and self-stigma and the various coping strategies.

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BIO:

Dr. med. Martin Miertsch went to medical school in Greifswald/Germany and Bergen/Norway. He finished his studies in 2009 and worked as a doctor until 2012 at the Department of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University of Greifswald, Germany. From 2012 until 2013 he worked as a medical doctor at the Department of Psychiatry Haukeland University Hospital Bergen, Norway. In 2014 he went back to the Department of Psychiatry and Psychotherapy at the Ernst Moritz Arndt University of Greifswald, Germany.

He wrote his doctoral thesis in interventional radiology. In 2013 he started with the current research project on Children Born of War in Norway, in cooperation with Heide Glaesmer, Ingvill Mochmann, Marie Kaiser, Phillip Kuwert and with the Günter Jantschek research grant for German-Norway-cooperation-projects.

Symposium 3: Identity Issues in Children Born of War

Subjective identity aspects in former German Children Born of Occupation of World War II

Philipp Kuwert, Diana Kunitz, Marie Kaiser, Heide Glaesmer

Background: Children Born of War (CBOW) grew up in an ambivalent societal atmosphere between acceptance and rejection. The German CBOW were mostly socialised in absence of their biological fathers. Despite the historical work on German CBOW, there is a lack of psychosocial studies focusing on subjective identity in this particular group.

Methods: In 2013, 147 German CBOW reached by the media answered a psychosocial survey, including items concerning their identity development, current subjective identity and the subjective importance of knowing the biographical background of their father.

Results and Discussion: The presentation showed qualitative and quantitative analyses of identity aspects, based on the master thesis of Diana Kunitz (University of Leipzig, 2014).

BIO:

PD Dr. Philipp Kuwert is a specialist in Psychiatry and Psychosomatic Medicine. He is the director of the Department of Psychosomatic Medicine at the Department of Psychiatry, University Medicine Greifswald. His research interests are psychosocial effects of war trauma.

Parentage, kinship, identity. Empirical results from the field of sociology of the family

Dorett Funcke

1. The social phenomenon of "donor semen children"

In my lecture, I introduced the audience to the social phenomenon of the so called "donor semen children". These are children, who were conceived by anonymous sperm donation. The reason for this form of conception was, in all cases that I investigated, the infertility of one parent. I first came in contact with the phenomenon in a conversation with a family therapist. She told me that she had two cases of donor semen children in her office with difficulties, that she had never experienced before. The patients are young women, who were confronted with the circumstance of not knowing one part of their biological origin. By this time, I conducted Interviews with some of these adults, who are aged between 18 and 35 years. I worked with the case-reconstructive research approach, which focuses on the particular case in detail. The empirical bases of the analysis are various documents of data, for example observation protocols, family photos, documentaries, letters, genealogical trees (genogram analysis in particular), self-descriptions and self-expression on homepages et cetera. The interview is thereby vital for the investigation; therefore I presented extracts of these in my lecture. However, I first described what surprised me in my case research. For one thing, the knowledge about the child's conception via donor semen which was concealed by the parents had led in almost all cases to massive violations. The experience of being intentionally misled by the parents' secrecy had consequences concerning developmental dynamics. For another thing: The limited information about the biological father had a sustainable impact on identity building processes. Furthermore, I asked myself the question, "what is the actual issue of the donor semen children": Is it the procedure of conception in the reproductive medicine itself, the parents' secrecy, or the unknowing and the associated uncertainty about the biological origin? The comparison of the cases led to the following finding: the most problematic is the unknowing and the associated uncertainty about the biological origin. There are indeed modifying factors which diminish the issue, such as elucidation at an early stage in childhood and a solid parental system with affectionate care. But nevertheless, the unknowing about one part of the physical origin might have a sustainable impact on the way of live. One young woman expresses it as follows: *"On the one hand there is this blank space when it comes to things one might inherited but at the same time also the wish not to dedicate one's whole life to the search for the donor, but to concentrate on the future."*

The technical procedure of the insemination does not seem to be of life-thematic importance for the majority of the cases:

> "I am by no means against the donogenous insemination because it was the only opportunity for my parents to have a child." (…), "For me, the anonymity and the concealment (…) are the biggest issues, not the donation of semen. I find donogenous insemination okay."

Such reactions are not typical for all donor semen children. Comparing the cases among each other one can state the following: The knowledge of originating from a technical procedure is only inacceptable if various adverse circumstances come together, for example if the person found out very late and only by coincidence about the way of conception and had a problematic family background.

2. Anonymous sperm donation in Germany

Approximately 100,000 children and adults live in Germany which originate from an anonymous sperm donor. The annual number of children who are conceived by a sperm donation is actually declining because of the recent methodological innovations in reproductive medicine. These innovations enable parents to have genetically their own children, despite infertility. Nowadays, the annual number of children, who are conceived by a sperm donation amounts about 1,000 to 1,200. In the USA, the number varies between 30,000 and 60,000 children. However, the anonymous sperm donation is prohibited in several countries by now, such as Great Britain, parts of Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and British Columbia in Canada. The USA is not among those countries, they are – to quote from a documentary – "the wild west of the reproductive medicine". In Germany, sperm donation is governed by guidelines of the Federal Medical Association. A law on reproductive medicine, such as in Austria for example, does not exist.

In Germany, the first children were conceived by anonymous sperm donation in the 80ies. Back then, the doctors assured the donors full anonymity and usually advised the parents not to tell their children anything about the donation. The doctors destroyed all documents, either immediately or after ten years, according to the obligation of record retention at that time. Nowadays, the obligation period amounts 30 years, which is just as implausible, because why should it be less relevant to know about one's origin later in life? Such determinations rather suggest a lack of knowledge, maybe even ignorance towards long known social scientific results concerning issues of developmental psychology and identity formation.

The first generation of the "donor semen children" is grown up now. A process initiated, which has not been anticipated by the reproductive medical pioneers: the search of these "fatherless" adults for their biological paternal origin. A reproduction doctor, who performed the artificial insemination very early, reports the following: at first, his clinic received only a few letters but in the meantime, he receives letters once a month, sometimes even weekly – always containing the same question. He says that he always knew that a time bomb was ticking outside that could explode at one time or another. Quotation: "We are caught up by what we have done years ago". On the homepage of the "donor semen children's" society, one can read experience reports of the search process. There one can read that the majority only learned about the circumstances of their conception in their adult life, in some cases under unfortunate circumstances. Occasions such as family struggles, the separation or the death of the parents, an own illness, the breakdown of information control by relatives or other persons who revealed the secret in a moment of imprudence, the discovery, that the own blood type did not match the parents' or a very late enlightenment by the parents. Many report of a breach in their identity. Questions emerge, such as: "Who am I?", "Where do I come from?", Where are my origins?", "Do I have a right to exist?", "Do I have half siblings?". One thought is frequently expressed: "I am not the person I thought I was". Many wish they had learned earlier about the circumstances of their conception. They wish for (more) information about the donor. That this information will not be available for the most part is a source of great frustration and anger. A young woman, who learned about the semen donation by coincidence, reports the following: *"I was shocked (…), I was shocked because at a moment's notice, my foundation was shattered. Seemingly unbreakable facts revealed to be lies."* She ended her relationship at that time, dropped out of school and moved out of her parents' house. A few years later the wish emerged to learn something about the genetic father. She made an appointment with a doctor of the gynecological clinic but he told her, that there were no records left because the donations were conducted anonymously at that time. Even if they were lucky enough to find something, that would be no more than the donors' registration

number. *"My disappointment was enormous. All I wanted was a name, a small clue, anything concrete."*

3. The heterological insemination – a culture of secrecy: secret and unknowing

The distinction between secret and unknowing has proven to be useful for the case analysis. By secret I mean the purposefully created, strategically produced and deliberately maintenance of the children's lack of knowledge, that they were conceived by an anonymous sperm donation. Concerning the secret, the knowledge is basically available. Unknowing means the complete absence of knowledge. If parents are compelled to reveal concealed information to their children or tell them about their origin in a discussion of elucidation, their children still do not know anything about the missing part of their genetic origin. Thereby they only know, that one part of their genetic origin is missing and that they probably will not obtain further information about it in the future. In fact, the elucidation eliminates the secret, but what stays is the so called lack of (obtainable) knowledge about their biological father.

The various techniques of information control such as concealing, disguise and lying demand a high level of virtuosity from the parents. "Secrets are like land mines. You have to be cautious not to step on them". This "deliberate concealment", that the social father is not equally the biological father, means constant stress for the parents. For them it is not always unambiguous what is right and what is wrong – concealing or revealing: "Also the question when to say it, do I say it at all, how am I supposed to deal with that. Because it is possible to lose ones' child", reports a mother of a donor semen child. There are various motives which prevent the parents from talking about the topic. They want to protect he child from unnecessary painful facts. They do not want to jeopardize the appreciation of the child. They are afraid to break with a taboo that is associated with shame such as infertility. But many of those "toxic" secrets that were supposed to provide shelter lead to alienation and a loss of trust. On the side of the "donor semen children", the initial reactions are sorrow and anger because they were mystified by their most significant others. But there are cases, where the information is not suddenly communicated – for example in a discussion of elucidation – and the unknowing lack of knowledge becomes a known lack of knowledge. Sometimes there is some sort of assumed, suspected, feared unknowing. Those adults cannot say, what they do not know, but they have fears and hunches, that they might have overlooked or were oblivious of something important. Such suspicions are not unusual the triggering motif to attempt a specification of the unknowing. Even if the secret is expressed by the parents, the conflict is not at all appeased. In addition to the loss of trust emerges an uncertainty of identity, because the sudden uncertainty of origin initiates an inner self exploration.

4. A case example – Silvia

A first approach: When I conducted the Interview with Silvia, she was 36 years old. She made her life topic of being confronted with an ambiguous origin because of the anonymous semen donation public via various forums of public media. She is a single mother to her five year old son Alex but shares custody with the child's father. She sought for a subsequent name change for her son, who now bears the family name of the father. That shows the importance of the topic of authentic genealogical affiliation for Silvia. Thereby she designated significant others in advance who her son can consult to clarify the circumstances of his own origin.

Conditions of socialization in the milieu of origin: Silvia's parents are born Ukrainian and fled to Germany in 1956. 1974, eleven years after the wedding, Silvia was born. Because of her

father's infertility, the parents decided to conduct a heterologous insemination. She was their only child. Every hopes and wishes of the parents to use educational resources for a social advancement were invested in her. The pressure was enormous. She described the relationship to her parents as "tense" and their relationship as a "catastrophe". Furthermore, she said she noticed at an early stage of childhood that "something does not seem right at home".

> "My ears were my favorite topic since I was five: 'Who has my ears, who has my ears'. My mom used to say: 'My mother has your ears.' And when we watched family pictures, my grandma died early, those were not my ears."

The mother wasn't successful in creating an illusion of perfect unknowing to prevent suspiciousness. There was a persisting hunch, that something doesn't seem right. Silvia couldn't say where those doubts came from, her parents or herself. Therefore she experienced the elucidation as a big relief:

> "The feeling that I had for decades, 'something does not seem right' was verified. All of the sudden there was a reason for the feeling of being strange in my family."

The occupational biographie: Silvia was able to withstand the pressure of advancement for a while. After she passed her A-levels, she began to study law but dropped out of university. She began a quadrilingual apprenticeship to become a European secretary and completed it. Her goals were still high. She worked in her profession until she got pregnant with her son. After she gave birth a cascade of events began, which messed up the situation: what followed was the separation from Alex' father. She discovered the secret of her parents by coincidence. They built up a communication barrier, put the topic of semen donation under a taboo and refused any further information. She became pregnant again and decided to abort the child, which she regreted later. In this confrontational situation, she attempted suicide.

She described the progress of this life episode as a descending line. She represented herself during the narration not as a subject, but an object of the progress. In the end the only remedy which helped were – to say it with Blumenberg – "unorthodox means", to reclaim her own vividness. She began another apprenticeship to become a social worker, not using her so far accumulated human capital. She began to search for her father in an investigative manner.

The history of discovery: When Silvia got the maternity log; she noticed that her blood type did not match her parents': "I was confused. At first I was trying to persuade myself that I just read the record wrong, than, that I was maybe a special case. I suppressed the topic for almost three years." The strategies of self-delusion, reframing and suppression kept Silvia from further research. In the spring of 2007 she could not suppress the burgeoning suspicion any longer. The parents refused to give her any information. Only the communication with the help of a lawyer provided some clarity. She received a letter containing the information of the anonymous sperm donation and that there were no medical records left:

> "My initial reaction was that I felt numb. I could not hear, could not see anything for minutes (…) then I was shocked, sad, angry. A part of me was ripped apart. I hit rock bottom. I did not want to get up, eat or do anything".

But the information led to more than just a temporary irritation. Her life was disrupted. She didn't know who she was anymore, where she belonged and where her life would lead her. Her personal identity was flawed. She asked herself: "Who am I? (…) It is hard to know that maybe I will never get an answer to that question". The question "Who am I?" is an indicator that her social relations became problematic. She began to identify problematic relations, it

was about redefining affiliations. Which solution would Silvia choose? She began to specify her own genealogy. She started to search for her father and potential half siblings.

