

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

IEVA VASKELIENĖ

**LONG-TERM PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF POLITICAL
REPRESSION IN LITHUANIA TO SECOND GENERATION**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation
Social Sciences, Psychology (06 S)

Vilnius, 2012

Dissertation was accomplished in Vilnius University in 2008 – 2012.

Scientific supervisor of the dissertation:

Prof. Habil. Dr. Danutė Gailienė (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Psychology - 06S)

Scientific consultant of the dissertation:

Ass. Prof. Dr. Evaldas Kazlauskas (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Psychology - 06S)

Dissertation is defended at the Council of Psychology Science of Vilnius University:

Chair – Prof. Dr. Rimantas Kočiūnas (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Psychology - 06S)

Members:

Ass. Prof. Dr. Rasa Bieliauskaitė (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Psychology - 06S)

Prof. Dr. Dainius Pūras (Vilnius University, Biomedicine Sciences, Medicine – 06B)

Ass. Prof. Dr. Dalia Nasvytienė (Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences, Social Sciences, Psychology – 06S)

Prof. Dr. Nida Žemaitienė (Lithuanian University of Health Sciences, Social Sciences, Psychology – 06S)

Opponents:

Prof. Dr. Gražina Gudaitė (Vilnius University, Social Sciences, Psychology - 06S)

Prof. Dr. Dr. Andreas Maercker (University of Zurich, Social Sciences, Psychology – 06S)

The doctoral dissertation will be presented for the public defence at the Faculty of Philosophy, Vilnius University, on December 14, 2012, 12p.m. at 201 room.

Address: University str. 9/1, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lithuania.

The summary of the dissertation was sent out on November ___, 2012.

Copy of the dissertation is available at the library of Vilnius University.

VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS

IEVA VASKELIENĖ

**POLITINIŲ REPRESIJŲ LIETUVOJE ILGALAIKĖS
PSICOLOGINĖS PASEKMĖS ANTRAJAI KARTAI**

Daktaro disertacijos santrauka
Socialiniai mokslai, psichologija (06 S)

Vilnius, 2012

Daktaro disertacija rengta 2008 – 2012 metais Vilniaus universitete.

Mokslinė vadovė:

Prof. habil. dr. Danutė Gailienė (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija - 06S)

Konsultantas:

Doc. dr. Evaldas Kazlauskas (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija - 06S)

Disertacija ginama Vilniaus universiteto Psichologijos mokslo krypties taryboje:

Pirmininkas – Prof. dr. Rimantas Kočiūnas (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija - 06S)

Nariai:

Doc. dr. Rasa Bieliauskaitė (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija - 06S)

Prof. dr. Dainius Pūras (Vilniaus universitetas, biomedicinos mokslai, medicina – 06B)

Doc. dr. Dalia Nasvytienė (Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija – 06S)

Prof. dr. Nida Žemaitienė (Lietuvos sveikatos mokslų universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija – 06S)

Oponentai:

Prof. dr. Gražina Gudaitė (Vilniaus universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija - 06S)

Prof. Dr. Dr. Andreas Maercker (Ciuricho universitetas, socialiniai mokslai, psichologija – 06S)

Disertacija bus ginama viešame Psichologijos mokslo krypties tarybos posėdyje 2012 m. gruodžio 14 d. 12 val. Filosofijos fakulteto 201 auditorijoje.

Adresas: Universiteto 9/1, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lietuva.

Disertacijos santrauka išsiųsta 2012 m. lapkričio mėn. ____ d.

Disertaciją galima peržiūrėti Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekoje.

INTRODUCTION. Historical context and scientific novelty of the dissertation

World War II and succeeded occupations in Lithuania significantly affected people's lives. In 1940-1941 Lithuania was occupied by Soviets, in 1941 the country was taken over by the Germany Nazis and since 1944 again by Soviets. Then the country was forced to join Soviet Union and this occupation lasted until 1990. Political repression in the country started right away with occupations.

Experts say that approximately one third of Lithuanians suffered from these repressions: were killed, deported, imprisoned (Kuodytė, 2005). Just from 1941 till 1953 more than 148 thousand people were deported to labour camps in far regions of Soviet Union. The majority of deportees (70%) were women and children under 16 years old. About 30% of them died because of inhumane living conditions. 22 thousand partisans who were armed resistance in Lithuania against Soviet regime were killed, more than 50 thousand were imprisoned. The vast majority of Lithuanian Jews were killed by the Germany Nazis.

During Soviet occupation government used its own terms for the repressed people: partisans were called "bandits", deportees, political prisoners – "enemies of the country" (Anušauskas, 1996). This meant that even after the end of imprisonment or deportation survivors had to live in political climate of violence and surveillance. Family members of survivors of political repression during Soviet occupation in Lithuania were regarded as possible threat as well.

Studies of psychological trauma and political violence reveal long-lasting effects to the survivors (Maercker, Schützwohl, 1997; Maercker, Herrle, 2003; Major, 2003; Bichesku et al., 2005; Vojvoda et al., 2008; Meffert, Marmar, 2009; Fridman et al., 2011). But sometimes effects of psychological trauma go beyond the survivors and have influence to the second generation which did not experience themselves these traumatic events (Major, 1996a; Danieli, 1998; Yehuda et al., 1998). Numerous Holocaust second generation studies show variety of long-term consequences (Barcas, Barcas, 1980; Nadler et al., 1985; Bar-On et al., 1998; Fridman et al., 2011). On the other hand meta-analysis and later studies do not

confirm psychopathological intergenerational effects (IJzendoorn et al., 2003; Levav et al., 2007).

Unfortunately there are very few studies on long-term psychological effects of Soviet repression. We are aware of one pilot study carried out in Russia, in which Stalin's "purge" of people and its' consequences to the families and third generation was analysed (Baker, Gippenreiter, 1998). Interviews with a third generation confirmed the assumption of long-lasting effects. Current wellbeing and adaptation of the family and grandsons or granddaughters were affected by the way families had overcome political persecution, how they had kept contact and had remembered executed family members.

Thus open communication about experiences of political violence and proper assessment of their impact are important for better understanding of current mental health trends. Political trauma affects not just victim, but as well his family and society as a whole (Adjukovic, 2004; Gailienė, 2008). What are the long-term psychological impacts of Soviet regime we do not know well so far.

So based on the literature review and wishing to answer above mentioned questions, we raised an assumption that second generation of survivors of Soviet and Nazi repression in Lithuania would confront with long-term effects. This study is the first attempt to analyze in detail the long-term psychological effects and determine not only significant consequences for the second generation, but also possible intergenerational links between their well-being and their parents. The study will assess current mental health state of the second generation of survivors of political repression in Lithuania and it will be compared with parental well-being factors. Also this study will analyze two more groups: second generation of Holocaust survivors in Lithuania and participants whose parents were not repressed during these regimes. So the analysis of long-term effects to the repressed second generation would be possible in broader context.

The aims and the objectives of the dissertation

On the basis of literature review we formulated such aims:

1. To evaluate long-term psychological effects of Soviet and Nazi repression to repressed second generation.
2. To establish intergenerational links of mental health between survivors of political repression and second generation.

According to the aims, we set such objectives:

1. To identify subjectively evaluated long-term psychological effects of parents' political repression.
2. To evaluate current mental health state of the Soviet and Nazi repressed second generation.
3. To compare current mental health state of the Soviet and Nazi repressed second generation with the comparison groups.
4. To identify intergenerational links of trauma effects between Soviet and Nazi repressed second generation and their parents.

According to the literature of intergenerational trauma consequences, hypotheses were formulated:

1. Current mental health state, which is posttraumatic stress reactions, hopelessness and sense of coherence, of the Soviet and Nazi repressed second generation would not be statistically significantly different from the comparison groups.
2. There will be statistically significant intergenerational links between current mental health of the repressed second generation and their parents. The frequency communication of the parents' experience of repression in the family will be an intermediate factor between mental health relations of parents and second generation.

The defended thesis

1. Second generation of survivors experience long-term psychological effects of political repression during Soviet and Nazi occupations.

2. Indicators of mental health, which are posttraumatic stress reactions, hopelessness and sense of coherence, of second generation of survivors of political repression in Lithuania are not different from two comparison groups, except for posttraumatic hyperarousal, which is more intense in second generation group.

3. There are intergenerational links of posttraumatic reactions in families of survivors of political repression in Lithuania: posttraumatic reactions of survivors predict trauma symptoms of second generation.

RESEARCH METHOD

Participants and procedure

Study participants are a non-clinical sample. All participants were divided into three groups according to their parents' experiences of political repression. Target group in this study is sample of 145 participant whose mother or father survived Soviet and Nazi political repression (according to the law in Lithuania have official status as survivors of repression during Soviet and Nazi occupations in 1939-1990). This group is called ***repressed second generation***. These participants were born after the end of political repression, after their parents had returned from deportation or imprisonment.

