7. Ibid., loc. cit.
8. Dr Haim Yassky at the meeting of the Council of the Para-Faculty of Medicine, December 8, 1946 (Hebrew), *HUA*; Hadassah National Board Minutes, November 3, 1948, p. 6, *HA*; interview with Prof. Andre De Vries, Tel Aviv, 1992; Hadassah Biennial Report, 1949–1951, pp. 23–4, *HA*; Hadassah National Board Minutes, May 15, 1954, p. 4, *HA*.
9. Hadassah National Board Minutes, July 20, 1950, p. 4, *HA*.
0. Hadassah Biennial Report, 1949–1951, pp. 23–4, *HA*.
1. Folder: Hadassah Constitutions, *HA*.
2. *Hadassah Handbook*.
3. Mccune, Gender, pp. 137, 141, 149.
4. Ibid., p. 150.
5. Antler, *Journey*, p. 105; on the two nurses, see Dash, *Summoned*, p. 112; see also: Shvarts, *Kupat Holim*, p. 49.
6. On the Wald clinic, see Rosen, *Public Health*, pp. 380–1.
7. Antler, *Journey*, p. 105.
8. Dash, *Summoned*, p. 109; Miller, Hadassah, p. 87.
9. Antler, *Journey*, p. 105.
0. Ibid., loc. cit.
. Dash, *Summoned*, p. 110.
. Mccune, Gender, p. 146.
. *Twenty Years*, pp. 17–19.
. Niederland, Influence, p. 144.
. *Twenty Years*, p. 24.
. Niederland, Influence, p. 144.
. A general memorandum sent by Hayim Shalom Halevi (Deputy Administrative Director of the Rothschild Hospital) to mayors and heads of local municipal councils; Circular by Dr Kalman Mann to city and local councils, May 16, 1952; List of 24 preventive medicine clinics in the Jerusalem Corridor operated by Hadassah on the day on which the agreement devolving its services elsewhere was signed; Kalman Mann to Chaim Shiba, Director General of the Ministry of Health, July 7, 1972; Agreement between the directors of the Hadassah Medical Organization, the Clerical Workers Union, the Nurses Union and the Hadassah Employees Union; all in Hebrew, and all found in the Israel State Archives, 2/1/4/4245 c. For the statement that Hadassah kept its medical services in Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Corridor in order to train its medical students and nurses, see: Kalman J. Mann, 'The Hadassah Medical Organization Program in the State of Israel', in Joseph Hirsh (ed.) *The Hadassah Medical Organization: An American Contribution to Medical Pioneering and Progress in Israel* (New York: Hadassah, 1965), p. 38. *Hadassah Newsletter*, 1945–56; *Hadassah Headlines*, 1945–56.

10

Post-Holocaust Memory: Some Gendered Reflections

DEBRA KAUFMAN

As a sociologist, I am interested in the cultural narratives that will embed memory in tomorrow's history. What I have chosen to share with you in this chapter is part of an ongoing, larger project about post-Holocaust Jewish identity among young adults (between 20 and 30 years of age) in the United States, Great Britain and Israel.[1] The material presented here deals only with the data from the US. Specifically, my focus is on the gendered dimensions of the post-Holocaust narratives gathered during my interviews.

Feminist thinking suggests that we must undertake any scholarly pursuit in a critically self-conscious and humane fashion. The study of the Holocaust demands that we do so. Therefore, the first gendered reflection I wish to make in this chapter is that history is grounded in 'collective' memory and represents a pursuit steeped in both scholarly possibilities and ethical obligations (LaCapra, 1998). True to a feminist recounting of my project, I will begin by revealing several assumptions implicit in my work. As I have written elsewhere, until recently, what we 'know' about the Holocaust and what has been given for posterity to 'know' have been primarily understood through a master narrative developed in each scholarly discipline by and through a predominately male voice (Kaufman, 1996: 4). More importantly, I contend that contemporary collective representations of the Holocaust, particularly in the popular imagination, are gendered. For instance, in a special guest edition of *Contemporary Jewry*, Mary Lagerwey (1996) explores the sociocultural impact of text and fiction within the contemporary memory and imagination of the Holocaust. She suggests that the reception and popularity of Elie Wiesel's, *Night* and of Anne Frank's, *The Diary of a Young Girl* are differently understood in the popular imagination given the gendered nature of these works.