The search for the unknown significant others: "I absolutely need to know, who my biological father is." The search turned out to be complicated. The doctor, who performed the insemination, was dead. All medical records were destroyed. She made contact with every person from his surroundings, his family and his employees. She found out, that the doctor donated himself as well as many of his medical students, he also persuaded old friends from the army to donate sperm. Silvia tried to obtain yearbooks of the "Bundeswehr" airbase from 1974. "Then, 500 men were in the inner circle. If 50 of them looked anything like me, I would visit them all. I was going to find my father." Apart from searching for her father, she also searched for potential half siblings. She knew that the donor, her biological father, donated a lot. They were of great interest for her "because I think if I retrieve my attributes, I could say, this is it. I believe in the power of genes." For Silvia, it was more than just curiosity. It was about the realization of a personal identity through the integration in social relationships with the people, who she is biologically related with and who she originates from. To answer the question for herself: Who am I? She had to find out, who these significant others are. Therefore, the following is not surprising. She sometimes imagined dialogues with the biological father or a meeting with him:

> "If I met my biological father, I would start by asking things, which might seem relatively trivial at first: Favorite author, book, politician, actor, singer, composer, meal. What his most important event in childhood, youth and adult life was. What his occupational aspirations were and if he pursued them. Which party he votes for, how he spends his free time, which priorities have interpersonal, immaterial works and moral values for him. Maybe he defines himself by his material possessions, in contrast to me, or maybe there are things important for him, which can only be achieved by personal ambitions and effort. Is he tenacious, decisive, stubborn, just, a 'tough nut', like I am sometimes, or the complete opposite. I could imagine 1000 questions all at once, (…)"

The question, which basically addresses the sperm donor, was: "Who are you?". Silvia requested him to tell her something about him. The aim of this anticipated action is to transform a situation of vagueness and uncertainty in certainty. The question of identity: "Who am I?" derives from the question "Who are you?".

5. The situation today – legal regulatory requirements

At this point, the experiences of how "donor semen children" deal with the unknowing of genetical origins and their technical conception, are scarce. The cases demonstrate impressively the significance of biological origins when it comes to processes of life development. The knowledge about the biological origin is (still) of big importance in processes of identity formation. This knowledge has partly influenced political and legal regulations. But the legal regulations are – concerning Germany – fundamentally not sufficient. What is missing above all is a law on reproductive medicine, like in many other countries, that prohibits the anonymous sperm donation. In February 2015, the task force "Parentage" of the Federal Ministery starts its work. It remains to be seen if the existing action required will be transformed into legal practice.

BIO:

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Symposium 4: Human Rights and Children Born of War

The law and Children Born of War: Rape, slavery and consent across enemy lines

Eithne Dowds, Jean Allain

Children Born of War are manifest through instances of rape but also by way of the enslavement of women qua "forced marriages".

The paper considered a number of legal issues which transpired before the Special Court of Sierra Leone around consent and with regard to Children Born of War.

In the first instance, consideration will be given to the legal status of rape in time of war, the product being a child. The approach of the Special Court touched on the accused's knowledge of the victim's non-consent. It will be argued that consent, rightly understood, cannot be given in conflict situations; that the power dynamics between solider and civilian are so inherently coercive that willing submission – or even affirmative consent – should not be recognised as constituting consent. The inclusion of consent is rooted in a patriarchal subtext that should be eroded rather than endorsed.

Also to emerge from the determinations of the Special Court of Sierra Leone, is the consideration of so-called "bush wives", women abducted by rebel soldiers and forced to porter, cook, wash, and to have sexual intercourse. This phenomenon of "bush wives" has in many instances led to Children Born of War. In 2008, the Special Court determined for the first time that such "forced marriages" constitute a crime against humanity. The paper challenged the findings of the Special Court, arguing that such instances do not constitute "marriages" in any but the most patriarchal understanding of the term, and instead constitute enslavement as a war crime. That done, the paper considered the status in law of children born of such "relationships", and considered some instances where such "bush wives" remained with their captors, the Children Born of War, constituting a family.

The paper then asked the question whether, in war, any child born across enemy lines should be considered a product of either rape or enslavement. Can free consent be given across enemy lines? Should unions between military forces and civilians under occupation be sanctioned by law? What of such unions between UN Peacekeepers and women in refugee camps? Are Children Born of War a product of collaboration?

BIO:

Eithne Dowds is a PhD candidate within the School of Law, Queen's University, Belfast. Her thesis explores the evolution of the definition of rape in international criminal law with a particular focus on the element of consent. Previous to starting her PhD studies, in 2014 Eithne worked as a Legal Assistant in a law firm in Belfast, and volunteered for multiple community organizations including the Human Rights Consortium and the Committee on the Administration of Justice. She holds a Master Degree in Human Rights and Transitional Justice (Distinction) from the Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster and a Bachelor Degree in Law and Criminology (First Class Honours) from the University of Ulster. Eithne continues to support human rights organizations working on issues of gender based violence within Northern Ireland.

Prof. Dr. Jean Allain is the supervisor of the PhD thesis of Eithne Dowds at the School of Law, Queen's University, Belfast.

Children Born of War and the wartime enslavement of women in Africa: Linking the historical and the contemporary

Benedetta Rossi

This paper considered the evolution of wartime practices involving the sexual and conjugal enslavement of women in Africa from pre-colonial African wars to the present day. It argued that seeing contemporary practices from a historical perspective exposes their cultural and institutional underpinnings and can advance our understanding of how these events are experienced by those involved in them. Recent conflicts in Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Mali, and Northern Nigeria resulted in the massive enslavement of women and girls, often accompanied by legitimizing ideologies developed by rebel armies and perpetrators. They also resulted in these women giving birth to Children Born of War, who often grew up facing stigma and marginalization in post-conflict societies. These phenomena are not new. The wartime enslavement of women for the purpose of subjecting them to forced sexual and conjugal associations has a long history in the societies in question. It has been defended as grounded in legitimate institutions by the spokepersons of groups such as Islamic State, Boko Haram, and the Lord Resistance Army. This paper focuses on continuities and changes in the circumstances of sexually/conjugally enslaved women and their children. It discusses specific case studies and examines the "contexts of choice" in which these women found themselves; the institutions that they could mobilise to seek protection and advance their own agendas; and the consequences of their chosen course of action for them and their children.

BIO:

Dr. Benedetta Rossi is Lecturer in African Studies at the School of History and Cultures of the University of Birmingham (UK). She is the author of "*From Slavery to Aid: Labour, Politics, and Ecology in the Nigerien Sahel, 1800-2000*" (Cambridge University Press, 2015) and the editor of "*Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories*" (Liverpool University Press, 2009). She has written many articles focusing on African slavery and emancipation and is involved in international collaborations on conjugal and sexual slavery in Africa.

A qualitative assessment of parenting experiences among women with sexual violence-related pregnancies in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

Susan Bartels, Shada Rouhani, Jennifer Scott, Ashley Greiner, Katherine Albutt, Michael VanRooyen, Philipp Kuwert, Gillian Burkhardt, Sadia Haider, Monica Onyango, Colleen Mullen

Background: Widespread sexual violence in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has numerous outcomes, including sexual violence-related pregnancies (SVRPs). Little is known about the experiences of women who have SVRPs and who parent children from SVRPs.

Methods: We used respondent-driven sampling (RDS) to recruit participants in South Kivu Province, DRC in October – November 2012. Women who self-reported an SVRP were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire to better understand their pregnancy and parenting experiences and to learn more about attitudes towards children born from SVRPs.

Results: Of 55 participants, 39 had delivered and were raising the child born from an SVRP and 16 had terminated SVRPs. The average participant age was 34 years. Twenty nine percent of participants had been abandoned or were separated from their partners, 23% were widowed, 20% had never been married and 20% were currently married. Results indicated a complex emotional response to the pregnancy and in many cases, mixed feelings towards the child. Decision making around continuing or terminating the pregnancy was multifaceted and included moral considerations, health concerns, religious beliefs and legal consequences. Some participants expressed concern about having a child without a known father while others were concerned about raising a child fathered by an armed combatant or a perpetrator of violence. In contrast, some participants described their children from SVRPs as being no different from other children and called for their acceptance. The most commonly cited strategy for responding to the situation was moving to a new location. When asked about their concerns and needs for the future, a majority of women requested education, shelter, food, and health care. Additionally, participants expressed concern about stigma and about being ridiculed, and called for greater respect for Congolese women as well as for an end to the violence.

Conclusions: Women with SVRPs often have mixed emotional responses to both the pregnancies and to their children. Further research is needed to better understand the complex relationships between survivors of sexual violence and children born from SVRPs, allowing individuals and families to be better supported within their communities.

BIO:

Dr. Susan Bartels is a board-certified physician in Emergency Medicine with fellowship training in International Emergency Medicine and a Masters of Public Health degree in Population and Global Health. After nine years at Harvard University, she is now a Clinician-Scientist and an Attending Physician in the Department of Emergency Medicine at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Dr. Bartels is actively involved in global health research, primarily in conflict and disaster affected areas of the world. Her research aims to improve the science and practice of delivering humanitarian aid and her current focus is the impact of war on the health of women and children. Dr. Bartels has completed projects in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Lebanon and maintains affiliations with the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and with the Harvard School of Public Health.

Symposium 5: Contemporary Challenges of Children Born of War from a Psychosocial Perspective

Traumatized mothers and mother-child-interaction

Elisa van Ee

Maternal traumatization has been proposed as a risk factor for child development, but the mechanisms involved are poorly understood. A recent study analyzed the interrelations among maternal post-traumatic stress symptoms, parent-child interaction and child development among 67 asylum-seekers and refugee mothers and their children (18–42 months). Measures included assessment of mothers' posttraumatic responses and co-morbid symptoms, patterns of emotional availability within parent-child interaction, and infants' psychosocial functioning and attachment. The presentation provides data of structured and thorough observations of parent-child interactions among refugees often severely traumatized by war. The results show that higher levels of maternal post-traumatic stress symptoms are associated with a lower quality of the mother-child interaction, and with attachment disorders. The specificity of the case of mothers with a child conceived in rape will be highlighted. On one hand the results indicate the need for traumatized parents to receive an effective treatment of PTSD symptomatology while on the other hand they should be supported to establish or confirm secure models of attachment experiences, to facilitate their ability interact sensitively and form a secure relationship with their children.

BIO:

Dr. Elisa van Ee is a clinical psychologist/psychotherapist, senior researcher and legal expert affiliated with Psychotraumacentrum Zuid Nederland (Reinier van Arkel), an expert research-, treatment-, and knowledge-institute working with severe traumatization caused by war, violence, torture, and abuse. She has worked with various groups of traumatized people, but her main focus has been traumatized asylum seekers and refugee families. Her research interests are in the effect of (complex) trauma on families, the development of intervention for these families, and more specifically children born of sexual violence. She serves as an expert in cases of honour-related violence for the Dutch police force and has served as a psychosocial expert for the International Criminal Court.

Shame and silence in the aftermath of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 22 years later

Amra Delić, Esmina Avdibegović

Abstract

During the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) over 20,000 women and girls were exposed to systematic sexual persecution, rape, enslavement, deliberate keeping in detention and sexual torture in the pogroms of "ethnic cleansing". Some of them were forced to bear a child or forced to abortion, while some of them had been exposed to additional violence after the rape and forced to marry their rapist. Due to specific war circumstances, and aiming at avoiding family rejection and ostracism, with the help of international agencies many women survivors of rape were resettled in a third and distant countries, especially those who gave birth and decided to abandon a child conceived through rape. It is documented that some of those children were murdered (infanticide). Although the rape is recognized as crime against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, in Bosnian traditional society it is still viewed as a matter of honor and shame, and victim-blaming concepts are partially accepted. These misconceptions and corresponding stigmatizing public attitudes contribute to fear of rejection, self-stigma, self-blame and silence, so the war rape and unwanted pregnancy that resulted from rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina remain underreported over 20 years, while the forced marriages represent another hidden area. Thus, the silence and stigma attached also to war children fathered by enemy soldiers make them growing and living in the shadows of the past silently questioning their biological origin and the issue of identity.

BACKGROUND

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) (1992-1995) was characterized by mass war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, which in 1993 led to the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (Crider, 2012). According to the data provided by ICTY, International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the final figures of atrocities committed in B&H are the following: 103 000 killed (of which 60% civilians), 30 000 missing, over 2 millions forcibly displaced people (refugees and internally displaced people) while an estimated 20,000 women and girls were the victims of rape and other forms of sexual violence in the pogroms of "ethnic cleansing" (ICTY, 2010; ICMP, 2012a; UNHCR, 2012b).

Studies conducted among displaced persons from different conflict zones, including those coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina, showed that mass traumatization caused by organized violence such as war, torture, including rape, sexual enslavement, forced impregnation, imprisonment, loss of family members, deportations and living in exile can result in various forms of short-term and long-term effects on mental health of survivors, particularly post-traumatic stress disorders and depression (Glaesmer et. al, 2010; Lončar et al., 2006; Boden, 2002; Arcel, 1998).

War rape is defined by McDougall as "a deliberate and strategic decision on the part of combatants to intimidate and destroy 'the enemy' as a whole by raping and enslaving women who are identified as members of the opposition group" (Hagen, 2010). Although the subject of rape and sexual torture perpetrated against women in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been reported since the outbreak of the war in 1992, most literature discussed this crime in the context of underestimating victimization due to the lack of data on victims whom were

murdered or perished due to injures during or after the rape, and the underreporting among those who have survived (Crider, 2012; Hagen, 2010; Stiglmayer 1994). In spite of war rape statistics that vastly under-represent the actual number of those, who were raped, women are identified as one of the most vulnerable group in need of protection and support. Apart of sexual torture, they had been exposed to various extremely traumatic events, such as unwanted pregnancy that resulted from rape (forced to bear a child or forced to abortion), loss of their closest and entire livelihoods, deprivation, hunger, forced labour, threats, witnessing of atrocities, torture and murder of others, forced marriages and/or forced migration, which drastically highthened their traumatization. However, the suffering of women continued in post-traumatic context due to displacement, resolving financial and health problems, loss of social network and searching for missing family members (Baraković et al., 2014).