The other two samples are called comparison group. This group consist of 177 participants whose parents' did not experience political repression in Lithuania (do not have official status as survivors or repression) – ***not-repressed second generation***. The other part of the group are 66 participants whose parents' survived the Holocaust in Lithuania – ***Holocaust second generation***, and they were born after the end of the Holocaust.

This study was a continuation of previous study of survivors of repression during Soviet and Nazi occupations (Gailienė, Kazlauskas, 2005; Kazlauskas, 2006). When it was decided to analyse long-term consequences of political violence in the country to the children of survivors, the participants of the above mentioned study were telephoned, explained about the aim of a new study and asked for their grown-up children contacts. Then second generation was contacted and study questionnaires were sent via mail. Reply rate is 48.3% of those who agreed to participate in the study.

Not-repressed second generation is a convenient sample and is matched with the repressed second generation sample according to socio-demographic characteristics: age, educational level, family status and place of residence. Second generation of Holocaust survivors were reached via Jewish Community of Lithuania. Jewish community in Lithuania is rather small (about 3000) and it was

difficult to attain participants for the study. Some of the participants of this group were contacted via acquaintances, some of them now are living abroad.

Socio-demographic characteristics of all of the participants are given in a Table 1.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of study participants

Socio-demographic characteristics	Repressed second generation <i>n</i> = 145	Not-repressed second generation <i>n</i> = 177	Holocaust second generation <i>n</i> = 66	Survivors of political repression <i>n</i> = 112
Gender				
Women	94 (64,8%)	119 (67,2%)	28 (42,4%)	45 (40,2%)
Men	51 (35,2%)	58 (32,8%)	38 (57,6%)	67 (59,8%)
Age <i>M</i> (SD)	45 m. (6,72)	44 m. (9,79)	54 m. (8,00)	73 m. (5,29)
Education:				
Elementary	1 (0,7%)	-	-	41 (36,6%)
Secondary	14 (9,7%)	12 (6,8%)	2 (3%)	38 (33,9%)
Professional/vocational	52 (35,9%)	60 (34,9%)	10 (15,2%)	17 (15,2%)
University level	78 (53,8%)	105 (59,3%)	54 (81,8%)	16 (14,3%)
Family status:				
Married	100 (69%)	123 (69,5%)	48 (72,7%)	82 (73,2%)
Divorced	15 (10,3%)	24 (13,6%)	9 (13,6%)	2 (1,8%)
Cohabiting	7 (4,8%)	5 (2,8%)	1 (1,5%)	-
Widowed	4 (2,8%)	6 (3,4%)	3 (4,5%)	28 (25%)
Other	19 (13,1%)	4 (2,3%)	5 (7,6%)	-
Residence:				
Vilnius (capital)	40 (27,6%)	53 (29,9%)	25 (37,9%)	17 (15,2%)
Big cities	31 (21,4%)	48 (27,1%)	24 (36,4%)	38 (33,9%)
Cities	49 (33,8%)	42 (23,7%)	2 (3,0%)	-
Small cities, villages	22 (15,2%)	29 (16,4%)	-	56 (50%)
Abroad	1 (0,7%)	-	10 (15,2%)	-
No information	2 (1,4%)	5 (2,8%)	5 (7,6%)	1 (0,9%)

Continuing to study the topic of political repression we had a unique possibility to compare data of the survivors, which is first generation, and their grown up children, which is repressed second generation. So we included data of the survivors of political repression in Lithuania into analyses of intergenerational

trauma effects ($n = 112$). Those are parents of 141 participants of repressed second generation group (from 23 families we had more than one offspring).

Measures and analyses

Assessment of long-term effects of parents' experiences of political repression. In the questionnaire repressed second generation was asked about parents' political repressions:

1. When and how did you find out that your parents (mother/ father) were deported/ imprisoned?
2. How often did you talk with your parents (mother/ father) about their life in deportation/ prison? (Rated on 5 point Likert scale).
3. What kind were these talks and how did they affected you?
4. How did, in your opinion, repressions effect your parents (mother/ father) and how did they cope with it?
5. What was the influence of political repressions of the parents to your life, character and etc.? What kind of difficulties and restraints did your experience because of that?

The answers to an open-ended questions was analysed according to the principles of thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun, Clarke, 2006). This analysis was carried out by two clinical psychologists (one of them is the author of this dissertation). All the answers were analysed and themes within the data were identified. Then the identified themes were named and a scheme of themes was made. This data was coded without pre-existing hypothesis, theory or coding frame, all the themes were derived from the data.

Assessment of mental health. *Life-time trauma experience* was evaluated with list of traumatic events from Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) (Mollica et al., 1992; Lithuanian version: Gailienė, Kazlauskas, 2005b). HTQ consists of the description of 24 traumatic events and experiences. Participants had to indicate which of the events

they had experienced themselves and which had witnessed or their close family members had experienced.

Trauma symptoms were measured with Impact of Event Scale-Revised (IES-R) (Horowitz et al., 1979; revised version: Weiss, Marmar, 1996; Lithuanian version: Kazlauskas, 2001). The participants had to rate 22 symptoms on 5 point Likert scale estimating the intensity of a symptom during the last week.

Intensity of traumatisation was also measured with Lithuanian revised version of Trauma Symptom Checklist – 35 (TSC-35) (Briere, Runtz, 1989; Lithuanian version: Gailienė, Kazlauskas, 2005b). The participants had to mark the symptom if they had it during the last two months.

Hopelessness, that is negative expectations about the future were measured by Beck Hopelessness Scale (BHS) (Beck et al., 1974; Lithuanian version: Skruibis et al., 2008). The participant had to rate 20 items whether it was true or not for them during the last week.

Sense of coherence, global orientation expressed in terms of comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness, was measured with shorter, 13 items version Sence of Coherence Scale (SOC) (Antonovsky, 1987; Lithuanian version: Žaržojutė, 2004). The participants had to rate 13 items on 5 point Likert scale.

THE MAIN RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Parents' status as survivors of political repression

Table 2. Parents' status as survivors of political repression

Status of political repression:	Father (<i>n</i> = 145) <i>n</i> (%)	Mother (<i>n</i> = 145) <i>n</i> (%)
Deportee	25 (17.2)	53 (26.3)
Political prisoner	93 (64.1)	26 (17.9)
Other	6 (4.1)	12 (8.3)
Did not experience	18 (12.4)	51 (35.2)
Did not answer	3 (2.1)	3 (2.1)

93 participant from second generation had father you had been imprisoned for political reasons during Soviet occupation in Lithuania (Table 2). 53 participants had mothers who had been deported to Siberia or other far regions in Soviet Union. 70 participants had both parents, father and mother, as survivors of political repression.

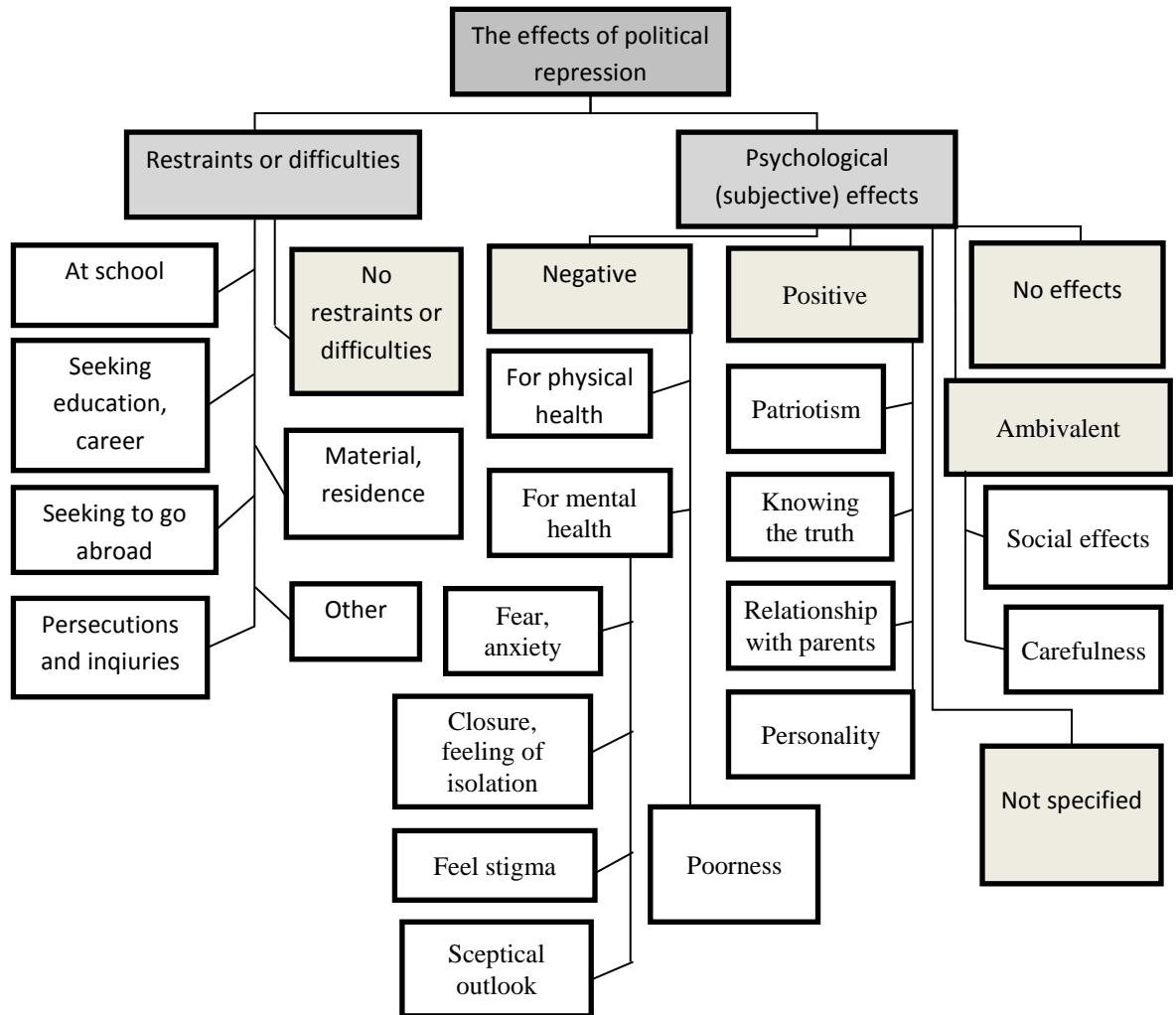
Most often (*n* = 95) second generation found out about parents' experiences of political repression from parents themselves. Usually this was encountered at a young age, in childhood. 28 participants found out about these parents' experiences when they were teenagers or already grown-ups.