For Lagerwey, these two life stories have played major roles in shaping the collective memories of the Holocaust in the United States. Anne Frank's story is that of a victim of the Holocaust, a young female adolescent whose story has been rewritten by others, and who remains, contends Lagerwey, representative of the 6 million who vanished. That is, she remains in the popular imagination as representative of a sympathetic victim. In contrast, Elie Wiesel, following the western autobiographical convention that holds that one 'successful' life story can embody an entire historical event or period, writes his own story as the representative voice of the 'successful Holocaust survivor' (Lagerwey, 1996: 54). She represents passivity; he agency.

Similarly, scholars, such as Myrna Goldenberg, maintain that 'English language audiences know Holocaust literature primarily through male writers and have generalized those experiences to represent the whole' (1990: 150). Heinemann (1986) argues that apart from Anne Frank's *Diary*, texts of Holocaust memories have been primarily male. My main point here is to make clear that 'collective memory' is not only produced within a specific social and historical context, but within a gendered context as well. Importantly, such contexts affect the way in which we represent or address the past. Only recently have gender issues become explicit in both research foci and the interpretation of the Holocaust experience (see, for example, Cesarani, 2001).

THE STUDY

In other work, I have detailed the ways in which the Holocaust is complexly woven into the identity narratives of the young adults I studied (Kaufman, 1998, 1999, 2001). While the Holocaust does play an important role in their contemporary identity narratives, those narratives are shaped by the institutional and cultural interpretations of specific regional, national and international socio-historic moments as well. Therefore, while the Holocaust represents an important political identity marker, it, as all historical reconstructions, necessarily involves judgment and selectivity based on the social context within which it is received. That judgment and selectivity is complexly linked to cultural constructions and reconstructions of the Holocaust (see Kaufman, 2001) and, for my sample, to their contemporary Jewish identities. In this chapter I will not focus on the reasons for those reconstructions, but rather on the gendered dimensions of the Jewish identity narratives I gathered. In this study, many of the identity

narratives the young adults reveal are intimately linked to the Holocaust and to the way in which the Jew has been positioned historically as the 'other'. In general, the young adults in this study construct their identity narratives as Jews in relationship to other 'others'.

For many in the sample, the Holocaust is a 'defining' or 'root' experience (Fackenheim, 1987), a historical marker from which the meaning and measure of Jewish identity is taken. The 20- and 30-year-olds in my sample are not necessarily representative of all young adults of that age, but they do provide insights into the ways in which this population configures and reconfigures identity issues. For the most part, when Holocaust themes are mentioned, the young adults use those themes in their identity narratives to move them beyond particularistic concerns for their immediate communities to more universalistic concerns for other communities (for a fuller discussion, see Kaufman, 2001). In general, they define themselves as Jews through their obligations to and concerns for others, both within and outside of the Jewish community.

Yet despite this, men and women differ not only in the way they tell their identity narratives, but in the content of those narratives as well. When they appear, gender differences support findings that indicate that women both narrate and theorize from the concrete and relational ways they live their lives, while men reflect on identity in more abstract and less detailed ways. Women are more focused on their everyday lives and connections to people. Women are more concerned about the representation of the 'other' in the 'collective cultural narrative', and the consequences for interpersonal dynamics given that cultural construction, than men. Women seem more interested in identity as a means of relating to others; men seem primarily interested in identity as a way of presenting the self as an individual against all others. The women are more tentative, the men more assured, in telling their identity stories (see Kaufman, 1999).