It is known that rape that occurs in situations of armed conflict has "distinct caracteristics, consequences, and implications for research and service providers than the peacetime rape" (Hagen, 2010). Rape survivors often display a high-level of shame and self-blame (Paludi, 1999). Previous studies indicate that the context of the assault and socio-cultural factors influence the victim's posttraumatic reactions to rape, symptoms presentation, therapeutic approach and recovery process (Delić, 2015; Mollica, 2009; Avdibegović et al., 2007).

The aim of this study is to investigate the war rape context and consequences of psychological traumatization in women victims of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina who were also exposed to multiple war-related traumatic events, and to explore the relationship between posttraumatic stress disorder and silence surrounding war rape in B&H.

METHODS

This is a cross-sectional study, which is part of the research project on quality of life and long-term psychological consequences in women with experience of war rape conducted in a period 2011-2014 in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The sample comprised of the group of 105 women with experience of war rape and no psychiatric history before the war, who are registered members of the Association "Women Victims of War", and the group of 88 controls from general population, who had no experience of war rape and psychiatric history before the war. The group of 105 victims of war rape is selected using a multi stage sampling method, and the control group (non-victims) using the snowball sampling method. Participation in this study was on voluntary basis, with an informed consent. The demographic characteristics of the sample groups are given in the Table 1.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of the sample groups

Characteristics	**Women with war rape experience** (N =105)	**Women without war rape experience** (N = 88)	**p**
Nationality			χ^2 = 1.174, p = 0.556
Bosnian Muslim	95 (90.5)	80 (90.9)	
Bosnian Serb	5 (4.8)	2 (2.3)	
Bosnian Croat	5 (4.8)	6 (6.8)	
Age (mean ± SD)	48.9±8.8	44.8±7.4	χ^2 = 12.042, p = 0.001
Marital status			χ^2 = 15.017, p = 0.002
Single	12 (11.4)	2 (2.3)	
Married	59 (56.2)	71 (80.7)	
Widow	23 (21.9)	8 (9.1)	
Divorced	11 (10.5)	7 (7.9)	
Level of education			χ^2 = 26.012, p<0.001
No education	14 (13.3)	1 (1.1)	
Primary school	33 (31.4)	10 (11.4)	
Secondary school	52 (49.5)	62 (70.5)	
Higher education	6 (5.7)	15 (17.0)	
Employment status			χ^2 = 51.086, p<0.001
Unemployed	72 (68.6)	28 (31.8)	
Employed	16 (15.2)	57 (64.8)	
Retired	17 (16.2)	3 (3.4)	
Place of residence			χ^2=4.535, p<0.033
Rural	40 (38.1)	47 (53.4)	
Urban	65 (61.9)	41 (46.6)	
Forced migration			χ^2 = 34.582, p<0.001
Yes	93 (88.6)	44 (50.0)	
No	12 (11.4)	44 (50.0)	
Residential status			χ^2 = 67.004, p<0.001
Internally displaced or refugee	69 (65.7)	9 (10.2)	
Domicile	13 (12.4)	49 (55.7)	
Returnees	23 (21.9)	30 (34.1)	
Consuming alcohol			
Yes	1 (0.9)	2 (2.3)	
No	104 (99.1)	86 (97.7)	
Smoking			χ^2 = 0.919, p = 0.338
Yes	55 (52.4)	40 (45.5)	
No	50 (47.6)	48 (54.5)	
Professional help seeking after the war			χ^2 = 80.897, p<0.001
Yes	95 (90.5)	24 (27.3)	
No	10 (9.5)	64 (72.7)	
Using psychotropic drugs			χ^2 = 53.861, p<0.001
Yes	98 (93.3)	40 (45.5)	
No	7 (6.7)	48 (54.5)	

Instruments

Sociodemographic data (nationality, age, marital status, education, employment status, place of residence, forced migration, residential status, professional help seeking after the war, the usage of psychotropic drugs, alcohol and tabacco consumption) and data on war rape characteristics, including data on silence related to war rape experience were gathered by a general questionnaire for women constructed for the purpose of this study. To explore the war rape context, women survivors of war rape were asked about a period (year) of war when they were raped, their experience of stay in concentration camp(s) and/or other experiences of detention, their age and marital status at the time of rape, a number of rape experiences, a number of perpetrators, relationship with perpetrators (a strange or an acquaintance or both), the presence of other people during the rape, pregnancy that resulted from rape, duration of silence and disclosure experience related to war rape, experience of court witnessing as well as data on the experience of the loss during the war, and involvement in the program(s) of psycho-social support.

Data on the exposure to traumatic events and presence of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms were collected using Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ), a version for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Allden et al., 1998). This screening instrument was administered by psychiatrist (the author of this paper).

The HTQ is designed to empirically measure the exposure to traumatic events and trauma syndromes in individuals who have survived torture and mass violence such as war. It consists of four sections (Part I-IV). The first section (Part I) covers 46 traumatic events that are historically accurate for assessing the exposure of civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina to war-related and refuge experience, with two possible responses "Yes" or "No" to each question. The second section (Part II) consists of an open-ended questions that asks the respondent to describe the most terrifying events that have happened to her or him, while the third section (Part III) asks about events that may result in head injury. The fourth section (Part IV) contains 40 symptom items related to trauma experience, of which the first 16 trauma symptoms derived from the DSM-IV criteria for posttraumatic stress-disorder (PTSD), and 24 additional items refer to the impact of trauma on subject's perception of her/his ability to function in everyday life. The scale for each question in this section is rated 1 to 4 (1 - "Not at all," 2 - "A little," 3 - "Strongly," 4 - "Very strongly"). The total result is the average score on all 40 items, and the total result >2.5 is considered to be "positive" for PTSD. The HTQ demonstrated strong reliability and internal consistency with the coefficient alpha .967 for the entire PTSD scale and alpha .969 for the self-perceptions of functioning scale.

RESULTS

Sociodemographic data

The average age of women with experience of war rape was 48.9±8.8. A greater number of women victims were married, with secondary school education, unemployed, live in town, have status of displaced person and were forced to change their place of residence during the war (Table 1).

Experiencing the trauma of war induced loss

The loss of family member(s), close relatives and friends (killed or missing) were reported by a significantly higher number of women with experience of war rape (89 or 46.11%) compared to the control group (58 or 30.0%) ($\chi^2 = 9.374$, $p = 0.002$). With regard to relationship with person(s) who was killed in the war, most women in both groups reported that they have lost

family members/relatives, friends and neighbors, and with regard to the loss of a family member 25 (12.9%) reported the loss of a spouse, 23 (11.9%) the loss of a brother, 18 (9.3%) the loss of a father, 13 (6.7%) reported the loss of mother or sister, while 8 (4.1%) women with war rape experience reported the loss of a child. A significantly higher number of women with war rape experience reported that their close relatives were missing (56 or 29.0%) compared to controls (16 or 8.3%) (χ^2 = 25.293, p<0.001).

Out of total sample, a significantly higher number of women rape victims reported that their family members and close relatives were being wounded during the war (75 or 38.9%) compared to control group (56 or 29.0%) (χ^2 = 1.333, p = 0.248). Also, 5 (4.8%) women with experience of war rape and 1 (1.4%) control reported that they were being wounded in war.

War rape context

Women victims of war rape have been exposed to a number of traumatic events. According to the HTQ Part I, the subjects from our sample experienced an average of 16.4 ±11.24 traumatic events, among which the group of women victims of war rape have had a significantly higher number of traumatic events (25.55 ± 5.75) than non-victims (6.01 ± 5.40) (χ^2 = 135.695, p<0.001). The most frequently experienced traumatic events in total sample were: a direct exposure to shelling/grenade attacks (163 or 84.4%), lack of food and water (129 or 66.8%), confiscation or destruction of property (128 or 66.3%), lack of shelter (117 or 60.6%), being forced to leave their home (137 or 71.0%), torture (100 or 51.8%), forced separation from family members (113 or 58.5%), murder or death of family member (110 or 56.9%). In addition, women with experience of war rape were being exposed to beatings to the body (79 or 40.9%), knifing (20 or 10.4%), forced labor (34 or 17.6%), forced to betray family member (40 or 20.7%), forced to betray unrelated party (36 or 18.6%), and witnessing the rape or sexual abuse (48 or 24.9%).

According to the HTQ Part III, the 49 (25.3%) subjects from the group of women with experience of war rape reported a head injury (beatings to the head), of which 31 (16.1%) resulted in the loss of consciousness. Women from both groups were exposed to starvation, of which 84 (80.0%) women survivors of war rape and 6 (6.8%) women from the control group.

Out of 105 women rape victims, a significantly higher number were raped at the beginning of the war (in 1992) or 22 years prior to this study (χ^2 = 206.095, p<0.001). The mean age of women at the time of rape was 29.69 ± 8.90, ranging from 12 to 48 years. In regard to marital status at the time of rape, most women were married (61 or 58.1%) (χ^2 = 80.562, p<0.001), while 33 (31%) were unmarried, 6 (6.0%) divorced and 5 (5.0%) widowed. Regarding the presence of other person(s) during the victimizing event, 51 (48.5%) women victims reported that other persons witnessed their rape, whereas 53 (50.5%) women reported on being forced to witness the torture of others.

Most victims have had three and more experiences of rape (48 or 45.7%), 14 (13.0%) women had two rape experiences, and 43 (41.0%) one experience of war rape. The number of rape experiences in this study was not congruent to the number of perpetrators. Regarding the number of perpetrators, 47 (44.8%) women were raped by three and more than three offenders, 10 (10.1%) were raped by two, and 48 (46.1%) by one person ("man in uniform"). Concerning the relationship with perpetrator(s), most women were raped by a stranger (80 or 76.2%), 12 (11.5%) by an acquaintance, and 13 (12.4%) by both stranger(s) and acquaintance. Out of 105 women victims of rape, 14 (13.3%) reported that the rape resulted in pregnancy, among which 10 (9.5%) pregnancies were terminated.

Out of total sample in this study, a significantly greater number of women with war rape experience (67 or 34.7%) compared to women without rape experience (1 or 0.5%) were held in concentration camps during the war (χ^2 = 80.472, p<0.001). Regarding the number of concentration camps where they were imprisoned, most victims were kept at one concentration camp (54 or 28.0%), 9 (4.7%) at two camps and 4 (2.1%) women were held at three and more concentration camps (χ^2= 69.735, p<0.001).

Apart of the firsthand experience of stay in concentration camp, women from our sample were being detained in other places too, among which a significantly higher number of women with experience of war rape (44 or 22.8%) than women from the control group (8 or 4.1%) (χ^2 = 26.189, p<0.001). With regard to other places of detention, women victims of rape were mainly kept under home confinement (19 or 9.8%) and at abandoned houses (17 or 8.8%), while out of total sample most women were kept at motels and other public buildings/areas (i.e. schools, stadion, factory, police office, hospital, etc.) (20 or 10.3%).

War rape and silence

The period of silence following rape lasted in average of 10.43 ± 5.90 years (range of 1-20 years). A significantly greater number of women with experience of war rape have had rape disclosure 11 to 15 years later (χ^2 = 50.695, p<0.001). Concerning initial rape disclosure most victims have disclosed having been raped firstly to their girlfriend (20 or 19.0%), a doctor (20 or 19.0%), then to women's organizations (19 or 18.1%), while the smallest number initially disclosed the assault to their sister (4 or 3.8%) and/or brother (2 or 1.9%) (Table 2).

Our results show that a significantly greater number of women said to their psychiatrist about rape (94 or 89.5%) (χ^2 = 65.610, p<0.001), while a significantly lesser number of rape victims had testified at the court (32 or 30.4%) (χ^2 = 14.486, p<0.001). Out of 105 women with experience of war rape, 23 (21.9%) responded postively to the question asked on the opportunity to meeting the perpetrator, 5 (4.8%) said that they do not know, and 77 (73.3%) responded negatively.

Table 2. Distribution of subjects (n=105) in relation to initial rape disclosure experience

Person or service to whom subjects initially have disclosed having been raped	**N**	**(%)**
Husband	12	(11.4)
Parents	10	(9.5)
Girlfriend	20	(19.0)
Sister	4	(3.8)
Brother	2	(1.9)
Relative	6	(5.7)
Doctor	20	(19.0)
Investigator/Police	10	(9.5)
Women's organization	19	(18.1)
Other people reported on rape	1	(1.0)
Total	**105**	**(100.0)**

Receiving psychosocial help

Out of total sample (N=193), 78 (40.4%) subjects received psychosocial help and support in different periods in the last 22 years, among which 67 (63.8%) women with experience of war rape and 11 (12.5%) women with no rape experience. A significantly greater number of women victims (22 or 20.9%) have received psychosocial help during the war compared to non-victims (2 or 2.3%) (χ^2 = 15.342, p<0.001), as well as after the war (29 or 27.6% victims vs 2 or 2.3% non-victims) (χ^2 = 22.813, p<0.001), whereas 54 (51.4%) women victims and 11 (12.5%) non-victims have received psychosocial help at the time of study. With regard to psychosocial help received, a statistical significance is found between the groups (χ^2 = 32.482, p<0.001). Out of 54 women who received psychosocial help during this study, 13 women received help also during the war and 18 after the war. Out of 22 women who had been offered a psychosocial help during the war, 15 women have received the help also after the war.