The long-term psychological effects of parents' political repression

The long-term psychological effects of parents' political repression are given in Picture 1.

42 participants of the repressed second generation sample assessed that they had not experienced any restraints or difficulties because of their parents' repression. Other 61 participant denoted that some of their difficulties in life had been due to their parents' status as former prisoner or deportee. These restraints and

difficulties had been experienced during the occupations in the country: discrimination at school and seeking higher education or career, difficulties trying to go abroad or to have a place of residence, persecutions and inquiries by the state.



Picture 1. The long-term psychological effects of parents' political repression

When the participants were asked to assess the subjective effects of parents' repression to their life, their assessments were various. Those who mentioned negative long-term effects, considered parents' repression to be responsible for their worse physical health because their parents' health had been impaired. As well the participants thought that repression had conditioned their mental health: they are more anxious, fearful, isolated from the others, feel negative attitude from other

people towards them, stigma and have “complex” of such family heritage, have more sceptical outlook towards life. Some of the participants said that these long-term effects for them are ambivalent, for example, during Soviet occupation they did not agree to participate in communist youth organizations. So on one hand, they felt different and were discriminated at that time in social area, on the other hand, now they are glad about this fact. Positive long-term effects were related to good relationship with parents, knowledge of truth about the regime during the occupation, increased sense of patriotism, strong and resistant sense of personality. Just 16 respondents of the repressed second generation wrote that these experiences had not affected them. So, despite the fact that 60 years have passed since the political violence in the country, the majority of the repressed second generation state that they have felt and sometimes still feel long-term effects of these experiences. These findings go in line with the results of long-term consequences of Nazi regime (Nadler et al., 1985; Major, 1996b; Ermann, 2007).

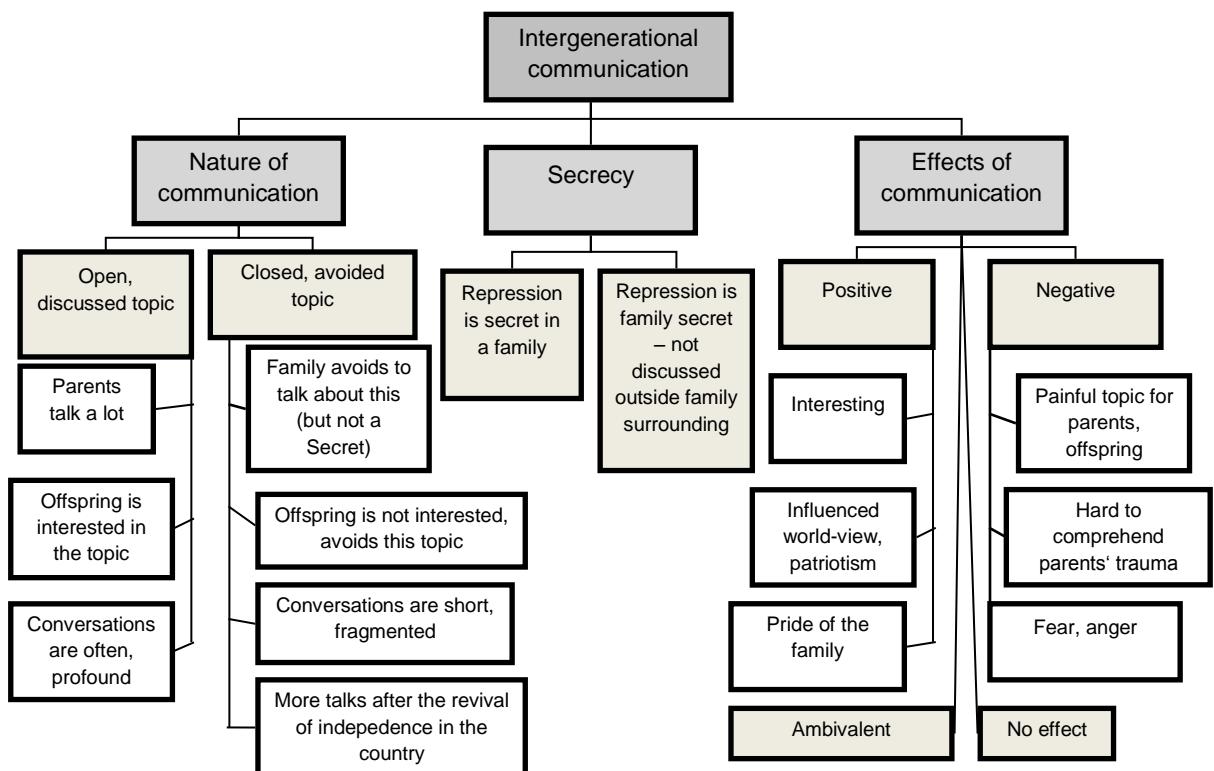
Communication about parents' experiences of political repression

Communication about parents' repression in a family sometimes was open, often and profound, parents were talking and remembering their experiences, offspring were interested in this topic. In other families this theme was avoided, conversations were rare, just a short fragments from the past, second generation was not interested in this topic. An important factor which influenced the openness of the communication was Lithuania's gain for independence. Significant social and political transformations created a more open atmosphere for communication. Acknowledgement of survivors changed their social status and encouraged discussion of past events. This theme was expressed in the answers (Picture 2).

There were two types of secrecy between the parents and second generation. In some cases topic of political repression was discussed just in a family surrounding and usually it was told by the parents not to talk about this outside the family with the others – that was mentioned by 18 participants. In the other families the fact of repression was kept secret from the second generation for some time –

that was reported by 19 participants. Sometimes the participants explain this secrecy: this was kept silent because of the fear for further persecutions from the Soviet authorities. There were objective reasons for that as family members of the survivors of political repression were considered to be also dangerous to the regime.

If the topic or repression was discussed in a family, it had different impact to the second generation. Sometimes these memories induced painful feelings for the parents and the offspring. Sometimes second generation felt intense feelings of fear and anger, they could not comprehend and understand why had this all happened to their parents. In other cases the effect of communication was ambivalent. Positive effects of the communication mean that second generation was proud of their family as survivors of repression from the Soviet regime, it was interesting and pleasure for them to listen to parents' memories of life in deportation. Sometimes the participants reported that this communication positively affected their world-view, they appreciate that this strengthened their patriotism.



Picture 2. Intergenerational communication about political repression

So there are different aspects of communication about parents' experiences of political repression. Avoidance of this topic might be both from the survivors and their offspring because of wish to avoid bad feelings (Wiseman et al., 2006). This could condition lack of open communication and conspiracy of silence in a family (Major, 1996b; Danieli, 2009), which might result to interpersonal difficulties later in life (Wiseman et al., 2002). However avoidance and secrecy in our sample was as well maintained by the fear of the Soviet regime. Social-political context affected trauma process (Adjukovic, 2004; Gailienė, 2008). On the other hand, reported positive aspects of political repression and of communication indicate resistance and coping abilities of the survivors and the complexity of long-term trauma consequences.

Besides the specificity of socio-political context of Soviet and Nazi repression in Lithuania, some other differences from Holocaust second generation studies could be mentioned. In the answers about the long-lasting effects our study participants did not mentioned difficulties separating from parents or living up to their expectations, difficulties expressing anger as it was noticed among Holocaust second generation (Barocas, Barocas, 1980; Nadler et al., 1985; Bar-On et al., 1998). It might be that our research method is not sufficient to encompass and assess such effects, but as well it is likely that second generation of our study confronted different intergenerational long-term consequences of political violence.