GENDER FINDINGS

Since earlier publications give a full description of the sample, methods of data collection and some of the gender findings (Kaufman, 1998, 1999), it is sufficient to note here that these are 70, primarily middle- to upper-middle-class, urban young adults. Most are from the eastern seaboard of the US. I interviewed them using a snowball sampling technique. Moreover, they are not necessarily, nor was I interested in,

grandchildren or great grandchildren of Holocaust survivors. In this study, I have engaged my sample in what I call 'structured conversations', introducing a set of prepared questions that guide our recorded conversations. The larger themes guiding this study (of which these gender findings are a part) derive from the following question: Does the Holocaust provide themes and metaphors around which post-Holocaust Jewish identity, for 20- to 30-year-olds, is constructed and positioned? Although many hypothesize about this particular age group, few have actually studied such young adults.

Indeed, most speculation has been directed at Jews in general, rather than any specific age group. For instance, in his edited volume on contemporary Jewish identity in Europe, Jonathan Webber suggests that the keen interest in the Holocaust among Jews in Europe may reflect 'the capacity of Holocaust contemplation to provide a new basis for secular Jewish self-identification, especially in countries where there is little significant anti-Semitism' (1992: 23).[2] Secular self-identification is not only subject to time and place, but, as I will soon show, it is also colored by gender.

Initially, the themes and issues raised by the young adults in my sample did not seem to differ between men and women. However, upon repeated listening to the taped conversations, different foci emerged. For men, there was a tendency to be more abstract and less specific in responding to the questions and in their conversations in general. For instance, when speaking about the relationship between their political and Jewish identities, men more often spoke of the universal principles at stake, while women spoke specifically of the devastation to families and particularly to children. For women there was the sense that their identity was embedded in their everyday lives, both as women and as Jews. On the other hand, men never referred specifically to gender when discussing their Jewish identities. For instance, there was no parallel among men for the following answer from a 26-year-old female. In response to the question 'Why is it important, if at all, to call yourself a Jew?', she replied:

> It's extremely important ... In one way it's just so vital to who I am ... it's how I identify myself. There's always the question what are you first: Are you a woman, are you a Jew, and are you an American? I think in different scenarios it changes. Recently, I have begun to define myself as a Jew first and foremost because it's just been right there kind of at the tip of who I am and my identity. But I don't know why.

Another respondent recounted an incident in which she meant to answer by saying, 'I am a Jew' but said instead: 'I'm Sara [fictitious name]'. It was, she notes, 'as if these things were identical'. No male ever responded by saying 'I think of myself more as a male than a Jew', as did the 24-year-old who said: 'I think of myself more as a woman. I pay more attention to women's issues than Jewish issues. 'Cause I feel like ... it has not affected me, to my life, to date, being Jewish. Being a woman has.' One 30-year-old spoke of her distress at being the only female in her Sunday school class and the fact that the congregation of which she was a part would not allow her to read from the Torah. It was not surprising that when asked about how larger changes in the society have affected her identity, she responded by saying: 'Well, the whole women's movement. At some point, in the middle of junior high, it became extremely important to me, and that didn't fit with Judaism.'

I note these gender differences because they color the ways in which these young adults relate their post-Holocaust narratives, especially as they position themselves within and outside the Jewish community. In other words, while the Holocaust raises similar issues for both men and women, those issues are often explored in critically different ways. As the responses above indicate, a number of women envision themselves as the 'other' other within Judaism. Clearly, although suffering and the plight of the other is of concern in both men's and women's identity narratives, women view others with an empathy reserved for those who perceive themselves as the 'other' as well.

Jonathan Webber conjectures that the symbolism of Auschwitz may have less to do with national or nationalist representations of history and more with wider universalistic issues concerning the moral, spiritual and educational problems that affect humanity in general. In this study, in general, the men and women seem to share a similar symbolism in their identity narratives by referring to issues beyond the Jewish community when speaking of Jewish identity and the 'other'. However, the way in which they relate these narratives differs markedly. Men rarely ground their ideas in specific examples; women almost always use life examples and experiences to make their points. Rarely did men ground their thoughts in real-life examples. One 28-year-old male proclaimed:

> It is not just a matter of history, a matter of working things out historically, but the idea that we are a people of God, that we are a chosen people, and that we represent God's working in history.