War rape consequences

Out of 105 women with experience of war rape, the PTSD symptoms score >2.5 was found in 94.3% victims, and the most common were intrusive symptoms, hyperarousal and avoidance symptoms. Total PTSD symptoms score and the score of the symptom groups were significantly higher in women victims of rape than in controls (Kruskal Wallis test, χ^2 = 112.157, p<0.001) (Table 3).

Table 3. Mean of total score and the score of symptom groups of posttraumatic stress disorder in total sample of women (N = 193)

	Values of total score and symptom groups score of PTSD			
Sample Group	Total PTSD M ± SD	Intrusive symptoms M ± SD	Avoidance symptoms M ± SD	Hyperarousal M ± SD
Women with war rape experience (n = 105)	3.29 ± 0.46	3.44 ± 0.49	3.16 ± 0.51	3.30 ± 0.54
Women without war rape experience (n = 88)	1.92 ± 0.69	1.90 ± 0.78	1.91 ± 0.71	1.97 ± 0.76

PTSD – posttraumatic stress disorder, M – mean value, SD - standard deviation

Among women victims of rape no statisticaly significant difference between women with PTSD (score >2.5) and women without PTSD (score <2.5) is found regarding the age at the time of research (F = 0.138, p = 0.711), age at the time of rape (F = 0.900, p = 0.345), and duration of silence (F = 0.001, p = 0.345), whereas a statistical significance is found concerning the number of traumatic events (F = 4.755, p = 0.031). There was no statistical significance between subgroups of women with different periods of silence duration and PTSD symptoms, the age of women at the time of research and the age of women at the time of rape, while a statisticaly significant difference is found in the number of traumatic experiences between the subgroup of women who kept silent 6-10 years, the subgroup of women who kept silent 11-15 years (t = 2.504, p = 0.015), and the subgroup of women with duration of silence from 16 to 20 years (t = 3.445, p = 0.003). The number of traumatic events experienced by

women survivors was negatively associated with duration of silence (r = -0.279, p = 0.004). The greater the number of traumatic experiences, the shorter duration of silence about rape.

In the group of women with experience of war rape no significant correlation is found between the age at the time of study and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.088, p = 0.187), the age at the time of rape and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.143, p = 0.146), the number of traumatic events and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.149, p = 0.064), nor between duration of silence and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.075, p = 0.446). However, a significant correlation is found between the PTSD symptoms and the number of traumatic events in non-victims (r = 0.218, p = 0.021). In total sample (N=193) we found a significant relationship between the age of women and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.226, p = 0.002), and the number of traumatic events and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.183, p = 0.011).

Regarding the mean of PTSD symptoms, no significant difference is found between the groups of women of different marital status at the time of rape (F = 1.230, p = 0.303). Also, there was no significant difference between the PTSD symptoms score and the number of perpetrators (F = 0.069, p = 0.976), the pregnancy that resulted from rape (χ^2 = 0.024, p = 0.876), the psychosocial help received during the war (χ^2 = 0.515, p = 0.473), after the war (χ^2 = 0.547, p = 0.460), and at the time of study (χ^2 = 3.211, p = 0.73). There was no significant difference in the mean of PTSD symptoms between women who testified at court and women who did not testify (χ^2 = 0.666, p = 0.415). Concerning the psychiatric treatment seeking after the war, there was no significant difference in the mean values of PTSD symptoms total score between women who sought and who did not seek psychiatric treatment (χ^2 = 1.066, p = 0.302). Out of total sample, women who were taking psychotropic drugs reported a significantly higher intensity of PTSD symptoms (3.01 ± 0.69) compared to those who were not (1.79 ± 0.72) (χ^2 = 65.200, p<0.001). In the group of women with war rape experience, there was no significant difference in the mean of PTSD symptoms between women who were taking (3.31 ± 0.44) and not taking (2.93 ± 0.65) psychotropic drugs (χ^2 = 2.756, p = 0.097).

Statistical significance is found in womens' self-perception of functioning in everday life (χ^2 = 109.006, p<0.001). The mean of self-perception of functioning was significantly higher in women victims of war rape (2.93 ± 0.53) than in non-victims (1.67 ± 0.56). A strong positive association is found between self-perception of functioning and PTSD symptoms (r = 0.766, p<0.001).

Assessing the HTQ items related to feeling guilt and shame, it is found that the greatest number of women war rape victims very strongly agreed with statements: "Feeling humiliated by your experience" (73/105), "Spending time asking why these event happened to you" (66/105), and "Feeling ashamed of the event that have happened to you" (57/105). In addition, war rape victims strongly agreed with statements: "Feeling that people do not understand what happened to you" (46/105), and "Feeling no trust in others" (42/105) (Table 4).

Table 4. The level of agreement of subjects (N = 105) with statements related to feeling guilt and shame according to Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ)

Statements related to feeling guilt and shame	Level of agreement			
	Not at All n	A little n	Strongly n	Very strongly n
Blaming yourself for what has happened to you	49	13	22	21
Feeling guilty for having survived	45	15	23	20
Feeling ashamed of the event that have happened to you	10	12	26	57
Feeling that people do not understand what happened to you	2	18	46	39
Feeling humiliated by your experience	3	5	24	73
Feeling no trust in others	6	21	42	36
Spending time asking "why these event happened to you"	3	8	28	66

DISCUSSION

Terror potential of an organized violence such as war, with very many traumatic events is likely to create an atmosphere of horror, high-intensity fear and hopelessness, which afterwards can result in severe emotional distress in those affected. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina left many people with great loss, forcibly displaced and separated from their family members, relatives and friends. Mass destruction led to breaking a subtle social network, lacking support from the closest and feelings of distrust and unsafety, which constitue a high risk for poor mental health outcomes in the long run. Glaesmer et al. (2010) reported on the long-term effects of war traumatic experiences from the World War II that more than 60 years later parallel posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and posttraumatic symptoms, such as: avoidance of thoughts and feelings, sleep disturbances, distressing dreams and intrusive thoughts.

It is well documented in the literature that the war rape of women, used as "a weapon of war", is not a single, isolated traumatic experience but rather part of the accelerating war dynamics. In recent history of warship, throughout the world, women were often being exposed to sexual violence, torture and imprisonment that can lead to an extreme long-lasting suffering and poor adjustment. However, war rape is not only the assault on the integrity of one's body and soul, but undermining a family and social structure, and creating a vicious circle that further complicate the process of recovery.

Sociodemographic characteristics

Women and girls are most frequent victims of sexual violence in war regardless age, education, marital and employment status, ethnical and political affiliation. In present study, the greatest number of women victims were: raped at the age from 12 to 48, married, with

secondary school education, unemployed and of Bosnian Muslim ethnicity. At the time of study, the greater number of women survivors lived in town, had status of displaced person and reported that they were being forced to change their place of residence during the war. Concerning sociodemographic characteristics the results obtained are similar to results of previous studies. Six decades after the World War II, Kuwert et al. (2014) found that the average age of German women survivors of war rape was 16, ranging from 12 to 25, while in Democratic Republic of Congo the average age of victimized women was 36 (range 3.5 – 80) (Bartels et al., 2010; Isikozlu & Millard, 2010). Studies conducted among Bosnian women survivors of war rape found that the average age of victims at the time of rape was 29 (range 16-75) (Arcel, 1998), 32 ± 6.4 (range 14-83) (Lončar et al., 2006), and from 13 to 38 (Husić et al., 2014), which together with our results confirm that women of reproductive age were mainly exposed to war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regarding the ethnicity, the results from our study are consistent to previous reports on the ethnical distribution of women victims of war rape in B&H (Isikozlu & Millard, 2010; Mollica, 2009; Arcel, 1998; Stiglmayer, 1994). With regard to marital status and education, we found that significantly more women in both groups were married and with sedondary school, while in the group of women war rape victims there were more widows, divorced and single women, and more women with primary school or without primary education, which is consistent to previous reports (Husić et al., 2014; Lončar et al., 2006; Arcel, 1998). The greater number of victimized women in our sample were unemployed. It can be explained by uncertainity and insecurity of displaced persons status, and low level of social and occupational functioning of victims of war rape, but also with their social exclusion and the lack of a comprehensive psychosocial rehabilitation and economic empowerment programs for women survivors.

Out of 105 subjects with war rape experience, 55 or 52.4% were of rural, and 50 or 47.6% of urban origin before the war, indicating that geographical characteristics did not influence the prevalence of rape. Regarding the residential status, at the time of study, the greatest number of women victims has had a status of displaced persons. This result confirms that the war rape is often associated with other traumatic experiences, such as forced migration and that the rape of women is used as a threatening "weapon of war" with the aim of ethnic cleansing (Husić et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2014; Bartels et al., 2010; Mollica, 2009; Niarchos, 1995; Stiglmayer, 1994).

Traditional view on women's rape through the history prevented a recognition of rape as a crime against victim, because woman was considered to be a male property, whose value was measured by her virginity, while indivudal personality of woman and extremely painful wounds that resulted from rape were fully neglected (Cahill, 2001). Feeling less worthy, powerless and helpless, women victims of rape are reluctant to rape disclosure. Deeply rooted cultural stereotypes and prejudices about female sexuality, together with societal stigmatization contribute to a great extent to underreporting rape and a lack of prosecutions of this crime. In spite of the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and the fact that mass war rape that happened in war (1992-1995) is recognized as a crime against humanity, in Bosnian patriarchal society it is still viewed as a matter of honor and shame, and it seems that victim-blaming misconceptions are socially accepted. Fearing stigma, ostracism and rejection, even 20 years after the weapons are silent, women survivors of war rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina are facing the lack of institutional and social support, insecurity and a slow pace of justice.

Out of 105 subjects with experience of war rape, the number of women victims who returned to their prewar places of residence and the number of women victims who reported on returnee status is different. This is because a certain number of women have got their

property back and/or renewed their houses, yet living in exile as internally displaced persons. It can be explained with a feeling of insecurity, fear and distrust, having in mind that the greatest numbers of perpetrators of war rape still walk free, as well as with the lack of a social network in the pre-migration settings, and also with avoidance of traumatic reminders.

Apart of war rape, within mass war destruction, many women from Rwanda and former Yugoslavia were being exposed to a number of losses, including the experience of trauma of missing family member(s) and long-lasting tracing after the war (Baraković, 2012). We found in our study that a significantly higher number of women survivors have experienced the trauma of murder, wounding and missing of close family members, whereas 4.8% women victims of war rape have been wounded due to a direct exposure to granade attacks against civilians. A recent study showed that experiencing the loss also have a great and long-lasting traumatogenic potential that complicates victimization of women in war and post-exposition situation, worsening the mental health outcomes (Delić, 2015; Baraković et al., 2014).

Professional help seeking

War rape per se is a highly traumatizing experience, and the first psychological aid can be of critical importance for recovery. In our sample, only 20.9% rape victims have received a psychosocial help during the war, and 14.3% of those continued receiving this kind of help after the war. As reported in this study, a psychosocial help was provided mainly by women's organizations targeting not exclusively war rape victims but war traumatized internally displaced/refugee women and children. Thus, it happened that war rape victims were receiving psychosocial help without rape disclosure.

Women from our sample have had no psychiatric history and they were not taking psychotropic drugs before the war. Chivers-Wilson (2006) reported that sexual violence survivors are reluctant to accept psychotropic medication that proved to be inadequate for the treatment of sexual victimization. In our study, the greatest number of women victims sought for help from psychiatrist, and were taking psychotropic drugs after the war, and these findings are similar to results obtained by Husic et al. (2014). However, from our clinical practice and previous research it is known that war traumatized persons, especially women victims of sexual violence, avoid professional help seeking and ask for help long time (several month to several years) after victimization (Bartels et al., 2010; Boden, 2002; Hečimović, 1998; Popović, 1998; Kimerling & Calhoun, 1994), which is consistent with our findings. It is often related to the "conspiracy of silence" at individual and societal level, stigmatizing attitudes towards rape victims and the lack of social acknowledgement, which produce a feeling of shame, guilt, fear of rejection and isolation (Kuwert et al., 2014; Verelst, 2014; Mollica, 2009; Avdibegović et al., 2007; Lončar et al., 2006; Arcel, 1998). Arcel (1998) point out a very important role that mental health professionals have in facilitating a disclosure and documentation of sexual violence, and she questioned the role they have in the "conspiracy of silence" attached to war rape.

During the interview, a significant number of war rape survivors in our study reported that during psychiatric treatment, in particular with male psychiatrists, they do not talk about rape trauma (the cause) but symptoms (the consequences), and that duration of psychiatric follow-up examination is very short and mainly focused on psychopharmacological medication, which made victims perceiveing the psychiatric treatment inadequate. It can be explained as a part of the societal "conspiracy of silence" and denial of unresloved collective traumatization, where examinator's defence is related to avoidance of disturbing reminders on war, and thus preventing him/her to explore and listen to a painful traumatic experiences, such as rape.

Also, it can be caused by feeling incompetent due to a lack of education or a lack of gender sensitivity for working with victims of such highly-traumatizing experience.

