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FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.,

General Editor, *TIS*

Welcome to Volume 11 of *The Independent Scholar* as we enter our second decade.

First, a word of thanks to those involved in doing the nitty gritty to get this journal out, issue after issue. Our hard-working team of Associate Editors cover a wide range of disciplines, and they are headed up by Amanda Haste (Humanities Editor) and Joan Cunningham (STEM Editor).

Additionally, we have an Invisible Army of Peer Reviewers (PRs) to maintain the quality of our journal. This issue has been delayed, not because of a lack of submissions, but because some authors, after receiving the suggestions of the PRs, chose to withdraw their papers. Others are still in the review process as it is becoming so difficult to source reviewers. But our Invisible Army of PRs have soldiered on, like the United States Post Office: "neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds . . . " Yes, indeed!

If you are invited to review for TIS (or any other journal for that matter), please do reply, even (or especially) if it is simply to decline the invitation - our editors can't move on to invite other reviewers if they're still holding out hope of a response from you, and this can only prolong the review process, to the frustration of both editors and authors.

This volume features four critical essays, plus a reprint of the 2024 Eisenstein Essay Prize-winning essay, and an impressive book review section; these demonstrate the diversity of the membership of NCIS through the variety of topics discussed. The issue begins with the 2025 Elizabeth Eisenstein award-winning paper, Susan R. Breitzer's "Sisterhood was Limited: Jews, Intersectionality, and the Second Wave Feminist Movement," a piece that first appeared in *The Independent Scholar*. Following Breitzer is Kathryn Burrows with "The Simulacrum of Mental Illness, the DSM, and Madness." in which the author looks at the forms and effects of the definitions employed in the Diagnostic Symptoms Manual (DSM) to demonstrate how these definitions have been used to reify and create that which they purport to describe. Ilana Maymind, in "Edith Stein: Not a Self-Hating Jew," discusses the complicated history of a Jewish woman who converted to Catholicism, became a nun, and ended in Auschwitz, where her birth determined her death. Anthony Casamasssima, in "Musician Roulette: A Reflexive Analysis of Capital, Class, and Creative Survival," employs sociological theory in tracing the course of a musical career, as he interrogates various forms of capital (emotional, economic, social, etc.). We end where we began: with an Elizabeth Eisenstein Award prize-winner, this time for 2024 - Mary Ann Irwin's "'Women with Hearts' and the Americanization of Jewish San Francisco, 1850-1880."

Indeed, one of the commonalities in much of this issue of the journal has to do with the sense of self, in its many permutations.

The book review section has even more variety, with no fewer than 15 reviews. We always give book authors the opportunity to respond to reviews, and we thank those who have chosen to do so as this makes for a livelier publication; *The Independent Scholar* is committed to lively, respectful discussion.

Preparation for our next number—Volume 12—is already underway, but if you have a book to be reviewed or an article prepared, please do consider *The Independent Scholar* as your next stop. You can submit your offering through our TIS submissions portal at any time.

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CRITICAL ESSAYS

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SISTERHOOD WAS LIMITED: JEWS, INTERSECTIONALITY, AND THE SECOND WAVE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

(WINNING ESSAY – 2025 Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize)

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Abstract

Decades before Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality, the concept of interlocking oppressions was emerging in the Second Wave Feminist movement that by the 1970s was beginning to confront the limitations of strictly gender-based sisterhood. But in what I describe as the proto-intersectional feminist movement, Jewish women found their Jewish identities marginalized on account of being identified (and initially identifying) as simply white. This article, therefore, addresses the paradox of Jewish identification in a time of increased racial consciousness, and how this paradox complicated the place of Jewish feminists during the 1970s and 1980s. It argues that the emergence of this white/not-white enough status of Jewish women began with the Second Wave Feminist movement and highlights the troubling developments at the United Nations Decade of the Woman conferences, and Jewish feminist responses to these developments. The article connects these historical issues with the more recent troubles concerning the uneasy place of Jewish women in the contemporary feminist movement.

Keywords: Feminism, Jews, Antisemitism, Whiteness, Intersectionality

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INTRODUCTION: THE ORIGINS AND LIMITATIONS OF INTERSECTIONALITY IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

At the 1981 National Women's Studies Association conference, Annette Kolodny attended a consciousness-raising (CR) group for Jewish women, rather than one for white women, the way many of her Jewish colleagues attending the conference had. Initially, she wondered why. But as the group moved beyond introductions to share experiences, it soon became clear to Kolodny precisely why this group was needed. She recounted, "we began to talk about feelings of hurt and confusion at finding ourselves, because Jewish, an especial target of Black rage," especially for those with an activist background in a variety of social justice causes. "There was a painful sense of double isolation," she continued, "from a Black political community that sometimes seemed to identify us as the enemy" adding "to them we were simply 'white,' or worse, still stereotypically rich Jews." Kolodny and the other women in the group likewise struggled with conflicting feelings about Israel and its role in their Jewish identity. Recalled Kolodny "No one in the room, I think, condoned much of current Israeli policy, nor of, course, the sexism in Israeli society." Nonetheless, Kolodny suggested that another woman in the group spoke for others in that "she wanted Israel to exist because upon that depended her sense, as a Jew, of being 'safe' in the world." In the end, Kolodny concluded that this consciousness-raising meeting had fallen short, pointing out that "we hadn't, in fact, spent sufficient time on exploring our own racism, nor had explored workable techniques for interrupting racism. Kolodny nonetheless insisted that the meeting that took on more of a support group function was nonetheless valuable, recognizing "the hard fact that, for Jewish women, there is a rather special agenda for such work," concluding "we need to understand as much the ways that we have been victimized by anti-Semitism as we need to root out our own racisms and prejudices, and we need to understand the interface between those two."[1]

This account, which sounds so disturbingly contemporary, took place much earlier. The 1981 NWSA followed two United Nations Conferences on the Status of Women, in 1975 and 1980, both of which devoted much time to attacking Israel, and by the second UN conference, Jewish women delegates. The NWSA conference would then be part of the American Jewish feminists' effort to affirm their own Jewish identity as opposed to accepting the simply white identity assigned to them during the peak period of the Second Wave Feminist movement that began in the 1960s in the United States, and coalesced the 1970s to the 1980s, as well as to raise antisemitism as an issue within an American feminist movement that was increasingly moving towards what would eventually be known as intersectional feminism. This essay, therefore, focuses on the rise of antisemitism within what I am describing as the proto-intersectional Second Wave Feminist movement.[2] It examines why Jewish inclusion in the politics of diversity has historically been so elusive and focuses on the issue of Jewish whiteness and why Jewish women in Second Wave Feminism were considered white, and hence were excluded from the discussion of diversity. This exclusion has ranged from the denial of the oppressed status of Jews to the willingness of non-Jewish "sisters" to engage in antisemitism that was ostensibly about Israel but did not end there. It demonstrates how what seems like a contemporary problem in many ways began with the Second Wave Feminist movement, highlighting how it became especially egregious during the series of conferences organized to mark the UN Decade of the Woman.[3]

In recent times, the term "intersectionality" has become popular in the contemporary American feminist movement, even as it has tended to stray far from the meaning originally laid out by the African American thinker who coined it, Kimberlé Crenshaw. Crenshaw connected different (but interlocking) forms of oppression (racism, sexism, etc.) to explain why (to use Crenshaw's example), Black women were oppressed in ways that neither Black men nor white women were.

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[1] A. Kolodny (1981) "A CR group for Jewish Women" *Women's Studies Quarterly* 9:3, p. 15

[2] I am defining "proto-intersectional" feminism here, as the feminism developed and practiced by feminist activists from this period that emphasized interlocking identities and oppressions before it was named as intersectional feminism.

[3] "Second Wave Feminism," (1993) *Oxford Reference*. Retrieved from https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100451509; P. Chesler (2019b), "The Women's March in a Con Job." Retrieved from https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-womens-issues-that-the-womens-march-refuses-to-address-and-the-jewish-question/ ; G. R. Hammond, (2017) "More than 1,500 at Dyke March in Little Village, Pride Flags Banned (Updated June 26)," *Windy City Times*,. Retrieved from http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/More-than-1500-at-Dyke-March-in-Little-Village-Jewish-Pride-flags-banned-UPDATED-June-25-/59621.html; and M. Oster (2019), "D.C. Dyke March Bans Jewish Pride Flags," Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Retrieved from https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/dc-dyke-march-bans-jewish-pride-flags.

Although Crenshaw's theory, which was originally presented as a legal concept in a law school context, was intended to be about the experience of Black women, intersectionality has proven useful in giving a name to the multiple oppressions of other groups of women that the Second Wave Feminist movement was initially slow to address.[4] This slowness was the result of both the Second Wave Feminist Movement initially being based primarily on the experience of white, middle-class women, and the tendency of African American and other minority liberation movements at that time to dismiss gender as a lesser concern. In some cases, these liberation movements were actively hostile to women who demanded more equal roles within them.[5] Jewish organizations and movements had historically been no exception to the latter phenomenon, long subordinating women's issues to what were perceived to be the more important Jewish issues.[6] And before a distinctive Jewish feminist movement emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, the Second Wave Feminist movement, initially centering the experience of presumably non-Jewish white women, featured a significant number of assimilated Jewish women who were, at best, minimally in touch with their Jewish identities, even while some cited their Jewish backgrounds and/or religious beliefs as their inspiration for taking part in the feminist movement. Joyce Antler has addressed this topic at length in her recent work, Jewish Radical Feminism.[7] Antler, however, gives less attention to the issue of whiteness and its controversial role in modern American Ashkenazic Jewish identity. Likewise, Marc Dollinger's masterful Black Power/Jewish Politics chronicles the true depth of the breakdown of the Black-Jewish alliance of the Civil Rights era and resulting rise in Jewish consciousness only gives limited attention to how gender affected this issue or the ways it played out in the women's movement.[8]

The sisterhood emphasis of the Second Wave feminist movement, expressed in the movement's most famous slogan, "Sisterhood is Powerful" (which first became popular as the title of a feminist anthology edited by Robin Morgan and Eleanor Holmes Norton), promoted the assumption that gender trumped all other considerations when it came to women's lives.[9]It in many ways implied that the experience of white middle-class women, as expressed in Betty Friedan's otherwise groundbreaking The Feminine Mystique, spoke to all women. The limitations of this assumption first became clear in regard to race, but factors such as class and sexuality would soon expose other limits of gender solidarity. The movement whose best-known slogan became "the personal is political," was in fact slow to address, let alone recognize the political nature of differences of race, class, ethnicity, etc., but would have the biggest trouble with Jewish identity, despite the presence of many Jewish women in the movement's leadership. This trouble developed over the next decade through both domestic and international politics. The Second Wave Feminist Movement's "Jewish Problem" was shaped by Cold War politics, but also by the 1967 Israeli victory in the Six-Day War and accompanying takeover of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. One of the strongest effects of this international event was the turning of the Black Power movement against Israel and Zionism, that alienated many Jewish left activists and steered them towards closer alignment with their own communities during a time of increased Jewish ethnic revival.[10] This development stood as a counter to an earlier de-ethnicization that reclassified Jews as whites with a different religion, similar to descendants of other European immigrants, paving the way for (incomplete) Jewish acceptance in in white American society, but also increasing the possibility of Jewish complacency/complicity in the marginalization of non-whites even within social justice movements. These issues would move to the forefront by the changing geo- and internal politics of the late 1960s onward, bringing Jewishness forward as an issue in diversity, and eventually intersectionality.

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[4] "Kimberle Crenshaw on Intersectionality Two Decades Later," (2017). Retrieved from https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later; and K. W. Crenshaw (1991), "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43: 1, pp. 1241-3.

[5] B. Roth (2004), *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-6, 28-30; and P. Chesler (2018), *A Politically Incorrect Feminist: Creating a Movement with Bitches, Lunatics, Dykes, Prodigies, Warriors, and Wonder Women*. St. Martin's Press, p.134.

[6] L. C. Pogrebin (1991), *Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America*. Crown Publishers, pp. 239-52.

[7] J. Antler (2018), *Jewish Radical Feminism: Voices from the Women's Liberation Movement*. NYU Press, pp.1-3, 4-8.

[8] M. Dollinger (2018), *Black Power, Jewish Politics: Reinventing the Alliance in the 1960s*. Brandeis University Press, pp. 129-31.

[9] Chesler 2018, pp. 113-114, 215. According to Chesler, credit for the phrase should go to Kathie Sarachild, who coined it for an anti-Vietnam War protest in 1968,

[10] Dollinger, pp. 158-61.

Long before Crenshaw wrote, the black, Chicano/a, and other minority liberation movements of the 1960s all contributed to the growing awareness of the limitations of the Second Wave Feminist movement's concept of sisterhood that failed to recognize not only the particularity of women within these groups, but the multiplied forms of oppression they experienced. Crenshaw's original conception of intersectionality therefore not only spoke to the experience of Black women but proved expansive enough to speak to the experience of women in many groups, including Jewish women, who throughout most of Jewish history have experienced both antisemitism at the hands of the non-Jewish majority and a secondary place within Judaism and the Jewish community. This proto-intersectional emphasis, it should be noted, also emerged in response to the marginalization of women's concerns from many leftist movements of the 1960s, who dismissed women's issues as selfish, bourgeoise, or not germane to the revolution male leftists were seeking to create. But as intersectionality and its predecessor developed, it proved broad enough to embrace almost all forms of oppression and to connect them with each other, sometimes profligately. The notable exception to this greater awareness remained antisemitism, largely on account of Jewish whiteness (perceived or actual), which even then was being used to erase Jewish particularity, sometimes even among other white ethnics. These proto-intersectional efforts were mainly about challenging the "universality" of women's experience that in the Second Wave Feminist movement was based on the experience of most of the leaders of the women's movement, most of whom were white, middle-class, and well-educated.[11] That many of these leaders in the feminist histories who identified as white were also Jewish is something that is left out of many accounts and assessments of the movement. Indeed, many Jewish feminists themselves initially identified simply as white, and downplayed their Jewishness, even while many derived their passion for activism from their Jewish background and upbringing. It would take the emergence of overt antisemitism in the women's movement to force a rethinking of this status, as well as the development of a distinctly Jewish feminist movement, as well as a concerted effort to renegotiate the place of Jewish women in the diversifying Second Wave Feminist movement.[12]

JEWS AS WHITE—AND NOT

The issue of Jewish whiteness has become one of intense scholarly and popular discussion in recent years and has included efforts to backdate when Jews in America were considered simply white to the beginning of American history and reflects demographic realities of most American Jews having had ancestral forbears from Europe. The reality was a bit more complex and nuanced, with Jews periodically falling on the white side of the white-Black racial binary that developed in America, and periodically being classified, along with other Southern and Eastern European immigrants, as an entirely different race. Which meant that while from the establishment of the United States, Jews counted as the "free white immigrants" who were generally welcome on American shores, for most of American history, whiteness did not mean equality. The position of the Jew in American society ebbed and flowed, affected by the rise and decline of twentieth-century American racialism, which categorized Europeans by "stock" when it came to desirability or undesirability. But while Jews enjoyed the unprecedented improvement in their situation, their whiteness for most of American history was conditional, and only gradually (and sometimes ambivalently) achieved, thanks to the anti-Black racism that relieved Jews of the status of the most hated group that characterized their place in other diaspora societies.

In practice, well into the twentieth century, Jews were not treated equally with other white-presenting Americans in terms of housing, educational opportunities, and employment opportunities. These prejudices slowed the movement of most Jews into the American social mainstream (then, by definition, white) until after World War II. This was separate from the economic upward mobility that was already manifest by the early 1920s that included increased levels of education that facilitated movement into white-collar and professional occupations. This economic movement away from the working class was accompanied by geographic mobility beyond immigrant neighborhoods, with the Jewish rise into the economic middle class only interrupted for many by the economic vicissitudes of the Great Depression.[13] As a result, for the first half of the twentieth century, upward mobility into economic middle-class status well preceded

[11] Roth, pp. 6, 26-27, 62-70.
[12] Antler, pp. 2, 14-17.
[13] H, Diner, pp. 205-215, 226-232, 240-241, 246-47; and H.M. Sachar (1992), *A History of Jews in America*. A. A. Knopf, pp. 417-25.

social acceptance by the white non-Jewish American mainstream, bringing into question current historical backdating of Jews being identified as simply white. While the uncovering of the Holocaust contributed to the declining acceptability of viewing Jews as a separate race, the whitening of American Jews was a gradual and initially uneven process, with the differences of perception and self-perception very much generational. Indeed, in the 1940s the first references to "white Jews" were referring to Jews who did not have stereotypically "Jewish" looks and there for could pass as White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who embodied the most traditional standard of American whiteness. Furthermore, seeking whiteness as a path towards mainstream acceptance was not entirely voluntary or desired and had its own gendered dimensions in the changing views of what Jewish women were supposed to be like—or not. Jewish women's prescribed roles in twentieth-century America, which emphasized homemaking and caring for the family (and not working for pay), were very much shaped by an assimilation that included an assimilation into whiteness.[14] And when the Second Wave Feminist movement challenged these white-sanctioned gender roles, it did so, ironically with a universalist feminism that assumed the white middle-class experience and need for feminism to be the norm. In fact, Betty Friedan, a Jewish woman from Peoria, Illinois, would end up being the most important promoter of this white middle-class iteration of feminism with her publication of the groundbreaking The Feminine Mystique. And even other Jewish Second Wave Feminists, who had much stronger Jewish backgrounds than Friedan, initially built their feminism on the Jewish values they had been raised with as well as passion for justice engendered by the experience of antisemitism, but not on Jewish identities, in an era when Jewish ethnic identity tended to be downplayed, especially by progressive activists who saw Jewish particularism as parochial and detracting from the universalist social justice goals they sought to pursue.[15]

In the post-World War II decades, but especially from the 1960s onward, Jews became increasingly accepted as simply white, at least in most situations where it mattered, in terms of equal access to housing and education and employment opportunities that sometimes took acts of Congress to make possible for Blacks and other non-whites, and even then, incompletely. But as Eric Goldstein points out, this acceptance of Jews came at a price—namely their consciousness of themselves as a minority. As a result, Jewish participation in the Civil Rights movement (and similar social justice movements) may have been motivated in part by the need to maintain some sort of "minority consciousness," even if only by proxy.[16] Jewish participation in these movements, and especially the Civil Rights movement, therefore, was a double-edged sword, especially as Blacks and other non-white groups began to demand more of a voice and more control in these liberation movements. In that light, the breakdown of the much-heralded Black-Jewish alliance of the 1960s was less than surprising. For Jewish activists in multiple movements from the 1960s onward, it occasioned a rethinking regarding Jewish identity, along with a reckoning of the tension between the genuine white privilege Jews in America had accrued, and the limits of this privilege in movements that found new ways to "other" Jews, sometimes using the very assumptions of Jews being simply a subset of whites.[17]

This new ethnic identification itself contributed to the diversification of the Second Wave Feminist movement. And decades before Crenshaw fully articulated the theory of intersectionality, some Black feminist activists began writing about their double identification as Black women and why the necessary challenge to a white-centered feminist movement would bring more Black women into the movement. For example, Diane K. Lewis wrote in 1977 that initially the exclusive focus on sexism "has been of limited applicability to minority women who subjected to both the constraints of racism and sexism," leading to mistrust of the Second Wave Feminist movement during the early 1970s. However, according to Lewis, Black women began to find their voice in the movement, drawn in partially by feminist concerns that were sometimes even more of interest to them than to white women, such as daycare and maternity leave, reflecting the economic realities of Black women.[18] And though, as Phyllis Chesler recounts, white feminist efforts to bring in women of color were uneven and sometimes insincere enough for Black and non-white feminists to initially

[14] K. Brodkin (2004), *How Jews Became White Folks & What That Says About Race in America*. Rutgers University Press, pp. 11-14, 150, 162; and E. Goldstein, (2006) *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity*. Princeton Univ. Press, pp. 5-6.
[15] Antler, pp. 11-12; and Brodkin, pp. 167-169.
[16] Goldstein, pp. 5-6.
[17] Antler, pp. 16-17.
[18] D. K. Lewis (19770, "A Response to Inequality," *Signs* 3: 2, pp. 339-340.

stick to their own feminist and ethnic movements, over time there was at least a growing understanding that feminism couldn't be limited to white women's concerns.[19] This resulting diversification of the women's movement towards greater inclusiveness, however, still fell short for Jewish women, even when it managed to honor the particularity of other white ethnics. At the same time, the whiteness of Jewish feminist activists appeared to remain conditional in that it did not prevent expressions of antisemitism within the women's movement. And Jewish feminist activists at this time largely appeared to accept this assignment as straight up white, contingent on the lack of antisemitism—a situation that that would rapidly change in the coming decade.