> We [Jews] represent God working through history. While I don't understand nor can I really explain fascism, murder or oppression, I do know that evil exists and, it too, is a part of the working out of history. We must choose to act on the ideas and ideals that lead away from evil, but it is finally a matter of choice ... Man's choice, that too, is a part of God's working in history.

While both men and women understood the Holocaust to be an extreme version of racism, men described racism as an idea, condemned it as an idea, and believed we should fight it at an idea level more than women did. One 22-year-old male put it this way:

> We need to be ever-vigilant about racism. I think racism is very much about the way you think, the ideas you have about people, especially around differences ... you know, I think any thought that you can have equality with difference is a very mistaken idea. I don't believe in 'different but equal'. The idea of equality is critical in doing away with difference and consequently differential treatment.

Women, on the other hand, used specific life experiences to make similar points, especially about the potentially negative consequences associated with issues of distinctiveness, separateness and exclusiveness. Their concerns are with the real consequences of ideas and the way those ideas may affect the community's relationship with others. Indeed, the most interesting differences were revealed in the way in which women spoke about the consequences of difference, of separatism and of a 'distinctiveness' as Jews.

Only women seemed to connect their concerns about 'others' with their own connection to the Jewish community. One 22-year-old wondered about the lack of non-Jewish friends in her life. Another complained that the lack of diversity within her friendship circles, 'probably makes me a very narrow person'. Another woman says: 'being involved with the Jewish community has made my social life much too homogeneous and that's something that I'm trying to do a little bit more outreach on and to try to cultivate some other relationships'.

Most of those who reported that social action was crucial to their identity narratives claimed to have a sensibility and sensitivity to 'other's' suffering. This empathy was a part of their historical and collective consciousness, as a people who have suffered and who, as a people, are commanded 'to remember' and to 'report injustice'. In other areas of my work I have stated that the Holocaust was the historical marker for these young adults, against which all other atrocities were compared (1998, 1999). When the specific motto 'never again' emerges in their Holocaust narratives (borrowed from the larger cultural Holocaust narrative), these young adults are clear that it means never again to any people.[3] This is true for both men and women.

Therefore, for the majority involved in social justice causes, the impetus for such involvement stems, so they claim, from their sense of duty as Jews and because of their own history as an oppressed and once enslaved people.

HISTORY, MEMORY AND IDENTITY POLITICS: A GENDERED ANALYSIS

The relationship of identity, memory and history to one another represents a complex interaction. I have chosen to show some of the ways in which the Holocaust as 'a' collective memory has become part of these young adults' personal identity narratives.[4] Rather than resulting in a narrow identity politics, the young people in my study seem to have moved beyond particularistic concerns to a more general concern for 'other' others. In his beautifully written book, *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, Dominick LaCapra (1998) offers some cogent comments on the way in which memory poses questions to history. It points to problems, he suggests, that are still alive or invested with emotion and value. Ideally, he claims, 'history critically tests memory and prepares for a more extensive attempt to work through a past that has not passed away' (1998: 8). Because the Holocaust 'has not passed away' and because it is so laden with emotion and cultural value, it plays an important part in the collective Jewish identity of the young adults I have studied.

These young adults formulate their identity politics within a particular socioeconomic context and at a very specific historical time. The histories these young people carry with them are both personal and cultural. Those histories are imagined differently by gender. In my earlier work, I have noted that both men and women see identity as couched in a need to be a part of a unique historical experience, a tie to a people and a past with a unique culture (see Kaufman, 1998, 1999). In addition, the post-Holocaust understanding of Jewish identity for this population has less to do with religion (see Kaufman, 1998) than

does with claims for ties to a particular cultural and historical heritage. Gender differences are clearest in the ways in which each sex narrates their understanding of identity and the consequences of being 'unique', 'separate', and 'different'. Another important difference is the way in which women consciously deal with being female in a society, in general, which still maintains stereotypical views of them and in an ethnic religious community which is still prototypically male. Perhaps this is why women are seemingly more sensitive and empathetic to other 'others'.

