

ANABELA VALENTE SIMÕES

Fragmented identities in Doron Rabinovici's novel *Ohnehin*

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Especially during the last two decades a growing number of specialists from different disciplines and methodological approaches have developed various theories that describe and explain how identity is formed. The different interpretations and variations over the years show it is a complex and not easily definable concept.

Concisely we could define 'identity' as the response to three concrete questions: 1) *Who am I?*, in the sense of how I perceive myself, of the conscience that I have of myself as an individual; 2) *Where do I belong?*, meaning the different contexts or places where I am a social actor and the places I feel specially bonded with; 3) *How do I integrate myself?*, that is to say, how do I interact with others in the different contexts I act? The answers to these interrogations point at three essential elements: an individual needs the ability to self-representation, a context and social interaction in order to form his / her identity. Having this in mind, identity can be defined as a complex, integrated and coherent structure of a *Self* that elaborates itself in the interaction with others in a specific social / cultural context. Formed upon a bidimensional basis, identity is therefore the result of interconnections between the personal and collective dimensions inherent to each individual; in other words, the first dimension is always developed in the presence of the second, the platform that will provide an interaction and communication field where the subject will act, relate and share identifications or, in opposition, deviate from what he/she does not identify with.

The concept of identity also relates to the notion of "being identical", which means, sharing with others a set of characteristics. Language, customs and traditions, landscapes, myths, monuments or heroic characters, etc, are all aspects that can belong to a specific social group (or, within a wider range, to a nation); these are features that are shared cultural elements and, as a result, distinctive attributes of a subject's collective identity. In conjunction with all these aspects, our memory, our historical memory, also plays an important role as far as the question of identity is concerned. In fact, the question of memory and the way it relates to the past has been one of the most central topics in contemporary reflection. Memory enables each subject to narrate his/her own story, in other words, to draw a line that connects the several stages he/she has undergone and then reach self-

understanding; this organized construction of the moments one has lived allows the individual to attain a sense of integration and coherence, which are fundamental in one's identity formation.

But not only experienced events play a key role in a subject's identity; occurrences or facts prior to the subject's birth (or contemporary events he/she has not taken part in) may also integrate one's identity. Let us take, for instance, the descendents of Holocaust survivors. This generation was not exposed to the Nazi crimes, but the heavy heritage of this particular past has certainly been incorporated in these individuals' identity. They do not possess an actual memory of this historical fact, but rather a post-memory of it, a received memory that indirectly is also theirs¹. These past events can be transmitted either through the process of "communicative memory" - when the knowledge of those events is inter-generationally passed on, which happens every time elder family members describe what they have actually witnessed or been involved in -, or through the process of "cultural memory", which happens when events were learnt through symbolic means such as material representations (books, films, images, libraries, museums, etc) or symbolic practices (traditions, celebrations, rituals, etc).²

In the context of Post-Modernity the definition of identity has been strongly influenced by globalization, an economic, social and cultural process that made originally steady cultural borders permeable to outer influences. In today's world the concept of identity has consequently been adjusting itself to a new reality that constantly evolves and mutates as a result of continuous structural and institutional changes. Contradicting the solipsistic conceptions of Enlightenment theories, a subject's identity is no longer unified and stable, self-centred and parted from social context. In opposition, it is undefined and decentralized. It is the result of new life forms that inhibit individuals to have a fixed, essential and permanent identity. In the face of contemporary social diversity and therefore having to simultaneously act in different cultural systems, each individual may integrate multiple identity constellations, some even contradictory, which are continuously formed and transformed. In a social context of continuous exchanges like ours, modern subjects will inevitably experience a great variety of developments and metamorphosis or even feel different identifications over the course of their lives. And this is a circumstance that unquestionably corroborates my initial thought that identity is indeed a very complex topic, which should be, first and foremost, perceived as a plural and dynamic idea.

In this paper I would like to focus our attention on Doron Rabinovici (*1961), the Israeli-born Austrian Jewish writer and historian who in 2004 published the novel I intend to explore here. It is his second novel and it was entitled *Ohnehin* (“Anyway”).