The stirrings of a global feminist movement, helped along by the United Nations Decade of the Woman and its three Conferences on the Status of Women, held between 1975 and 1985, would further leave Jewish feminists in what might be called a no-woman's land, when it came to categorizing women as white or non-white, or relatedly, as part of colonial powers or decolonizing people. And while the nascent international identity politics were shaped by the Cold War, with the then Soviet Union encouraging anti-Westernism among newly independent nations as part of presenting itself as their supporter, and Israel after 1967 increasingly aligning with the United States, the divisions would go much deeper and manage to outlast the Cold War. And as Israel became increasingly identified with Western powers, these developments became part of the origins of the scapegoating of Israel—and by extension Jews—for the legacy of colonialism. And at these conferences, this initially Soviet-goaded impulse to scapegoat would prove stronger than any notion of sisterhood.[20]

ISRAEL AND THE RISE OF MODERN FEMINIST ANTISEMITISM

The State of Israel, since its founding, and especially since 1967, has been a complicating factor for the place of Jewish women in a multicultural/intersectional/international feminist movement. Both on account of its misdoings and its very existence, the Jewish state has become the most popular excuse for marginalizing Jewish concerns in the feminist movement, especially when criticism of Israel spills over into condemnation not applied to other countries. Although this assessment appears (and in many ways is) very contemporary, especially in the wake of Israel's most recent war, it was very much part of the scene in earlier decades, with most of its origins traceable to the 1967 Israeli victory in the Six-Day War. In it, Israel fought off multiple Arab countries, wresting East Jerusalem and other territories from Jordan and Egypt. This victory shored up Israel's borders and established the Jewish state's new strength in the Middle East. But it also cost Israel the underdog status that had previously granted it a largely positive image among leftist activists.

The Israeli victory in the Six-Day war therefore spurred positive identification among Jewish activists, including Jewish feminist activists, but also pushed some towards the anti-Zionism that identified Israel as an example (if not the number one example) of colonialist oppression, instead of the liberation of the Jewish people, along with the erasure of the racial and ethnic diversity of Israel, which in its early years become heavily populated by Jews who had been expelled from the surrounding Arab and North African countries.[21] One of the immediate results of these changes were the split between Radical Jews, who like their more recent counterparts, were proudly Jewish but anti-Zionist (believing that Jews could survive perfectly well without Israel) and Radical Zionists, emphasizing both the rightness of Jewish self-determination and the necessity of Israel as a Jewish refuge. The radical Zionist movement was also visibly anti-assimilationists and provided the first Jewish counterpoint to the Black and Latina feminist movements, both emphasizing the need for Jewish women to embrace their distinctiveness in order to better fight oppression and pushing back against both the assimilated Jewish establishment and the male-dominated radical left's assumptions about Jewish women, and lack of attention to the needs of Jews who didn't fit the stereotyped molds.[22]

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[19] Chesler, 2018, p.136.

[20] H. Milstein (undated) "The United Nations Women's Decade and Jewish Feminist Identity," unpublished paper. Retrieved from https://history.sfsu.edu/sites/default/files/documents/ExPostFacto/Hanna_Milstein_United_Nations.pdf.p. 200.

[21] Diner, p. 205.

[22] Antler, pp. 250-53; and A. Cantor (1995), *Jewish Women, Jewish Men: The Legacy of Patriarchy in Jewish Life*. HarperSanFrancisco, pp. 353-354.

The Six-Day War, and the subsequent controversies over the West Bank and Gaza Strip long before the most recent war, however, were far from the only reasons behind the changing definition of who was included or excluded in an increasingly multicultural feminist movement. Jewish women in the movement were comparatively late in creating a separate movement, and then mainly in response to growing awareness of the limits of the rising multiculturalism. This awareness came, ironically, after the mainstream Jewish establishment that many of these Jewish feminists had distanced themselves from had embraced and encouraged a more assertive and particularist Jewish identity in response to the Black Power movement that disturbed the previous Black-Jewish civil rights alliance. But antisemitism spurred the creation of a Jewish feminist movement that was parallel to but did not totally separate its adherents from the mainstream "white feminist movement." Along the way, among individual Jewish feminists, two distinct, contrasting responses to multicultural (and later intersectional) feminism would emerge from Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Phyllis Chesler, respectively. I will compare their responses later in this article.[23]

Antisemitism might therefore have been considered the dirty little secret of a feminist movement that tolerated Jewish exclusion, ironically as it became more inclusive. But there is evidence of Second Wave Feminist antisemitism being expressed quite openly. During this period, the international feminist movement that emerged has had a long history of conflating what Pogrebin has described as "selective nationalism" with feminism, making the Israel-Palestine conflict a feminist issue, casting Israel in the oppressor role, denying the legitimacy of the Jewish State, and paying little regard to the women's issues specific to Israelis or Palestinians. Ultimately, the Israel-Palestine conflict would become a litmus test of true belief in multicultural (and later intersectional) feminism, placing many Jewish feminists in an embattled position, especially as this trend involved a leftist anti-Semitism that both marginalized Jewish women and denied the particularity of their experience.[24] Many non-Jewish feminists, including white ones, showed little compunction about referencing antisemitic stereotypes, both gender-specific and general. For example, Chesler recounted in her recent memoir, A Politically Incorrect Feminist, how her friend and colleague, Jill Johnston "was not pleased…that I was a Jew at a time when Jill believed that 'the Jews' seemed to have taken over the feminist movement." Chesler also recounted how Johnston asked her if she thought that the Jews were taking over the feminist movement. The two ended up arguing about it, inspiring Chesler's first resolve to visit Israel. Chesler and Johnson somehow managed to remain friends, but this anecdote was emblematic of the hostility that Jewish women could encounter among self-described radical feminists.[25] Feminist antisemitism drew on a lot of sources of Jew-hatred, including religious (Christian feminists identifying sexism and patriarchy solely with Judaism, or neo-pagans blaming Jews for killing the pagan Goddess).[26] But by the mid-1970s, antisemitism in the Second Wave Feminist movement would take on an increasingly political edge—and be increasingly influenced by anti-Zionism.

THE EFFECTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCES

For Jewish activists in the Second Wave Feminist movement, the most brutal awakening therefore came at the conferences of the United Nations Decade for Women that took place between 1975 and 1985. These conferences, arranged by the United Nations to study and report on the conditions of women worldwide, began by focusing a singular spotlight on the State of Israel, and declaring it the worst offender in all the human rights and women's issues raised in the conference. It also, for the first time, formally made anti-Zionism a feminist criterion. This began at the Mexico City conference of 1975, when activists of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) introduced the infamous "Zionism is racism" resolution, approving it at the conference for its subsequent introduction to the U.N. General Assembly. This and other attacks on Israel soon dominated the conference and was also the formal beginning of an international/intercultural feminism that seemed determined to not only exclude Jews, but to make anti-Zionism a litmus test. It also heralded the beginning of modern anti-Zionism[27] as a phenomenon that was linkable to antisemitism,

[23] Antler, p. 2; and M. Kaye/Kantrowitz (1986), *The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Women's Anthology*. Beacon Press.
[24] Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 205-208, 216, 218-23, 244.
[25] Chesler, 2018, pp. 53, 73.
[26] Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 205-208, 216, 218-23, 244.
[27] As distinguished from pre-Statehood anti-Zionism, that opposed Jewish statehood for a variety of reasons, ranging from religious to practical, but dealt with a potential Jewish state rather than an existing one.

as well as the beginning of the association of Zionism with apartheid at a time when apartheid still held sway in South Africa. Although the shell-shocked Jewish women delegates received some support among other delegates, they proved helpless to prevent the passage of the resolution, with African American delegates not only refusing to sign the petition but asking what was wrong with it. This betrayal brought out the growing reality of competing identity politics as well as the increased Black identification with the Palestinians in the name of the solidarity of international peoples of color, which brushed aside the possibility of Israeli Jews being something other than white. In the end, not only did the "Zionism is racism" resolution pass, but so did the Declaration of the Conference that included Zionism along with "colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, foreign domination and occupation" as forces that "men and women should work to eliminate." The conference also passed Resolution 32, specifically calling for the elimination of Zionism and blamed Israel for the oppression of Palestinian women and children. Curiously, while the American women delegates reacted with understandable shock and dismay, their Israeli counterparts took these anti-Israel displays almost in stride, as something half expected, and to be dealt with best by pushing for both Israeli security and Palestinian self-determination. But it may have been a case that the Israeli women could stand confident in a Jewish identity that their American counterparts were still coming to terms with, and perhaps bring the sense of perspective that came from living in the embattled Jewish state.[28]

Although many of the American women delegates to the conference already identified as Jewish to varying degrees, the Mexico City conference had the effect of bringing out a Jewish (and liberal Zionist) identification as never previously. Letty Cottin Pogrebin, for example, had always identified as Zionist, but the shock of the Mexico City spurred a grappling with her Jewish identification and where it fit in with feminism. This grappling continued when she and the other Jewish women delegates to the Mexico City conference were invited to Israel for a government-subsidized tour in appreciation of their efforts to petition against the "Zionism is Racism" resolution. The tour was notable in that while it was designed to highlight the "best of Israel" and its institutions, participants were allowed the freedom to break from the set itinerary and see what and talk with whom they chose. This resulted in Pogrebin and others learning about Israel's own then-nascent feminist movement, at the time approximately twenty years behind its American counterpart, and furthermore hampered by factors ranging from the official control of Israel's religious life by the state-appointed rabbinate to the dismissal of feminism as a side issue when Israel's survival appeared at stake. The tour also featured an engrossing, but for these feminist activists, disappointing meeting with former Prime Minister Golda Meir, whose pioneering role as a female head of government had not sensitized her to feminist concerns. Nonetheless, Pogrebin and her colleagues came away with a new appreciation of Israel, though hardly an uncritical one, whether it came to women's issues or to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[29]

In the years between the Mexico City Conference and the mid-decade UN Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1980, Jewish feminist activists hoped that increased awareness of this phenomenon of antisemitism in the international women's movement could help them avoid getting blindsided a second time, and thus organized and built coalitions against a repeat of the isolation they experienced. But their efforts proved unable to head off the problems that if anything became worse at the Copenhagen conference, fulfilling the worst fears of some of the American Jewish women delegates, a few of whom were reluctant even to go. And once there, as Chesler wrote about, under the pseudonym "Regina Schreiber," there was what amounted to a hijacking of women's issues at the conference, all to advance the agenda of the then Soviet Union, with Israel as the convenient scapegoat in what was underneath an anti-Western, anti-American, and anti-capitalist agenda. But regardless of the motives behind it, the conference became a site of terror for the Jewish women delegates.[30]

If anything, at this conference, the hostility was more overt, with even less pretense that it was simply about Israel and included such tactics as shouting down delegates and repeating canards, so that facts and viewpoints favorable to Israel could not be articulated, as well as using roving bands intended specifically to disrupt panels that might include Jewish

[28] Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 219-20, 223.

[29] Pogrebin, 1991, pp.167-81, 186-94, 219-220, 223; and Millstein, p. 200.

[30] P. Chesler (1981), "Copenhagen One Year Later," *Lilith Magazine* 22. Retrieved from https://lilith.org/articles/copenhagen-one-year-later/.

and/or Israeli speakers. And contrary to popular stereotypes of Jewish female aggressiveness, the Jewish women were not at all prepared to push back, as Chesler suggested, because they were too concerned about becoming like their enemies. Chesler also spoke of the "castration done to Jewish women are more privileged economically, who are volunteers, who are not yet feminists," and who were unable to speak up for themselves, the Jewish people, or Israel. She also acknowledged the general shellshock the Jewish women delegates experienced, paralyzed as they were by the expectation and even pressure not to push back. Only later into the conference were they able to mount a rearguard effort with the formation of a Jewish Women's Caucus and "truth squads."[31]

Some of the Jewish women's experiences were downright physically threatening, as was the case with the declaration of Palestinian airplane hijacker Leila Khaled, who responded to the Israeli delegate Shulamit Aloni's offer to talk with the reply that she would do so only "through a gun." Similarly, American Jewish delegate Phyllis Chesler overhead an Egyptian delegate declare "You cannot sit down at a table with the Israeli unless you have a knife. You stab her under the table. You stab her over the table." That remarks like these were aimed at the Israeli rather than the American Jewish women made them no less chilling, especially when accompanied by ones that did, notably the assertion that "the only good Jew is a dead Jew" and a call to "kill all Jews" in order to rid the world of Zionism. One event at the conference that made the overall agenda particularly clear was a panel on refugees from which Jewish voices were officially excluded. During the rare moment when Jewish women got an audience microphone, one delegate handed it to Simcha Chorish, an Iraqi Jewish woman who had been a refugee, and would likely have qualified as person of color in this setting. But even Chorish's non-white identity did not help her get recognized—one of the Jewish delegates had to threaten the moderator to allow her even to speak and when Chorish did, she was almost physically attacked and then interrupted in the middle of her two-minute speech. Although Chesler and others judged the Copenhagen conference to be even worse than its predecessor in Mexico City, they did not lack non-Jewish allies, among them ex-Mormon feminist activist Sonia Johnson. Nor was it due to the limits of their own rearguard efforts to fight back with the formation of a Jewish women's caucus. In fact, one of the Conference's most memorable moments came when Bella Abzug publicly pushed back against accusations that Israel's Law of Return, granting automatic citizenship to immigrating Jews, was racist with the assertion that the Law of Return was nothing more than "affirmative action on a national scale."[32]

In reflecting back on why these conferences were so blatantly hostile not only to Israel, but to Jews, it is important to consider several factors. First, the delegates reflected the composition and politics of the U.N. during this period, which saw a shift from the domination of Europe and North America to growing power and influence of non-white countries from the region now called the Global South (though this did not explain the antisemitism encountered in the subgroups). It also in many ways reflected the reality of a feminism that appeared to be less critical of anti-woman beliefs and practices among non-white and non-Western cultures, a phenomenon that Chesler has continued to write about nearly forty years later, immediately noting how this selective deference, along with the ostracization of Jewish and Israeli women, prevented even solidarity efforts on behalf of women who suffered oppression under Jewish or Islamic law. And beyond white feminist guilt, there was the reality of Black and non-Western activists tending to automatically side with the Palestinians when it came to Israel, accompanied by the general silencing of putative allies for "deferring to the Jewish agenda," and denying the legitimacy of Jewish identity. In addition, many non-Jewish American delegates, especially non-whites, were complicit in marginalizing Jewish concerns, and as in Mexico City in 1975, denied there was anything wrong with claiming that Zionism is racism. In fact, as Chesler reported, the Black women who supported the resolution accused the Jewish women opposing it of not caring about racism or Black women and of being privileged for being better off economically than Black women. And even many non-Jewish delegates who were not actively attacking Jewish women still refused to intervene in the attacks.[33]

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[31] Chesler, 1981; and Millstein, p. 201.

[32] Pogrebin, 1991, p. 156-7; and Antler, p 329.

[33] P. Chesler (2005), *The Death of Feminism: What's Next in the Struggle for Women's Freedom*. Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 1-9; Milstein, p. 202, 215-219; and Chesler, 1981.

EXPOSURE AND DIALOGUE

But for the American Jewish women who returned even more shell-shocked from Copenhagen than they had from Mexico City, their troubles were not over. They would experience disbelief, and accusations of exaggeration of the problem, and even of paranoia, as well as accusations of not being sufficiently feminist for bringing Jewish concerns to the forefront. Alternately, they experienced the indifference of sister feminists that by this time had become distressingly familiar. Chesler, however, partially blamed things on a lack of preparation by American Jewish and Israeli women. So the lessons learned from their experience included "Don't go it alone. Build bridges and networks." And in the years between Copenhagen and the UN's End of the Decade Women's Conference in 1985, Chesler and her colleagues would devote themselves to these very efforts, beginning in 1981 with the formation of Feminists Against anti-Semitism, a group designed to both raise consciousness about and offer support against antisemitism within the feminist movement and beyond. One of the group's first efforts was to present a panel on the topic of "Anti-Semitism: The Unacknowledged Racism" at the 1981 National Women's Studies Association Conference in 1981, an event that marked Chesler's "coming out" as a Zionist.[34] These efforts would be the beginning of a dedicated larger movement to integrate the experience of Jewish women as Jews into feminist circles, and moved many Jewish feminists to no longer tolerate an ideal of universal sisterhood that denied Jewish particularity, or even a feminism that recognized and honored every particularity except that of Jews. And it would be the beginning of a shift in the lives and outlook of many Jewish feminists who had previously regarded their Jewishness as something to be denied or downplayed.[35]

One of the most notable of the transformations was that of Letty Cottin Pogrebin, whose feminist credentials included being one of the founding editors of Ms. Magazine. As will be described later in this article, she was a comparative latecomer to Jewish feminism. But the ordeal in Mexico City and Copenhagen inspired her to write one of her best-known articles, "Antisemitism in the Women's Movement," which along with her later memoir, Deborah, Golda, and Me, made her one of the most prominent figures in the Second Wave Jewish Feminist movement. The article itself grew out of her awareness that the attacks at the conference came not only from international delegates, but from her own putative non-Jewish American "sisters." Although the article was specifically in response to the Copenhagen conference, much of what Pogrebin had to say became disturbingly timeless. For example, she was particularly critical of the Black women delegates' refusal to oppose the Zionism-is-racism resolution, likely as a quid-pro-quo to get an anti-Apartheid resolution passed, and her singling out Black women's inaction on behalf of Jews may have incurred Black ire. But even more saliently, she spoke about the still-distressing phenomenon of disbelief about "Jewish paranoia" among feminists who would immediately recognize "female paranoia" as unacceptable.

Her article also identified the key barriers to the inclusion of Jews in proto-intersectional feminism. Most notable among them was the failure to see the parallels between sexism and antisemitism, including the way women and Jews both served as the scapegoat-able buffers within power structures, and the reality that both prejudices transcended class considerations. Regarding the latter, Pogrebin called out leftist antisemitism for its failure to consider a hate that did not easily fall into class analysis the way racism did. While fully acknowledging the existence of antisemitism from the political right, she explained why the antisemitism of the left was "old and familiar" in its failure to acknowledge that a rise into the middle class did not equal the safety of a group or being simply part of the oppressor group. Implicitly addressing the exclusion of Jewish women from proto-intersectional feminism, Pogrebin spoke of "the three I"—Invisibility, Insult, and Internalized oppression. In explaining these, she described how Jewish women's specificity was not honored within the feminist movement the way other identities (including those of non-Jewish white ethnics) routinely were, a phenomenon also recounted by other Jewish feminists from this period.[36] Pogrebin also reported shameless antisemitic stereotyping within the movement, often influenced by Jewish cultural differences that (ironically) did not fit into "white" norms. And Pogrebin did not mince words in pointing out how Jewish feminists could be their own worst enemies, having long internalized the expectation to fight for everyone's rights except their own, and to be

[34] "Women Respond to Racism: National Women's Studies Association Third Annual Conference," (1981), p. 9; and Antler, p. 331.
[35] Milstein, p. 219; and D. Pinsky (2001), *Jewish Feminists: Complex Identities and Activist Lives*. University of Illinois Press, pp. 68-79.
[36] Dollinger, p. 130.

the most universal in their outlook, even at the expense of their own people, something that the postwar social whitening of American Jews may have contributed to.