War rape and silence

In the group of war rape victims, the average duration of silence about rape was 10.43 ± 5.9, ranging from 1 to 20 years. The greatest number of victims have had initial rape disclosure to a girlfriend, a doctor (family physician, gyneacologist or psychiatrist) and to women's nongovernmental organizations, whereas the least rape disclosure was to a sister or brother. However, during the interviews, many victims said that initial disclosure does not necessarily mean talking openly about rape or reporting on rape, which indicate that there is a rape taboo in the family and society, and more likely a societal and self-blame (Paludi, 1999). Thus, a very few rape victims had testified at the court, and reported that it was not always related to their war rape case(s) prosecution but other war crimes that they were being witnessing (i.e. torture or murder or rape of the others). Some women victims of rape reported on having opportunity to meeting the perpetrator because they walk free, and feeling insecure in the role of a court witness due to a low percentage of war rape prosecution and/or inadequate (short) penalties.

War rape context

To better understand the consequences and outcomes of war rape trauma, it is important to determine the war dynamics and context surrounding and inflicting the rape (Isikozlu i Millard, 2010; Joachim, 2005; Arcel, 1998). In our study, the greatest number of rapes happened at the beginning of the war (in 1992), were multiple, committed by a stranger(s), and in the presence of other people. The average age of victims at the time of rape was 29.69 ± 8.90, and the greatest number of subjects then were married, and in 13.3% the rape resulted in pregnancy. A significant number of women victims were held in concentration camps and other places of detention, have witnessed a torture of other people, experienced the trauma of murder, wounding and missing a family member(s). Data on the war rape characteristics and war rape context in our study are similar to results of previous studies (Verelst, 2014; Bartels et al., 2010; Isikozlu i Millard, 2010; Mollica, 2009; Zelaya Favila, 2009; Lončar, 2006).

War induced traumatic events

Women victims of war rape have had a multiple war traumatic experiences, the trauma of wounding, head injury and starvation, which make them profundly suffering over 20 years after victimization. The most common traumatic events in total sample included a direct exposure to shelling/grenade attacks, lack of food and water, confiscation or destruction of property, lack of shelter, being forced to leave their home, torture, forced separation from family members, murder or death of family member. In addition, women with experience of war rape were being exposed to beatings to the body, knifing, forced labor, forced to betray family member, forced to betray unrelated party, and witness rape or sexual abuse. We found that women victims with more multiple war traumatic events have had a shorter duration of silence about rape experience. Also, our results on the war rape context and accompanied physical and psychological forms of torture committed against the rape victims confirm that the wartime rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina was brutally dehumanising experience, sadistic and systematic.

Long-lasting war rape consequences

Sexual violence has a negative impact on mental health and social functioning of affected groups. Previous studies indicate that the context of the assault and socio-cultural factors influence the victim's reaction to rape, symptoms presentation, therapeutic approach and recovery process (Kuwert et al., 2014; Mollica, 2009; Avdibegović et al., 2007; Lončar, 2006; Paludi, 1999; Arcel, 1998). Lončar et al. (2006) found that 30.9% of women war rape victims suffered from posttraumatic stress disorder one year after the assault, while Kuwert et al. (2014) reported on 19% women war rape survivors with symptoms of full PTSD and 30% with partial PTSD six decades later. The evaluation of treatment of Medica Zenica services users – victims of war rape in B&H showed that 57% women were presented with PTSD symptoms 20 years later (Husić et al., 2014). The results of our study are even more pessimistic, showing that even 22 years after victimization a great number of women are profoundly suffering from the consequences of war rape and have intensive symptoms of PTSD.

In addition, several studies as well as our clinical practice have shown that women who have been raped experience various forms of secondary wounding and insensitive manner in the treatment, which overlaps with post-traumatic stress disorder and other negative effects of rape traumatization (Crooks & Baur, 2014; Arcel 1998).

From the psychodynamic perspective, Mollica (2009) wrote that the intense disgrace associated with sexual violence in many cultures can exacerbate painful feeling of shame and humiliation experienced by survivors, which is confirmed in our study. Assessing the guilt and shame, we have found that the greatest number of women victims of war rape very strongly agreed with statements: „Feeling humiliated by your experience", „Spending time asking why these event happened to you", and „Feeling ashamed of the event that have happened to you". Also, subjects from this group strongly agreed with statements: „Feeling that people do not understand what happened to you", and „Feeling no trust in others".

With a cultural attitudes where the rape victims are being viewed as „damaged" and less worthy, the feelings of humiliation, self-blame, guilt and shame become more toxic and deepen. The devastating effects of systematic rape, such as shame, distrust, and the lack of social acknowledgement and support, also exacerbated by the victim's sense of societal neglect and personal insecurity are leading to perceiving the world as a more threatening place to live in the aftermath of rape, to withdrawal, isolation and keeping the silence. All of this leads to them not seeking help and inhibiting the recovery process.

Conclusion

Mass rape in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a catastrophic and profound long-lasting effects on its primary and secondary victims. Inappropriate societal and institutional response, such as thorough tabooization of women's sexuality, rape myths, victim blaming and stigmatizing attitudes, including discriminatory behaviors towards the women survivors as well as a slow pace of justice placed the victims of wartime rape in B&H at a high risk of protracted secondary victimization, which worsened their reaction to rape trauma. The pessimistic results of our study call for urgent action at individual, family and societal level aiming at reducing and/or eliminating the rape-related prejudices and stigma, ending the impunity of perpetrators of human rights atrocities, providing safety for victims and facilitating the process of recovery through a comprehensive and effective treatment program.

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BIO:

Amra Delić, M.D., M.Sc candidate, specialist in neuropsychiatry with CME in psychiatry. She has completed education in psychotherapy (Group Analysis), EMDR and Client Centered Therapy. Delić has attended several Trauma Psychology courses given by International Center for Psychosocial Trauma, University of Missouri-Columbia School of Medicine, Missouri; Faculty of Social Sciences – Department for Psychology, University of Oslo, Norway and Harvard Master Class Program in Refugee Trauma and Balint groups. Within the World Health Organization, in 2009 she was trained in Violence Prevention and Learning Techniques (ToT). A special field of her research interest is psychotraumatology, social trauma, human rights and mental health. Since the outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, Delić has been involved in humanitarian and trauma work as a coordinator of many international psychosocial, training and research projects. She has over 15 years of clinical work experience at the Department for Psychiatry of the University Clinical Center Tuzla and Mental Health Center Tuzla. Currently, she is based in Sarajevo, at the position of project leader of Mental Health Project in Bosnia and Herzegovina, supported by Swiss Agency for Cooperation and

Development. Apart of her regular work, Amra is a volunteer and human rights activist, and has participated in a number of peace and reconciliation initiatives. In her volunteerism she is especially devoted to women survivors of war rape, and male and female torture victims. Due to her outstanding achievements in gender equality, empowerment of women survivors of sexual violence in war and breaking the conspiracy of silence attached to war rape, in March 2015 Amra was nominated and won Gender Equality Award 2014 given by Gender Equality Commission of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of B&H.

Children born from conflict: A synthesis of data from four conflicts in the Great Lakes Region

Jocelyn Kelly

In the presentation, the results from a number of projects that the "Women in War Program" has undertaken in the past 7 years were presented. Data has been collected in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, Uganda, and Central African Republic. Each project examined the effects of conflict on local communities, with a specific focus of understanding the impact on women. In the course of this data collection, women from four countries with a variety of experiences related to conflict spoke about the issue of Children Born of Rape. In the presentation, I synthesized those results, with recommendations for potential programming to address this problem.

The research findings highlight the fact that women with Children Born of Rape struggle to create functioning families, but they often face stigma within their families, peer support groups and communities at large. Sensitization campaigns and involving key stakeholders such as community leaders can help reduce stigma against these individuals. In addition, counseling and meditation services can help people in the community understand how to react to families with children born of sexual violence.

BIO:

Jocelyn Kelly is the director for Harvard Humanitarian Initiative's (HHI) Women in War program, where she designs and implements projects to examine issues relating to gender, peace, and security in fragile states. Kelly has been conducting health-related research using qualitative and quantitative research methods for over eight years both in national and international settings. Kelly's international work has focused on understanding the health needs of vulnerable populations in Eastern and Central Africa and has included working with Uganda Human Rights commission to launch the first office in Africa promoting the Right to Health.

Additional Contributions

This part of the reader gives an overview about the scientific work of some collegues regarding their research on CBOW, who for different reasons weren't presenting at the symposium.

The International Network for Interdisciplinary Research on Children Born of War (INIRC-CBOW) – making an impact through research, networking and knowledge transfer

Ingvill C. Mochmann (GESIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences and Cologne Business School)

The International Network for Interdisciplinary Research on Children Born of War (INIRC-CBOW) was established in 2008. It was initiated at the expert meeting, "Consolidating the Evidence Base of Children Born of War", which took place in December 2006 at the Central Archive for empirical social research at the University of Cologne (now GESIS) in cooperation with the War and Children Identity Project (WCIP) at the University of Bergen. During this meeting it was decided to use the term "Children Born of War" (CBOW) to define children who are the result of a relationship between a foreign soldier and local women during and past a war or civil war (Mochmann, 2006). This group of children includes according to Kai Grieg (2001:6):

- Children born of women who had a relationship with a foreign soldier who is part of a peace keeping or an allied troop.
- Children born as a result of sexual violence or rape in conflicts where this is part of a war strategy.

Furthermore, at this meeting Mochmann (cf. 2008) firstly presented a categorization of four different groups of Children Born of War: Children of enemy soldiers, children of soldiers from occupying forces, children of child soldiers und children of members of peace keeping forces. Although not exhaustive, this distinction provides a categorization, which facilitates taking into account different cultural, historical, social and military contexts the Children Born of War are born into. All these factors are of relevance when seeking to systematically expand the data base on CBOW.

Compared to other areas of war and peace research, the topic of CBOW was widely neglected for a long time and systematic and reliable information and data on the different groups of CBOW were rather scarce. Recognizing the importance of improving the evidence base in order to pursue the situation of Children Born of War in conflict and post conflict situations on the political and humanitarian agenda the primary aim of INIRC-CBOW is to improve the empirical evidence on Children Born of War taking the following steps:

- Collecting data and information on Children Born of War across time and nations and thereby expanding the evidence base.
- Gathering research results, literature, on-going research projects on Children Born of War and promoting collaborative research projects on the topic.
- Developing recommendations of best practices to secure the rights of Children Born of War in co-operation with NGO's & governmental organizations.
- Developing medical therapies focusing on the special needs of Children Born of War.

Several research projects have been conducted during the past years which have provided valuable insights to the life developments of different groups of CBOW and which offer a good –

although far from sufficient – basis for more systematic comparative studies. Some of the ongoing and future research and projects can be found here: http://www.childrenbornofwar.org. Further efforts to improve the evidence base are brought forward within the data sharing initiative of the research data alliance (RDA) https://rd-alliance.org/.

The network includes so far more than 100 scientists from various disciplines, practicing medical doctors and psychologists, Children Born of War and/or their family members, journalists, members of NGOs, politicians, and military personnel. Several activities have been organized over the past years such as conferences, research projects, publications, political advocacy, networking, capacity building etc. Reports on CBOW-INIRC activities are continuously updated on the internet page. Additionally three times a year a newsletter in English language is sent to the members. For further information on the activities and to sign up for the newsletter see here: http://www.childrenbornofwar.com/

INIRC-CBOW also works closely together with several national and international associations representing the Children Born of War such as the BORN OF WAR, international network (BOW i.n.), which is a network of national organizations of Children Born of War which cooperate at the European level. At the political level INIRC-CBOW has, for example, carried out a conference on "The Legacy of War Time Rape" in cooperation with the Peace Research Institute Oslo and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign affairs in 2011. And since 2013 close collaborations exist with Mechthild Rawert, member of the German Parliament, who is working on developing international standards and rules of relevance to Children Born of War at the national, European and international level.

By working systematically to expand and consolidate the evidence base, by facilitating networking, collaboration and exchange and by transferring knowledge to all relevant stakeholders and agencies, INIRC-CBOW aims to make an impact on the lives of CBOWs born in present and future conflict zones.

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BIO:

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Children Born of Occupation in German Post-war History – The Pitfalls of Biographical Research and Dealing with the Networks of Those Affected

Elke Kleinau

1. Introduction

The 8th of May, 2015 marks the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II. Academic conferences, anthologies (cf. Stelzl-Marx/Satjukow 2015; Baur-Timmerbrink 2015) and academic articles (cf. Kleinau/Mochmann 2015) explicitly commemorate a segment of the population which have not until recently, been present in the nation's collective memory. Children Born of Occupation is a term in reference to children born between 1945 and 1955,[1] who were the result of sexual relationships between members of the allied powers and local women. The line between consensual and forced sexual contacts was blurred in occupied post-war Germany. Not all children were the result of mutually consensual sexual encounters or even love relationships. Prostitution to survive was daily fare and in many cases, the exchange of sex for goods or money was "not a voluntary decision made by the women" (cit. Lee 2009: 37). Especially in the last months of the war, cases of sexual violence prevailed which, contrary to popular assumptions during the times of the *Cold War*, were not only committed by Red Army soldiers, but also by members of the US-American, French and British troops (cf. Gebhardt 2015).

One monograph stands out of amongst the other recently released publications. Even though historian Barbara Stelzl-Marx (2012) had already devoted one chapter of her post-doctoral thesis to the situation of Austrian children born of occupation, a first monograph written by Silke Satjukow and Rainer Gries (2015) was published in early 2015. „‚Bankerte' – Besatzungskinder in Deutschland nach 1945" ('Bastards' – Children Born of Occupation in Germany after 1945). It documents a research project led by Lutz Niethammer at the University of Jena about „Besatzungskinder. Zur Sozial-, Diskurs- und Biographiegeschichte einer in beiden deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaften beschwiegenen Gruppe" (Children Born of Occupation – a history of discourse, the social and biographical history of a neglected group in both German post-war societies).