“In German is ‘ohnehin’ a word that basically does not question anything, a word with a certain easiness (...) and it stands not only for easiness, but also for the inability to remember”³, argued Doron Rabinovici while discussing with me the title for his book. In another interview he also meant, “The word ‘ohnehin’ is a nice word, because it (...) also refers to a certain *placelessness*, something that is certainly related to a market, something that is certainly related to the conditions of today’s world market, and something that is related to the fact that we all – Jews, Immigrants or not – live in a kind of Diaspora”.⁴

These thoughts guide us to the two streams developed in the novel, two different realities that have as common denominator the sense that both individual and social identities of post-modern subjects are essentially fragile and hybrid constructs. On the one hand, society’s unawareness of its own historical past and the inability to learn from it; on the other hand, the multiplicity of identities in contemporary societies which may be the cause of a sense of fragmentation, also pluralisation, of an individual’s identity in our industrialized and globalized world.

These two trajectories are intrinsically correlated to the author’s personal situation. Doron Rabinovici is indeed a part of the Diaspora he speaks of: son of Holocaust survivors, he moved from Tel Aviv to Vienna in the mid-sixties when he was still an infant. His Jewish descent, the difficulties of second generation Jews in coping with their parents’ trauma and pain, as well as Austria’s historical and social context have undoubtedly influenced his work both as an historian and as a writer.

Over 60 years have passed since the tragic destiny of millions of Holocaust victims. Nevertheless the persecution of the Jewish people is still being represented in various forms, not only in academic studies or literary texts, especially autobiographies and autobiographical novels, but also cinematographically. Simultaneously a younger generation has been reaching the public’s as well as the critics’ attention to a specific reality, intrinsically related to that of the survivors: the reality of the second generation, a generation of individuals who did not experience the Nazi genocide violence, but a generation who had to build their identities under the shadow of such a brutal past. Rabinovici’s first novel *Suche nach M.* explores these circumstances, particularly the transgenerational transmission of memory and guilt within survivor families.⁵

The transgenerational effects of the Holocaust are plentifully documented.⁶ It is reported in several studies that some children of survivors showed symptoms that would only be expected from individuals that experienced the Holocaust themselves.⁷ Psychological research also indicates that the transmission of feelings such as fear, guilt or shame is commonly passed on through one of the following behavioural patterns: some families built what Israeli psychologist Dan Bar-On called a “double wall” of silence⁸, other families would narrate with detail the most violent episodes.

In the first case, whatever happened in the past was kept in silence, and neither parents nor children would mention it. Adults were not able to confront themselves with their experience and consequently their repressed traumas were handled as a taboo; in order to protect their offspring (and also to protect themselves) from that past, earlier events were just not a conversation topic. On the other side of this wall, children did know that something overwhelmingly violent, something that caused their parents a great deal of pain, had happened, but they didn't dare to ask about it. In the second case, children were kept prisoner of their own parents' personal stories, who exposed them to the cruellest actions⁹. Both communication styles – silence or exaggerated exposition – could lead to negative consequences on children, who tended to create frightening fantasies or develop psychological disorders. And even if the consequences were not pathological, one thing seems to be certain: the Holocaust has left long lasting consequences and, as a result, it is an indisputable identity landmark in Jewish self-perception.

As I briefly mentioned before, Doron Rabinovici is also an historian. In 2000, after more than a decade of political activism struggling against anti-Semitism and racism, he published his doctoral thesis under the title *Instanzen der Ohnmacht* (“Authorities of Powerlessness”). Here he analyses the concrete situation of Austrian Jews who worked in the *Judenräte* after the *Anschluss* by the Nazis in 1938, often accused of having betrayed their own people. In the following years he would publish other essays and historical studies, all centred on Jewish existence and their situation in contemporary society. Although the Holocaust plays a vital role in Doron Rabinovici's personal history and therefore in his identity, the complex and controversial Austrian social and political developments over the last two decades are also another central piece of his self-perception.