One of the most poignant sections of Pogrebin's article address the issues between Blacks and Jews that were in some ways at the heart of the controversy and illustrated the perils of (proto) intersectionality in the feminist movement of this period. She spoke of "the competition of tears" regarding the lingering effects of the Holocaust and slavery, and in the process, named the then unnamed intersectionality and identified why neither Black nor Jewish women could simply be feminists. She also spoke (with some understandable chutzpah) about the need for Black women to acknowledge their antisemitism, almost in counterpoint to (white) Jewish women "confronting their racism." She cited examples of Black antisemitism, some the product of stereotypes, others influenced by Black experience with white Jewish mistreatment. In trying to unpack certain Black assumptions about Jews, she also cited one area where intersectional considerations went unacknowledged—the presumed Jewish opposition to affirmative action, that Jewish women, as women, benefitted from. Pogrebin's conclusion—that non-Jews, regardless of race, need to take responsibility for ending antisemitism (just as much as whites must for ending racism), may have been part of what made the article so controversial, with its proto-intersectional pushing back and challenging the assumption that Jews were just another subset of whites.

Pogrebin's article became the one of the most widely read in Ms. Magazine's history and made Pogrebin a star within the then not very feminism-friendly Jewish establishment from which she had been previously alienated. The article also generated a good deal of backlash from the feminist movement, some supported by the rest of the Ms. Editorial board, which among the many letters received—most of which supported Pogrebin's thesis—printed only a handful, all of which (one written by Alice Walker) denied or minimized Pogrebin's arguments. The editorial board also invited "further dialogue" on antisemitism, something that as Pogrebin pointed out, none would have considered with a similar article about racism within the women's movement. Still, Pogrebin maintained that good came out of the article's publication, in that it forced out the feminist movement's "dirty little secret" into the open and inspired the first genuine attempts to address it. The article named many issues that continue to resonate in the intersectional feminist movement, including the particular issues that divided Blacks and Jews.[37]

THE BLACK-JEWISH DIALOGUES: THE PROMISES AND LIMITS OF INTERSECTIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Pogrebin's efforts to bridge this divide included convening a set of Black-Jewish women's dialogues, partially as a more concerted effort to head off problems at the approaching 1985 women's conference in Nairobi. In organizing the dialogues, she created two groups—one specifically devoted to preparation for the Nairobi conference and the other smaller group, intended as an ongoing effort to bridge the divide between Black and Jewish women that could negate the commonality of gender. These dialogues brought out of the question of why the focus on Jews and Blacks as opposed to Jews and any other non-white group. While it could be ascribed to the long and more troubled than acknowledged relationship between the two groups, along with the recognition that despite or sometimes because of these troubles, each group singularly mattered to each other. But just as significantly, each group's relationship to feminism could be described as "it's complicated." Decades before intersectionality was named, the dialogues would bring out the sometimes necessarily conflicting and competing loyalties of feminists on both sides. While these differing priorities would lead to impasses, they were also valuable in clarifying the issues at hand to create a more genuine basis for intergroup solidarity.

Probably the most palpable example of the gap appeared in the different sides' reactions to the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro as the first woman Vice Presidential candidate in 1984. Pogrebin noted how the Black women did not share the Jewish women's joy in her nomination, as an advancement for all women. Rather, Black women saw Ferraro's being white as diminishing her nomination's significance, reflecting the comparative lack of Black access to mainstream political power decades before Barack Obama became the first Black President and, most recently, Kamala Harris as the

[37] Antler, pp. 333-35 L. C. Pogrebin (1982), "Anti-Semitism in the Women's Movement," *Ms. Magazine*, June 1982; and Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 203-231.

first Black and female Vice President. Pogrebin likewise acknowledged that a Jewish male candidate might not have brought Jewish women the same feeling of advancement for Jewish women (though the selection of Joseph Lieberman in 2000 likely brought a sense of advancement of Jews). The Ferraro issue, though, was in many ways a symptom of the chicken-and-egg question regarding Black women's lack of participation in mainstream feminism during this period—was it caused by middle-class white women dominating and shaping the agenda or the other way around? Yet some intersectional commonalities managed to shine through, especially regarding the necessary strength of both Black and Jewish women being seen as problematic, and how that influenced gender relations within each group. Conversely, Pogrebin came to acknowledge how for Black women, race was inescapable as an identity marker, whereas at least (not then named) white Jewish women had the white skin privilege to be able to "feel like women first." Likewise, she acknowledged how Black (Christian), and white (Jewish) women saw each other first by race, rather than by religion.[38]

The dialogues moved forward on the strength of the participants on both sides, all who were deeply committed activists, both within the women's movement and within their respective group's movements. The organizers sought to maintain an equal balance of Black and Jewish women and was moderated by then future Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, an Arab American. The key issues that the organizers sought to address included the competing priorities of race/ethnicity versus gender—that included the effects of racism on Black men and antisemitism on Jewish men, and "the politics of survival"—including different ideas of survival. While the Holocaust was a more recent and palpable reality then than now, there was difficulty conveying Jewish fears to the Black women in the group, who understandably saw Jews as having power and privilege, and did not immediately recognize the Jewish fear of a good situation ending, a fear that in recent times has sadly proven to be prescient. This in turn was part of each side's different worries—discouragement with the present vs. fear for the future and differing primary needs—acceptance vs. assistance. Not surprisingly, there would be unresolvable sticking points, about which the participants finally had to agree to disagree. And as Pogrebin noted, the Jewish participants reported greater satisfaction with the process than their Black counterparts, as the latter wanted the talk to lead to action, whereas for the former, being able to talk was enough. Nonetheless, most of the participants saw the value of the dialogues in making personal connections in which emotional and intellectual honesty prevailed and understood the limits when it came to seeing eye to eye.[39]

And in the dialogues finally did serve the purpose of preparation for the Nairobi conference, a preparation that when it came to dealing with anti-Israel forces at the conference, made the difference between disruption and derailment. Which is not to say that either these dialogues, or similar ones between Israeli and Palestinian women, were able to totally head off the anti-Israel efforts, especially in the wake of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon to root out Palestinian guerillas, which resulted in the deaths of many civilians at the hands of a Christian group known as the Phalangists (for which Israel was blamed).[40] The Nairobi conference was not free of anti-Israel activism, which even included anti-Zionist Jewish delegates. But the presence of a record number of Jewish attendees helped to build bridges among each other and present a united front against the continued efforts to link Israel with South African apartheid. In the end, the Jewish delegates reported a mini victory in the removal of the "Zionism is racism" clause from the concluding report, which managed not to contain any references to Israel.[41] But the (mostly) successful efforts of American Jewish feminists to proactively deal with these problems, for better and worse, was not the end of the story.

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[38] The White House Historical Association (2024), "Barack Obama." Retrieved from https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/barack-obama; Pogrebin,1991, pp. 277-78. 281-82; M Powell (2000), "Veep Choice Barrels into the Barriers: Unlike other 'Firsts,' Candidate Isn't Safety in the Mainstream." Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/2000/08/08/veep-choice-barrels-into-the-barriers/8cad3217-33c3-48f2-9dac-eb1fa82dd386/; and E. Ralph (2020), "Finally, a Female VP Isn't Being Set up to Fail." Retrieved from https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/08/14/female-vp-395571.

[39] Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 286-96, 306-311.

[40] E. Ya'ari and Z. Schiff (1984), *Israel's Lebanon War*. ed. and trans. I. Friedman. Simon & Schuster, pp. 263, 273.

[41] Antler, pp. 338-41; Milstein, p. 206; and Pogrebin, 1991, p.161.

CONTRASTING LONG-TERM RESPONSES TO FEMINIST ANTI-SEMITISM

If the anti-Israel and anti-Semitic attacks at the UN conferences left emotional scars, it also inspired many of the Jewish delegates to return to their roots and ended up further strengthening the existing secular Jewish feminist movement. In the decades following, however, some would take vastly different paths and different approaches to what would evolve into the modern multicultural and intersectional feminist movement. Although by this time, many Jewish feminist activists identified as Jewish, partially inspired by other separatist feminist movements as well as in response to antisemitism, their approaches to even proto-intersectional considerations varied widely.[42] And the two Jewish feminist activists from this era who are still voices in contemporary Jewish feminism, and illustrated the extent of this variance, were none other than Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Phyllis Chesler.

Both Pogrebin and Chesler grew up with strong, traditional Jewish backgrounds that they largely abandoned in early adulthood, only to return to them as a refuge in the wake of the outbreak of anti-Semitism in the international women's movement. Pogrebin grew up in a traditional Conservative Jewish household with an American-born father who was both Jewishly learned and a leader in the community and a first-generation immigrant mother who first concern was to Americanize and recreate herself as an American Jewish housewife, even to the point of keeping her previous marriage a secret. Pogrebin was raised in a mostly observant environment, and somewhat unusually for a girl of her generation, had a Bat Mitzvah, albeit the "traditional" limited version that took place on Friday night rather than Saturday morning as with a boy's Bar Mitzvah.[43]

Pogrebin would temporarily turn away from Judaism as a teenager, when her mother died and, like so many Jewish women mourners until recently, was denied the opportunity to say the kaddish (the traditional mourner's prayer). Her resulting alienation for a time also extended to a degree to Zionism, given that her father's leadership in the movement during her childhood took him away from his family in ways that included thinking nothing of taking a personal trip to pre-state Palestine just before she was born, leaving her mother alone with a baby on the way. Although Pogrebin married a Jewish spouse, she raised her children with minimal and mostly home-based Judaism, and professionally preoccupied herself with feminism. But feminism would also enable her to return to active Jewish participation, beginning with serving as an amateur High Holidays cantor for a vacationers' congregation on Fire Island, a barrier island off New York's Long Island.[44]

Chesler grew up in an Orthodox environment, and in her own words, eventually grew away from it. Even more than Pogrebin, she was alienated from organized Judaism upon realizing that it offered no place for her passion for learning. Unlike with Pogrebin, for Chesler celebrating a Bat Mitzvah was simply out of the question. On the other hand, Chesler grew up and remained well-grounded in Leftist Zionism thanks to her participation in the socialist-oriented HaShomer Hatzair youth movement. She became a licensed psychologist and pioneering scholar/professor in Women's Studies, and throughout her career has identified as a "radical feminist" and "liberation psychologist." But like Pogrebin, while her feminism was always guided by her Jewish background, her Jewish identification took a backseat to her feminist one in adulthood, until the outbreak of antisemitism in the Second Wave Feminist movement forced it to the forefront.[45]

Before that, her feminism was influenced by a disastrous marriage to her Afghan sweetheart that included a horrific sojourn in his home country, before managing to escape after several failed attempts, and getting the marriage annulled. The experience permanently soured her on what she would come to see as uncritical intersectional feminist deference to non-Western cultures. It also shaped her towards a belief in what she called "feminism without borders"

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[42] Antler, pp. 354-8; and Pinsky, pp. 78-9.

[43] P. E. Hyman, "Bat Mitzvah," Jewish Women's Archive, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/bat-mitzvah-american-jewish-women (Accessed September 19, 2019); J. W. Joselit (1994), *The Wonders of America: Reinventing Jewish Culture, 1880-1950*. Henry Holt and Co., pp. 129-32; and Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 3-6,9-11, 16-18, 20-23,33-36, 128.

[44] B. W. Cook (1998) "Bella Abzug, "In P.E. Hyman and D. D. Moore, *Jewish Women in America*. Routleldge, 6-7; and Pogrebin, 1991, pp. 42-43, 51-55, 89-95.

[45] P. Chesler (2019a), Statement, Jewish Women's Archive. Retrieved from https://jwa.org/feminism/chesler-phyllis; and T. Cohen (2021), "Phyllis Chesler," Jewish Women's Archive. Retrieved from https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/chesler-phyllis.

that recognized that "women who live on different continents and belong to different cultures will transform feminist ideas to suit their needs." It additionally pushed her more closely to Judaism, and decidedly un-leftist (though not entirely uncritical) support for Israel. She first visited Israel in 1972, where she became one of the founding members of the International Committee for Women of the Kotel, the beginning of an ongoing movement for women's rights to group prayer services at the Western Wall, which remains run according to strict interpretations of Orthodox Judaism that restricts women's group prayer at this site. She also became a founding activist in the early Israeli feminist movement.[46]

Pogrebin and Chesler both came of age as Jewish feminists in the wake of the UN debacle, but also in an environment of both the decline of domestic antisemitism among the American mainstream and the rise of religious-based Jewish feminism. The changes resulting from the latter included the creation of new rituals such as the Women's Seder, initially an annual event by and for the core group of Jewish women activists including Pogrebin and Chesler, and subsequently copied to become possibly the most popular "themed" Seder in Jewish history.[47] But the unaddressed anti-Semitism of multicultural and later intersectional feminism caused Chesler and Pogrebin to make almost diametrically opposite responses that in turn have exposed both the pitfalls and promises of intersectionality in the modern feminist movement. I will examine each's response in turn.

Pogrebin, who in her memoir articulated her own succinct proto-intersectional philosophy that "forced choices are false choices," showed willingness to urge both her non-Jewish feminist and non-feminist Jewish critics to understand the difference an intersectional understanding of women's realities makes. She acknowledges that in the early years of the movement "millions of disparate women accentuated female commonality in order to create a unified feminist movement," likening this early stage "to the time when Blacks and Jews accentuated their common dream of justice in order to create a unified Civil Rights movement," a time that has since been acknowledged to be more brief and illusory than portrayed.[48] But now, she argued, "feminists are acknowledging that each woman has a different place and different needs," and that "racial and ethnic groups have had to face up to their unique circumstances, which give rise to different demands and solutions"—both of which have been the challenge of intersectional feminism ever since. And while she admitted her "utopian self" regretted the way identity politics had displaced the idea of commonality; her "pragmatic self" came to realize the necessity of just that. And while Pogrebin rejected a free pass for a Black embrace of antisemitism, she maintained the necessity of understanding different priorities for women of different races and ethnicities. She also still tried to emphasize the reality of Blacks and Jews as outsiders who "insist on being let 'in' without having to pay the price of conformity"—initially being slow to acknowledge that was always much easier for white Jews than for Black people. But she also eventually acknowledged the necessity of white Jewish women to be willing to give even in situations where understanding was not reciprocated—adding "this is not about comfort or social symmetry, it's about justice." By the 2000s, Pogrebin asserted that antisemitism was no longer a problem in the women's movement, a position that attracted Chesler's criticism and that may have predated the most recent problems for Jewish feminists, and that she has recently very much recanted in the wake of the international feminist community's devasting responses and non-responses to the sexual violence against Israeli women and girls in the most recent war.[49]

Chesler, by contrast, emerged from the battles of the Second Wave Feminist movement far gloomier about the prospects for Jewish inclusion in intersectional feminism. Early on, she had supported and provided the information for Pogrebin's groundbreaking article on antisemitism within the Second Wave Feminist movement. But in recent times, she has criticized Pogrebin for the latter's apparent leftward shift over the subsequent decades since the UN conferences, that has included Pogrebin's becoming more pro-Palestinian and denying that antisemitism was still a

[46] Cohen; and Chesler, 2018, pp. 75-100, 130.

[47] L. Berkowitz (2016, "Celebrating Women's Seders vs. Celebrating Women at the Seder." Retrieved from https://jwa.org/blog/celebrating-women-s-seders-vs-celebrating-women-at-seder; E.M. Broner (1983), *The Telling: The Story of a Group of Jewish Women who Journey to Spirituality through Community and Ceremony*. Harper; Broner and N. Nimrod (1994), *The Women's Haggadah*. Harper; Chesler, 2018, pp,151-152; and Pogrebin, *Deborah, Golda, and Me*, 119-27.

[48] Dollinger, pp. 5-8, 12, 15,18-20, 22.

[49] L. C. Pogrebin (2023), "Jew-Hating is not a New Feminist Phenomenon," *Forward*. Retrieved from https://forward.com/opinion/573448/israel-hamas-sexual-violence-feminist-oct-7/.

problem in the women's movement—at least prior to the recent Women's Marches, when Pogrebin spoke out against the March's exclusion of Jewish women, and most recently, when Pogrebin publicly decried the international feminist movement's non-response to Hamas's sexual violence against in the most recent war. Over the years, Chesler has decried the "political correctness" that she sees as privileging marginalized groups while marginalizing women within these groups. She has also noted the increased trend towards anti-Israelism among feminists, even Jewish feminists, and argues that Israel has become the scapegoat for white American feminist guilt. Though still identifying as a radical feminist and never disavowing feminism, Chesler can appear to many contemporary progressive feminists to have made a hard-right turn, through her willingness to call out what she sees as Western progressive deference to anti-woman Islamism. She has also become a passionate defender of Israel and Zionism and has continued to write about the challenge of being both a radical feminist and a Zionist. And ironically, after having earlier abandoned Orthodoxy as a Jewish feminist, as she deemed more and more intersectional "safe spaces" to be anything but for Jewish women, she has found hers in a friendly Orthodox synagogue, mainly because, "I do not have to fight about Israel's right to exist with any congregant and I am not subject to sermons which are essentially secular pro-Palestinian and anti-Israel propaganda." Chesler's stance on the Israel-Palestine conflict, which has evolved to her becoming more unabashedly pro-Israel (as well as pro-United States) than most feminists, has included criticism of what she sees as too-automatic sympathy with the Palestinians that has put her at odds even with the left-leaning Israeli feminist movement. She has also, at great personal cost, focused on calling out the rising antisemitism that had emerged with little opposition, and sometimes activist encouragement, from the political left (including the feminist movement), and her principal work on this subject, The New Antisemitism, is now in its second edition. And in a political and intellectual journey chronicled in her recent, tellingly titled memoirs, A Politically Incorrect Feminist and The Death of Feminism, her most devastating critique of intersectional feminism is, ironically, that in privileging factors such as race, religion, and ethnicity, it ends up becoming not only not pro-woman, but actively harmful to women, by excusing oppression of women when it comes from those who are non-white and/or non-Western, and publicly laments what has gone wrong with the proto-intersectional Second Wave Feminist movement she had worked so hard to build.[50] Both Pogrebin and Chesler have long grappled with the problem of including Jewish women in a more diverse feminist movement, down to the present.

CONCLUSION: INTERSECTIONALITY AS PROBLEM AND SOLUTION

The problems of Jewish women in the pro-intersectional Second Wave Feminist movement have many lessons for addressing current problems with intersectional feminism. Jewish feminists of this era dealt with similar issues as their contemporary counterparts, including the even by then automatic association of Jewishness with whiteness. This association was perhaps even stronger palpably at a time when Jews of color, let alone Jewish feminists of color, were not yet a widely recognized presence, the way they are increasingly becoming as the percentage of Jews of color in the American Jewish population is currently estimated at twelve to fifteen percent (and that may be an undercount).[51] Also, Israel was a complicating factor even then, though in times past, the Cold War efforts of the Soviet Union to bring in Israel as part of the problematic West was a factor. And antisemitism as the one acceptable prejudice in a movement striving for inclusion and multiculturality has its origins in the Second Wave Feminist movement. Having uncovered the historicity of this issue, however, it may be concluded that the intersectional feminism that has developed over the decades is here to stay, and Chesler's rejectionism appears unlikely to gain much traction.