The long-term psychological effects of parents' political repression: assessment of mental health

Life-time trauma experience. On average repressed second-generation had experienced 4 traumatic events (range from 0 to 17). This is not statistically significantly different from comparison groups ($F = 1.243$, $p = .290$). The most often trauma were lost of a family member ($n = 86$), robbery ($n = 58$), car accident ($n = 52$).

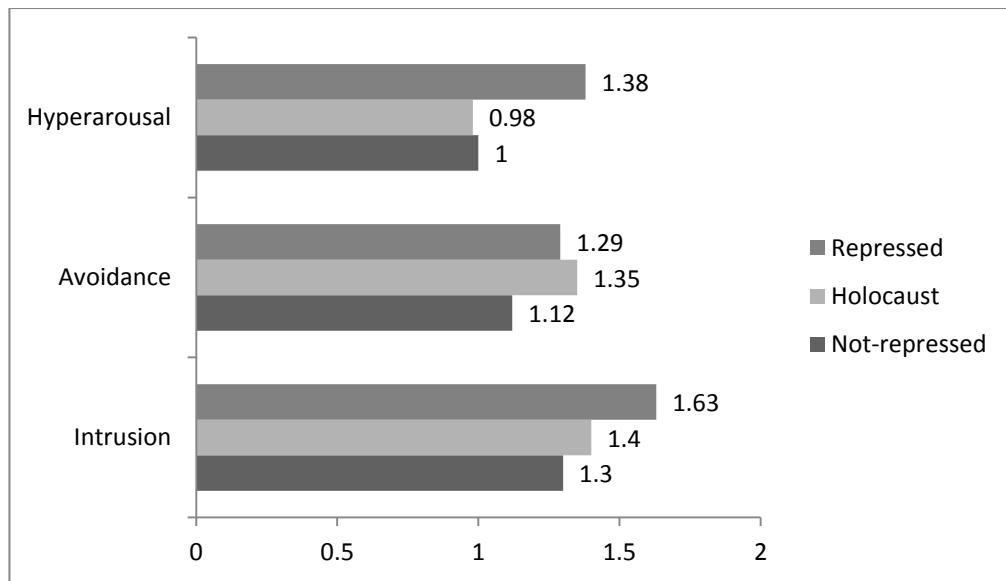
Mental health: trauma symptoms, hopelessness, sense of coherence. Though men had experienced statistically significantly more traumatic events (M_{men}

$= 5.45$, $SD = 3.70$) than women ($M_{women} = 3.40$, $SD = 2.74$), women statistically significantly have more trauma symptoms than men ($M_{men} = 7.55$, $M_{women} = 10.07$, $p = .011$).

Repressed second generation on average tend to experience similar level of traumatic stress, measured by IES-R and TSC-35 as comparison groups (Table 2). One – Way ANOVA test showed that there is one statistically significant difference between the groups ($F = 4.145$, $p = .017$): repressed second generation experience more hyperarousal reactions during the last week (Picture 3).

Table 2. Trauma symptoms, hopelessness and sense of coherence of three study groups

Scale	Repressed second generation ($n = 145$)	Holocaust second generation ($n = 66$)	Not-repressed second generation ($n = 177$)
IES-R			
$M (SD)$	1.46 (0.74)	1.30 (0.78)	1.15 (0.86)
min. – max.	0 – 3.68	0 – 3.55	0 – 3.36
IES-R intrusion			
$M (SD)$	1.63 (0.90)	1.40 (0.95)	1.30 (1.04)
min. – max.	0 – 3.38	0 – 3.75	0 – 3.75
IES-R avoidance			
$M (SD)$	1.29 (0.71)	1.35 (0.71)	1.12 (0.83)
min. – max.	0 – 3.88	0 – 3.38	0 – 3.25
IES-R hyperarousal			
$M (SD)$	1.38 (0.94)	0.98 (0.91)	1.00 (0.99)
min. – max.	0 – 3.83	0 – 3.50	0 – 4.00
TSC-35			
$M (SD)$	9.20 (5.84)	7.85 (4.61)	8.70 (5.47)
min. – max.	0 – 24	0 - 21	0 – 25
BHS			
$M (SD)$	5.81 (5.28)	5.52 (4.57)	5.04 (4.68)
min. – max.	0 – 20	0 - 17	0 – 19
SOC			
$M (SD)$	44.60 (6.01)	44.51 (5.14)	45.16 (5.90)
min. – max.	28 – 55	31 - 56	30 – 59



Picture 3. Intensity of posttraumatic stress reactions during last week of repressed, Holocaust and not-repressed second generations

We analysed gender differences and found that men from repressed second generation group tend to experience more hyperarousal than men from not-repressed group (*post hoc* test LSD, $p = .022$). Such differences were not significant in a sample of women. This finding could be interpreted as sign of intergenerational transmission of trauma effects and increased vulnerability of repressed second generation (Major, 1996b; Yehuda et al., 1998).

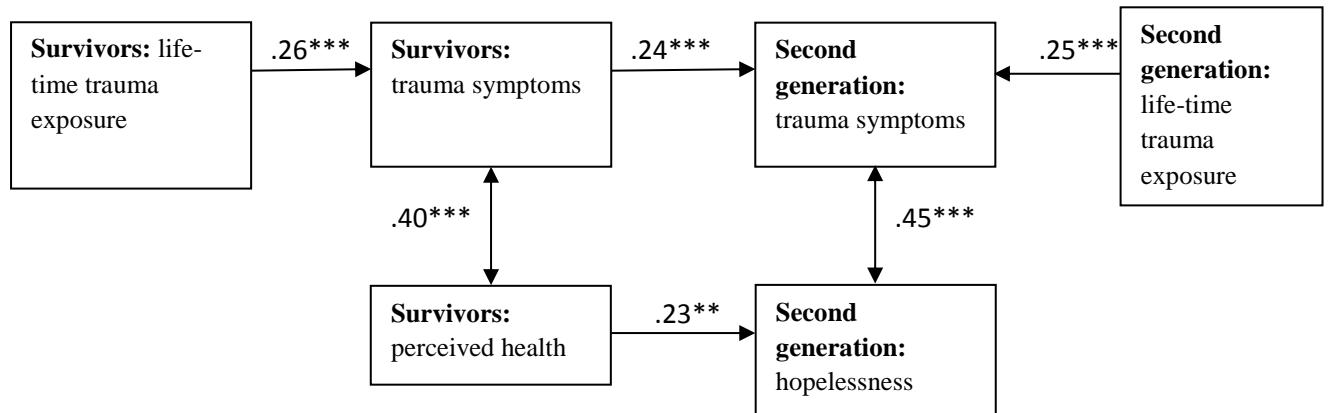
On the other hand, according to all other measurements the repressed second generation group is not different. This corresponds to results from other second generation studies (Schwartz et al., 1994; Major, 1996a; IJzendoorn et al., 2003; Levav ir kt., 2007; Fridman et al., 2011).

Intergenerational trauma effects: relation between parents' and second generation trauma symptoms

141 parent-offspring matched pairs data were used in this analysis. A path analysis with Mplus 5.0 was completed to examine the relationships between survivor's and offspring mental health, (Muthén, Muthén, 2006). We assumed that trauma symptoms would be affected by experienced traumatic events. As well we

assumed that trauma symptoms of second generation would be affected by trauma symptoms of their parents. We also hypothesized that the frequency of communication about political repression would be a mediate variable in this model. It was also assumed that hopelessness of second generation and survivors' perceived current health would be important variables.

All significant paths of the tested intergenerational model are given in a Picture 4. The fit of the model to the data is good ($\chi^2 = 2.23$, $df = 6$, $p = .89$, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00).



Picture 4. Path model of survivors and second generation intergenerational trauma effects

As it was expected according to this model trauma symptoms of second generation could be predicted by life-time trauma exposure of second generation and by trauma symptoms, which means intensity of posttraumatic reactions, of their parents. Besides survivors' trauma symptoms are related to their current perceived health, and survivors' perceived health affects hopelessness of second generation, and hopelessness of second generation is related to their trauma symptoms. However frequency of communication is not important factor in this model.

Analysing intergenerational links between trauma symptoms we could refer to the study where was noticed that traumatised parents because of their posttraumatic stress reactions in relationship with offspring are more emotionally numb and distant, not supportive (Ruscio et al., 2002). We might consider that this

affects second generation and as they have less support they are less resistant to their life traumatic experiences. Some genetic factors in this intergenerational relation cannot be ruled out as well (Sartor et al., 2012).

So as we hypothesised there are intergenerational links between parents and offspring. However based on this analysis of data we cannot claim that this intergenerational model is specific just to the families of survivors of political repression in Lithuania. This question should be tested in future studies.