In opposition to Germany, where the discussion about the crimes perpetrated in WWII started immediately in 1945 with the Nurnberg Trials and carried on with the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trials in the 60s and then with the Historians Debate in the 80s, Austria banned

this episode from its historical conscience for a long period of time and kept the seven years of collaboration with the Nazi regime under the false myth that Austrians were also victims:

Unlike Germany's near obsession with its Nazi past, Austria's relationship to its wartime history has remained decorously submerged, politely out of sight. Indeed, the post war identity of Austria had been based upon the self-serving myth that the country was Hitler's first victim.¹⁰

Rabinovici's particular interest in Austrian political developments goes back to 1986 when, in the aftermath of the "Waldheim affair", the crystallized official narrative that Austria was Hitler's first victim started to be problematized. The acknowledgement that elected President Kurt Waldheim had been an SS Officer during the National-Socialist regime generated a major political scandal. This confrontation with the past and the assumption that Waldheim had only "fulfilled his duty" led to an in-depth reflection about Austria's co-participation in the Nazi crimes and moved a group of young Austrian intellectuals towards political and social participation. Robert Schindel, Robert Menasse, Ruth Beckermann or Rabinovici are some of the authors who supported this discussion and broke the silence about anti-Semitism. In fact, he admits it was Waldheim who brought him into politics and made him criticize some of Austria's political issues in both his fictional and non-fictional texts¹¹. In the beginning of 2000 Rabinovici's political activism still persisted; as an answer to the populist and racist speeches of anti-EU Jörg Haider (both parents were Nazi party members), who colligated with Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel after the 1999 elections, Rabinovici gathered for demonstrations, published and posted several texts¹² against the inclusion of Haider's Freedom Party in the new Austrian government.

The truth is that he moves in two different contexts, two different identity constellations, which are in so many aspects contradictory. As the Jewish past and Austria's attitude towards its own past seem to collide, Rabinovici finds himself in a difficult situation, struggling to move in two different, almost antagonistic worlds. He talks about a *Jewish-Self* and an *Austrian-Self*¹³ and finds himself trapped in this duplicity, i.e. the conscience that his Jewish cultural and historical identity lives together with the linguistic and social identity of the country he inhabits. The feeling of belonging to a set of traditions and cultural aspects coexists with a feeling of bonding with a country where he speaks and writes the language of the perpetrators. It is in this ambivalence, in this difficult and problematic existence that he has to search and build his identity – an identity that is inevitably fragmented, plural and hybrid.

In *Ohnehin* these ambivalent worlds are particularly portrayed. Differently from his previous novel *Suche nach M.*, whose main theme is the problematic identity search and

construction by second generation Jews, in the novel I intend to explore the range of presented identities is much wider; not only second generation Jews, but also first generation Jews, Gentiles, legal and illegal immigrants as well as Nazi perpetrators and their children are at the centre of this author's attention.

As far as the setting is concerned, the action takes place in Vienna and starts in January 1995. 1995 is a particular and significant year, both in Austria and internationally: it was the 50th anniversary commemoration of World War II and the 40th anniversary of the Allied retreat. Moreover it is the year Austria entered the European Union and the moment Jörg Haider became internationally known due to his anti-EU and racist campaign. The Sinti bombing in the city of Oberwart and a series of letter bombs also marked this year. In Israel Yitzhak Rabin was murdered and in the Balkans the bloody conflict still continued.

The text starts with a sentence that would be constantly repeated throughout the 10 chapters of the novel: "It has to come to an end sometime. That's enough of piles of corpses, war and crimes"¹⁴, complains neurologist Stefan Sandtner, the protagonist, as he watches the news about the Balkan War and the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. The main character is portrayed as the *neutral* Austrian element who acts on the two stages of the narrative, two themes that run most of the time parallel to each other and then, near the end, will get closely interwoven.

One of the story threads I mentioned conducts the reader into the story of family Kerber. Herber Kerber is an 80-year-old former doctor who deals with neurological problems: he believes he is in 1945 and doesn't recognize anybody from the present, not even his children. Stefan Sandtner is called by the Jewish and concentration camp survivor neighbour Paul Guttman to assist Kerber and diagnoses Korsakoff syndrome, a type of amnesia that erases all recent memory records. During this process a terrible truth would be unveiled: he had been an SS officer and strongly believes he had only fulfilled his duty.

The acknowledgment of this truth is handled differently by Kerber's children, assuming each one of them paradigmatic responses observed in several studies on children of the Nazi perpetrators: On the one hand, his son Hans, who fears that this particular past may disturb his ascending career as a public servant, gives those past actions no special importance and tries to hide them by buying the doctor's silence; on the other hand, his daughter Bärbl feels indignation, shame and repulse. In her despair she stages a "private court"¹⁵ and demands recognition of guilt from her father. As the old man states he was just following orders and that that speech about Holocaust crimes would have to come to an end sometime, Bärbl infuriates and rages at her progenitor.