The way forward, therefore, for Jewish feminists may be a return to the essence of what intersectionality as Crenshaw first articulated it is, and a willingness to apply it to promoting understanding of Jewish women's experience in all of its

[50] "Phyllis Chesler," (2019). Retrieved from https://muckrack.com/phyllis-chesler/articles; Chesler (2014), *The New Antisemitism*. Gefen Publishing House; Chesler (2018); Chesler (2009), *Woman's Inhumanity to Woman*. Lawrence Hill Books; L. Perry (2019), "How a Feminist Prophet became an Apostate—An Interview with Dr. Phyllis Chesler." Retrieved from https://quillette.com/2019/06/20/how-a-feminist-prophet-became-an-apostate-an-interview-with-dr-phyllis-chesler/; and Pogrebin, 1991, p.308.

[51] I. Kaufman and A. Kelman (2019), "Jews of Color and Who Counts in the Jewish Community." Retrieved from https://www.timesofisrael.com/jews-of-color-and-who-counts-in-the-jewish-community/.

diversity.[52] This means turning the lens of intersectionality inward to give attention to the voices and experience of American Jewish women who don't fit the white, heterosexual, middle-class Ashkenazi mold, voices that have been increasingly raised since the 1980s, and first formally articulated in the now-classic Tribe of Dina.[53] It also means using intersectionality to promote a more nuanced view of Jewish whiteness, by, as David Schraub has suggested, allowing for the way whiteness and Jewishness themselves intersect, but do not automatically go together.[54]

Intersectionality and its predecessors, in all their uses and abuses, have profoundly shaped the recent American Jewish narrative since the post-World War II era, and nowhere more so than when it comes to Jewish women's history.[55] Though Jews are hardly the only group who has faced pressure to shed differences to be accepted, they have been the most likely to feel this pressure from the revolutionary and progressive movements that allowed and encouraged most other minorities to maintain their identities. In addition, the American Jewish postwar identification as white made it possible for Jews to be classified that way by purported allies on the left, thus falling on the wrong side of the white/nonwhite and European colonial/indigenous dichotomy that has been further affected by the conflation of domestic feminism and the Israel-Palestine conflict.[56] One may conclude, therefore, that when it comes to anti-Semitism on the Left, there is disturbingly nothing new under the sun.[57] Intersectionality, as properly understood, can help break this impasse by educating activists about how all oppressions are not the same. But even with these lessons of history, doing so may be an uphill battle. As Pogrebin wrote much more recently, in response to the exclusion of Jewish women's concerns from the Women's March, "Until all of us understand that racism and anti-Semitism are the same toxic madness split at the root, and until we embrace intersectionality without defining any woman out, our struggle against sexism and racism will be hobbled by our squabbles with one another." [58]

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[53] Kaye/Kantrowitz, *The Tribe of Dina: A Jewish Woman's Anthology*

[54] Schraub, pp. 3-6.

[55] C. Levine-Rasky (2008), "White Privilege: Jewish Women's Writing and the Instability of Categories," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 7:1, pp. 51-53.

[56] Branfman, pp.145-48; and A. Rosenblum (2007), "The Past Didn't Go Anywhere: Making Resistance to Antisemitism Part of all of our Movements. Retrieved from https://www.aprilrosenblum.com/thepast.

[57] Rosenblum; and Schraub, pp. 1-2.

[58] L. C. Pogrebin (2018), "Anti-Semitism and the Women's March," Letter to the Editor, *New York Times*.

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THE SIMULACRUM OF MENTAL ILLNESS, THE DSM, AND MADNESS

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Abstract

This paper examines how modern psychiatric diagnosis may have created an artificial version of mental illness that has replaced genuine human experiences of psychological distress. Drawing on philosopher Jean Baudrillard's concept of "simulacra"—copies or representations that no longer refer to any original reality—I argue that psychiatric classification systems like the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM) don't simply describe mental conditions but actively create them through technical language and categories. Rather than reflecting the lived reality of people experiencing psychological distress (what I call "madness"), the DSM has generated what Baudrillard would term a "hyperreality"—a constructed world of psychiatric categories that has become more real and influential than the original human experiences it claims to represent. This system of classification wields enormous power to define what counts as normal versus abnormal, determining who can be involuntarily hospitalized, medicated, or subjected to other forms of psychiatric control.

The paper also incorporates Michel Foucault's analysis of how medical and scientific institutions exercise social control through surveillance and the authority to define illness. Together, these theoretical frameworks reveal how psychiatric knowledge may function less as objective science and more as a system of power that manages social difference by labeling it as pathology.

I argue that this "simulacrum of mental illness" provides justification for forcibly confining and treating people diagnosed with psychiatric conditions, even when they have committed no crimes. While acknowledging that psychological suffering is real and requires compassionate response, I question whether our current diagnostic frameworks truly serve those experiencing distress or primarily function to maintain social order through medical authority.

The goal is not to dismiss the reality of psychological pain, but to create space for examining how psychiatric knowledge constructs the very phenomena it claims to describe, and to consider alternative approaches to mental difference that might better honor human complexity while remaining alert to how power operates through supposedly neutral medical categories.

Keywords: Mental illness; simulacra; simulation; psychiatry; social control; power; surveillance

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> "Abstraction today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror, or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal [...] it is the map that precedes the territory — precession of simulacra — it is the map that engenders the territory [...]"
>
> Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard, *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*)

INTRODUCTION

Jean Baudrillard's theory of simulation and simulacra provides a framework for understanding how representations can become detached from—and eventually replace—the realities they originally depicted. Simulation refers to the process by which copies or models come to stand in for original phenomena, while a simulacrum is a copy that no longer has any meaningful relationship to an original reality it purports to represent. In Baudrillard's famous formulation, we reach a point where "the map precedes the territory"—meaning our representations and categories shape and create reality rather than simply reflecting it (Baudrillard, *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*). Baudrillard outlined four stages of this process: first, representations reflect reality; second, they mask and distort reality; third, they mask the absence of reality; and finally, they become pure simulacra bearing no relation to any underlying truth. While Baudrillard's ideas about simulations are typically applied to media, consumer culture, and physical objects, the concept can be extended to any human-created or social phenomenon, including systems of knowledge and classification. Social phenomena, like objects, are constructed by human beings and can be transformed or entirely replaced through the process of simulation—where the artificial categories and representations we create to understand experience eventually supersede the original experiences themselves.

Contemporary clinical practice in psychiatry has evolved significantly in recent decades, with the rise of trauma-informed care, recovery-oriented approaches, and increased emphasis on patient autonomy. Yet despite these progressive shifts, critical examination of the underlying epistemological foundations of psychiatric diagnosis remains essential. Baudrillard's theory of simulacra offers a particularly powerful framework for this analysis, revealing how diagnostic categories may function as self-referential signs increasingly detached from the phenomena they purport to describe. Today's mental health landscape features a dominant biomedical model that continually expands its taxonomic reach, creating what Baudrillard would term a "hyperreality"—a model that precedes and determines our understanding of psychological distress rather than reflecting it.

This hyperreal system of psychiatric classification does not operate in isolation from power structures, as Michel Foucault's analyses help us understand. Foucault examined how modern institutions exercise control not through overt force but through subtle mechanisms of surveillance, normalization, and the production of knowledge that defines what counts as normal or pathological. His concept of biopower—the management of bodies and populations through medical and scientific authority—reveals how psychiatric institutions shape behavior by creating categories of illness and wellness that people internalize and police in themselves. Foucault's famous panopticon metaphor illustrates how the mere possibility of being observed can induce self-regulation, making external control unnecessary. While psychiatric institutions may appear less overtly controlling than the asylums Foucault critiqued, subtler mechanisms of surveillance and compliance have emerged through community treatment orders, digital health monitoring, and the medicalization of ever-wider ranges of human experience. The intersection of Baudrillardian simulation and Foucauldian power dynamics creates a particularly fertile ground for examining how psychiatric knowledge constructs the very phenomena it claims to merely describe. Together, these theoretical perspectives allow us to question whether contemporary psychiatry maintains any meaningful connection to the lived realities it purports to represent, or whether it has become a self-perpetuating system of control operating through increasingly sophisticated simulations of "mental illness. "This philosophical exploration, while necessarily speculative, carries significant practical implications. The value lies not in conclusively proving that mental illness concepts are simulacra, but in disrupting the taken-for-granted nature of diagnostic frameworks that powerfully shape individual lives and institutional responses. By examining the potential simulation of psychiatric categories and their relationship to social control, we open critical space for alternative

conceptualizations of psychological distress that might better honor the complexity of human experience while remaining alert to the operation of power in supposedly neutral medical knowledge.

In this paper, I will explore the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)—the authoritative classification system used by mental health professionals to diagnose psychiatric conditions—and the medicolegal concept of 'mental illness' as a simulacrum that precedes any direct human experience that may be classified as such. The DSM, currently in its fifth edition (DSM-5), published by the American Psychiatric Association in 2013, serves multiple functions: it provides standardized criteria for identifying mental disorders, facilitates communication between clinicians, and determines eligibility for insurance coverage and disability benefits.[1] The manual divides psychological distress into hundreds of discrete diagnostic categories, each defined by specific clusters of symptoms, behaviors, and experiences that must be present for a certain duration and severity. However, viewing the DSM through Baudrillard's theoretical lens, I argue that this classification system functions as more than a neutral diagnostic tool. As a simulacrum, the categories set out in the DSM, and the logic that they embody, create mental illness from whole cloth—generating the very phenomena they claim merely to describe and organize.

The DSM functions as the foundational legal and medical framework that enables coercive psychiatric interventions by transforming subjective experiences into objective pathologies that justify the suspension of normal civil liberties. Mental health laws across jurisdictions explicitly reference DSM diagnostic criteria as prerequisites for involuntary commitment, creating a direct pathway from classification to coercion. When individuals receive diagnoses such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, or major depression, these labels become legal instruments that authorize psychiatrists to petition courts for involuntary hospitalization based on perceived "dangerousness" or "grave disability"—standards that are often interpreted subjectively but carry the weight of scientific authority because they are anchored in DSM categories. The diagnostic process itself becomes a form of judicial proceeding where the psychiatrist's clinical assessment, guided by DSM criteria, can override an individual's autonomous refusal of treatment. This medicalized coercion extends beyond hospitalization to forced medication, where court orders for psychotropic drugs are routinely granted based on the presumption that diagnosed individuals lack the capacity to make rational treatment decisions—a capacity that is paradoxically determined by the very same psychiatric system that benefits from override of consent. The DSM's expansion of diagnostic categories through concepts like "spectrum disorders" and "Not Otherwise Specified" classifications creates an ever-widening net that captures more individuals within coercive frameworks, while the manual's frequent revisions ensure that resistance to psychiatric authority can itself be pathologized and medicalized. Through this process, the DSM transforms what Foucault identified as disciplinary power into legal authority, allowing psychiatric knowledge to circumvent traditional protections against unlawful detention and forced medical procedures by reframing coercion as therapeutic intervention necessitated by objective medical conditions rather than subjective judgments about social deviance.

It is crucial to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary psychiatric admissions, as this analysis focuses specifically on the coercive mechanisms associated with enforced hospitalization rather than situations where individuals seek treatment voluntarily. While voluntary admissions involve patients who consent to hospitalization and retain the right to leave (though this right may be complicated by informal pressures or conversion to involuntary status), involuntary admissions represent a fundamental suspension of civil liberties where individuals are detained against their will based on psychiatric assessments of dangerousness or incapacity. The critique presented here concerns how the DSM's diagnostic categories serve as legal instruments that justify this coercive detention of non-criminal individuals.

In Baudrillard's theory, Simulacra refer to copies or representations that depict things that either had no original to begin with, or that no longer have an original. Simulacra are thus images or signs that mimic things that either never existed or no longer exist. The concept of simulacra is closely related to representation, but differs in key ways. Representation refers to using signs, images, or symbols to stand in for or depict some original object or idea. Representations have a relationship to some kind of originating truth or reality that they represent. Simulacra, on the other hand, have no tie to an original truth or reality. They mimic representations that either never had an original in

[1] The DSM does not provide guidelines for treatment.

the first place or whose original has long since disappeared. Simulacra thus achieve the appearance of representing some truth or reality, but in fact point to no underlying origin.

While I am certainly not arguing that mental distress, including such constellations of symptoms that the DSM identifies as composing schizophrenia or Bipolar Disorder, does not exist or never existed, I am arguing that the evolution of psychiatric classification systems like the DSM reflects a complex interplay between genuine attempts at scientific understanding and the extension of definitional control. While not necessarily designed with the explicit goal of 'capturing' individuals, the DSM's increasing taxonomic scope—particularly through concepts like spectrum disorders and 'Not Otherwise Specified' categories—has nonetheless expanded the boundaries of what constitutes mental illness. Contemporary clinical practice often employs the DSM in more nuanced ways than this critique might suggest; many practitioners use it primarily as a provisional guideline rather than diagnostic dogma, recognizing its limitations as a social construction nested within specific historical and cultural contexts. Yet despite this practical flexibility at the individual level, the institutional power of psychiatric classification systems remains formidable, creating frameworks through which experiences become medicalized, resources are allocated, and interventions justified. The simulacrum emerges not from individual clinical intentions but from the system's self-reinforcing logic, where the constructed categories increasingly reference themselves rather than any original phenomenon they purport to describe.

After putting forth the argument that mental illness and the DSM exist within a simulacrum, I will extend the discussion to signs and the signified, and how language and the primacy of scientific knowledge have created the simulacrum of mental illness, which has completely supplanted the original experience of madness. I conclude with a discussion of Foucault's ideas of social control, the medical gaze, and propose a marriage of these two theories. By combining these theoretical perspectives, I hope to show that the simulacrum of mental illness creates the conditions by which we allow the unwilling noncriminal incarceration of people diagnosed with mental illness. The simulacrum of mental illness provides a justification to forcibly manage the deviance of different bodies and minds through coercion and containment. Its value, and therefore its persistence and durability, and indeed, its growth and expansion into more areas of people's lives, lies in its ability to demand that we 'take action' against mental illness, in ourselves or in others, including the "compassionate use" (Trestman and Nagaraja) of force and involuntary confinement.

While mental illness encompasses a broad spectrum of conditions with varying impacts on functioning, the surveillance and control mechanisms discussed in this paper primarily target those diagnosed with severe and persistent mental illnesses (SPMI) such as schizophrenia, bipolar disorder with psychotic features, and other conditions involving psychosis and altered perceptions of reality, or other conditions the impair functioning such as depression and anxiety. These diagnostic categories have historically been subjected to the most intensive forms of institutional control, including involuntary hospitalization, chemical and physical restraint, and ongoing community monitoring. Symptoms involving psychosis—particularly hallucinations, delusions, and altered perceptions of reality—place individuals at heightened risk for coercive intervention because they are readily interpreted as evidence of impaired judgment and potential dangerousness. Behaviors categorized as indicating 'grave disability,' such as apparent inability to care for oneself or make 'rational' decisions, similarly trigger involuntary commitment mechanisms. The risk stems from how these subjective clinical assessments, anchored in DSM categories, acquire legal authority to override personal autonomy through seemingly objective medical determinations of incapacity. The simulacrum of mental illness reaches its most powerful expression in the management of these conditions, where perceived dangerousness and incompetence provide the justification for suspending normal civil liberties. While the DSM's taxonomic reach extends to milder conditions, the Foucauldian apparatus of surveillance and the Baudrillardian simulation of madness converge most forcefully at this end of the diagnostic spectrum.

This hyperreal system of psychiatric classification does not operate in isolation from power structures, as Foucault's analyses help us understand. While psychiatric institutions may appear less overtly controlling than the asylums Foucault critiqued, subtler mechanisms of surveillance and compliance have emerged through community treatment orders, digital health monitoring, and the medicalization of ever-wider ranges of human experience. The intersection of Baudrillardian simulation and Foucauldian power dynamics creates a particularly fertile ground for examining how psychiatric knowledge constructs the very phenomena it claims to merely describe. Together, these theoretical perspectives allow us to question whether contemporary psychiatry maintains any meaningful connection to the lived

realities it purports to represent, or whether it has become a self-perpetuating system of control operating through increasingly sophisticated simulations of "mental illness."

While this philosophical exploration examines mental illness as a simulacrum, it does not deny the very real psychological suffering that people experience. The existence of profound distress, altered perceptions, and debilitating emotional states cannot be dismissed—these experiences demand our ethical attention and compassionate response. What this analysis questions is not the reality of suffering itself, but rather how our classificatory systems frame, interpret, and ultimately transform that suffering through diagnostic categorization. The value of approaching mental illness through Baudrillard's lens lies not in conclusively proving that psychiatric categories are "merely" constructions, but in disrupting the taken-for-granted nature of our diagnostic frameworks. By recognizing the elements of simulation within psychiatric knowledge, we can create space for more nuanced approaches to psychological difference that acknowledge both the reality of distress and the power of classification systems to shape how that distress is understood and addressed. This theoretical perspective allows us to honor lived experiences of suffering while remaining critical of the institutional responses those experiences elicit.

A Quick Note on Terminology

Throughout this paper, I use the phrase 'mental illness' as synonymous with the DSM-created simulacrum, and the word 'mad' to represent the real experience of people. The term 'mad' refers to what I argue was the authentic, lived experience of psychological distress before it became organized and transformed by psychiatric classification systems—the raw human reality that existed before medical categories shaped how we understand and respond to psychological difference. According to Baudrillard's theory, this original experience has been entirely replaced by the simulation, making it impossible to access the pre-classification reality of madness.[2] I interchangeably use the phrases 'mental illness', 'the simulacrum', and the 'simulacrum of the DSM'.

By 'mental illness,' I refer to the overarching conceptual framework that encompasses the various diagnostic categories codified in the DSM. Rather than denoting a single condition, mental illness represents a constructed collection of "disorders"—distinct clusters of symptoms, behaviors, and experiences that psychiatric authorities have grouped and labeled as pathological.[3] While the DSM meticulously divides psychological distress into hundreds of discrete diagnostic

[2] The distinction between "madness" and "mental illness" in this theoretical framework requires careful elaboration, as it forms the foundation of the simulacrum argument. "Madness," as used here, refers to a hypothetical pre-classificatory state of psychological difference and distress that existed before formal psychiatric nosology organized these experiences into discrete diagnostic categories. This includes what we might recognize today as experiences of altered perception, extreme emotional states, unconventional thought patterns, or behaviors that deviate from social norms—but understood without the mediating framework of medical pathology. However, this creates a fundamental epistemological problem: if Baudrillard's theory is correct, we cannot actually know what "madness" looks like in any contemporary context because the simulation has entirely replaced the original. We can only access historical accounts filtered through their own cultural lenses, such as descriptions of "melancholia," "lunacy," or spirit possession from pre-psychiatric eras. Contemporary attempts to reclaim "mad" identity through activism represent efforts to break through the simulacrum, but these efforts necessarily occur within and against the existing psychiatric framework, making them potentially complicit in the very system they seek to resist. This theoretical limitation is intentional rather than problematic: Baudrillard's fourth stage of simulation suggests that the original has been destroyed by its representation. Therefore, any attempt to define what "madness" currently looks like would actually be describing mental illness masquerading as madness. The value of maintaining this distinction lies not in recovering some authentic pre-psychiatric experience—which may be impossible—but in creating critical space to question whether our current diagnostic frameworks truly serve those experiencing psychological distress or primarily function to maintain social order through medical authority. The term "madness" thus serves as a placeholder for alternative ways of understanding psychological difference that are not immediately captured by pathologizing medical discourse.

[3] The case of neurodevelopmental conditions like ADHD and Autism Spectrum Disorder presents important complexities for this theoretical framework. These conditions differ significantly from the psychiatric diagnoses that form the primary focus of this analysis, as they involve documented neurological differences that can be observed across cultures and throughout history, even when not formally recognized or classified. The neurodiversity movement has successfully reclaimed many of these experiences as natural human variations rather than pathologies requiring cure, suggesting these conditions may occupy a different relationship to Baudrillard's simulacrum than traditional psychiatric categories. However, the DSM's approach to these conditions still demonstrates elements of the simulation process described in this paper. The expansion of autism diagnostic criteria to include

entities, this theoretical umbrella term allows us to examine how the classificatory impulse itself—manifested through increasingly elaborate systems of diagnostic differentiation—may function as a simulacrum that precedes and shapes our understanding of human suffering, rather than simply describing pre-existing phenomena.
Throughout the paper, 'mental illness' is used as the sign for the signified 'mad', which, as I will explore shortly, according to Baudrillard, no longer exists.