Though frequency of communication was not significant variable in this model, we could assume that other aspects of communication about parents' traumatic experiences might be important. This assumption is supported by the data of second generation's perceived communication and its effects mentioned above. Perhaps parents' suppressed feelings and experiences of repression and attempt to keep quiet because of the political issues during Soviet regime had stronger impact to welfare of their children. But our study has its limits and other dimensions of communication could be analysed in future studies.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Second generation of survivors of political repression in Lithuania experience long-term psychological effects of political repression during Soviet and Nazi occupations. Repressed second generation related their life difficulties during Soviet occupation with parents' status as survivor. Also they connected these parents' repression with their own wellbeing, relationship with parents, outlook, attitudes.

2. Current posttraumatic reactions in general, hopelessness and sense of coherence of second generation of survivors of political repression in Lithuania are the same as in two comparison groups, except for posttraumatic hyperarousal, which is more intense among repressed second generation men.

3. Posttraumatic reactions of second generation of survivors of political repression in Lithuania can be predicted by their life-time trauma exposure and trauma symptoms of their parents. Besides trauma symptoms of second generation

are related to their hopelessness, which can be predicted by their parents' perceived current health.

REFERENCES:

- Adjukovic D. Social contexts of trauma and healing // Medicine, Conflict and Survival. 2004, vol. 20, p. 120-135.
- Antonovsky A. Unraveling the Mystery of Health. How People Manage Stress and Stay Well // Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, London, 1987, p. 218 (p. 15-19).
- Anušauskas A. Lietuvių tautos sovietinis naikinimas 1940-1958 metais. Vilnius: Mintis, 1996, p. 331-405.
- Baker K.G., Gippenreiter J.B. Stalin's purge and its impact on Russian families. A pilot study // International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma. Ed. by Danieli Y. New York: Plenum Press, 1998, p. 403-434.
- Bar-On D., Eland J., Kleber R.J., Krell L., Moore Y., Sagi A., Soriano E., Suedfeld P., van den Velden P.G., van IJzendoorn M.H. Multigenerational perspectives on coping with the Holocaust experience: an attachment perspective for understanding the developmental sequelae of trauma across generations // International Journal of Behavioral Development. 1998, vol. 22 (2), p. 315-338.
- Barocas H.A., Barocas C.B. Separation – individuation conflicts in children of Holocaust survivors // Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy. 1980, vol. 11 (1), p. 6-14.
- Bichesku D., Schauer M., Saleptsi A., Neculau A., Elbert T., Neuner F. Long-term consequences of traumatic experiences: an assessment of former political detainees in Romania // Clinical Practice and Epidemiology in Mental Health. 2005, vol. 1 (17), doi: 10.1186/1745-0179-1-17.
- Boyatzis R. E. Transforming qualitative information – thematic analysis and code development. Sage Publications, Inc, 1998.
- Braun V., Clarke V. Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology // Qualitative Research in Psychology. 2006, vol. 3, p. 77–101.
- Danieli Y. (a). Introduction. History and conceptual foundations // International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma. Ed. by Danieli Y. New York: Plenum Press, 1998, p. 1-17.
- Ermann M. Involvement, shame and guilt. Children of Nazi Germany sixty years on // From the Panel, "Children of Nazi-Germany. Representation of their childhood sixty years later" at the International Psychoanalytic Congress Berlin, 2007.
- Fridman A., Bakermans-Kranenburg M.J., Sagi-Schwartz A., van IJzendoorn M.H. Coping in old age with extreme childhood trauma: aging Holocaust survivors and their offspring facing new challenges // Aging & Mental Health. 2011, vol. 15 (2), p. 232-242.
- Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E. Fifty Years on: The Long-Term Psychological Effects of Soviet Repression in Lithuania // The Psychology of Extreme Traumatization. The Aftermath of Political Repression. Gailienė D. (Ed.). Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 2005, p. 67-107.

Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E. (b) Potrauminės simptomatikos klinikinis psichologinis įvertinimas. Projekto ataskaita. Vilnius: Lietuvos valstybinis mokslo ir studijų fondas, 2005.

Gailienė D. Ką jie mums padarė. Lietuvos gyvenimas traumų psichologijos žvilgsniu. Vilnius: Tyto alba, 2008.

Horowitz M., Wilner N., Alvarez W. Impact of Event Scale: a measure of subjective stress // Psychosomatic Medicine, 1979, vol. 41, no. 3, p. 209–218.

IJzendoorn M.H., Bakermans-Kranenburg M.J., Sagi-Schwartz A. Are children of Holocaust survivors less well-adapted? A meta-analytic investigations of secondary traumatization // Journal of Traumatic Stress. 2003, vol. 16, p. 459-469.

Kazlauskas E. Politinių represijų psichologinės pasekmės. Magistro darbas. Vilniaus universitetas. Klinikinės ir socialinės psichologijos katedra, 2001.

Kazlauskas E. Politinių represijų ilgalaikės psichologinės pasekmės. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2006.

Kuodytė D. Traumatising History // The Psychology of Extreme Traumatization. The Aftermath of Political Repression. Gailienė D. (Ed.). Vilnius: Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 2005, p. 13-25.

Levav I., Levinson D., Radomislensky I., Shemesh A.A., Kohn R. Psychopathology and other health dimensions among the offspring of Holocaust survivors: results from the Israel national health survey // Israel Journal of Psychiatry and Related Sciences. 2007, vol. 44 (2), p. 144-151.

Maercker A., Schützwohl M. Long-term effects of political imprisonment: a group comparison study // Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology. 1997, vol. 32, p. 435-442.

Maercker A., Herrle J. Long-term effects of the Dresden bombing: relationships to control beliefs, religious belief, and personal growth // Journal of Traumatic Stress. 2003, vol. 16, p. 579-587.

Major E. (a). War stress in a transgenerational perspective. Norwegian concentration camp survivors and two other resistance groups and their children. Oslo: University of Oslo, 1996.

Major E. (b). The impact of Holocaust on the second generation: Norwegian Jewish Holocaust survivors and their children // Journal of Traumatic Stress. 1996, vol. 9, p. 441–454.

Major E.F. Health effects of war stress on Norwegian World War II resistance groups: a comparative study // Journal of Traumatic Stress. 2003, vol. 16, p. 595-599.

Meffert S.M., Marmar C.R. Darfur refugees in Cairo. Mental health and interpersonal conflict in the aftermath of genocide // Journal of Interpersonal Violence. 2009, vol. 24 (11), p. 1835-1848.

Mollica R.F., Caspi-Yavin Y., Bollini P., Truong T., Tor S., Lavelle J. The Harvard Trauma Questionnaire. Validating a Cross – Cultural Instrument for Measuring Torture, Trauma, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Indochinese Refugees // The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1992, vol. 180, p. 111-116.

Muthén L. K., Muthén B. O. Mplus users guide. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén and Muthén, 2006.

Nadler A., Kav-Venaki S., Gleitman B. Transgenerational effects of Holocaust: externalization of aggression in second generation of Holocaust survivors // Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology. 1985, vol. 53, p. 365-369.

Ruscio A.M., Weathers F.W., King L.A., King D.W. Male war-zone veterans' perceived relationship with their children: the importance of emotional numbing // Journal of Traumatic Stress. 2002, vol. 15, p. 351-357.

Sartor C.E., Grant J.D., Lynskey M.T., McCutcheon V.V., Waldron M., Statham D.J., Bucholz K.K., Madden P.A.F., Heath A.C., Martin N.G., Nelson E.C. Common heritable contributions to low-risk trauma, high-risk trauma, posttraumatic stress disorder, and major depression // Archives of General Psychiatry. 2012, vol. 69 (3)

Schwartz S., Dohrenwend B.P., Levav I. Nongenetic familial transmission of psychiatric disorders? Evidence from children of Holocaust survivors // Journal of Health and Social Behavior. 1994, vol. 35 (4), p. 385-402.

Skrubis P. Ryšys tarp nuostatų savižudybių atžvilgiu ir suicidinių tendencijų. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2008.

Weiss D.S., Marmar C.R. The impact of event scale – revised // Assessing psychological trauma and PTSD / J.P. Wilson, T.M. Keane (Eds.). New York: Guilford Press, 1996, p. 399-411.

Vojvoda D., Weine S.M., McGlashan T., Becker D.F., Southwick S.M. Posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms in Bosnian refugees 3 ½ years after resettlement // Journal of Rehabilitation Research & Development. 2008, vol. 45 (3), p. 421-426.

Wiseman H., Barber J.P., Raz A., Yam I., Foltz C., Livne-Snir S. Parental communication of Holocaust experiences and interpersonal patterns in offspring of Holocaust survivors // International Journal of Behavioral Development. 2002, vol. 26 (4), p. 371-381.

Wiseman H., Metzl E., Barber J. Anger, guilt, and intergenerational communication of trauma in the interpersonal narratives of second generation Holocaust survivors // American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. 2006, vol. 76 (2), p. 176-184.

Yehuda R., Schmeidler J., Wainberg M., Binder-Brynes K., Duvdevani T. Vulnerability to posttraumatic stress disorder in adult offspring of Holocaust survivors // American Journal of Psychiatry. 1998, vol. 155, p. 1163-1171.