Bärbl's difficult situation worsens when she meets Stefan's friend Lew Feiniger, a second-generation Russian Jew, portrayed as the son who has had to fulfill the projections and aspirations of a family that lost everything during the Nazi persecution. When the daughter of the Nazi officer faces the son of the Jewish victim, she cannot avoid discomfort and anxiety. She distances herself from her father's actions and suggests she feels a certain identification with him: "The children of perpetrators and victims do have a lot in common"¹⁶. But Lew repudiates such a philo-semitic approach, loses his temper with what he feels is an attempt of solidarity and refuses any dialogue with such group of people. Lew's reaction essentially demonstrates how reluctant this generation is in accepting that the children of perpetrators could also be victims of the same past - which they can, according to several psychological studies¹⁷. The denial of this circumstance corroborates the assumption that the memory of the Holocaust is essentially a hereditary memory, whose intensity seems not to fade away among those who actually did not witness it, but grew up haunted by its omnipresence in everyday life.

The second story thread develops in the picturesque *Naschmarkt*, described as a "world apart, an island in the centre of the metropolis"¹⁸, a world that resembles the mythical Babel where already for centuries not only German, but also Italian, Yiddish, Greek, Turk, Serbian or Polish have been commonly spoken languages. In this polyphonic world the reader meets Polish and Slovakian workers, Brazilian singers and Turk and Greek immigrant salespeople who interact in the narrative with Stefan and his heterogeneous and multicultural group of friends: the Jew Lew Feiniger, the Austrian journalist Sophie Wiesen, the cinema student Tom Wandruschka, the son a Congo diplomat Patrique Mutabo, the filmmaker from Kosovo Flora Dema and her illegal cameraman, the Serb Goran Bošković. The international origin of these characters transforms Vienna into a transnational stage, especially this market, pictured here as the epicentre of multiculturalism, as a global village. It seems the face of globalization, "the *locus amoenus* of cultural pluralism"¹⁹, a model of the broader world market we all citizens of the world live in.

In fact, on a superficial glance there seems to be a perfect symbiosis between all those foreign individuals and Vienna itself. It is as if all those (im)migrants were successfully integrated, as if they really fit in or have their place there. This portrait is nonetheless an illusion. The truth is that that entire multicultural scenario is a deceit and these individuals are in a precarious situation. Although they act in a society that is perceived as modern, tolerant and humanistic, these people feel uprooted and placeless and that market stands for an improvised home, a "safe haven"²⁰ in a foreign and at times hostile urban environment. This

market has a separate, living identity and it helps certain people, like for instance the Jew Paul Guttman, to feel at home in a country that neither recognized its crimes nor acknowledged the Holocaust victims.²¹ In order to illuminate the specificity of this place and the different identity problems staged there, I am going to point at three concrete situations depicted in the novel:

1. As the first generation of immigrants, whether conscious or unconsciously, do not really integrate and persist on living in a provisory state, yearning to return to their countries - under the false illusion they could actually preserve their original identity intact -, their children struggle with the fact of not having a solid foundation, a fixed place they can call their own. This idea is particularly well illustrated as Bülent, the son of the Turk Mehmet Ertekin, expresses his frustration, his feeling of rootlessness when Austrian authorities deny this community a cemetery: “Until my death. They don’t want me. They don’t allow us not even an own Muslim cemetery. They don’t want our bodies in their pure soil. They fear for their clean floor”. And even despite the fact that Bülent was born in Austria, “For the Austrians [he is] and will always be a bloody Turk.”²² In reality the identity of this group of people is a fragmented identity, an identity that has not only to integrate two different cultural codes, but also an identity that searches recognition and acceptance in a place that, according to the author’s view, clearly overlooks minorities.