THE TYRANNY OF CLASSIFICATION AND THE SIMULACRUM OF MENTAL ILLNESS

The concept of mental illness, as codified in classification systems such as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), exists within a simulacrum detached from the basic reality of psychological distress and madness that once prevailed. This artificial simulation of mental disorders has been brought about through the forces of scientism and the act of categorizing inherently fluid and variable states of madness into neat diagnostic boxes. The classification project undertaken through nosologies like the DSM serves not to reflect any objective reality,[4] but rather to impose an ordered hyperreality that captures human struggles within its technical lexicon. The very act of trying to scientifically classify and categorize mental distress obscures the basic reality of madness that lies beneath people's experiences. As a result, the phenomenon of mental illness now circulates almost entirely within a closed system of psychiatry's creation, mapped onto people's lives through diagnosis but bearing little relation to genuine psychological reality. This results in the categorization of signs and symptoms with little regard for individuality. This modern regime of mental health, operating on the terrain of simulacra rather than authentic human experience, nevertheless carries very real consequences for those caught in its diagnostic web.

Research reveals significant challenges in the reliability and objectivity of psychiatric diagnosis that complicate claims about the scientific rigor of involuntary psychiatric admissions. Multiple studies demonstrate that psychiatric diagnoses show only "fair" agreement between standardized diagnostic interviews and clinical practice, with kappa values averaging around 0.41 (Neto et al.) This finding is particularly concerning given that even Spitzer and Frances, the directors of DSM-III and DSM-IV Task Force, admit that the desired reliability among the practicing clinicians has not been obtained (Aboraya). The reliability problem extends beyond psychiatry - studies show that agreement between medical specialists in other fields can be equally problematic, with pathologists examining the same tissue specimens achieving kappa values as low as 0.21 for needle biopsies (Pies).

The fundamental issue extends deeper than reliability concerns to questions about the validity of psychiatric diagnoses themselves. As Hyman (Hyman) argues, the DSM system prioritized interrater reliability at a time when "the scientific understanding of mental disorders was embryonic and could not yield valid disease definitions." This has led to what he describes as "reification" - treating diagnostic categories as if they were established medical entities when they remain largely descriptive constructs (Hyman). The problem is compounded by the fact that many disorders currently lack clear biological markers or "zones of rarity" that would support categorical distinctions from normal functioning (Kendell and Jablensky). Current legal frameworks for involuntary admission typically require the establishment of mental illness based on medical evaluation, yet the jurisprudence of the European Court on Human Rights clarified the conditions under which involuntary admissions can occur, requiring the establishment of a mental illness based on a

"spectrum" designations, the proliferation of ADHD subtypes, and the medicalization of traits that might previously have been understood as personality differences or learning styles reflect the taxonomic expansion characteristic of psychiatric classification systems. The critical question is not whether neurological differences exist—they clearly do—but whether the specific ways these differences are categorized, pathologized, and managed through institutional systems participate in the simulacrum of mental illness. Many individuals diagnosed with ADHD or autism report that diagnostic frameworks both validate their experiences and simultaneously constrain them within medical models that emphasize deficiency rather than difference. This suggests that even conditions with clear neurobiological correlates can become entangled in the broader apparatus of psychiatric control and normalization that this paper critiques, particularly when these diagnoses become grounds for educational segregation, pharmaceutical intervention, or other forms of institutional management that prioritize compliance over accommodation of neurodiversity.

[4] Although, to be fair, most of the diagnostic criteria are based on observable signs in the individual and describe signs and symptoms very clearly.

medical evaluation, exceptionality and urgency, nature and gravity of the psychic disorder such as to justify the deprivation of liberty, measure proportional to the need for the safety of the patient and the community, and temporary limitation of the measure to the period of persistence of the illness (Saya et al.).

Research on involuntary commitment decisions further illustrates how subjective factors influence what should be objective assessments. Feiring and Ugstad (Feiring and Ugstad) found that clinicians often equate serious mental disorder with loss of decision-making capacity without formal assessment, leading to a paternalistic approach where "trying voluntary solutions were pointless in most cases." The study revealed troubling practices, such as health enterprises being "recommended to apply involuntary mental health care to suicidal persons even when the disorder-criterion is not met," which participants acknowledged "contradict[ed] the intention of the law" (Feiring and Ugstad). These findings align with broader patterns documented in the international literature, where the various weights given to the patient's decision-making capacity in the various national legislations are reflected in the legality of pharmacological treatments in involuntarily hospitalized patients. In some countries (such as Italy), involuntary pharmacological treatments are automatically permitted for hospitalized patients, while others require a more articulated procedure to decide on treatment options (Saya et al.).

The decision-making process is further complicated by contextual factors that extend far beyond clinical considerations. Ethical and practical concerns are key reasons for the lack of RCTs comparing involuntary psychiatric hospitalization with outpatient care. Randomly assigning individuals who meet emergency or inpatient commitment criteria to outpatient follow-up care instead of usual care (e.g., involuntary hospitalization) carries substantial risks, including that study participants might harm themselves or others (Morris and Kleinman). This limitation in research design means that the evidence base for involuntary admission practices remains incomplete. Additionally, studies reveal that variations in the rates of involuntary admission (IA) reflect the influence of unexplained contextual variables that are typically too heterogeneous to be included in systematic reviews, with factors ranging from service-related factors, impactful events, seasonal and temporal factors, mental health legislation, staff factors, and public attitudes all influencing admission decisions (Aluh et al.).

The findings suggest that the decision-making process is influenced by multiple factors, such as setting, the clinician's tendency to detain patients, and the availability of detention beds (Engleman et al.) A large-scale study by McGarvey et al. (McGarvey et al.) examining 2,624 emergency mental health evaluations found that "unavailability of alternatives to hospitalization" was a significant predictor of involuntary commitment, with immediate medication evaluation, safe transportation, and temporary housing being key missing services. Importantly, even when the overall risk rating and all other patient and clinician variables were controlled, a patient had a significantly greater chance of being detained when detention beds were available (Engleman et al.). These patterns are consistent with research showing that few studies have specifically assessed the impact of the availability of alternative services, such as intensive community programs, on IA. In a study to determine the effect of the development of alternative services in French psychiatric sectors on involuntary inpatient care, the likelihood of a patient being forced into full-time hospitalization decreased by 12% for every 10% increase in the level of development of alternatives (Aluh et al.). This suggests that resource availability, rather than purely clinical considerations, can influence commitment decisions - a troubling finding that undermines claims of purely scientific decision-making in involuntary admissions.

While the entire concept of mental illness is examined here as a simulacrum, this does not negate the reality of experiences like paranoia, hallucinations, or profound mood disturbances that individuals undergo. These phenomena are only too real to those experiencing them, causing genuine suffering that demands ethical attention and practical response. The classification of such experiences into diagnostic categories can provide clinicians with useful frameworks for treatment selection and communication. However, when these categorization systems become rigid taxonomies that prioritize standardization over individual experience—treating the diagnosis rather than the person—they risk participating in the simulacrum that this paper critiques. The issue is not whether experiences like hearing voices exist, but rather how these experiences are constructed, interpreted, and managed within psychiatric frameworks that may have become increasingly self-referential and detached from the lived realities they purport to represent.

Viewing mental illness through Baudrillard's concept of simulacra offers profound implications for how we understand and respond to psychological distress. The stakes of this theoretical framework are significant. First, it demands we

confront the possibility that our entire conceptual apparatus for understanding "mental illness" may have become untethered from the lived realities it purports to describe. If the DSM and its diagnostic categories have indeed reached Baudrillard's fourth stage of simulation—bearing "no relation to any reality whatever"—then our interventions may be addressing constructs of our own making rather than underlying human suffering.

This perspective doesn't deny that people experience profound psychological distress or that behaviors we label as "symptoms" cause real suffering. Rather, it questions whether our classificatory systems capture something fundamental about these experiences or whether they primarily serve to render them intelligible within existing power structures. The value of this approach lies in its potential to create critical distance from taken-for-granted medical frameworks, allowing us to interrogate how psychiatric knowledge constructs the very phenomena it claims merely to describe.

The simulacra framework also reveals what may be lost when madness becomes "mental illness"—namely, alternative ways of understanding psychological difference that don't immediately pathologize it. By recognizing the constructed nature of diagnostic categories, we can begin to imagine different relationships to psychological distress that might foster greater autonomy and dignity for those experiencing it. The stakes here involve nothing less than how society responds to human suffering and difference—whether through coercion justified by medical authority or through approaches that honor the complexity and diversity of human experience while remaining attentive to genuine distress.

While we cannot definitively prove that mental illness concepts are simulacra rather than accurate representations of reality, thinking through this possibility creates valuable space for questioning practices—like involuntary hospitalization and forced medication—that rely on the presumed objectivity of psychiatric diagnoses. What's ultimately at stake is how we balance care and control, compassion and coercion, in our responses to psychological difference.

Baudrillard makes the distinction between a simulacrum and the unreal. He writes, “Then the whole system becomes weightless; it is no longer anything but a gigantic simulacrum: not unreal, but a simulacrum [...]”. The modern medicolegal mental illness structure is a simulacrum of what it used to be when it was real, before it became classified by Kraepelin in the late 1880’s (Heckers and Kendler)- the fearsome asylums of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[5] In the act of classifying mental conditions, a simulation was created. The real asylums, prior to the application of scientific classification, were mass warehouses for the mad, who were just beginning to give form and legitimacy to the new medical science of psychiatry (Scull). Prior to their warehousing and classification, the mad were simply that, mad. They lived variably in prisons, almshouses, or poorly cared for by family (Floyd). They were treated by medical doctors in the same way as other patients- mostly through purgatives and bloodletting (Floyd). At this point in time, and at the beginning of the asylum era, madness had yet to be classified and scientized. When these people began to become classified and labeled that the simulacrum began to be created.

Kraepelin’s nosology, although not the first of its kind (Shorter), began the rather short march from real madness to the simulacrum of mental illness. Classification systems such as Kraepelin’s and the DSM serve to capture madness and clean it up, make it acceptable, and safely lock it away. Baudrillard describes the process by which the real becomes a simulacra:

These would be the successive phases of the image:

1 It is the reflection of a basic reality.
2 It masks and perverts a basic reality.
3 It masks the absence of a basic reality.
4 It bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum.

In this chronology, Baudrillard suggests that the first nosology, put forth by the ancient Greeks (Shorter), was not entirely a simulacra. It was, in fact, a reflection of basic reality. So, although that first system of categorization was a group of signs organized to describe a set of social conditions, those signs were still representative of reality. Theories and sets

[5] The DSM Is fundamentally different from Kraepelin’s nosology, primarily in its departure from Kraepelin’s biological focus. However, the DSM has also been critiqued for its tendency towards overdiagnosis and a propensity toward scientifically questionable psychopharmacological approaches to treatment (Ghaemi).

of signs such as the DSM function in four important ways. First, as "efficient storage devices for information collected over many years by many different people," second as "general descriptions of what a certain area of reality looks like," third, they form "a basis for generating expectations about what will happen if we go into a certain area [...]" and lastly, they are the "basis for thinking about more complicated relationships" (Harvey). As a matter of 'common sense,' as part of our referential language, maps and theories (and classification systems like the DSM) embody the accumulated labor and thoughts of the past and serve as a reflection of basic reality (Smith). Therefore, those first attempts at classifying mental conditions did not fully obliterate reality- they were a group of signs that signified something that occurred in reality.

The concept of diagnostic classification preceding reality can be understood through Baudrillard's "precession of simulacra," where "the map precedes the territory." Rather than merely cataloging existing conditions, psychiatric nosology actively generates the phenomena it purportedly describes. Following Baudrillard's stages of simulation, early classifications like Kraepelin's initially reflected basic reality (first stage: "reflection of a basic reality"), before gradually perverting that reality (second stage: "masks and perverts a basic reality"), then masking its absence (third stage: "masks the absence of a basic reality"), and finally evolving into a pure simulacrum (fourth stage: "bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum"). The DSM thus functions not as a passive observer but as an active constructor of meaning, determining what constitutes normal versus abnormal through categories that, despite their presentation as biological facts, remain "purely conventional and social" in nature. These diagnostic categories wield "immense definitional control" rather than simply documenting pre-existing symptoms. The frequent addition, modification, and deletion of diagnoses across DSM editions further demonstrates how these categories respond more to shifts in professional consensus and power dynamics than to stable biological realities. Consequently, it becomes impossible to access any original experience of madness behind the simulation, as the classification system has entirely replaced the phenomenon it claims to represent.

The medicolegal complex has imperialized the deviant body and mind, and the psychiatric empire controls everything within the simulacrum of mental illness, including peoples' freedom from taking unwanted medications, being restrained, and being detained.[6] [7] Imperialist power such as this allows simulators like the DSM to make the real coincide

[6] It is worth noting that strict legal measures and safeguards are in place in most countries that ensure that no individual can be deprived of their liberty for long periods or forced to take medication against their will. This can lead to real dangers for the individual (and sometimes society at large) when an individual experiencing the symptoms identified as schizophrenia cannot be supported in the community (lack of engagement with professionals, refusal to take anti-psychotics, etc.). Physical restraints in psychiatric settings are typically authorized under specific circumstances that vary by jurisdiction but commonly include: when a patient poses imminent danger to themselves or others (such as active suicide attempts or physical aggression toward staff or other patients); when a patient is severely agitated and at risk of self-injury during acute psychotic episodes; during involuntary medication administration when a patient actively resists; or when less restrictive interventions have failed to manage behaviors that could result in serious harm. Chemical restraints (forced sedating medications) may be administered when physical restraints alone are deemed insufficient to ensure safety. These interventions are generally supposed to be time-limited, regularly reviewed, and used only when alternative de-escalation techniques have proven ineffective, though the actual implementation of these safeguards varies significantly across institutions.

[7] While informed consent remains a foundational principle of medical ethics, it faces significant challenges within psychiatric contexts. Patients experiencing severe mental health crises may be deemed to lack "capacity" to make treatment decisions, legally justifying the suspension of their right to refuse treatment. However, this creates a circular logic: the very diagnosis that brings someone into the psychiatric system can be used to override their autonomy. The determination of "capacity" is often subjective and may be influenced by factors beyond clinical judgment, including patients' compliance with treatment recommendations or institutional convenience. Even when formal consent processes exist, they frequently occur within inherently coercive environments where patients understand that refusal may result in extended hospitalization, increased restrictions, or other punitive consequences. This transforms "consent" into what might be better described as "compliance under duress," where the appearance of voluntary agreement masks the underlying power imbalances that make genuine autonomous choice nearly impossible.
The legal standard of "harm to self or others" used to justify involuntary psychiatric intervention is notably vague and subject to considerable interpretive flexibility. "Harm to self" typically encompasses imminent suicide risk, severe self-injury, or inability to care for basic survival needs (sometimes termed "grave disability"), but the threshold for what constitutes "imminent" varies widely and often relies on clinical judgment rather than objective criteria. Some jurisdictions interpret this broadly to include behaviors

with the simulation model (Baudrillard, *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*). The DSM has rather cleverly extended the simulation to this end by having categories for people who don't fit neatly into the simulator- these are the diagnostic concepts of "Not Otherwise Specified" (such as "Psychotic Disorder Not Otherwise Specified) and the concept of mental illness spectrums. In this way, real people are forced into the hyperreal condition of living with a mental illness. As an example of the scope creep of the mental illness simulacrum in motion, consider the diagnosis of panic disorder and its usefulness in controlling the deviant bodies of (mostly) women (Orr). The reach of the simulacrum is increasing- as of 2005, years before the DSM 5 was released, it was estimated that 46.4 percent of Americans would be diagnosed with a psychiatric disorder in their lifetime (Kessler et al.), and some research suggests that diagnoses such as depression have increased in recent decades (Blaszczak-Boxe). While one explanation for this increase in diagnosis is that 'symptoms' are really increasing with the times, another explanation is that the understanding and classification of these signs has changed in recent years, expanding the scope of the in habitants within the mental illness simulacrum.

In his essay, "Simulacra and Simulations", Baudrillard describes a "fake holdup." He challenges the reader to undertake a fake holdup- with a fake gun, a fake hostage, and a full intention to return any money gained. In his scenario, the fake robber would still get shot by a police officer's real gun, among other consequences. In this allegory, even though the fake robber is living in a simulacrum and the bank robbed is a simulation of a bank, there are real consequences to real people. Just like in this story, the consequences of mental illness in the simulacrum are quite real. For people in its grip, which threatens to soon invade almost every corner of society, there are real forced (or coerced) medications. Real 5-point-restraints. Real stigma and social isolation. And, real compelled hospitalization, sometimes lasting years (Testa and West).[8] Although mental illness under the reign of the DSM is a simulacrum, that does not mean that real things do not happen to real people and affect real lives.

The concept of informed consent further illustrates the paradoxes within the mental illness simulacrum. In standard medical practice, informed consent represents patient autonomy and requires voluntary agreement following adequate information disclosure and decisional capacity. However, within psychiatric contexts, this ethical cornerstone is periodically suspended through mechanisms like involuntary commitment and forced medication. The justification for these exceptions—that mental illness itself compromises the capacity for "rational" consent—creates a perfect circular logic: the system can override consent precisely because the patient has been classified within a system that questions their ability to consent. This circular reasoning exemplifies Baudrillard's notion of the closed system of simulacra that "bears no relation to any reality whatever." The concept of "capacity" itself becomes a simulacrum—a floating signifier that professionals can apply situationally to maintain control. Even when formal consent procedures exist, they often occur within power imbalances where patients face implicit threats (extended hospitalization, increased restrictions) for non-compliance, transforming "consent" into a simulation of autonomy rather than its exercise. This simulation maintains the appearance of ethical practice while simultaneously reinforcing the biomedical authority that Foucault identified as central to psychiatric control, creating what might be termed "simulated ethics"—ethical frameworks that masquerade as protective while primarily serving to legitimize existing power structures.

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like refusing medication, poor hygiene, or making decisions others deem irrational, effectively pathologizing non-conformity. "Harm to others" may include threats of violence, aggressive behavior, or perceived dangerousness, but research consistently shows that people with mental illness are statistically more likely to be victims rather than perpetrators of violence, and that the correlation between mental illness and violence is weak except in cases involving active substance use. The predictive accuracy of violence risk assessments remains poor, with high rates of false positives leading to unnecessary detention of individuals who would not have harmed anyone. Furthermore, these determinations often occur during acute distress when individuals may appear more threatening than they actually are, and they may be influenced by factors such as race, class, and previous interactions with mental health systems. The subjectivity inherent in these assessments means that similar presentations may result in vastly different outcomes depending on the evaluating clinician, institutional policies, and local legal interpretations, raising questions about the consistency and fairness of applying such broad criteria to justify the suspension of fundamental civil liberties.

[8] It should be pointed out that, however, due to legal safeguards (at least in Western society), these are rare occurrences in relation to the number of individuals diagnosed with a mental disorder.

SIGNS, KNOWLEDGE, AND RESISTANCE

The classification of mental disorders through nosologies like the DSM does more than just categorize conditions - it actively constructs the very meaning of psychological distress (disguised as lists of symptoms). The language of psychiatry wields immense definitional power by determining which emotional states and behaviors are considered pathological versus normal. The authority to linguistically demarcate sanity from insanity grants the psychiatric profession extraordinary control over people's lives. Yet this bio-medical vocabulary rests on shaky scientific foundations, with diagnostic criteria shifting frequently due to opinion rather than evidence. Nevertheless, the primacy granted to scientific discourse in modern society allows psychiatric terminology to masquerade as objective fact. As a result, the real phenomenon of human madness has disappeared behind a simulated reality - a hyperreal fiction created by the technical jargon of the DSM. Even attempts to reclaim terms like "mad" or "psychotic" end up reinforcing rather than undermining the dominant medical paradigm. For true dissent to register, the linguistic hegemony underpinning the mental illness simulacrum must first be overturned. But overthrowing a knowledge system buttressed by scientific authority may prove the ultimate exercise in futility.