The Jena researchers – in the tradition of oral history (cf. Niethammer 1978) – in addition to the meticulous evaluation of enormous archival collections also conducted interviews with children born of occupation. In some cases, interviews were even conducted with their mothers. The book has been known to incite quite ambivalent reactions, not only within the research community concerned with the topic, but also within the networks of those affected. Taking this topic and especially the first monographic analysis of it as an example, some of the basic methodological problems of historical-biographical research, when dealing with contemporary witnesses and their networks, will be worked out and presented in the following sections.

2. Methodological Problems

2.1. Conducting and Evaluating Interviews

Within German contemporary history, oral history research can be traced back to the end of the 1970s. In contrast to classical social history, perceptions, experiences, and actions of so-called "ordinary people" who had not had a voice in the historiography previously, became

[1] The first children were born towards the end of the year 1945. On the 5th of May, 1955 the period of occupation was officially ended by the signing of the Paris Agreements.

the focus of attention. Much of this shift emanated from outside the established circles of historians, within local history workshops and district archives which aspired to record "history from below". Oral history researchers initially concentrated on people's day-to-day life in the era of National Socialism. When contemporary history is understood as the "epoch of those who lived at the time" (cit. Andresen/Apel/Heinsohn 2014: 16), the group of interviewees and the research topics change with the passing of time. After focusing on war children, meaning those who lived through World War II and witnessed its impacts, e.g. in the form of bombings on German cities, (cf. Lorenz 2005, Radebold et.al. 2009),[2] research now puts post-war childhood and thus the group of Children Born of Occupation at the centre of attention. In the beginning, the discourse was mainly focused on "black"[3] children, who were the result of German-US-American relationships (cf. Fehrenbach 2001 & 2005; Lemke Muniz de Faria 2002). This might be connected to the fact that up until the 1950's, more than half of all Children Born of Occupation in West Germany had an US-American father.[4] In the years following, that number rose up to almost 80% (cf. Lee 2009: 343f.). The fact that there were relationships between German women and members of the Allied Forces in other occupation zones, and that the respective Allied Forces employed very different strategies in dealing with "children of the enemy", has been presented in great detail by Satjukow and Gries (2015). Up until recently, little was known about the Russian-German children born of occupation, as this was very much a taboo topic in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) on account of the German-Soviet friendship. In their book, Satjukow and Gries also present new and informative findings about the French efforts to bring "their" children – though only the healthy and able-bodied – "home" to France. What remains unsatisfactory is the way of dealing with the collected life stories of the interviewees which leaves a great deal of potentials unexplored. The researchers' methodical approach cannot be gathered from the monograph. The readership does not receive any information about how the interviewees were selected, nor what kind of interview was conducted or how the interviews were evaluated. In their introduction Satjukow and Gries just simply put on record that the "highly emotionally charged personal statements" had presented them with an "unusual methodological challenge". Historiography is lacking "complex trans-disciplinary questioning and respective analysis models. [...]. This desideratum remains a challenge for research" (cit. Satjukow/Gries 2015: 20). The significance of disciplinary boundaries should not be neglected here, but presently, not only oral-history research has developed a solid methodological basis (cf. Andresen/Apel/Heinsohn 2014), which the authors have not taken note of. But if they had also taken a widened view, they would have been successful in finding theoretical and methodological reflections in the field of social and pedagogical biography research (cf. Wierling 2003: 85).

The collected life stories were not interpreted as a whole by Satjukow and Gries, but merely used as an illustrative starting point or as proof for one statement or the other. The manner of *how* references to the interviews are incorporated in the text seems highly confusing. Confusion is amplified not only by the mere change from the past tense, the historian's preferred story-telling tense, to the present tense (which is meant to suggest authenticity and clearness) but also by the form of narration. It leaves the readership with the impression that the authors may have witnessed the "wonderful first post-war summer"

[2] The research on war children focuses unilaterally on children of the German majority society and ignores to a large extent those children excluded from the German „Volksgemeinschaft" (national community) and their precarious life circumstances.

[3] Following the *Critical Whiteness Studies* we use terms like "black", "coloured", "white" in quotation marks to emphasize the constructive character of the terms (cf. Walgenbach 2008).

[4] No offical numbers were gathered in the Soviet occupation zone and the later German Democratic Republic.

themselves (cit. Satjukow/Gries 2015: 10). The juxtaposition of the voice, or tense used in recounting the story can be interpreted as insinuating that the authors were there personally and were present when 17-year-old Erika and the Russian sergeant Jewgeni fell in love. The same impression is given when Jewgeni is transferred back to the Soviet Union over night after officials discover his romantic relationship with Erika which ends in Erika trying to commit collective suicide with her two children. The authors appear to have witnessed how Erika turns on the gas tap and the three year old Karin "wraps her little arms around her crying mother" and "hugs her as tightly as she can" (cit. Satjukow/Gries 2015: 22). This stylistic device, suggesting closeness and concernment, is continually employed and lacks professional distance. That is not to say that all of the developed emotional empathy for the interviewees should be completely abandoned. Whether this stylistic device was chosen with regard to a wider audience interested in biographical stories, is an open question.

According to the study of Satjukow and Gries', many children born of war share a fate of traumatisation. This term, originating in the field of psychiatry or rather psychotherapy, is employed in an undifferentiated manner, which initially has secured the necessary public attention for the research in this field and the networks which were being formed amongst affected people. By now, the term should no longer be used for every harmful experience people suffered during the 20th century. The International Statistical Classification System of Illnesses and Related Health Problems (ICD-10) provides orientation in this matter as it gives a relatively narrow definition. Accordingly, a trauma is "a burdening event or situation of shorter or longer duration, with an exceptional threat or to a catastrophe-like extent, which would result into deep despair in nearly everybody" (cit. Kaiser et al. 2015: 43). Historians, but also researchers in the social sciences, should leave the diagnosis of event survivors to psychotherapists. It should not be assumed in advance that *every* Child Born of Occupation was subjected to experiences of discrimination and thus those people *must* be traumatised. Evidence of the aforementioned assumption occurred when our project "Children Born of Occupation in Post-war Germany. Experiences in Education and Differentiation"[5] was presented at the annual meeting of *Coeur sans frontières – Herzen ohne Grenzen* (Hearts without Borders)[6] in March 2015. Whilst recruiting interviewees, we were confronted with tough inquiries about our research premises. Some of the people present had previously taken part in a study and during an interview one of them had been confronted with the statement that he was either an exception or he was not telling the truth, because he claimed not to be traumatised. It is this researcher's disappointment speaking here, as the story of the witness's life did not fit into the preconceived mould the researcher has casted. In this case, the reader can observe a lack of sensitivity for the shock, which, as already mentioned by Niethammer (cit. 1985: 410), should occur when the researcher "is confused in his questions and terms and lead beyond them". Here, however, the interviewer even succumbed to an urge to lead the story to a pre-defined end.

Despite of this, research can make use of interviews like the one mentioned above. Researchers employing qualitative methods "are generally participants in a social environment which is constituted through their presence and is therefore a determiner of the behaviour of all parties present" (cit. Jensen/Welzer 2003). The story composed by the interviewees can be understood as a "product of interaction" or an "interaction offer" for the interviewer (cit. Klein 2000: 80). The methodological consequence is that the text of the story must be seen as a dialogue rather than a monologue and has to be analysed and interpreted accordingly. This

[5] This project is funded by the DFG and conducted by Rafaela Schmid and myself.

[6] Affected people who were or are looking for their fathers, have now organised themselves in networks like *GI-Traces, Russenkinder* and *Coeurs sans frontières – Herzen ohne Grenzen* and support each other.

practice, of how a biography is formed in shared dialogue, has most impressively been applied by the research group surrounding Harald Welzer (2005) in a study called „Opa war kein Nazi" (Grandpa was not a Nazi).

Biographical research faces the problem of generally unfinished communication, which is answered with the concepts of *theoretical samplings* and *theoretical-empirical saturation (*cf. Strauss 1991). When, after a certain number of conducted interviews, no fundamentally new topics are being brought up, the search for new interviewees may be discontinued. This has a "certain plausibility" to it (cit. Bois-Reymond 2001: 223), but can fall short for two reasons: On the one hand, there might still be new interviewees who could contribute new experiences[7], while on the other hand some aspects of the issue might have been neglected or not fully thought through as they were not addressed during the interviews or perhaps respective comments were not recognised and followed up on at the time. Potential shortcomings and fallacies like these might be prevented in research workshops where discussions with colleagues who work biographically can function as a corrective when it comes to subjective interpretations of interviews.

2.2. The Benefits and Drawbacks of Affected People Networks

The mission of the researcher is thus, to be impressed deeply by their interlocutor, to dismiss previous presumptions and to be open for new trails of thought and ways of interpretation. Limits are reached, the more Children Born of Occupation organise themselves into networks and communicate with researchers via those networks. On the one hand, there are ambitions of network leaders to act as "gatekeepers" who mean to regulate access to *their* people. For example, they may impose limits by deciding whose projects are made public via their networks mailing lists. These actions are justified by the argument that those affiliated with the networks are re-traumatised by a former questioning and that they should not be subjected to a repeat interview. This attitude and behaviour of the network leaders ultimately leads to the incapacitation of the people concerned. The interviewees are not perceived as independently thinking and acting subjects, who are capable of deciding for themselves to whom they want or do not want to talk.

The interaction between researchers and the people concerned requires mutual respect and imposes high demands on the researchers in terms of sensitivity. Some Children Born of Occupation for example, feel discriminated against by the title of Satjukow and Gries' study (2015) even though the pejorative term "Bankerte" is clearly marked as a quotation. The now grown up Children Born of Occupation feel that they are again pilloried and not valued sufficiently as research subjects. Vice versa, the networkers lack the necessary respect for the researchers, when they ascribe methodological competences to themselves, judge the relevance of certain research approaches and in this way regulate the access to their networks. One of the objections raised against qualitative research is that no representative results can be obtained. But even quantitative research cannot provide this, as Children Born of Occupation are part of a "hidden population" group. The only official statistics about Children Born of Occupation were provided by the German Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt) in 1956. According to this census "66.730 'illegitimate children of occupation soldiers' were born in total [...] of which 4.681 were of 'coloured origin'" in the western occupation zone (cit. Schröder 2009: 179). The estimated number of unknown cases

[7] The wide-spread discrimination narrative keeps some affected people from giving an interview, as they are of the opinion that they have nothing spectacular to add to the discussion. It is a difficult process of clarification to convey that a researcher is interested in those life stories which entirely do not fit into the predominant narrative.

is much higher, as at the time of the data collection only such illegitimate children born of occupation, who had been placed under guardianship, could be recorded. Through "emigration of the mother, adoption, legitimacy documents or death" numerous children were not recorded (cit. Satjukow 2011: 583),[8] some of whom to this day may not know that they are children of unknown occupation soldiers.

One principle of qualitative-biographical research is to find potential interviewees who have not talked to a researcher before about their life story. However, some of the interviewees have attained the status of a professional time witness by now, who present, by regular repetition, a well-rehearsed narrative identity. The biography is told in a way that definitively defines the identity for this person once and for all. For that, the current interest of the media for Children Born of Occupation is not entirely without blame. Various studies have pointed out how biographical sense is made through the reception of media reporting (cf. f.e. Seegers 2014). Another factor which contributes to the reproduction of this phenomenon, which is well known within biographical research dealing with survivors of the Holocaust, is the repeated reciprocal telling of life stories in the aforementioned networks. Once the narration is created, a deviation from it happens only in thoughtless moments during a narrative interview. The researcher should pay particular attention to these inconsistencies or breaks in biographical narrations.

3. Attributions of Difference – An Intersectional Analysis

The history of Children Born of Occupation is currently told as the story of a special, fatherless group, which was particularly exposed to structural, institutional and individual discrimination. In fact, a lot of children grew up fatherless after the war. 5.3 million German soldiers who had been killed in the war left 2.5 million half-orphans and about 100,000 orphans (cf. Seegers 2008: 128). These children themselves often had no memories of their fathers, but through photographs and stories told by their mothers, the fathers remained present in the family's memory. However, most Children Born of Occupation had been born illegitimately and did not get to know much about their biological father in their mother's life time. The number of children born illegitimately rose rapidly during the last year of World War II and the first post-war years and peaked in 1946 with 120,000 illegitimate children of 733,000 live births (cf. Buske 2004: 196). The question is, whether or not the Children Born of Occupation really were a "special case" among the illegitimately born children in the perception of the German people or if they only became so when other categories of differentiation were added. Thus, it must be clarified, if experiences of discrimination were only and solely based on one's status of being an occupation child. According to the debate about *intersectionality* (cf. Davis 2008, Knapp 2008, Degele/Winker 2009, Kleinau 2010, Walgenbach 2014) the different conditions of the childhood of "white" and "black" children, of legitimate and illegitimate children, of boys and girls in all four occupation zones must be taken into account. Social background and religious denomination have to be considered as well, as the streams of refugees after 1945 led to a mixture of, up to then, quite isolated religious settings. Whether or not the children had been the result of a love affair, a passing sexual encounter or of rape must also be considered for the analysis, as mothers who had been violently forced into sexual intercourse against their will, could have had difficulties in bonding with an unwanted child. Causalities cannot be taken as a given of course, as disappointed love or societal discrimination may have contributed to problems in the mother-child-relationship. The

[8] Apart from the subsequently legitimised children born of occupation, there is another group of children which do not appear in the statistics: Children, who were born within existing marriages.

attributions mentioned and their interdependence must be analysed to avoid prematurely assigning experienced discrimination to the status as an occupation child, to ethnicity or to gender. What is missing in the research of Children Born of Occupation is that men and women seem to have developed different forms of biographical narration, which are connected to the parental memory. "Mothers as well as fathers tend to remember differently with daughters than with sons" (cit. Fivush 2010: 50). Emotions and relationships are addressed in more definable and stronger contexts in communications with daughters than with sons. This is why girls "from about the age of six years on produce more detailed, more emotional and relationship oriented narrations about their personal, and thus subjective past, than boys of the same age" (cit. Fivush 2010: 50-51) and these different skills seems to carry on throughout adult life.