Žaržojutė R. Ilgalaikio trauminio patyrimo įveikos ir vidinės darnos jausmo ryšys. Magistro darbas. Vilniaus universitetas: Klinikinės ir organizacinės psichologijos katedra, 2004.

POLITINIŲ REPRESIJŲ LIETUVOJE ILGALAIKĖS PSICHOLOGINĖS PASEKMĖS ANTRAJAI KARTAI

Santrauka

IVADAS. Tyrimo problema, naujumas ir aktualumas

Nuo 1940 m. Lietuva patyrė Vokietijos nacių ir Sovietų Sąjungos okupacijas, kurių paskutinioji truko beveik 50 metų. Tai buvo reikšmingi įvykiai šalies istorijoje, palietę visus jos gyventojus. Tačiau ypač nuo politinio smurto nukentėjo atskiro grupės – tai politiniai kaliniai, tremtiniai, ginkluoto pasipriešinimo okupaciniam režimui dalyviai, žydų tautybės žmonės.

Istorikų skaičiavimu, maždaug trečdalį Lietuvos gyventojų vienaip ar kitaip nukentėjo nuo šių režimų: žuvo, buvo ištremti, įkalinti ar kitaip nukentėjo (Kuodytė, 2004). Vien 1941-1953 m. ištremta daugiau nei 148 tūkst. žmonių, iš kurių maždaug 30% mirė tremties vietose dėl nežmoniškų gyvenimo sąlygų. Dar 50 tūkst. ginkluoto pasipriešinimo okupacijai dalyvių, partizanų, buvo įkalinta. Politiniai kaliniai patirdavo pažeminimus, kankinimus, smurtą, naudojamą tardymų metu. Net ir sugrįžę iš įkalinimo ar deportacijos vietų buvę kaliniai ir tremtiniai buvo persekiojami toliau.

Tik atkūrus nepriklausomybę šalyje represuoti asmenys buvo valstybės lygiu pripažinti nukentėjusiais (Valstybės žinios, 1997). Po daugiau nei 50 metų atliktas psichologinis tyrimas atskleidė, kad net praėjus ilgam laiko tarpui politiniai kaliniai, tremtiniai ar kitaip nukentėję asmenys jaučia intensyvesnius nei asmenys, kurie taip pat gyveno okupacijos sąlygomis, tačiau nebuvo represuoti, potrauminio streso simptomus (Kazlauskas, 2006). Išgyvenusiems dažniau būdingi košmarai, prisiminimų blyksniai, emocinė įtampa. Kita vertus išgyvenusieji taip pat nurodo įveikos būdus, padėjusius jiems susitvarkyti su šiuo traumuojančiu patyrimu. Dauguma iš jų teigia, kad ši skaudi patirtis tebepadeda susidūrus su gyvenimo sunkumais. Taigi politinių represijų patyrimas turi ilgai besitęsančias pasekmes išgyvenusiems.

Kaip rodo kitų šalių patirtis, visų pirma gausūs holokausto tyrimai, politinių represijų ilgalaikės pasekmės paliečia ir antrają kartą (Major, 1996a; Danieli, 1998; Yehuda et al., 1998). Tai reiškia, kad išgyvenusiųjų represijas vaikai, tiesiogiai nesusidūrė su tėvų represijų patyrimu, būdami suaugę gali jausti šių represijų poveikį savo gyvenimui.

Deja, kol kas sovietinių represijų ilgalaikio poveikio antrajai kartai psichologinių studijų beveik nėra. Mums žinomas tik vienas Rusijoje atliktas pilotinis tyrimas, analizavęs 1937-1939 m. J.Stalino vykdytų politinių represijų, „valymo“, pasekmes trečiajai kartai, anūkams (Baker, Gippenreiter, 1998). Interviu su trečiaja karta patvirtinto prielaidą, kad tai, kaip šeimos įveikė patirtą politinį persekcionimą, turi įtakos jų savijautai ir adaptacijai net praėjus daug metų po šių įvykių. Geriau psichologine prasme jautėsi tie tiriamieji, kurie išlaikė ryšį, prisiminimus apie žuvusius šeimos narius nei tie, kurie sąmoningai ar nesąmoningai juos pamiršo.

Taigi norėdami suprasti dabartines visuomenės psichinės sveikatos tendencijas, turime tinkamai įvertinti praeities indėlį. Svarbu ir tai, kad politinės represijos paliečia ne tik kiekvieną nukentėjusį asmeniškai, jo šeimą, bet ir visą visuomenę (Adjukovic, 2005; Gailienė, 2008). Kokia sovietinės totalitarinės sistemos reikšmė dabartinei mūsų savijautai, kol kas dar nėra žinoma.

Tad siekdami atsakyti į šiuos klausimus ir remdamiesi kitų šalių antrosios kartos tyrimais kélėme prielaidą, kad Lietuvoje nuo nacių ir sovietų okupacijų vykdytos prievertos nukentėjusiųjų antrajai kartai bus reikšmingas tėvų represijų patyrimas. Ši studija yra pirmas mėginimas išsamiai išanalizuoti ilgalaikį psichologinį poveikį ir nustatyti ne tik reikšmingas antrajai kartai ilgalaikės pasekmes, bet ir galimas jų savijautos sasajas su išgyvenusiais represijas tėvais. Tyrime bus įvertinta išgyvenusių politinės represijas Lietuvoje antrosios kartos savijauta, ji bus lyginama su tėvų savijautos veiksniu. Taip pat šiame tyrime apklaustos dar dvi tiriamujų grupės: nenukentėjusių nuo politinių represijų antroji karta ir nukentėjusių nuo holokausto Lietuvoje antroji karta. Tokiu būdu analizuojant dabartinę savijautą galimas palyginimas ir ilgalaikio poveikio vertinimas platesniame kontekste.

Tyrimo tikslai, uždaviniai ir ginami teiginiai

Šiame darbe kėlėme tokius *tikslus*:

1. Іvertinti ilgalaikeis politinių represijų pasekmes nuo sovietų ir nacių nukentėjusių antrosios kartos atstovams.
2. Nustatyti targneneracines psichinės sveikatos sasajas tarp išgyvenusiųjų politines represijas ir antrosios kartos.

Atitinkamai šiuo tyrimu siekėme tokį *uždavinių*:

1. Nustatyti sovietų ir nacių represuotujų antrosios kartos subjektyviai vertinamas tėvų politinių represijų ilgalaikeis psychologines pasekmes.
2. Іvertinti sovietų ir nacių represuotujų antrosios kartos dabartinę psichinę sveikatą.
3. Palyginti sovietų ir nacių represuotujų antrosios kartos psichinės sveikatos rodiklius su palyginamujų grupių rodikliais.
4. Nustatyti sovietų ir nacių represuotujų antrosios kartos tarpgeneracines traumų sasajas su tėvų sveikata.

Šiame darbe *ginami teiginiai*:

1. Sovietų ir nacių represijas Lietuvoje išgyvenusiųjų antrosios kartos atstovai jaučia ilgalaikeis tėvų represijų pasekmes.
2. Sovietų ir nacių represijas Lietuvoje išgyvenusiųjų antrosios kartos atstovų psichinės sveikatos rodikliai, tai yra potrauminės reakcijos, nevilties lygis ir vidinės darnos jausmas, nesiskiria nuo palyginamujų grupių, tačiau jų potrauminis dirglumas yra intensyvesnis.
3. Sovietų ir nacių represijas Lietuvoje išgyvenusiųjų šeimose nustatomos tarpgeneracinės potrauminių reakcijų sasajos: represuotujų antrosios kartos atstovų traumos simptomai priklauso nuo tėvų potrauminių reakcijų intensyvumo.

TYRIMO METODIKA

Tyrimo dalyviai. Tyrimo dalyviai yra neklinikinė imtis. Visi tyrimo dalyviai buvo suskirstyti į tris grupes: išgyvenusiųjų politines represijas suaugę vaikai – antroji karta, ir dvi palyginamosios grupės – nenukentėjusių nuo politinių represijų Lietuvoje suaugę vaikai ir nuo holokausto nukentėjusių suaugę vaikai. Kadangi turėjome galimybę palyginti gautus antrosios kartos atstovų rezultatus su jų tėvų rezultatais, į tyrimo duomenų analizę buvo įtraukti ir tėvų duomenys, surinkti ankstesniame tyrome (Kazlauskas, 2006).

Tyrime dalyvavo 145 išgyvenusių politines represijas Lietuvoje suaugę vaikai - sovietų ir nacių *represuotųjų antrosios kartos* atstovai (51 vyras ir 94 moterys, vidutinis amžius – 45 metai, dauguma (69 %) gyvena susituokę, turi aukštesnįjį arba aukštąjį išsilavinimą (81 %). Tyrimo dalyvių atrankos kriterijai buvo šie: 1) tėvai, remiantis Lietuvos Respublikos įstatymu, yra oficialiai pripažinti nukentėjusiais nuo sovietinių politinių represijų (yra politiniai kaliniai ar tremtiniai), 2) tiriamieji nėra tiesiogiai nukentėję nuo politinių represijų, 3) jie yra pilnamečiai.