The authority to define and label behaviors, persons and things grants the greatest social control (Conrad). The definitions and distinctions that appear in the DSM can label people as good or bad, normal, or abnormal. This power is extraordinary, because these labels partially determine one's life trajectory, and whether they are prone to be involuntarily confined within the mental illness simulacrum. The definitions within the DSM construct the meanings of mental difference, and have been created to fit competing ideologies and interests (Zerubavel). Because of the presumed biological nature of mental disorders, specialists and laypeople alike forget the purely conventional and social nature of DSM diagnoses, and instead attribute a profound natural power to these categories (Harkin), thereby strengthening and reinforcing the simulacrum. Bodies and minds are themselves a highly contested space, in which competing interests and figures of power vie for the right to define and sculpt that body and mind (Harkin). The concepts of normal/abnormal and mentally ill/mentally well exist as social constructs— people must define things as normal/abnormal— they are not "natural" states of being (Horwitz). Defining a body or mind as normal or abnormal does not occur in a vacuum, nor is it an automatic classification; instead, it is always in contrast to the normal that the abnormal is understood. As a sign system of classification, the DSM as a simulacrum has extraordinary power to overtake the people captured in its net,[9] because the labels applied are seen as "natural" and "biological," so the power exerted over residents of the simulacrum, especially inpatients, is extreme and often absolute.

Research demonstrates that healthcare systems inadequately address the multiple determinants of mental health, focusing instead on narrow biomedical approaches that fail to recognize the complex social, economic, and environmental factors driving psychological distress. Alegría et al. document how mental health services consistently neglect "upstream" social determinants such as poverty, discrimination, housing instability, and food insecurity, despite substantial evidence linking these factors to mental health outcomes. The authors note that "poor and disadvantaged populations are most affected by mental disorders, and that cumulative stress and physical health serve as mechanisms through which the impacts of social determinants multiply across the lifespan" (Alegría et al. 2). This narrow focus on individual pathology rather than systemic factors interferes with truly beneficent care, as interventions that fail to address root causes—such as unemployment, inadequate housing, or community violence—may provide only temporary symptom relief while leaving patients vulnerable to ongoing distress. The research reveals that even when social determinants are recognized, mental health systems lack systematic approaches to address them, with most interventions remaining "considerably small in scale and utilized poor quality study design" (Alegría et al. 6). This gap between evidence about social determinants and actual practice represents a fundamental barrier to providing comprehensive, effective mental health care that truly serves patients' wellbeing.

Systems theories reveal how mental health care operates as a complex network of power relationships that systematically abuse authority through structural mechanisms rather than individual malice. Bracken and Thomas (2001)

[9] True individuality is not taken into account in the DSM. It is up to the clinician who uses this tool to ensure individual meaning and capacity

demonstrate how psychiatric systems maintain power through what they term the "modernist agenda," which privileges technical explanations over contextual understanding and enforces "coercive facets of psychiatry" through legal frameworks that grant psychiatrists extraordinary authority to detain and medicate patients. This systemic abuse operates through what the authors identify as three interconnected mechanisms: treating madness as purely internal to individuals while ignoring social contexts, imposing technical frameworks that replace spiritual and cultural understandings, and institutionalizing coercion through mental health legislation that creates fundamental power imbalances between providers and patients. Speed extends this analysis by showing how these power structures manifest through different discourse systems—patient, consumer, and survivor—that shape how individuals can understand and articulate their experiences, with the "patient discourse" requiring "compliant passivity" and effectively silencing alternative ways of understanding psychological distress. The systemic nature of this abuse becomes evident in how these discourses function as "discursive resources" that limit agency: patients are constructed as "repositories of pathology," consumers face constrained choices within predetermined medical frameworks, and even survivor discourse can be co-opted by the system it seeks to resist (Speed 29–37). This represents a sophisticated form of institutional abuse that operates through seemingly benevolent therapeutic relationships while maintaining fundamental inequalities in power, knowledge, and the right to define reality.

Diagnoses are frequently changed, added, or deleted from the DSM, thereby changing who falls under the regime of the simulacrum. In the release of the DSM-5 in 2013, for example, 'hoarding disorder' was added and 'somatization disorder' was removed (American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual 5*). The newest revision of the volume, the DSM 5 TR, released in 2022, included the new diagnosis, 'prolonged grief disorder.' (Psychiatric News). For every release of a new edition, even a text revision such as the DSM 5 TR, a large team of experts (200 for the DSM 5 TR) reviews and presents change recommendations on every disorder in the manual (American Psychiatric Association, *DSM History*). This flexibility is advertised as demonstrating that the psychiatric community is constantly learning new science and refining their knowledge, relying on scientific discourse to justify their existence and their power over people with mental illness. However, the scientific foundation, although based on observations and the newest technology such as brain scans, on which psychiatric knowledge is built is tenuous at best, but these simulations are taken as natural fact and are seldom questioned (Moser). Despite the psychiatric establishment's claims that frequent revisions to the DSM represent scientific progress, the underlying research remains methodologically inconsistent and lacks the biological markers that would validate mental disorders as discrete medical entities; brain imaging studies often cited as evidence primarily show correlations rather than causation, and diagnostic boundaries continue to shift based more on professional consensus than on definitive empirical finding (Deacon). Science now plays the role of the arbiter of truth, which conceals the hegemony of the mental illness simulacrum, making it so no one will ever question the hyperreal fiction of the simulacrum that is standing in for madness (Moser).

While the discipline of psychiatry has become completely medicalized, ensuring its place among the professional safety of scientific doctrine, it has also become conjoined with judicial forces that can compel individuals to obey these pseudo-scientific signs, such as compulsory hospitalization (Erb). Although this fusion of law and medicine is certainly not new, it has gathered power in recent generations because of the scientization of psychiatric knowledge and the discipline now holds the enviable position as the purveyor of incontrovertible wisdom. Science, including psychiatric knowledge, has come to hold such a privileged position that it's teachings are seldom questioned, which reinforces the simulated signs of mental illness that has come to replace real madness (Moser).

The legal mechanisms governing forced psychiatric hospitalization vary significantly across jurisdictions, reflecting different cultural, ethical, and medical approaches to managing severe mental distress. In the United States, involuntary commitment typically requires meeting a "danger to self or others" standard, with specific criteria varying by state, though the 1975 O'Connor v. Donaldson Supreme Court ruling established that mental illness alone is insufficient justification for confinement (Testa and West). By contrast, the United Kingdom's Mental Health Act permits detention based on "health or safety" concerns or "protection of others," requiring approval from two doctors and an Approved Mental Health Professionals (Fistein et al.). German law maintains stricter criteria, typically requiring immediate danger and mandating judicial approval within 24 hours of emergency detention (Jacobsen). Japan's Mental Health and Welfare Act allows for particularly broad administrative commitment when a designated physician determines hospitalization "necessary," without requiring immediate dangerousness (Nakatani). The Nordic countries have moved toward more

rights-protective frameworks, with Finland's Mental Health Act requiring both serious mental disorder and specific treatment need, while emphasizing the least restrictive alternative principle (Salize et al.). These international variations illuminate how the simulacrum of mental illness operates differently across cultural and legal contexts, yet universally maintains the power to suspend normal civil liberties through medicalized justifications that are frequently less stringent than those required to detain individuals in criminal proceedings (Large et al.).

The simulacrum is made up of signs and symbols that are intended to represent reality, although as Baudrillard explains, in the fourth step of simulations, the signs have come to completely replace the real experience (Baudrillard, *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*). In writing about the simulacrum of mental illness, Moser questions, "Moreover, even if the reality of mental illness is difficult to dismiss, have signs of insanity substituted themselves for actual madness?" Here, he questions if the simulacrum has fully reached Baudrillard's fourth stage of simulations, although Foucault suggests an answer to that question by writing that the simulacrum which symbolically represents insanity has actually superseded real madness (Moser). In other words, the DSM has *become* madness- there is no madness that exists outside of the DSM and the mental illness simulacrum. Further, Foucault expresses his fear that "Perhaps someday we will no longer really know what madness was. Its face will have closed upon itself, no longer allowing us to decipher the traces it may have left behind" (Foucault et al.). Reason, society, history and all other conceptions of reality owe their existence to the signs and discourses that seem to represent them, but which are meaningless without this signification and representation (Plant). The components of this hyperreal world, in which all sense of real meaning and real experience is lost, exist only in their simulated and represented forms, and is only a simulation of its now non-existent self (Plant). As a result, it is no longer possible to glimpse the original reality of madness behind the simulated mental illness, which although the symptoms of mental distress have always been with us, I argue that the medicolegal idea of 'mental illnesses" as they are codified in the DSM have entirely supplanted the original experience of 'madness."

The acknowledgement that we are surrounded by copies, including a simulated world of mental illness, does not by itself have to induce hopelessness- it could instead spur a search for the 'original,' or the true real behind the apparent real (Plant). This has happened within the mental illness community in the reclaiming of the mad identity (Archibald). Social activists[10] have reclaimed language that has been used to oppress, such as "mad," "nutter" and "psycho." In addition, diagnostic jargon (described as symptoms) such as "auditory hallucination" and "psychosis" are promoted by mad activists to be replaced with the non-hegemonic terms "hearing voices" and "extreme experience" (Archibald). These activists subvert the medical language, which is the language of power and the language of the simulacra, to reclaim the original experience of madness and take back the power of their experience from the reign of scientific knowledge. Perhaps by using this language, there may appear a crack in the mental illness simulacrum, providing a bit of insight into the original state of madness. This exercise attempts to reclaim the reality of madness and wrest it away from the simulacrum of mental illness.

However noble this attempt at breaking through the simulacrum is, however, one questions how successful it will be. Is there really any way to break through the simulacrum, since the simulacrum is not only the representation of reality through signs, but the outright replacement of reality with signs. In other words, the original is destroyed by the simulation, suggesting that madness, as a condition, no longer exists. It has been replaced full force with the DSM and mental illness. The imaginary that anyone can release themselves from the simulacrum is a simulation. After all, the simulacrum gave us the terms "mad" and "psycho" as well as the terms "schizophrenia" and "obsessive-compulsive disorder."[11] Are these activists participating in merely another aspect of the simulacrum that appears to allow for dissent, but the dissent is just as much of as a simulation as is complicity with the medical model of mental illness and the DSM?

[10] Mad activists comprise a diverse coalition of psychiatric survivors, mental health service users, and allies who reject pathologizing medical models of mental distress, instead advocating for human rights approaches, self-determination, and the recognition of madness as a valid form of human diversity; organized through groups like MindFreedom International, the Hearing Voices Network, and Mad Pride events worldwide, these activists challenge psychiatric coercion while reclaiming stigmatized language through what has been termed "mad-positive" consciousness (Beresford and and Russo; Lefrançois et al.)

[11] Yet the terms 'mad' and 'psycho' simply provided cover-all terms for anything outside societal norms, while schizophrenia" and "obsessive-compulsive disorder and well-defined disorders that bear no resemblance to each other.

In this way, mental illness as a simulacrum acts much like Marcuse's idea of capitalism in the One Dimensional Man (Marcuse). For Marcuse, capitalism is greedy and captures all dissent that comes it way, and by doing so, neutralizes it. Subversion and dissent, while they at first may appear to threaten the capitalist system, are soon subsumed into the system, and thereby lose their power. Although Marcuse does not use the language of simulations, it is straightforward to apply this idea to the idea of simulacra. Rather than capitalism being the simulation in question, however, the power that lies behind the simulation of mental illness is the supremacy of medical knowledge, and like capitalism, medical knowledge is flexible and all-encompassing in such a way that it can withstand subversion, ultimately rendering it harmless to the simulation. The simulacrum of mental illness contains within it not only the scientized model that appears within the DSM, but also the imaginary opportunity for dissent. Both are mere copies of their originals- madness and dissent no longer exist except in their represented form. According to Plant, we now must speak of the copy without a corresponding original, and the signs and symbols of madness with which we are surrounded only serve to reinforce the belief that something real is being represented. No amount of mad language is going to change that. The term "consumer" illustrates how the mental illness simulacrum absorbs opposition. Initially, mental health activists used "consumer" as resistance language against psychiatric authority (McLean). However, the psychiatric and medical establishments have since adopted this term into their own vocabulary. What began as language of protest has been co-opted by the very system that activists were challenging. This demonstrates Baudrillard's point about how systems of power neutralize resistance, making effective opposition seemingly impossible. Baudrillard demonstrated the futility of dissent and the impossibility of the success of "those who create disorder" (Vaneigem).

THE SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY AND PSYCHIATRIC CONFINEMENT

Baudrillard's four-stage process of the image, in which signs come to mask and eventually replace the fundamental reality to which they refer, aptly captures what has occurred around mental illness. The vocabulary of disorders within the DSM has superseded the basic reality of human madness through a hyperreal fiction. In Baudrillard's framework, a simulacrum becomes complete when representations no longer connect to any original reality but instead replace that reality entirely. I suggest that psychiatric terminology has reached this fourth stage where "signs have come to completely replace the real experience." In addition, I argue that we can no longer access the original experience of "madness" because it has been entirely subsumed by the clinical language and classification system of "mental illness." We now understand psychological distress only through the lens of diagnostic categories created by psychiatry, making it impossible to see or experience madness outside this constructed framework.

And just as Foucault's metaphor of the panopticon creates an ecstasy of control through imagined observation, so too does the simulated gaze of psychiatry induce real docility in patients via a false perception of constant scrutiny. Foucault painted the asylum as the penultimate example of surveillance society and social control (M. Foucault, *History of Madness*). Whether in the asylums of the pre-deinstitutionalization era, the modern-day state psychiatric hospital, or the "psych units" that exist in most mainstream hospitals today, inpatient psychiatric care is the premier example of surveillance, where it is not just the body, but the mind that is exposed to examination, evaluation, and control. There are no secrets in a total institution (Goffman) where simulated surveillance prevails (Bogard). When describing simulated surveillance, Bogard writes, "Simulated surveillance is an imaginary of absolute control, in a word, an ecstasy of control. Everything exposed, everything visible, graspable, naked, no secrets." Through cameras and two-way mirrors, the psychiatric patient is constantly under surveillance, and in some cases, cannot even undress, use the toilet and shower, or sleep without being surveilled. This simulated surveillance indicates the absolute social control that the psychiatric system has on the inpatient resident. Since the psychiatric institution is a simulacrum itself, so too is the surveillance simulated, but that does not make the surveillance any less effectual. In fact, simulated surveillance, like in the analogy of the panopticon, is even more effective than real surveillance, because it has totalizing power over the inmate (M. Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*).

Contemporary psychiatric inpatient environments maintain extensive surveillance regimes that substantially exceed monitoring in other healthcare settings, with patients' behaviors, movements, and even thoughts subject to continuous observation and documentation. Multiple studies confirm that formal observation protocols—where staff regularly monitor patients at intervals ranging from continuous (every 15 minutes) to constant visual observation—represent

standard practice in virtually all psychiatric facilities (Chu; Bowers et al.). This surveillance extends beyond direct visual monitoring to comprehensive electronic systems: CCTV cameras in hallways, dayrooms, and sometimes seclusion rooms; electronic door systems tracking patient movements; and detailed nursing documentation requirements capturing patients' statements, behaviors, medication compliance, and social interactions (Muir-Cochrane et al.). For patients deemed high-risk, special observation protocols may include maintaining uninterrupted visual contact, even during toileting and bathing, with detailed documentation of every action taken, severely compromising privacy while creating digital archives of behavior that contribute to what some authors (Holmes) terms the "psychiatric dossier" (Curtis et al.). This pervasive monitoring creates a "transparency effect" where patients internalize the evaluative gaze and modify their behavior accordingly, demonstrating how psychiatric surveillance operates as both material practice and disciplinary technique in precisely the manner Foucault theorized.

While this critique examines psychiatric diagnosis and institutionalization through the lens of simulacra and surveillance, it is important to acknowledge the complex realities that clinicians face when working with individuals experiencing severe psychological distress. There are cases where temporary hospitalization may genuinely protect individuals from self-harm or prevent harm to others during acute crises. Many mental health professionals approach involuntary treatment as a last resort, used only when less restrictive alternatives have been exhausted and when the potential benefits significantly outweigh the costs to personal autonomy. These practitioners work within a system they may simultaneously critique, navigating ethical tensions between respect for individual liberty and duty of care. The perspective offered here does not seek to dismiss these legitimate clinical concerns but rather to examine the conceptual frameworks that shape and justify intervention.

What remains problematic, however, is how the simulacrum of mental illness creates the conditions under which these interventions become normalized and expanded beyond truly exceptional circumstances. The diagnostic apparatus, with its ever-widening categorical net, increasingly blurs the boundaries between temporary protective measures and extended social control. Even when hospitalization is initiated with genuinely therapeutic intent, the institutional machinery operates through mechanisms of surveillance and compliance that transform care into discipline. By recognizing the valid concerns that drive some clinicians' decisions while simultaneously critiquing the system within which those decisions are embedded, we can better understand how power operates through seemingly benevolent structures. This approach allows us to imagine alternative frameworks for responding to psychological distress that might better balance protection with respect for difference and autonomy, moving beyond the false binary of either abandoning vulnerable individuals or subjecting them to comprehensive surveillance and control.

In a surveillance society, especially with the simulated surveillance (Bogard) occurring within the simulacrum of mental illness, the constant gaze of power (whether actual or simulated) is the mechanism by which people are controlled. In the medical realm, Foucault called this surveillance the medical gaze (The Birth of the Clinic). The medical gaze as it is practiced within the simulacrum of mental illness creates an imaginary of total control of the deviant body of the mad (Bogard).

Bogard suggests that the clinical gaze destroys the natural body, which is then reconstructed, renovated and resurrected. He writes, "[…] brought back from the dead- designer bodies, cyborg bodies, sim-bodies." Although he calls this creation of sim-bodies "smooth violence" as opposed to the "rough violence" of the clinical gaze (Bogard), it is violence nonetheless. The psychiatric patient living as an inpatient (or medicated outpatient) develops a simulated body by the taking of medications that cyborgify them into technologically corrected and docile bodies. In the simulacrum, all patients under its purview are made compliant using cyborg technology. A cyborg, as conceptualized by Haraway, is a hybrid of machine and body, and she notes that modern medicine is rife with these couplings between organism and machine. Cutting-edge medical technology such as the antipsychotic smart pill Abilify MyCite is a stunning example of cyborg technology, surveillance, and the social control of deviant bodies (Burrows)12, but more pedestrian technologies also create modified, enhanced, or docile minds and bodies. For example, while physical restraining practices within a psychiatric institution constitute surveillance and social control (and absolute, physical

[12] This control is masked under the guise of ensuring medication compliance and patient and community safety

control), chemical restraint not only serves to control the mind and body, but melds the body with the medication, so the two become one. In the case of forced medication, chemicals course through a person's veins, taking up residence there and in the brain.