2. Even though Patrique Mutabo is an Austrian-born educated man and a member of a socially high ranked family, he acknowledges he has always been discriminated against because of the colour of his skin. Since he belongs to a minority that has never been recognized nor truly accepted, he feels uncomfortable being in places such as the Resselpark, described in the text as “a drug centre and a place of appropriate police infringement”²³. Due to *his situation*, i.e. the stigmata of being African and the generalization that all dark skinned individuals are criminals, he hates when Stefan leaves him standing there, in a place where he could easily be taken for a drug dealer. While talking with the Greek salesman Theo Alexandrus, Patrique criticizes such misjudgements and claims to be “an Austrian. A real one. A genuine one.”²³ These words were meticulously chosen by the author. By criticizing a political campaign slogan created by the *Volkspartei* for the 1970 elections, Rabinovici recycled an idea that originally held anti-Semitic and racist connotations. It was his intention to give this character a very specific purpose, namely to reconvert a series of stereotyped ideas and to illustrate the social disrespect for ethnic and cultural minorities.

3. Within the group that regularly meets at the Naschmarkt everybody ignores Goran’s condition (he deserted from the Serbian army and lives in agony, with the memory of

his sisters' rape and assassination and the fear of repatriation). Even though it gives the impression they are an interested group of people who talk about important issues such as racism and Haider's populist speeches or the Balkan war, nobody really asks where Goran comes from, about his experience in the war or if he needs help. His true *Self* is thus ignored and, consequently, it is as if his identity was meaningless or not worthy of recognition. When Goran videotapes Flora pretending to be an illegal refugee, who cries for help on the streets, the results are quite clear: people do not care and treat her with indifference, without any sense of respect or humanitarianism²⁴. Even Lew Feiniger, who should be more sensitive about such issues, assumes an egoistic attitude and refuses to help Flora and Goran who would like to screen their provocative film during an exhibition about Nazi crimes he is organizing²⁵. And when Flora, who gets romantically involved with Stefan, expresses her concern with the fact that soon she will have to leave the country unless somebody helps her dealing with the legal questions (she has a limited residence permit), he ignores her and demonstrates no sense of solidarity²⁶. In Rabinovici's novel people seem to establish no deep connections, but instead just relate on a very superficial level. It just seems that everybody conducts a self-centred life and avoids at any cost getting involved in other peoples' problems.

Fundamentally this novel can be understood as a metaphor for the generalized social amnesia this author observes in the Viennese society. Here it is his intention to criticize society's lack of altruism and the indifference, prejudice and generalizations that many of those in a fragile situation are subjected to. While some of the novel's characters - particularly the ones that belong to disregarded social minorities - long for their personal integrity and social recognition, others personify the inability to remember that all civil society in general seems to suffer from. Committing the same errors of past, of the national-socialist past, society assumes the role of a bystander and persists on ignoring other people's need for legitimacy and acceptance. As a consequence, these individuals are at risk; they might not be able to build a positive self-representation, neither to feel attached to a place nor to perform constructive interactions with others. By being kept on the periphery, these individuals might not be able to establish constancy, bonding and commitment, which are essential in the process of developing the capacity to form a coherent self-concept, an overarching sense and view of themselves.