The hypothesis, which imposes itself after viewing the given sources (autobiographies and interviews), is that the experiences of being discriminated against in "white" children seems rather to be connected to their illegitimate status,[9] their social background as a refugee or the embedding in a strongly denominational milieu rather than of being of descent of an ex-enemy. The situation of the visibly "different" children – descendants of Afro-American soldiers, French colonial soldiers but also non-European Red Army soldiers – is surely different. Nevertheless, it remains to be clarified, if for example the life story of the Afro-American German orphanage child Erika (Ika) Hügel, who had to endure years of humiliation culminating in an exorcism performed on her due to her "immoral procreation" and her skin colour, is a tragic individual fate (cf. Hügel-Marschall 2012). The presentation of Azziza B. Malanda about Afro-German orphanage children and their individual coping with social stigmata at the conference „Besatzungskinder – Wehrmachtskinder. Auf der Suche nach Identität und Resilienz" (Children Born of Occupation in Germany and German occupied countries. In search of identiy and resilience) clearly suggests this assessment (cf. Reinhardt 2015).

Finally, a comment about the use of photographs in publications about Children Born of Occupation may be added: They are often used solely for illustrational purposes without analysing the photograph itself for example with the methodology of Breckner (2010) or Pilarczyk/Mietzner (2005) with regard to visual key points. The published photographs generally do not differ from other children's pictures from the same time period; they document status passages such as baptism, starting school, first holy communion, or confirmation. "There is no way anyone could tell, just by looking at me!" This utterance of a "white" German-American occupation child puts the issue in a nutshell. For purposes of clarification that these are indeed children born of occupation, the photograph of a "black" child with a "white" mother or in a group of "white" children is chosen. By doing so, a one-dimensional view on Children Born of Occupation enters into the research discourse on a visual level, one which we initially attempted to overcome on the level of the text.

4. Conclusion

Children Born of Occupation do not have to adhere to the expectations of researchers when telling their life stories. Rather, the opposite is the case: Qualitative interview studies work according to the principle of maximum contrasts to expand the range of human life

[9] In a survey from the 1950s 33% of the participants claimed that they did not have any reservations against unmarried mothers, 41% said it would depend on the individual case itself and 18% disapproved of illegitimate motherhood in any case. However, *all* participants stated that motherhood "out of carelessness and lack of responsibility" should be rejected in any case (cf. Pongratz 1964: 4).

experience. As such there is neither no such thing as "childhood" in National Socialism and not even Jewish childhoods in National Socialism can be brought to a single common denominator, nor is there a homogenous childhood of children born of occupation.

Conversely, results of scientific research will not always meet the expectations of those affected. It is the researchers' task to put the individual's subjective appraisals of his or her biographical experiences in a political-, social-, cultural- and gender-historical context. Therefore, a gap between researchers and people affected remains, which must not be trivialized but rather analysed with regard to its extent and manner (cf. Lüdtke 1998: 631). In order to avoid misinterpretations: The argument here is not aligned with the claim that "the contemporary witness is the natural enemy of the historian", as is often quoted in the debate between social historians and oral history researchers. This devaluation of witnesses disguises – in a rather obvious manner – the notion that social historians are entitled to sovereignty of interpretation. The subjective memory of contemporary witnesses undoubtedly provides a vital dimension to the process of gaining historical knowledge. But nevertheless, interviewees do not tell "how it really was" but convey a rather personal perspective on their biographical stories. The research on Children Born of Occupation expands personal experience to areas beyond the subjective horizon of insight, establishes connections and acts as a mediator. If it could be seen "as an essential supplement and not as something new, strange and opposing" (cit. Schörken 2004: 155) by the ones affected and especially the administrators of the networks, the foundations for a flourishing cooperation would be laid.

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BIO:

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Her research topics are Secondary and higher education for girls, History of childhood and History of teachers'training.

Lately she works on a research project – founded by the German Research Community - (DFG) about "Children of Occupation. Experiences of Education and Differentiation" (together with Rafaela Schmid, MA). The project is integrated into the Competence Area V "Social Inequalities and Intercultural Education" (SINTER), which is part of the Excellence Cluster "Meeting the Challenge of Change and Complexity".

In 2015 she organized a conference about "Children of Occupation in Germany and German occupied Countries. In Search of Identity and Resilience" (together with Ingvill C. Mochmann).

Public Reading and Roundtable Discussion

One evening of our symposium was dedicated to learn about the lives of Children Born of War (CBOW) from various perspectives in a public setting. Not only did Ute Baur-Timmerbrink read from her book „Wir Besatzungskinder – Töcher und Söhne alliierter Soldaten erzählen", she also represented Gisela Heidenreich, who unfortunately couldn't attend the symposium, but contributed a written form of her presentation to this reader. We were also priviledged to have had Birgrit Michler, Marianne Gutmann and Winfried Behlau, three children born of soviet soldiers, share some of their own experiences on growing up as a CBOW. The round table was completed by Dr. Heide Glaesmer, Prof. Dr. Ingvill Mochmann and Dr. Phillip Kuwert, who gave a scientific inside into the topic and talked about their experiences in working with CBOW.

Roundtable Discussion, from left to right: Birgit Michler, Marianne Gutmann, Winfried Behlau, Phillip Kuwert, Ingvill Mochmann, Heide Glaesmer, Ute Baur-Timmerbrink

Symposium "Interdisciplinary perspectives on Children born in WW II"

Ute Baur-Timmerbrink

With help of the British aid agency GI Trace, I support Children Born of War searching for their unknown fathers since 2002.

Their fathers were allied soldiers, who were stationed in Germany and Austria after the Second World War. The American government supports the search by giving these "children" access to their fathers' military records from the NPRC (National Personal Record Center) in St. Louis Missouri, since the 80's. That's the reason why many children fathered by American soldiers were successful in their search. As there is no such support in France, Great Britain or Russia the search is much more difficult and unfortunately in most cases less successful.

My book „Wir Besatzungskinder – Töchter und Söhne alliierter Soldaten erzählen" shows how 12 people have to face difficulties of their own unknown identity and personal crisis, which accompany many years of searching for their fathers.

Historian Prof. Dr. Sabine Lee and Psychologist Dr. Heide Glaesmer completed my book by adding two scientific chapters – I am very grateful for their contributions.

Ute Baur-Timmerbrink – Reading of her book

I was invited to read from my book and be a part of the roundtable discussion (chaired by Dr. Phillip Kuwert) at the Symposium in Hannover. The discussion as well as the conversations at the reception afterwards showed that even though until than the public mostly wasn't aware of the need to find our roots, they understood this need very well after. I want to thank all the scientists for bringing this topic to the public through their research "Children Born of War and Occupation". Only after numbers, facts and consequences of the occupation were scientifically investigated and published, Children Born of War were noticed by the public and more importantly taken serious by their families for the urge to find their fathers.

Psychosocial Consequences of "Lebensborn"-Ideology

Gisela Heidenreich

The Norwegian Children of "Lebensborn" ("Spring of life") are part of the academic research "Children born of WWar II". German "Lebensborn"-children are at first sight not a part of the original group this conference is dedicated to: Children born of WW II and born during the post-war occupations, fathered by foreign soldiers and mothered by local mothers.

Both Mothers *and* fathers *of German* "Lebensborn"-children are *German*. Sometimes also a result of a love-affair their procreation and birth are mostly connected to pure race ideology.

Himmler argued to prevent the rise in abortions in the thirties when he founded the organisation "Lebensborn e.V." in 1935. He assumed the reason for abortions was a society that marginalized unmarried mothers and complicated social acceptance and advancement for illegitimate children. His conclusion was to offer those women the chance to hide their pregnancy and to give birth to their children in secrecy avoiding the discriminations of society. This argumentation sufficiently veiled the real goals of the SS-organization and its crime against humanity during the Nuremberg trial. Indeed the tasks of "Lebensborn" were clearly formulated in the statutes:

> „Rassisch und erbbiologisch wertvolle werdende Mütter unterzubringen und zu betreuen, bei denen nach sorgfältiger Überprüfung der eigenen Familie und der Familie des Erzeugers anzunehmen ist, daß gleich wertvolle Kinder zur Welt kommen. Für diese Kinder zu sorgen. Für die Mütter dieser Kinder zu sorgen."
>
> ("…to shelter and support racial and genetic precious women who would - after careful examinations of their families and the families of the procreator – assumedly bear equally precious children… to take care of these children…to take care of the mothers.")

The goal of this ostensible care was in fact despising humanity: The creation of a "racial elite" and eradicating "less worthy" or "non-worthy" life at the same time: It was thereby the other side of Holocaust.

Only mothers who would bear "desired" progeny could profit from the "welfare institution" – this term was used expressively in the Nuremberg acquittals! Women who did not meet racial criteria were denied.

„Kinder guten Blutes, wertvoll an Körper und Geist, der Adel der Zukunft" – "Children of good blood, precious in body and spirit, the gentry of the future" got the best conditions. Their mothers were supported whether they wanted to bring up their children themselves or to leave them behind in the homes to give them up for adoption.

"Lebensborn"-children were born in Germany since 1936. After the beginning of WW II in 1939, many SS-members followed Himmler´s instruction to procreate progeny also outside their marriages. More and more unmarried women were willing to give birth to "Children for the Fuehrer". Hiding in proper maternity hospitals of "Lebensborn", most of them in beautiful surroundings, secret accouchement and best medical care made the decision easier.

Due to secretiveness the rumour rose yet during the "Third Reich" that the "Lebensborn" homes were bordello-like "breeding facilities" where SS-members produced "aryan" children by mating with blond and blue-eyed women. Today 70 years after the war this rumour persists in the public supported by the press still using the term "breeding" and by films using this cliché. For "Lebensborn"-children this is an additional constant burden to be looked at as products of whorehouses.

In fact the children born there were often only accepted due to *ideology* not for *themselves*, only if they were congruent with the race mania in National Socialism (NS). Handicapped children were treated like other "worthless" human beings by the NS cruelty: they were killed.

All "Lebensborn"-mothers were somehow involved in the NS-regime – especially when they had worked for the organisation like my mother. Their silence about this fact went on postwar. As if obliged to shut up for the rest of their lives those women denied the origin of their children, created lies and ignored the desperate children's search for their biological fathers.

Self-confidence and self-esteem can not develop if subjective perception and reactions are not congruent. A child who again and again experiences the external denial of its own observations and feelings as "fantasies" or "lies" will feel unsettling psychic tensions. "Lebensborn"-children report "vague and foggy feelings walking on shaking ground". The result is deep insecurity, self-distrust and finally suspicion, which makes it complicated to find a place in their social environment. It also results in a lack of bonding or even avoiding relationships.

Those grown up with their biological but repudiating mothers and especially those who don´t know neither mother nor father are burdened by these never answered questions:
Was I created because my parents desired a child or due to their race-ideology? Should I only live for this purpose? Was I supposed to support the power of the "master race"?

The question for the "real father" is flavored with a bitter taste. Fathers of "Lebensborn"-children mostly were SS-officers – some of them offenders who committed serious crimes.

Being a „Täterkind", the child of a perpetrator, is very hard. This horrible feeling produces shame and guilt. Even when the parents were not "active murderers", they still had accepted and supported a murderous regime.

There is also a feeling of guilt and shame concerning the fact of being incorporated into the community of SS-murderers by the ritual of „Namensweihe" – a kind of "baptizing" the babies in "Lebensborn"-homes – while others being murdered as "worthless for life".

Since 1942 "Lebensborn" was active in the program of "germanizing" occupied eastern countries: Children of "aryan" appearance were taken away from foster homes or even from their parents and were "reeducated" for a German life, had to "forget" their mother tongue and were brought up in NS families. The fate of those "robbed children" has not yet been appreciated, some biographies will be published in a book next year: „Geraubte Kinder" by Christoph Schwarz.

Children born in "Lebensborn"-homes and robbed children have similar experiences like other Children born of WW II.

Most of them never experienced the warmth and reliability of a family. Some were pushed from one foster home to the next one. Almost all grew up risen in a net of alienation, concealment and lies, never received information about their true origin. Loss and abnegation, shame and guilt made it difficult to develop an identity and the capability for bonding in relationships.

By the end of war many "Lebensborn e.V." documents of registration were destroyed by employees (except those in Norway) or got lost. So many born in "Lebensborn"-homes or have been "germanized" by the organization are searching for their true origin until today.