The purpose of psychiatric inpatient care is ultimately the correction of deviant bodies, through the lens of "management of severe symptoms," and it achieves this goal through the surveillance of mind and body. While the therapeutic model of psychiatric care certainly frames its purpose as enhancing function and alleviating suffering, a Foucauldian analysis reveals how these ostensibly benevolent aims operate simultaneously as normalization mechanisms. Both interpretations can coexist—psychiatric interventions may genuinely aim to reduce distress while simultaneously functioning as disciplinary techniques that correct "deviance" toward socially acceptable norms. The purpose of psychiatric inpatient care is presented as enhancing function and reducing suffering, yet through a Foucauldian lens, it simultaneously operates as a mechanism for correcting deviant bodies that transgress social norms (Fabris; Rose).Bogard writes, "Surveillance is always a dream of order, and that links it to a project of sterilization - ordered space is clean space. The production of sterile zones - times, places, bodies, cultures - is part of the general imaginary logic of surveillance and, like transparency, what links it to simulation generally and to its simulation in particular." The surveillance and cleansing of the mad and deviant body and mind are the goals and project of the psychiatric simulacrum, and the hospital. The simulation is clean, ordered, and organized, unlike life outside the hospital. Everything in the simulacrum is ordered and sterile. The simulacrum serves to "cancel the surface" (Bogard), by canceling the unclean mind and body of the inpatient.

In the classical age, the sovereign held the arbitrary right of assigning death (Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction:), but in the modern age of the simulacrum, this power has been displaced by the formal power over life, or, as Foucault terms it, biopower (Bogard). The mental illness simulacrum and the hospital holds this biopower over its inhabitants. The distinction between holding the power over death or the power of life is an important one. Foucault's concept of biopower takes two forms- one focused on the discipline of the body and the other, called biopolitics, focuses on the management of populations (Aranson). Inpatient psychiatric treatment facilities aim to discipline the minds of their residents, by combining individual and group therapy, medications, and carefully structured activities. In other hospital settings that do not have as much structure, patients are left to sit by themselves, perhaps socializing with other residents. However well-structured a hospital is, the discipline of the mind is paramount.

The signs signifying mental illness that populate the DSM and create the mental illness simulacrum are ubiquitous in popular culture and society generally. People suggest that their dogs or spouses are 'bipolar,' that a disagreement with a coworker has left them 'depressed,' or that a fastidious relative is 'OCD.' These signifiers of mental illness have become a hegemonic tool that is part of a larger framework of social control that attempts to eliminate difference and cleanse the mind of the person with mental illness (Arrigo and Williams).

The social control of the deviant mad body is turned into the docile and yielding mind and body of the mental patient within the simulacrum of the DSM, especially as an inpatient. Involuntary hospitalization has been defended and justified as a means to protect society from the potentially unstable and dangerous behaviors of those marked as having a mental illness (Arrigo and Williams),13 although it is argued that danger, on its own, is not a disease (Szasz).14 However, scholars of the intersection between mental illness and social control, argue that this proposition is based on the following three inaccurate premises:

1. That mental illness is a real difference necessitating censorship.
2. That the mentally ill present a greater identifiable threat to society than the mentally healthy; and
3. That science possesses the key to understanding and treating mental disease or defect (Arrigo and Williams).

The primary difference between those living in the DSM-enhanced simulacrum and those who are not is simply that- mental patients are living in a particular simulated world, while those without a diagnosis are living in a different,

[13] Although "threat to others" is not listed in the DSM as a reason for hospitalization

[14] It is important to note that while many people with SPMI such as schizophrenia are indeed held, at last temporarily, involuntarily in psychiatric untis, many individuals diagnosed with SPMI labels are never hospitalized.

although just as simulated, world. Those diagnosed with a mental illness receive a stigmatizing label, which in turn influences their self-meaning (Kroska and Harkness). Some authors argue that the fact of receiving a psychiatric diagnosis is itself a form of epistemic injustice (Hassall), although others note that some patients welcome a diagnosis because it "explains" what were previously unintelligible symptoms (Perkins et al.).

The mental illness simulacrum relies on the myth of absolute scientific knowledge and expertise, as Arrigo and Williams suggest in their point three above. Psychiatry lays claim to holding scientific truth to justify the unjust treatment of people who are mentally different, but this scientific 'truth' is the web that holds the simulacrum together. Involuntary confinement advances psychiatry's tenuous grasp on power in the name of the privileged scientific mind (M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*.). The whole of psychiatric classification, as codified in the DSM, is the structure that holds the mental illness simulacrum together. The existential status of people with mental illness is corrected and even sacrificed at the altar of medical knowledge and politics of psychiatric justice prevails (Arrigo). Confinement of noncriminal persons identified as having a mental disorder is a method of controlling and isolating the socially undesirable (M. Foucault, *History of Madness*), and is primarily a means of policing public hygiene, or ridding society of difference (Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*). This is a reflection of his concept of biopolitics, in that biopower is used to control and manage populations (Aranson). Although we don't often think of Foucault's notion of punishment as it is laid out in "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison" (*Discipline & Punish*) as relating to people with mental illness confined to hospitals, the social control of people trapped in the simulacrum of the DSM is still used to correct the minds and bodies of the mad (Arrigo and Williams).

Power must not only be considered in its negative connotations in terms of domination and oppression- it can also act as a positive force as it creates the world and all its simulations (Plant). In other words, knowledge applied in the name of power creates our reality, or the simulacrum which we inhabit (Plant). After all, it is knowledge, however fallible, that creates the DSM and all its many editions, thereby creating the simulacrum of mental illness. The simulacrum of mental illness, acting through power structures, create the conditions in which people allow the involuntary commitment of people with mental illness. In fact, it's not just a "turning of the head" or a tacit approval of this practice- sometimes it is made as an explicit practice codified into law. The recent example of New York City's mayor, Eric Adams, who instituted a mandatory hospitalization for houseless people who appear to have a mental illness, shows how the signs of mental illness do not always remain hidden, but present themselves to public view, often to much approval (Newman and Fitzsimmons).

CONCLUSION

While arising from differing philosophical traditions, Baudrillard's theory of simulacra and Foucault's analysis of power as a diffuse network of social control share important connections. Both contend that scientific and medical discourses wield tremendous definitional authority. The ability to demarcate sanity from madness grants psychiatry immense control over people's lives. Foucault recognized the historical contingency of mental illness categories, seeing them as instruments of biopower rather than reflections of objective pathology. What matters most is not any underlying 'truth' of illness but the classificatory power of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual to shape social reality. Bringing together the perspectives of Baudrillard and Foucault allows us to fully apprehend how the vocabulary of the DSM has generated a self-referential, hyperreal fiction masking the basic phenomenon of human madness. Just as the omnipresent medical gaze induces real docility in patients who feel perpetually scrutinized, so does the simulated world of mental illness enforce very tangible discipline and control. In this sense, the reality or unreality of psychiatric categories makes little difference – their consequences remain equally grave. Those labeled as mentally ill face forced hospitalization, medication, and loss of rights in the name of scientifically authorized "compassionate" coercion. The ideological functions served by mental illness concepts thus continue irrespective of those concepts' validity. This represents the cunning duplicity of simulation and bio-medical power: their ends are achieved through appearance and performance rather than substance. Grasping madness as a Baudrillardian simulacrum reinforced by networks of Foucauldian social control therefore opens vital critical space. It allows us to transcend sterile debates over scientific legitimacy to confront more directly the violence done in psychiatry's name.

Despite the theoretical criticisms presented in this paper, it's important to acknowledge the nuanced ways some clinicians actually engage with the DSM in contemporary practice. Rather than treating diagnostic categories as rigid biological realities, many practitioners today approach the DSM as a pragmatic tool for communication and treatment planning. The DSM serves primarily as a common language that helps clinicians describe symptom patterns and determine appropriate interventions, while acknowledging the inherent limitations of categorical approaches to understanding human suffering.

Some clinicians now adopt what might be called a "DSM-informed but not DSM-limited" approach, recognizing that standardized diagnostic criteria can provide useful structure while remaining aware of their socially constructed nature. This more sophisticated clinical stance acknowledges that diagnostic categories are provisional heuristics rather than natural kinds, useful for guiding treatment but insufficient for capturing the full complexity of an individual's lived experience. Nevertheless, institutional structures—including insurance reimbursement systems[15], research funding mechanisms, and legal frameworks—continue to reinforce the primacy of DSM categories, ensuring their continued influence regardless of clinicians' personal philosophical orientations toward diagnosis.

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[15] Having a DSM diagnosis may provide a person with options for treatment, for example.

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EDITH STEIN: NOT A SELF-HATING JEW

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Abstract

This paper explores the life and thought of Edith Stein (1891-1942), arguing that despite her complex and at times uncomfortable relationship with Judaism, she never rejected her Jewish identity. Although some have labeled her a self-hating Jew, the intersection of her Jewish background with her intellectual and ethical commitments remains a vital area for further study. While Stein rejected Judaism as a religion, this paper demonstrates that she did not renounce her Jewishness—and that, perhaps unknowingly, elements of Jewish religious thought continued to shape her convictions.

Keywords: Edith Stein; Jewishness; phenomenology; religious conversion; Catholicism.

Edith Stein was born in 1891 in a well-educated family that identified with Western liberalism, and as such, was a child of Enlightenment. Her thought was grounded in the humanistic creed as a guideline to the moral redemption of the world. Stein was a product of a society in which becoming emancipated often meant becoming non-Jewish. In her autobiography *Life in a Jewish Family*, Stein addressed her doubts and tensions with Judaism and expressed a well-defined admiration of German society.

Like many other assimilated German Jews, Stein was deeply patriotic; during World War I, her sense of German patriotism manifested in seven months of voluntary service as a nurse. Confronting pain, exhaustion, and loss during the war deepened her understanding of empathy and the complexity of human experience. These encounters awakened in her an intellectual desire to explore how one person perceives and relates to another's inner life – an inquiry that led her to the study of phenomenology and particularly the concept of empathy. Her wartime experience as a nurse undermined her youthful atheism, and her later philosophical inquiries no longer felt sufficient in her search for existential meaning. Instead, these experiences served as a bridge to her eventual conversion to Catholicism.

However, Stein remained committed to phenomenology throughout her life. A brief recourse to phenomenology explains Stein's approach. For her, phenomenology was "the intellectual armor [she] needed" (Graef 14). Applying phenomenological methods allowed her to examine in depth phenomena related to states of consciousness, such as fatigue, freshness, feverishness (Graef 27) and to approach experience without preconceived assumptions. She later applied the same methods even in areas where they did not fully apply, namely, in her efforts to interpret theological teachings.

Stein's phenomenological work is indebted to her mentor, Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Husserl's method included four essential steps: *epoché* (bracketing any preconceived beliefs and opinions about the phenomenon); immersion in the phenomenon, the examination and discernment of its essential structures, and detailed description. His process can be illustrated through different experiential domains, such as listening to music or recalling a memory. For instance, listening to music by focusing on: How does it feel? What emotions arise? How does time seem to flow? How is the sound present in consciousness? This method goes beyond intellectual analysis and analytical reasoning and allows for direct experience through deep immersion and sympathy rather than detached analysis.

In 1933, while waiting to join the Carmelite convent, Stein began writing her autobiography. Her reminiscence extended only to 1916—the year of her conversion to Catholicism—and focused on her Jewish upbringing, deliberately avoiding discussion of her conversion (Brenner 127–128). Employing a phenomenological approach allowed her to emphasize how events, feelings, and experiences were lived rather than merely recounted in chronological order. This method appealed to her academic training while offering a reflective framework through which she sought to reconcile her Jewish and Christian identities and to counter anti-Jewish prejudice rooted in ignorance. She maintained that antisemitic attitudes arose from ignorance and the absence of genuine knowledge about Jewish people, their life, and their traditions.

Because of her conversion to Catholicism, some scholars have characterized Stein as a self-hating Jew. In this paper, I use *self-hatred* to denote the internalization of antisemitic tropes—a phenomenon widely discussed in Jewish philosophy and literature. The most paradigmatic example is Theodor Lessing, who, in *Jewish Self-Hatred* (1930), coined this term and described it as the inversion of external hatred inward. Other examples include Jean-Paul Sartre, who in *Antisemite and Jew* (1946) argued that assimilation stems from rejecting Jewish identity due to a lack of meaningful ties to Jewish culture and tradition. Similarly, Cynthia Ozick, in "The Riddle of the Ordinary" and other essays (1975), suggested that Jewish ignorance fosters internalized loathing. Finally, George Steiner, in *Bluebeard's Castle* (1971), contended that embracing Western high culture often displaced Jewish knowledge and resulted in existential dissonance and vulnerability.

Before reviewing whether this definition is accurately describing Stein, I turn to Isaac Deutscher and Heinrich Heine, similarly defined in these terms.[16] Isaac Deutscher (1907-1967), was a Jewish-Polish Marxist writer who is often portrayed as a prototype of the "self-hating Jew." He was an atheist and a socialist, uninterested in any religion, not just Judaism. He defined himself as a "non-Jewish *Jew*," never abandoning his Jewishness. While Stein had only a limited understanding of Judaism and, for her spiritual needs, had chosen Catholicism, Deutscher was deeply knowledgeable of Judaism, yet he did not embrace that knowledge in a religious sense. In *The Non-Jewish Jew* (1968), Deutscher writes:

What then makes a Jew? Religion? I am an atheist. Jewish nationalism? I am an internationalist. In neither sense am I, therefore, a Jew. I am, however, a Jew by force of my unconditional solidarity with the persecuted and exterminated. I am a Jew because I feel the Jewish tragedy as my own tragedy; because I feel the pulse of Jewish history; because I should like to do all I can to assure the real, not spurious, security and self-respect of the Jews.

My next reading brought me to Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), a German Jewish poet, writer, and literary critic. In his *On the History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany and Other Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). He writes:

My fondness for the Hellenes has since then been on the decline. I now see that the Greeks were only beautiful youths, but the Jews were always men—powerful, uncompromising men—not only in the far past, but also up to the present day, despite eighteen centuries of persecution and misery. In the meantime, I have learned to appreciate them more, and if it were not the case that any sense of pride in one's birth is a foolish contradiction for a warrior of the revolution and its democratic principles, the author of these pages might well be proud that his ancestors belonged to the noble

[16] I have chosen these two characters while being well aware that there are many more that fall under this definition, in some cases, deserving and in others, not. See also Ilana Maymind, "On the Concept of Self-Hatred: A Misnomer." *Journal of Jewish Identities*, Issue 9, Number 1, January 2016, pp. 19-37.

house of Israel, that he is a descendant of those martyrs who gave the world one God and one morality and have fought and suffered on all the battlefields of thought. (Heine, from "Confessions," 1854.)

Heine himself spoke of his conversion to Protestantism in 1825 as his "entry ticket into European culture." The conversion did not help him secure employment. About his relationship with Judaism, he said: "I have not returned to Judaism, since I never left it." Like Deutscher, Heine never disowned his Jewishness. Not being a religious Jew did not make either of them self-hating Jews.

But was Stein a self-hating Jew or, like Deutscher and to some degree Heine, rejected Judaism as a religion, but not Jewishness as peoplehood to which she belonged? In her *Life in a Jewish Family*, to fight the antisemitic tropes, she writes that a personal connection allows people to recognize that

> having associated with Jewish families as employees, neighbors or fellow students, have found in them such goodness of heart, understanding, warm empathy, and so consistently helpful an attitude that, now, their sense of justice is outraged by the condemnation of this people to a pariah existence (Stein 24).

Stein's translator writes about Stein:

> The beloved daughter of a Jewish family, a staunch German patriot, a young woman, confident in the academic world, a philosopher whose depth of empathy helped her to establish and maintain warm relationships. As a Carmelite, she came to see with clarity what awaited her, her people, Germany, and the world (Translator's Afterword to *Life in a Jewish Family*).

By "her people," she indisputably meant Jewish people.

Hilda Graef, herself a Jewish convert to Catholicism, offers important insights in *The Scholar and the Cross: The Life and Work of Edith Stein*. She discusses Stein's admiration for St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), a Carmelite nun and Spanish mystic who, through her paternal line, had Jewish ancestry. Stein first encountered Teresa's biography in 1921. Teresa herself descended from conversos (Jewish converts scrutinized under Spain's *limpieza de sangre* statutes), facing suspicion as a "New Christian." Yet both women defy the historical pattern where Jewish converts to Catholicism—especially pre-modern—vehemently renounced Jews to affirm their new *bona fides*. Stein's affinity for Teresa, Judith, Esther, and Mary underscores this exception. Graef argues that Stein's attraction to Catholicism was, paradoxically, a means of reconnecting with her Jewish roots because she regarded Catholicism as demonstrating "perfect loyalty to the true meaning of Judaism" (Graef 36). Like her veneration of St. Teresa, Stein also admired the biblical figures Judith and Esther, as well as "the crown of all women, Our Lady herself" (Graef 74). This affinity for strong Jewish biblical characters distinguished her from many other converts who sought to "amalgamate completely with the 'Gentiles' among whom they live" (Graef 74).

Graef discusses some unsettling points in Stein's reasoning about her conversion, namely, her views on martyrdom. Ostensibly, Stein's embrace of Catholicism does not engage with the history of anti-Judaism, leaving out the 12th-century Crusades massacres and extending to the Inquisition's targeting of conversos like Teresa's family. Her writings show no explicit engagement with these events. Stein's theology is based on the pre-Vatican II context (e.g., Jewish suffering as divine judgment for unbelief). This approach was later reframed by Paul VI's 1965 Nostra aetate, which rejected deicide charges and affirmed Jews' ongoing covenant. Given her engagement with the pre-Vatican II context, a troubling theological paradox becomes apparent: in seeking to reconcile her Jewish origins with her Christian faith, she absorbed and reinterpreted ideas that ultimately positioned Jewish suffering as divinely ordained. This self-offering, presenting herself as a Catholic martyr *for* her Jewish people, blended her desire for solidarity ("the destiny of this people was my own") with supersessionist theology ("atonement for the unbelief of the Jewish people"). However, her wish to offer herself as a martyr did not appear to exhibit triumphalist supersession (replacement theology) but rather manifested her grief and desire for reconciliation rather than replacement of Judaism.

However, Graef notes that when Stein spoke against National Socialism and racism, she implied that there is a curse laid on the Jewish people—"her own people"—and need to ask for forgiveness that stemmed from her view that Jews had rejected Christ, their Messiah. For her, the punishment was the judgment of God of her people, "which she loved so much that she herself wanted to be a victim for it, though her way toward that goal had not become clear" (Graef

94). As she contemplated conversion, she became convinced that her baptism "had really deepened her attachment to her people; after all, our Lord himself was a Jew according to this humanity, and faith in Him was meant to be the fulfillment of the faith of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (194). Where have all these convictions come from, and how has Stein's embeddedness in German society influenced her? Lastly, how has this society rewarded Stein for her unwavering commitment to her country and her faith?

A brief overview of Germany's political landscape at the close of the 19th century helps contextualize Stein's life and later developments in Germany to better understand her choices and predicament. Between 1891 and 1942, Germany underwent profound political, social, and ideological transformations, culminating in one of the most catastrophic periods in modern Jewish history. In the 1890s, Imperial Germany, under Kaiser Wilhelm II, pursued an assertive foreign policy known as *Weltpolitik*, aimed at expanding the nation's colonial and naval power. Domestically, the country remained an authoritarian monarchy, but it was also a dynamic industrial society with a growing socialist movement. The Social Democratic Party (SPD) gained support among workers, while conservative elites resisted democratization and scapegoated marginalized groups, including Jews (Blackbourn 313–315). Blackbourn writes: "These perpetual-motion political adventurers were prototypes of the later Nazi activist: disrespectful and demagogic, hostile to government and elites as well as socialists and Jews, they imparted a new tone to German politics" (Blackbourn 315).

As mentioned, Stein's family—like many other German Jews of this period—was largely assimilated, actively participating in professional, cultural, and economic life. However, they remained targets of recurring antisemitism, particularly from nationalist and *völkisch* (ethno-nationalist) movements that cast Jews as both capitalist exploiters and socialist subversives—an ideological contradiction that persisted well into the 20th century (Pulzer 114–16). While Jews were granted full civil rights under the 1871 Constitution, their belonging within German national identity remained contested. They were accepted only insofar as they recognized that the society they wished to join was fundamentally "Christian-German" (Pulzer 251).