Tyrimo dalyvių tėvai, t.y., politines represijas *išgyvenusieji* asmenys – tai asmenys, kurie oficialiai pripažinti nukentėjusiais pagal „Lietuvos Respublikos asmenų, nukentėjusių nuo 1939 - 1990 m. okupacijų, teisinio statuso įstatymą“ (Valstybės žinios, 1997). Šiame tyrome į duomenų analizę buvo įtraukti duomenys tų pirmosios kartos tiriamujų, kurių vaikai, t.y. antroji karta, sutiko dalyvauti tyrome. Iš viso panaudoti 112 tiriamujų duomenys (67 vyrai ir 45 moterys, vidutinis amžius – 73 metai, dauguma (73 %) gyvena susituokę).

Tyrime dalyvavo dvi palyginamosios grupės – tai asmenys, kurių tėvai nebuvo represuoti (*nerepresuotųjų antroji karta*, n = 177), ir nuo nacių vykdyto holokausto nukentėjusių asmenų suaugę vaikai (*holokausto antroji karta*, n = 66). Nerepresuotų asmenų antrosios kartos grupė pagal amžių, gyvenamą vietą, išsilavinimą ir šeiminę padėtį buvo suderinta su sovietų represuotujų antraja karta.

Tyrimo metodai ir duomenų analizė. Tiriamieji pildė paštu gautas popierines anketas, kurias sudarė informacija apie tyrimą, demografiniai klausimai,

klausimai apie tėvų patirtas politines represijas ir skalės, vertinančios dabartinę psichinę sveikatą.

Klausimai apie tėvų patirtas politines represijas:

1. *Kada ir kaip sužinojote apie tai, kad Jūsų tėvai (mama/tėvas) buvo tremtyje/lageryje?*
2. *Kaip dažnai su tėvais (mama/tėvu) kalbėdavotės apie jų gyvenimą tremtyje/lageryje? (vertinama 5 balų Likerto skaleje)*
3. *Kokie tai būdavo pokalbiai ir kaip jie Jus veikdavo?*
4. *Kaip Jūs manote, kaip represijos paveikė Jūsų tėvus (mamą/tėvą) ir kaip jie tai ištvėrė?*
5. *Kaip manote, kokios įtakos tai, kad Jūsų tėvai (mama/tėvas) patyrė politines represijas, turėjo Jūsų gyvenimui, charakteriui ir pan.? Kokių dėl to patyrėte sunkumų ar apribojimų?*

Atsakymai į atvirus klausimus analizuoti remiantis teminės analizės principais (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun, Clarke, 2006). Ją atliko du su tyrimo tematika susipažinę klinikiniai psichologai (viena iš jų darbo autore).

Dabartinės psichinės sveikatos vertinimas. Tam naudotos keturių užsienio autorių sudarytų skalių lietuviškos versijos:

1. *Trauminės patirties vertinimas:* Harvardo traumos klausimyno įvykių sąrašas, sudarytas iš 23 potencialiai traumuojančių įvykių.
2. *Potrauminių reakcijų vertinimas:* Įvykio poveikio skalė – revizuota ir Traumos simptomų klausimynas – 35.
3. *Nevilties lygio vertinimas:* Becko nevilties skalė.
4. *Vidinės darnos jausmo vertinimas:* Vidinės darnos skalė.

Kiekybiniai tiriamujų duomenys analizuoti remiantis statistinės analizės principais (SPSS programa).

Tyrimo eiga.

2000 – 2005 m. buvo atliktas išgyvenusių politines represijas tyrimas (Kazlauskas, 2006). Nuo 2007 m., tęsiant pradėtus tyrimus, buvo atliekamas antrosios kartos tyrimas. Visų pirma buvo susisekta su pirmojo tyrimo dalyviais ir, paaiškinus tyrimo tikslus, paprašyti jų vaikų, tai yra antrosios kartos kontaktai.

Telefonu susisiekus su antrosios kartos atstovais, informuota apie atliekamą tyrimą ir paprašyta sutikimo tame dalyvauti. Sutikusiems asmenims paštu išsiųstos tyrimo anketos. Užpildytas anketas atgal atsiuntė 48.3% tiriamujų, sutikusiuju paštu gauti klausimynus.

PAGRINDINIAI TYRIMO REZULTATAI

Tėvų politinių represijų poveikio vertinimas

Komunikacija apie patirtas politines represijas. Atsakymuose apie pokalbius represijų tema šeimoje galima išskirti tokias tris temas: pokalbių pobūdis, paslapties motyvas ir pokalbių poveikis. Pokalbių pobūdis reiškia represijų temos atvirumą. Kai kuriose šeimose pokalbiai represijų tema buvo atviri, tėvai pasakodavo apie savo patyrimą, antroji karta domėjosi šia tema, pokalbiai būdavo dažni, išsamūs. Kitose šeimose buvo vengiama šios temos, vaikai nesidomėdavo, kartais represijų tema buvo paliečiama tik epizodiškai, trumpai. Pastebėtas reikšmingas pokalbių atvirumo ypatumas, tiesiogiai susijęs su politine santvarka – prasidėjus Atgimimui ir atkuriant Lietuvos nepriklausomybę, pokalbiai apie sovietų vykdytas represijas tavo atviresni.

Kai kuriais atvejais vaikai visai nežinojo apie tėvų represijas iki Atgimimo laikotarpio, nepriklausomybės atkūrimo Lietuvoje. Tokiose šeimose paslaptis būdavo dvejopa: kartais tėvai slėpė savo patyrimą nuo antrosios kartos, vaikai vėlai tai sužinodavo ($n = 19$), o kartais tai buvo šeimos paslaptis – slepiama nuo aplinkinių, draudžiama pasakoti kitiems už šeimos ribų ($n = 18$).

Pokalbių represijų tema poveikis būdavo įvairus: išskiriamos tiek teigiamos, tiek neigiamos temos. Kartais tai keldavo liūdesį, pyktį ir baimę, tačiau kai kuriems tiriamiesiems ši pokalbių tema buvo įdomi, skatino pasididžiavimą šeima, ugđė patriotiškumą, formavo pasaulėžiūrą.

Subjektyviai vertinamos tėvų politinių represijų pasekmės antrajai kartai. Dalis tiriamujų nurodė, kad nepatyrė sunkumų ir apribojimų savo gyvenime dėl to, kad tėvai išgyveno politines represijas ($n = 42$). Kiti teigė, kad dėl to turėjo problemų ($n = 61$). Sunkumai ir apribojimai, kuriuos antroji karta sieja su tėvų

politinio kalnio ar treminio statusu, buvo susiję su mokykla, profesija, išvykimu į užsienį, materialiniai sunkumais sovietinės okupacijos metais.

Subjektyviai vertinamas ilgalaikis represijų poveikis įvairus: minėti tiek teigiami, tiek neigiami šio patyrimo aspektai. Neigiamos pasekmės buvo siejamos su prastesne fizine, psichologine sveikata ir sunkia materialinę padėtimi, skurdumu. Represijos teigiamai paveikė antrosios kartos patriotiškumą, tiriamieji vertino tai, kad žinojo tiesą apie tuometinę santvarką, taip pat nurodė, kad šis patyrimas teigiamai veikė savykius su tėvais ir jų pačių asmenybę. Tik 16 tiriamųjų teigė, kad tai neturėjo jokio poveikio jų gyvenimui.

Represuotujų antrosios kartos dabartinės savijautos vertinimas

Sovietų ir nacių represuotujų antrosios kartos atstovų potrauminės reakcijos, nevilties lygis ir vidinės darnos jausmas, nesiskiria nuo palyginamujų grupių. Tarp grupių rastas tik vienas skirtumas – potrauminio dirglumo subskalės vidurkiai skiriasi statistiškai reikšmingai ($F = 4.145$, $p = .017$): represuotujų antroji karta išskiria intensyvesnėmis dirglumo reakcijomis. Remiantis *post hoc* kriterijais, represuotujų antrosios kartos vyru dirglumo reakcijos statistiškai reikšmingai yra intensyvesnės nei nenukentėjusių grupėje ($LSD p = .022$).

Represuotujų antrosios kartos psichinės sveikatos ryšys su tėvų sveikatos rodikliais

Siekiant patikrinti tarpgeneracines sąsajas, toliau į analizę buvo įtraukti ir pirmosios kartos duomenys, iš viso analizuojama 112 šeimų ir buvo pritaikytas tako modeliavimas (Muthén & Muthén, 2006). Atlikus tako modeliavimą, rastas statistiškai reikšmingas ryšys tarp išgyvenusiųjų represijas ir jų vaikų sveikatos rodiklių: tėvų potrauminės reakcijos numato antrosios kartos potraumines reakcijas (standartizuotas kelio koeficientas 0.24); tėvų subjektyvus sveikatos vertinimas susijęs su jų potrauminėmis reakcijomis (0.40) ir numato vaikų neviltį (0.23). Taigi antrosios kartos potraumines reakcijas prognozuoja du veiksnių – jų pačių trauminis patyrimas per gyvenimą ir jų tėvų potrauminės reakcijos. Taip pat antrosios kartos potrauminės reakcijos yra susijusios su jų nevilties lygiu (0.45).