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Further publications and informations: Homepage of the organsiation „Lebensspuren e.V." www.lebensspuren-deutschland.eu

BIO:

Gisela Heidenreich (*Oslo, 1943) was raised in Bad Tölz and Munich and studied Educational Theory, Special Educational Theory and Psychology at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. She works as a counselor for couples and families, as well as a lecturer at the Bayerische Akademie für Gesundheit in Seeshaupt. Furthermore she's working as an author and is a member of the P.E.N. association since 2007. Amongst others some of her latest publications are „Das endlose Jahr – Auf der Suche nach der eigenen Identität – ein ‚Lebensborn'-Schicksal"; Bern/München, 2002; Fischer Tb 2004; „Das Schweigen der Mütter" in: Bellmann, Biermann (Hrsg.), „Vatersuche"; Berlin 2004; „Lebensbornkindheit als Beispiel geraubter Kindheiten" in: „Kindheiten im Zweiten Weltkrieg", Hrsg. Radebold u.a.; Weinheim 2006; „Sieben Jahre Ewigkeit – Eine deutsche Liebe"; München 2007; „Auf der Suche nach der Identität – Psychische Folgen der Lebensborn-Ideologie" in: „Né maudit – Verwünscht geboren – Kriegskinder", Hrsg. Norz Remmers, Berlin 2008; „Sieben Jahre Ewigkeit – Das geheime Leben meiner Mutter", Tb, München 2009; „Geliebter Täter – Ein Diplomat im Dienst der ‚Endlösung'"; München 2011.

"Fatherless and discriminated"

…that was the topic of the roundtable discussion of the symposium in Hannover at the evening of the 4th of June. Almost 80 people came to take part in this public session of the symposium. Thanks to the Volkswagen Foundation and the organizers we were able to meet in the Schloss Herrenhausen, with its beautiful surroundings.

In previous conferences as well as in former research and media "Children Born of Soviet Soldiers" (CBSS) didn't get as much of a chance to talk about their experiences as the children born of other allied soldiers. Since 2013, decades after the end of World War II, things changed. Research as well as the media focuses more and more on CBSS.

As such they were represented by three of the participants of the roundtable – Birgrit Michler, Marianne Gutmann and Winfried Behlau.

From left to right: Winfried Behlau, Birgrit Michler, Marianne Gutmann

In the following each of them shares some of their own insights concerning the matter.

Birgrit Michler

When talking about CBSS, we are talking about two different backgrounds. There are those, who were born out of rape, like Winfried Behlau. And others, who were born out of love, like Marianna Gutmann and I.

We all made different experiences growing up, but many of us were influenced by the way they were treated by their families, and the silence of their mothers over many years, often even until death. Even in society it was a taboo, especially in the former GDR, which explains why many of us didn't start the search for their fathers earlier. Some, as Marianne, were successful; others still hope to receive help in order to find their fathers.

A group of German CBSS met twice in March of 2014 and 2015 in Leipzig. In 2014 we started with 9 participants, who were slowly getting to know each other. This year we already had 15 participants. Not only had our number increased, but also our determination to encourage others with the same fate to contact us. There are more than 25 contacts now. For some of them it is still hard to talk openly about what they experienced. I am one of the few of us not being traumatized, stigmatized or discriminated. Not within my family or my social environment. I could always handle and talk about it openly. I can say: I am fatherless but never discriminated. Of course I still ask myself the question what happened to our fathers after the war. What happened to those, who disappeared suddenly? This is a question many of us wonder about.

One CBSS living near Hannover had read of the roundtable discussion and therefore came to sit in and listen. Afterwards she came in contact with us us and we had a wonderful conversation. The discussion with the public, showed the growing interest in the topic. It encourages us to continue our work publicly in order to help others of our fate to open up and leave the shadow of their past.

Winfried Behlau

Book: „Distelblüten – Russenkinder in Deutschland" ISBN 978-3-944665-04-7

When we first met as "CBSS" at the 6th of March 2014 in Leipzig, many said: "That was the first time I talked about my origins." Because talking about it felt like a release, we decided to publish our stories.

I was responsible for gathering the biographies and publish them in a book. For many it wasn't easy to start writing. To help them we visited some of them. Around Christmas 2014 we finished our first edition with 152 pages. Firstly we published 200, later 500 copies. (3. Edition 1500, July 2015)

The book as well as the related media articles, radio and TV features, caused many other "CBSS" to contact, congratulate and thank us for publicly sharing our experiences. They also told us, they wouldn't have talked about their stories otherwise.

It was fantastic to receive so much positive feedback from the readers, including scientists. Within the circle of our family and friends we received different reactions. "Why do you have to publish such old stories?", "Our mother didn't deserve that!", "I am changing my last will and testament." but also "Former disagreements in the family are now resolved." were some of the reactions we've got.

We gave some interviews, which were published in the press, radio or TV. Unfortunately they don't always publish exactly what was said. It seems as if some things are presented in a slightly selective manner to make it a better story. Sadly that even includes some scientific publications.

Because of our book, we created a homepage http://russenkinder-distelblueten.de. There is a lot of information, including a short clip, called „Eigentlich" showing the story of Anton in a short and emotional way (http://russenkinder-distelblueten.de/buch/hörprobe.html).
We are very happy about the changes caused by our book. It helped to end the silence in many cases. We hope for a similar change in Russia, as there are many Children Born of War, who often suffer in silence, too.

Marianne Gutmann

I also want to thank the organizers for inviting us CBSS. Regarding this opportunity I would like to point out 3 things.

1. Through our stories it becomes obvious for how long children of our fate suffer from the emotional wounds of war, even if they are able to master their lives. Society should pay attention to the destiny of mothers and children in current conflict settings all over the world, in order to provide much needed help and support for both mothers and children. The latter being our future, too.
2. It is very special to me to witness in what manner historians – mostly female – are connected with us. The CBSS group we have today wouldn't have been possible without their effort in supporting us both morally and with the organization. On our part we participated in their research about the psychosocial situation of Children Born of Occupation, and motivated other CBSS to do the same.
3. This research changed our lives. Most of the audience of the roundtable discussion at the 4th of June 2015 was very interested to hear what we had to say during the discussion but especially afterwards in more personal conversations. They often said: "I never thought about Children Born of Occupation before!" At the very same day a long article was published in the newspaper „Thüringer Allgemeine" about the successful search for my father. My Russian half-brother saw this via internet and wrote a heart-warming reader's letter "from the other side".

There are some topics to be addressed in the future:

After the first meetings many CBSS feel the need for further discussion to exchange experiences and problems with f. e. the silence of the mothers, possible siblings, education, partnership etc. in a professional setting with help of psychologists and researchers.

A continued work for and with CBSS is needed, especially within the former GDR.

Historians are asked to focus more on the Children Born of War in the Eastern European countries (former Soviet Union, Poland etc.) as they had to suffer from the occupation of first german and than soviet soldiers, surely there were children left, too.

What kind of life had our fathers after the war? Were they silent until their death as well? Could there be research about this?

Conclusion and Outlook

Sabine Lee (University of Birmingham, Department of History, UK); Heide Glaesmer (University of Leipzig, Department for Medical Psychology and Medical Sociology, Germany)

The international and interdicsiplinary symposium on Children Born of War was an extraordinary collaborative effort bringing together junior and senior researchers, "Children" born of World War II and the post-war occupations as well as the interested public. Our heartfelt thanks goes to the Volkswagen Stiftung, which supported the meeting generously financially, through its excellent organisation and its hospitality in Hannover. Our particular gratitude goes to Margot Jädick-Jäckel and her colleagues who helped the academic organisers run the event as smoothly as it did and who dealt with any last-minute concerns in a professional and always light-hearted manner. All this made the workshop a joy to be involved in for academic and non-academic colleagues as well as – I am sure – the public who enjoyed the evening event with book reading and panel discussion.

The two days presented us with a multi-facetted opportunity of academic and public exchange of research and personal experiences. The early-career workshop with its fascinating presentations from a variety of disciplines ranging from history to psychology and from educational science to psychiatry and neuroscience provided intellectual stimulation, opportunity for interdisciplinary cross-fertilisation and exciting discussions on future research collaboration. We hope that the contacts forged among young researchers and between junior and more senior colleagues will be the foundation of further work in this field. Hopefully, the European Union-supported Marie Curie doctoral training network (www.chibow.org) which will commence in September 2015 across eleven institutions in Europe will provide future opportunities for similar research collaboration.

Vincent Oling's keynote address which opened the proceedings of the core conference provided us with a potent reminder of the timeliness of our research. His account, rooted in his experiences in Africa and specifically in Northern Uganda, was a powerful contribution to the issue of academic research and its impact beyond academic discourse: the beginning and endpoint of our deliberations had to be people: those who have been and still are affected directly by the phenomena we were discussing.

Some key conclusions which emerged in several of the presentations and discussions stood out and were summarised in our final discussion. As they are of interest for future research, they will be the basis of the concluding remarks.

One key issue arising out of discussions between academic and non-academic participants goes to the core of research of experiences of those fathered by foreign soldiers and born to local mothers. The terminology used to refer to this group, Children Born of War, refers to people of all ages, including adolescence and adults as "children", because their identifying feature is that of being a "child" of a foreign soldier father. While many participants acknowledged that this terminology was not satisfactory, opinion among academic and non-academic discussants varied as to whether the current convention should be retained or whether a reconsideration of a more adequate lingo needed to be developed as a matter of urgency.

A second concern developed with view to research methodologies. It was generally acknowledged that the mixed-methods approaches, combining quantitative and qualitative methods were best suited to the research theme in order to do justice to the complexity of the phenomena under investigation. However, it was also recognized that interdisciplinarity, which was already the feature of many of the joint research projects, could and should be further enhanced, as could the comparative work within and beyond disciplinary boundaries

that builds on collaborative work with researchers with related research interests. An example of "borrowing" insights from other research areas is the work relating to semen donor children presented at the workshop or research on identity, which was referred to in some research papers. This work provided valuable insights, too, into the challenges of identity formation in CBOW. Such collaborative work has already led to genuine cross-fertilisation of different and diverse research activities. This has improved understanding significantly in a way that would have been difficult without the comparative perspective. Similarly, trauma research in related fields has added to our knowledge base as has the already significant collaboration between historians, social scientists and psychologists in participatory research design which had the very considerable bonus of also having direct input from CBOW themselves.

While much has already been achieved, the meeting also alerted researchers to the many remaining open questions. Very little is known about men within the family equation, whether merely as absent fathers (sometimes looking for their children, often oblivious to the fact that the children had been born) or as perpetrators of sexual violence which forms the background to a not insignificant proportion of intimate contacts resulting in the conception of CBOW. Understanding what drives soldiers to have relations with local women, consensual, exploitative or even violent is important in order to appreciate on the one hand how policies for the prevention of conflict-related sexual violence can be devised, but also how the situation for existing and future CBOW and their mothers can be improved by way of securing that fathers accept responsibilities for the children.

What has been noticeable in the discourse about CBOW over time and across space is that while the life course experiences are often closely related to the specific historical, geopolitical and cultural circumstances of their conception, birth and upbringing, the experiences of CBOW show remarkable similarities with regard to the three key aspects of identity formation, childhood adversities and stigmatisation/discrimination. What requires much closer analysis are the life course experiences, and several researchers emphasised that a life-span perspective in the form of a longitudinal analysis is essential in getting a clearer sense of factors which positively impact on coping strategies and greater resilience. Which circumstances foster resilience, which hinder it? How do these factors impact over time? When are they of greater and when of lesser significance? What roles do parental and familial integration play? What impact to local and regional support mechanism have? Beyond the individual case studies, the next steps have to include the development of sound models that allow us to compare different cases on a methodologically persuasive basis.

While the core concern of the conference was the research of various aspects of the experiences of CBOW, such experiences are inextricably linked to those of their mothers. Therefore, unsurprisingly, in many discussions the elephant in the room was the gendered context of the discourse about all post-conflict reconstruction processes. The low status of women in volatile conflict and post-conflict societies is of great significance in understanding the obstacles to successful integration of CBOW into post-conflict receptor communities. This gendered context requires detailed study at a theoretical and methodological level and has to be foregrounded as one of the key factors in the assessment of the life course experiences of CBOW across time and space.

This leads back to a significant point which dominated the concluding session of the workshop and which has already been alluded to. Research into Children Born of War and related subjects is linked closely to impactful academic engagement at different levels. Psychological and psychiatric research has so far primarily been focussed on enhancing our understanding of the challenges faced by CBOW; in a second step, these findings need to be translated into practical interventions which will help overcome negative outcomes with regard

to physical and mental health, but also with regard to social and economic well-being. But the impact of research can go beyond this and address the challenges also at policy-level. By exploring in more detail which local and regional support set-ups are most helpful in alleviating disadvantages of CBOW which are rooted in their biological origins, recommendations for transitional justice mechanisms that are sensitive to the needs of CBOW should be aimed for.

The two-day symposium and its public evening event have demonstrated clearly that huge progress has been made in the last decade of research relating to Children Born of War. It was equally shown that the research outcomes to date have raised as many new questions as they have answered older ones. We very much hope that the extensive communications during and around the meeting will lead to further collaboration across national, disciplinary and sectoral boundaries and will lead to more positive outcomes both at academic level and at the level of design and implementation of interventions – medical and policy-oriented – in the future.

Top row, from left to right: Daniela Conrad, Michelle Mouton, Janine Clark, Jean Allain, Benedetta Rossi, Vincent Ohling, Emmanual Ojok, Sabine Lee, Ingvill Mochmann
Second row, from left to right: Jennifer Scott, Heide Glaesmer, Winfried Behlau, Maria Böttche, Maren Röger, Dorett Funcke, Eunice Apio, Susan Bartels, Yuriy Nesterko, Amra Delić
Bottom row, from left to right: Gwendoline Cicottini, Wala' Maaitah, Phillip Kuwert, Martin Miertsch, Emina Hadziosmanovic, Eithne Dowds, Elisa van Ee, Marie Kaiser, Barbara Stelzl-Marx

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