Notes

- ¹ J E Young, *At memory's edge: after-images of the Holocaust in contemporary art and architecture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 3-4.
- ² J Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München, C.H. Beck, 1992, pp. 50-52; A Assmann, *Der lange Schatten der Vergangenheit. Erinnerungskultur und Geschichtspolitik*, München, C.H. Beck, 2006, pp. 51-58.
- ³ A V Simões, *O lugar da memória na obra de jovens autores de expressão alemã*, Universidade de Aveiro, 2009, p. 438. The author of this paper is responsible for all translations from German into English.
- ⁴ V Kaukoreit, 'Viele Fragen. Doron Rabinovici: Ohnehin', in *Büchermarkt, Deutschlandfunk*, 2004, viewed on 26.01.2005, <<http://www.dradio.de/df/sendungen/buechermarkt/289513>>.
- ⁵ D Rabinovici, *Suche nach M.*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1997. Some academic studies on Rabinovici's first novel: D Dick, 'Doron Rabinovici: Suche nach M.', in *Aftereffects of the Holocaust as expressed in German literature*, Wayne State University, 2004, pp. 120-154; E D Martins, *Identidade, memória e trauma. Um estudo sobre 'Suche nach M.' de Doron Rabinovici*, Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 2003; A V Simões, 'A dialéctica do esquecer do recordar em 'Ohnehin'', in *O lugar da memória na obra de jovens autores de expressão alemã*, Universidade de Aveiro, 2009, pp. 303-342; V Vertlib, 'Österreichische Verstrickungen'. *Literatur und Kritik*, 1997, pp. 89-90.
- ⁶ See, for instance, M S Bergmann and M Jucovy, (eds), *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaust*, Frankfurt am Main, S. Fischer, 1995 [Orig. *Generations of the Holocaust*].
- ⁷ See, for instance, J. Herzog, 'Welt jenseits von Methaphern. Überlegungen zur Transmission des Traumas', in *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaust*, pp. 127-146.
- ⁸ D Bar-On, 'Four encounters between descendants of survivors and descendants of perpetrators of the Holocaust: Building social bonds out of silence', Department of Behavioural Sciences, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel, 1994, p. 5 [manuscript paper provided by the author].
- ⁹ J Chaitin, 'Facing the Holocaust in generations of families of survivors: the case of partial relevance and interpersonal values'. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 22, 3, 2000, pp. 289-313, here p. 290.
- ¹⁰ J E Young, 'Memory and Counter-Memory. The End of the Monument in Germany'. *Harvard Design Magazine*, 9, Fall 1999, pp. 1-10, here p. 7.
- ¹¹ M Beilein, *86 und die Folgen. Robert Schindel, Robert Menasse und Doron Rabinovici in literarischen Feld Österreichs* (Philologische Studien und Quellen 213), Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2008, p. 9.
- ¹² See, for instance, D Rabinovici, 'Vorwort: Aufbruch der Zivilgesellschaft', in *Republik der Courage. Wider die Verhinderung*, R Misik and D Rabinovici (eds), Berlin, Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000, pp. 9-14; D Rabinovici, 'Gedenkrede in Oberwart', 2000, viewed on 26.01.2005, <<http://sybamb.blogspot.com/2004/08/rabinovici-doron.html>>.
- ¹³ D Rabinovici, 'Doron R. und D. Rabinovici. Der nationale Doppler', 1999, viewed on 26.01.2005 <<http://www.hagalil.com/archiv/99/10/austria.htm>>.
- ¹⁴ D Rabinovici, *Ohnehin*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 2004, p.7.
- ¹⁵ M Beilein, 'Auf diesem Markt ist Österreich: Doron Rabinovici's 'Ohnehin'', in *National Identities and European Cultures*, Barbeito, J. Manuel et.al (eds), Bern, Peter Lang, 2008, pp. 93-104, here p. 96.
- ¹⁶ D Rabinovici, *Ohnehin*, p. 117.
- ¹⁷ See, for instance, D Bar-on, *Die Last des Schweigens. Gespräche mit Kindern von Nazi Tätern*, Frankfurt am Main, Campus Verlag, 2004; M Brenner, 'Epilog oder Neuanfang? ', in *Juden in Deutschland nach 1945*, O R Romberg and S Urban-Fahr (eds), Bonn, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000, pp. 35-44; M D Coleman, 'Kind von Verfolgern', in *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaust*, pp. 217-238; G Hardtmann, 'Die Schatten der Vergangenheit', in *Kinder der Opfer. Kinder der Täter. Psychoanalyse und Holocaust*, pp. 239-261.
- ¹⁸ Rabinovici, *Ohnehin*, p. 18.
- ¹⁹ Beilein, 'Auf diesem Markt ist Österreich: Doron Rabinovici's 'Ohnehin'', p. 97.

- ²⁰ Kecht, Maria-Regina, 'Literarische Topografie der Einwanderung : Rabinovicis Roman 'Ohnehin'', in *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*, 52, 1, 2008, pp. 35-43, here p. 38.
- ²¹ Rabinovici, *Ohnehin*, p. 39.
- ²² *ibid.*, pp. 189-190.
- ²³ *ibid.*, p. 156. The question of the discrimination and systematic persecution of foreign individuals by Austrian authorities is discussed in detail in D Rabinovici, 'Vorwort: Aufbruch der Zivilgesellschaft', in *Republik der Courage. Wider die Verhaiderung*, pp. 9-14.
- ²⁴ Rabinovici, *Ohnehin*, p.163.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 75.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 122.

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Anabela Valente Simões is a Professor at the University of Aveiro, Portugal.

Current areas of interest: identity and memory studies, the transgenerational effects of the National-Socialism, representations of the Holocaust.