Modelio tinkamumas duomenims yra geras ($\chi^2 = 2.23$, $df = 6$, $p = .89$, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00). Komunikacijos represijų tema dažnumas, galimas tarpgeneracinio perdavimo mechanizmas, nebuvo reikšmingas kintamasis šiame modelyje.

IŠVADOS

1. Tyrimas atskleidė, kad išgyvenusiuju politines represijas Lietuvoje antroji karta įvardina ilgalaike politinių represijų pasekmes ir sieja kai kuriuos savo gyvenimo ypatumus su šiuo tėvų patyrimu: tai turėjo įtakos jų patirtiems sunkumams ir apribojimams sovietinės okupacijos metais, tai veikė jų savijautą, santykius su tévais, pasaulėžiūrą, nuostatas.

2. Nuo politinių represijų Lietuvoje nukentėjusių antrosios kartos atstovų dabartinė psichinė sveikata, tai yra potrauminės reakcijos bendrai, nevilties lygis ir vidinės darnos jausmas, nesiskiria nuo palyginamujų grupių atitinkamų psichinės sveikatos rodiklių. Nustatyta vienas statistiškai reikšmingas skirtumas: represuotųjų antrosios kartos atstovų pastarosios savaitės potrauminio dirglumo reakcijos yra intensyvesnės nei nukentėjusių antrosios kartos.

3. Nuo politinių represijų Lietuvoje nukentėjusių antrosios kartos atstovų dabartinė psichinė sveikata yra susijusi su tėvų psichinės sveikatos rodikliais. Antrosios kartos traumos simptomų intensyvumą galima prognozuoti remiantis antrosios kartos trauminių patyrimu, nevilties lygiu ir jų tėvų traumos simptomų intensyvumu. Tėvų subjektyvus sveikatos vertinimas yra susijęs su jų potrauminėmis reakcijomis ir numato vaikų nevilties lygi. Komunikacijos dažnumas šeimoje apie tėvų represijų patyrimą nėra reikšmingas tarpinis veiksnys tarp tėvų ir vaikų psichinės sveikatos sąsajų.

LITERATŪRA

- Adjukovic D. Social (re)construction of local community after massive traumatization // Promoting the Psychosocial Well Being of Children Following War and Terrorism. Ed. by M.J. Friedman and A. Mikus-Kos. IOS Press, 2005, p. 3-9.
- Baker K.G., Gippenreiter J.B. Stalin's purge and its impact on Russian families. A pilot study // International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma. Ed. by Danieli Y. New York: Plenum Press, 1998, p. 403-434.
- Boyatzis R. E. Transforming qualitative information – thematic analysis and code development. Sage Publications, Inc, 1998.
- Braun V., Clarke V. Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology // Qualitative Research in Psychology. 2006, vol. 3, p. 77–101.
- Danieli Y. (a). Introduction. History and conceptual foundations // International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma. Ed. by Danieli Y. New York: Plenum Press, 1998, p. 1-17.
- Gailienė D. Ką jie mums padarė. Lietuvos gyvenimas traumų psichologijos žvilgsniu. Vilnius: Tyto alba, 2008.
- Yehuda R., Schmeidler J., Wainberg M., Binder-Brynes K., Duvdevani T. Vulnerability to posttraumatic stress disorder in adult offspring of Holocaust survivors // American Journal of Psychiatry. 1998, vol. 155, p. 1163-1171.
- Kazlauskas E. Politinių represijų ilgalaikės psichologinės pasekmės. Daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 2006.
- Kuodytė D. (2004). Traumuojanti istorija // Sunkių traumų psichologija. Politinių represijų padariniai. Sud. Gailienė D. Vilnius: Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos tyrimo centras, 2004, p. 13-27.
- Major E. (a). War stress in a transgenerational perspective. Norwegian concentration camp survivors and two other resistance groups and their children. Oslo: University of Oslo, 1996.
- Muthén L. K., Muthén B. O. Mplus users guide. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén and Muthén, 2006.
- Valstybės Žinios. Lietuvos Respublikos asmenų, nukentėjusių nuo 1939-1990 metų okupacijų, teisinio status įstatymas, Nr. 66-1609, 1997.

LIST OF THE AUTHOR'S PUBLICATIONS ON THE RESEARCH

Publications in scientific journals:

1. **Vaskelienė I.**, Kazlauskas E., Gailienė D., Domanskaitė-Gota V. Komunikacija apie patirtas politines represijas šeimoje: tarpgeneracinis aspektas. Tarptautinis psichologijos žurnalas: biopsichosocialinis požiūris, 2011, nr. 9, p. 91-104.
2. Kazlauskas E., Domanskaite-Gota V., Gailiene D., **Vaskeliene I.** Überlebende politischer Unterdrückung in Litauen Langfristige Effekte der traumatischen Vergangenheit (Lithuanian survivors of political oppression). Trauma & Gewalt, 2012, Heft. 2, p. 122-133.

Abstracts:

Starinskaitė I., Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E., Domanskaitė Gota V. Ilgalaikės politinių represijų Lietuvoje pasekmės antrajai kartai: komunikacija apie trauminius išgyvenimus. *VI jaunųjų mokslininkų psichologų konferencija*. Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009, p. 37-42.

Starinskaitė I., Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E. Domanskaitė Gota V. Ilgalaikės politinių represijų Lietuvoje pasekmės antrajai kartai: komunikacija apie trauminius išgyvenimus. *Ketvirtoji pasaulio lietuvių psichologų konferencija*. Vilnius. Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009, p. 173-174.

Starinskaitė I., Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E. Communication of traumatic experiences in the families of the politically repressed persons. *11 European Conference on Traumatic Stress, Oslo*, Book of abstracts, 2009.

Starinskaitė I., Gailienė D., Kazlauskas E., Domanskaitė Gota V. Ilgalaikis represijų poveikis šeimai. *Lietuvos psichologų kongresas. Konferencijos medžiaga*. Kaunas: VDU, 2011, p.60-61.

Starinskaite I., Kazlauskas E., Gailiene D., Domanskaite Gota V. Communication about Soviet political oppression: qualitative study of second generation. *European Congress of Psychology. Istanbul, Poster Abstracts*. CD. Istanbul, 2011.

Starinskaite I., Gailiene D., Kazlauskas E., Domanskaite Gota V. Second generation of Lithuanian survivors of Soviet political oppression. *12th European Conference on Traumatic Stress. European Journal of Psychotraumatology*. Suppl. 1, p. 119, Vienna, 2011.

Kazlauskas E., Gailiene D. **Starinskaite I.** Psychological effects of communist repression on the second-generation of Lithuanian survivors. *11th European conference on traumatic stress. Oslo*, Book of abstracts, 2009.

Kazlauskas E., Gailiene D., **Starinskaitė I.**, Pakalniskiene V., Domanskaite Gota V. (2011). Intergenerational effects of political trauma in Lithuanian survivors. *12th European Conference on Traumatic Stress. Vienna. European Journal of Psychotraumatology*. Suppl. 1, p. 93.

Kazlauskas E., Skruibiene I., Gailiene D., **Starinskaite I.** (2011). Posttraumatic Growth Among Lithuanian Survivors of Political Violence: A Qualitative Study. *12th European Conference on Traumatic Stress. European Journal of Psychotraumatology*. Suppl. 1, p. 148.

About the author

Ieva Vaskelienė (former Starinskaitė) graduated clinical psychology from Vilnius University in 2008. The same year she started doctoral studies at the department of Clinical and Organisational Psychology in Vilnius University. Since 2008 I. Vaskelienė has been working as clinical psychologist at Vilnius University's Children's Hospital department of Child Development Centre. She is a member of Vilnius University Trauma psychology group, participates in trauma research projects, and is one of the organizers of annual Vilnius trauma psychology conference.

Trumpai apie autorę

Ieva Vaskelienė (Starinskaitė) 2008 m. baigė klinikinės psichologijos studijas Vilniaus universitete. Tais pačiais metais ji pradėjo doktorantūros studijas Klinikinės ir organizacinės psichologijos katedroje Vilniaus universitete. Nuo 2008 m. I. Vaskelienė dirba medicinos psichologe VU Vaikų ligoninės filialo Vaiko raidos centre. Ji yra Vilniaus universiteto Traumų psichologijos grupės narė, dalyvauja traumų tyrimuose, yra viena iš kasmetinės Vilniaus traumų psichologijos konferencijos organizatoriu.

IEVA VASKELIENĖ

**LONG-TERM PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION IN
LITHUANIA TO SECOND GENERATION**

Summary of Doctoral Dissertation

Social Sciences, Psychology (06 S)

Spausdino Vilniaus universiteto leidyklos spaustuvė
Universiteto g. 1, LT-01122 Vilnius