In conclusion, it is important to note again that the differences in the way men and women narrate their identity stories also reflect the way in which they connect or do not connect their own experiences to those narratives. As noted earlier, men are not as likely as women to ground their identities in specifics or to connect to real-life situations. Consequently, they are not as likely, as are women, to stay in touch with that experience in drawing their conclusions or reflections on identity issues.[5] For women, the experience of being grounded and embedded in one community informs the way in which they draw the more general conclusions about how to be connected to 'others' not of the same group. For men, most discussions of their relations with others remain at an abstract level, not grounded in the practical everyday relations of community life. Moreover, it appears uncomplicated for them, in ways that are apparently not true for women.

For all those under study, class, race and gender affect the way in which they present themselves as Jews. They have reached a point economically where they can 'own' their individual histories and, more important, tell their identity stories from a position of strength (Kaufman, 1999).[6] Although sexism within and outside Judaism has been decreasing, structural and social power within the Jewish community (and outside of it) are still male-dominated. Despite the fact that Jewish women, like Jewish men, now enjoy a 'white' and middle-class' status (see Kaufman, 1999), women are still socially and economically unequal, compared with men. Perhaps this powerlessness makes them more sensitive to the 'other', better able to assess the needs of the 'other' or, put another way, to take measure of the 'other' than are men (Kaufman, 1991; Kaufman and Richardson, 1982). Jewish women, as their non-Jewish sisters, are still chiefly responsible for mediating the everyday world of the men in their lives, of nurturing and caring for others.

The Holocaust raises identity issues for this generation in a very specific way. The collective cultural memory (i.e., 'never again') of the

Holocaust subtly infuses their identity narratives. Jewish identity is not couched within religious behavior, but rather placed within a political and social stance. The Holocaust, with its mandate to witness and to not forget, becomes then, for many, the subtle marker for both past and current reconstructions of Jewish identity. Cultural memory is tied to the perpetuation of Jewish identity. What these young people choose to remember and how they choose to interpret that memory are all part of their contemporary Jewish identities. But such inquiry goes well beyond issues of Jewish identity. For such inquiry teaches us how history and memory construct a complicated pattern of identity narrative and how that narrative is strongly conditioned by gender.

NOTES

1. Indeed to my knowledge, at this writing, no one else has published findings about post-Holocaust narratives for this age group.
2. The implication is that countries where anti-Semitism has decreased or is at an all time low, as it is in the USA, may need the Holocaust to maintain Jewish self-identification. Others have made this point, such as Chaim Seidler-Feller (1991) and Michael Meyer (1990).
3. This was seen most clearly for those involved in what was formerly Yugoslavia. Here the most common form of activity was in the collection of food and clothing. Others felt that their work with Oxfam was another expression of their obligation to never see a population die out. Still for others, it was human rights activities, be they directed at South America, Africa or Asia (see Kaufman, 1998, 1999).
4. In the full study (Kaufman, 2001), I suggest that there is no monolithic Jewish identity or collective consciousness, for both interact with and are conditioned by time, place and personal biography.
5. Epistemologically speaking, it is tacitly assumed, although the question itself is not raised, that identity will be known in just the same way by all. But it is a serious oversimplification to take for granted that perceptions are always unproblematically 'the same'. Indeed, the process of identity acquisition and maintenance are dependent upon the cognition in which they are based, and this cognition is itself a proper object of evaluation (Kaufman, 1998, 1999). Women, as Lorraine Code writes in reference to Carol Gilligan's work on moral development, maintain contact with, and derive insights from accounts that not only arise out of experience and are firmly grounded in it, but that stay in touch with that experience in drawing their conclusions (Code, 1988: 196).
6. This is particularly true for western Jews, but presents problems where there are greater mixtures of ethnically different Jews.