Antisemitism increasingly assumed intellectual prestige: "The cloak of academic respectability which was being thrown over antisemitism helped to secure its growing acceptance among *bien-pensants* (prone to conformism). This was due, at least in part, to the conscious effort on its behalf by recognized scholars" (Pulzer 247). This trend was especially evident during 1900–1914, though its roots extended earlier. Already in 1879–80, the highly influential Heinrich von Treitschke had proclaimed Jews "our misfortune" (Pulzer 249). Recalling Stein's unsuccessful attempts to secure an academic position, what role did these "recognized scholars" play in fueling antisemitism—a prejudice that eventually contributed to the near-complete annihilation of the Jewish people?

Max Weinreich, in *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes Against the Jewish People*, illuminates these questions. Between 1919 and 1933, most German scholars proved intellectually receptive to National Socialist philosophy, which they embraced alongside virulent antisemitism. Jews were depicted as wielding excessive power and causing Germany's woes. Several prominent scholars articulated these views with particular force.

Among them was Philipp Lenard (1862–1947), the renowned physicist and Nobel laureate who became a fervent Hitler supporter and fierce opponent of "Jewish science," especially Albert Einstein's theory of relativity. As early as 1924, Lenard published work praising Hitler and the Nazi Party. Similarly, the celebrated physicist Johannes Stark (1874–1957), Nobel winner in 1919, hailed Hitler as "God's gift" (Weinreich 12). In 1935, Stark denounced Jewish scientists, targeting Einstein's work as "artificial formulae on the basis of arbitrary definitions and transformations of the space and time coordinates," insisting that "Jewish formalism in natural science is to be rejected by all means" (12). He dismissed Jewish contributions as a mere "pseudo-logical verbal skirmish" (13). Beyond denigrating Jewish science, Stark championed the "science of racial policy," arguing that racial policies were essential to eradicate Jewish influence deemed detrimental to the German people. He promoted "biological cognition," a cornerstone of National Socialist "racial hygiene" ideology, which sought to cultivate a "pure, superior Aryan race" while eliminating those classified as genetically inferior.

Another noteworthy scholar was the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). He skillfully cloaked his intentions in philosophical terms, proclaiming that he sought not merely to seize existing power but to affect a complete revolution in German existence. Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), yet another key figure, was a German jurist and political theorist who developed the "friend-foe" distinction, arguing that the stranger—the one who is different—must be eliminated rather

than compromised with. These scholars, along with many others, intellectualized Nazism, rendering it attractive through ostensibly academic and scientific justification. It should be noted that Stein first tried to secure a university position in 1919. She attempted again in 1930-1931.

Scholars and professors were instrumental in bringing Nazism to universities and beyond. However, for the Nazis to be sure, they established their own learning institutions as well, such as the Academy of German Law and the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany and other similar institutions. In the meantime, in 1935/1936, universities underwent complete Nazification. Just in 1936, about 1,500 professors had been dismissed for either racial or political reasons. To ensure their total control, for those who remained, Nazis demanded not only to agree with their policies, but the denial of their former views. The ideas of Enlightenment were no longer considered relevant and were pronounced as obsolete and unbinding, given that life's conditions and fate changed. The ideas of totalitarianism replaced Enlightenment. Their views were expected to reflect this change.

Alfred Rosenberg was the key person to advance antisemitism by incorporating and building the new philosophy that highlighted the German struggle against the Jewish democratic myth. Rosenberg was a Nazi ideologue, philosopher, and so-called "architect of racial theory." Already in 1923, he proclaimed Hitler to be Germany's Führer. His *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, published in 1930, was a cornerstone of Nazi ideology. In this book, he blended racial pseudoscience, antisemitism, and anti-Christianity. He advanced his conspiracy theories with unquestionable organizational skills. Rosenberg was able to recruit young academics eager to advance their careers by giving them assignments in the Nazi machinery. By 1938, he had established a close relationship with the academic world to further infiltrate his ideas. But already by 1934, he proudly announced the birth of a new racial "science." In his speech to promote and intellectualize his views, he called Socrates "an intellectual social Democrat" (Weinreich 27).[17]

There was no lack of scientists interested in contributing to this new "science." The Institute of Hereditary Biology and Race Research was established to focus on anthropology, eugenics, human constitution-research, and experimental genetics. The Jew was presented as an exemplar of "the embodiment of everything to be resented, feared, and despised" (Weinreich 28) and defined as "racially alien." Neither religion, nor the degree of rootedness (assimilation), nor citizenship were any longer relevant.

Next step was the 1935 Nuremberg Laws, which formally stripped Jews of German citizenship and prohibited marriage or sexual relations between Jews and "Aryans." The process of assimilation was no longer simply chosen but imposed and monitored by bureaucratic means, with full emancipation to be granted only at the end of the process. As time went by, the success of Jewish assimilation was increasingly questioned. Assimilation was colored by the fear that there would be "racial degeneration" resulting from "the penetration of the Jews into the German body politic, into German society, and into the German bloodstream" (Friedlander 87). The various themes of redemptive antisemitism manifested themselves in *völkisch* ideology and in the *völkisch* obsession with a return to "the mystical cult of sacred Aryan blood" (Friedlander 87).

As Nazi policy radicalized, violence escalated. Kristallnacht, the nationwide pogrom of November 9–10, 1938, marked a turning point: synagogues were burned, Jewish businesses were destroyed, and thousands were arrested and sent to concentration camps. With the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and Germany's occupation of Eastern Europe, Nazi policy shifted from persecution to systematic extermination. By 1942, the Wannsee Conference formalized the "Final Solution"—the coordinated effort to annihilate the Jewish population of Europe, leading to industrialized mass murder in death camps such as Auschwitz, Sobibor, and Treblinka (Browning 96–98).

This was the environment in which Stein started writing her autobiography in 1933 as antisemitism continued to escalate. In an environment of intensifying nationalism and social polarization—where Jewish identity was already viewed with suspicion—any indication of religious ambiguity or apostasy could be seized upon as evidence of divided loyalties or assimilationist betrayal. Her intention was "to redeem her Jewish past" and "to suppress her Christian present" (Brenner 128).

[17] See also Jurgen Matthaus and Frank Bajohr, *The Political Diary of Alfred Rosenberg and the Onset of the Holocaust* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2017).

When describing her interest in writing her autobiography, Stein explained that her preoccupation with human personality was not merely theoretical but was shaped by her personal observations of human behavior in the traumatic war situation. She wrote: "I had seen the strength and weakness of human beings under fire and had come to realize that the study of the soul must be joined to the study of life" (Stein 346). The danger she observed around her made her even more committed to liberal ideas and, perhaps ironically, to a trust in humanity. In her autobiography, Stein shared how she was influenced by the thought of Max Scheler (1874–1928), particularly his understanding of "the other." According to Scheler, "the other" is an aspect of human personality essential to a person's sense of well-being. For Scheler, individuals are not only part of society; society and social bonds are integral to one's sense of self, so that an individual human being is, in a sense, also a collective person. While influenced by Scheler's ideas, Stein developed her own conception of "the other" and built her theory of empathy on this foundation. She argued that someone else's experience is "not the same as mine, but it can be like mine."

In her chapter entitled "The Essence of Acts of Empathy" in *On the Problem of Empathy*, Edith described an individual as someone who is "not given as a physical body, but as a sensitive, living body belonging to an 'I,' an 'I' that senses, feels, and wills" (5). She addressed empathy by stating that when someone experiences pain, "the pain is not a thing and is not given to me as a thing, even when I am aware of it 'in' the pained countenance." Instead, she argued, "the pain is given 'at one' with it" (6). We "experience" someone's pain by seeing the face and expression of those who experience it, so pain is "given at one" with the person, a sensitive being who is living through it.

Regrettably, Stein was unaware of the Jewish view on empathy, which is deeply rooted in both biblical and rabbinic tradition. While the term "empathy" (a modern word) does not appear in classical Jewish texts, the concept—feeling with another and acting compassionately as a result—is central to Jewish ethics. The Jewish view on compassion (*rachamim*) is central to its ethical and theological framework. It is considered both a divine attribute and a human obligation. In Jewish tradition, God is described as *rachum v'chanun*—" compassionate and gracious"—in the Thirteen Attributes of Mercy (Exodus 34:6–7). This theological concept serves as the basis for human emulation: "Just as He is compassionate, so you should be compassionate" (Talmud Bavli, Shabbat 133b). The idea that humans should imitate God (*imitatio Dei*) by practicing mercy and compassion is foundational in Jewish ethics. None of this was familiar to Stein.

Further, "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18) is a foundational verse interpreted by Rabbi Akiva as a central principle of the Torah (Sifra on Leviticus 19). Empathy is implicit: to "love as yourself" requires imagining and caring about another's emotional state as your own. "You were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Exodus 22:20; Deut. 10:19). The Torah repeatedly commands care for the stranger (*ger*), grounding it in historical empathy: because the Israelites were strangers, they must understand the vulnerability of others. Maimonides (Rambam) underscores this in his *Guide for the Perplexed* (3:49), viewing it as cultivating moral sensitivity. In *Mishneh Torah*, *Hilchot De'ot* 6:3, Maimonides discusses *gemilut chasadim* (acts of lovingkindness), including visiting the sick and comforting mourners, which require empathic presence. He calls these acts obligations, implying that emotional engagement is not optional but a duty. Unbeknownst to herself, Stein was drawn to these precepts, seeking to find them outside of Judaism. Her knowledge of Judaism would have enhanced her self-understanding and reduced her internal struggles.

For Stein, empathy served as a corrective against potential deception. Understanding others, she believed, depends on empathic interaction with them—a connection among people that she viewed as central, with "the other" perceived as equal in ways that precede and transcend circumstantial factors such as political, ideological, or historical conditions (Brenner 34). She argued for recognizing both our own experiences and those of others, writing: "My whole past could be dreamed or be a deceptive recollection. … But 'I,' the experiencing subject who considers the world and my own person as phenomenon, 'I' am an experience and only in it, am just as indubitable and impossible to cancel as experience itself" (*On the Problem of Empathy* 5). These statements underscore her view that our relations with others require us never to doubt someone else's experience. According to Stein, none of this can be achieved without self-understanding; self-knowledge is a prerequisite for developing empathy. Despite everything transpiring around her, these ideas remained central to Stein throughout her life. Sadly, despite her brilliant mind, she remained mostly illiterate about the significance of these concepts in Judaism

Stein believed in teaching the young generation to distinguish dogma and patriarchal interpretations from the actual text of the Hebrew Bible. For example, she offered an interpretation of the Genesis creation story, refuting the traditional centrality of male reading historically used to justify women's subservient position (Espín 128). Stein contrasted this with Christian Scriptures' stronger Pauline advocacy of female subordination (e.g., 1 Timothy 2:11-15; Ephesians 5:22-24), which outstrips the Hebrew Bible's nuanced matriarchs (Sarah, Rebecca, Ruth, Esther).[18] However, no direct evidence shows her systematically weighing this tension against Church doctrine, despite the fact that her phenomenological lens prioritized lived experience over rigid interpretation. Stein argued that "there is no theological reason that women should not become priests" (Espín 129), though she avoided directly challenging Church teachings.

A close reading of Stein's autobiography reveals her confusion and discomfort with Judaism. Describing her experience at age ten attending a funeral, she demonstrates her lack of connection, viewing Jewish approaches to death as overly focused on temporal life:

The personal immortality of the soul is not considered an article of faith; all of one's effort is concentrated on what is temporal. Even the piety of the pious is directed toward the sanctification of this life. A Jew is able to endure severe hardship and untiring labor coupled with extreme privation for years on end as long as he sees a goal ahead. Deprive him of this goal and you destroy his vigor; life then appears meaningless, and so he can readily decide to throw it away. The true believer, of course, is deterred from such a course by his submission to the will of God (Stein 82).

However, *Teshuvah* 3:1–2 records Maimonides teaching the soul's immortality: "The soul that leaves the body returns to its source, and its eternal existence begins. The dead do not return to life, nor do they again return to the body. The body returns to dust, but the soul is eternal." He also emphasizes that repentance (*teshuvah*) remains possible until death. This reflects the medieval Jewish view of death as a transition to the spiritual realm. Unfortunately, Stein's limited Jewish education prevented deeper and more nuanced engagement with these ideas.

We know that as a Jew, Stein was unable to secure a university position, but how was Stein, an educated and highly assimilated Jew, treated otherwise? Stein was not spared from antisemitism, nor was she unaware of its existence. She encountered it during World War I, when she volunteered as a nurse at the lazaretto. She writes, "In the lazaretto, of course, antisemitic remarks were to be heard at times. On such occasions, Suse [a coworker] forthrightly envied me the ability to come forward with a simple acknowledgment that I was Jewish" (Stein 343). It is noteworthy that Edith adds parenthetically, "By the way, this used to astound people, since no one took me to be Jewish" (Stein 343).

Stein's visual description of Jews seems to mirror and internalize, at least to some degree, the perceptions of those outside Judaism. For instance, she describes a fellow phenomenology student: "The two of us were as unlike as one could imagine. Her appearance was typically Jewish: dark-haired, more than normally heavy, loud and lively, with effervescent wit and sharp repartee" (Stein 395). In contrast, she describes herself as having "quiet, serious ways" (Stein 395).

In 1933, after Stein's unsuccessful attempts to launch an academic career, she became part of a group of lecturers at the Catholic Pedagogical Institute of Münster. There, she was involved in developing an outline for Catholic education. However, she felt the heavy presence of Hitler's National Socialism, and her services were soon terminated. Stein became acutely aware that she would have no academic future in Germany as a woman and as a Jew, despite her distance from Judaism.

As mentioned, Stein was enamored by St. Teresa of Ávila, and her conviction that "we are in this world to serve humanity" (Stein 177) was shaped by Teresa's autobiography. Stein came to believe that God was calling her to offer her life for the protection and salvation of the Jewish people, even though her theological outlook reflected the limitations and tensions of her time, marked by a growing sense of persecution and injustice.

Stein's convictions about empathy aligned with her belief in the moral obligation to serve humanity. She connected Esther's biblical story of saving the Jewish people with her own life and asked the Mother Prioress in Echt for permission

[18] See https://sljinstitute.net/pauls-epistles/1timothy/pauline-thoughts-on-the-role-of-women-in-the-church-ii/

to make such an offering to God. In her last testament, composed in 1938, she wrote: "I had indeed already heard of severe measures being taken against the Jews. But now all of a sudden it was luminously clear to me that once again God's hand lay heavy on His people, and the destiny of this people was my own" (Espín 130–131).

She added:

> I asked the Lord to accept my life and death for His honor and glorification, for all concerns of the most Holy Heart of Jesus and Mary and the Holy Church, especially for sanctification and completion of our Holy Order—particularly the Carmels of Cologne and Echt—for the atonement for the unbelief of the Jewish people, and in order that the Lord may be accepted by His own [people] and that His Kingdom come in magnificence; for the deliverance of Germany and world peace, destruction of the Antichrist, and finally for my relatives both living and dead and all whom God has given me: that none of them may be lost (Espín n23, 147).

As this testament demonstrates, while Stein felt connected to the Jewish people, her connection was embedded in her Catholic perspective that mistakenly attributed Jewish suffering to "unbelief." Here and there, we notice inevitable tensions and misunderstandings in Stein's self-awareness related to Judaism, but also her inability to entirely separate herself from it. Perhaps her most directly courageous act was her public statement in the letter she wrote to Pope Pius XI in April 1933. In it, Stein defines herself as a Jew and pleads with the Pope to speak out against the unfolding atrocities under the newly installed Nazi regime:

> As a child of the Jewish people who, by the grace of God, has for the past eleven years also been a child of the Catholic Church, I dare to speak to the Father of Christianity about that which oppresses millions of Germans... For weeks now, we have seen deeds committed in Germany which mock any sense of justice and humanity, not to mention love of neighbor. For years the leaders of National Socialism have been preaching hatred of the Jews... But the responsibility must fall, after all, on those who brought them to this point and it also falls on those who keep silent in the face of such happenings.
>
> —Letter to Pope Pius XI, April 1933

Yet we observe signs of inner conflict, and the claim that Stein viewed herself as a sacrificial martyr should be reconsidered in light of her letters. Even in 1940, Stein still hoped for survival. She continued to pursue her religious and academic interests while appreciating life's small but meaningful moments. Determined to protect herself and her sister, she sought refuge in a convent. She wrote, "I do know that Switzerland is strictly closed to immigrants, but I could imagine that, under these particular circumstances, an exception will be made" (Stein 342).

Addressing the "Jewish question," she explained, "Any other country is practically out of the question. If we are unable to get out in this way, we will be deported by the authorities in any case. In that manner, one of my sisters—the one who remains in Breslau—was deported to a so-called 'Jewish residential community' in Silesia" (Stein 342). These letters show that Stein was fully aware of her situation and of her identity as a Jew, which she never renounced, while also demonstrating her desire to continue living.

Stein's approach to Judaism is best understood within the context of post-emancipation Jewish culture, which was shaped by the perception that Christianity represented "a universal religion whose message of forgiveness, compassion, and love for humankind made it appear preferable to the parents' rigidity and severity of the Jewish law" (Brenner 55). Notably, from 18th-century Berlin salon culture to 19th-century philosophy, there appears a recurring pattern among assimilated German Jews (Rahel Varnhagen, Henriette Herz, Edmund Husserl, Max Scheler). Not all were contemporaries of Stein, nor did they share the same religious trajectories. In addition, we note such people as Ludwig Feuerbach, whose views underpinned secular antisemitism in the 1840s–1870s. In his articulation, Judaism was reduced to egoistic anthropomorphism, and the Jewish God mirrored human greed. Feuerbach critiqued Jewish particularism and argued that it hindered universal humanity.

Karl Marx, baptized in childhood, was influenced by Feuerbach's ideas. In his 1843 essay "On the Jewish Question," he portrayed the Jewish God as a symbol of practical self-interest and reduced the Jewish approach to life to economic egoism that persists even in a secularized world. Such cases complicate the comparison but underscore the point of

the shared pressures of emancipation and desire for cultural integration. Stein expressed theological disagreement and shared sentiments with Henriette Herz, who believed Judaism lacked emotional depth.

While some thinkers—such as Simone Weil, Feuerbach, and Marx—expressed open hostility toward Judaism (Brenner 55–57), Stein did not share their views. Although she showed little engagement with Jewish theological or intellectual traditions, she never expressed hostility toward Judaism nor rejected her Jewish origins; rather, she felt it did not meet her spiritual needs. Given that Stein internalized certain bigoted perceptions related to one's image, her conversion is best understood as situated between social and theological motivations, with the latter playing the more decisive role. She died as a Jew in the gas chambers of Auschwitz II-Birkenau on August 9, 1942.

CONCLUSION

Edith Stein is often viewed through the lens of her complex relationship with Judaism—a relationship some scholars label "self-hatred," as discussed above with Lessing, Sartre, Ozick, and Steiner. While she showed limited Jewish literacy and embraced Catholicism (seemingly mimicking the ignorance trope her autobiography sought to dismantle), she consistently described herself as a Jewish child. Unlike Deutscher, the "non-Jewish Jew" who combined atheism and socialism, Stein echoes Heine's cultural Jewishness while admiring St. Teresa of Ávila—a fellow Jew by ancestry—revealing continuity rather than rejection. This paper argues that she remained a daughter of the Jewish people, holding this conviction as steadfastly as the religious beliefs she embraced outside Judaism.

Does rejecting Judaism as a religion—without denying one's Jewishness—always amount to self-hatred? This returns us to the perennial debate of "Who is a Jew?"—a deeply contentious issue in Jewish studies encompassing identity, assimilation, rejection, and accusations of internalized antisemitism or "self-hatred." This analysis challenges the uncritical assumption that rejecting Judaism equates to self-hatred. The binary—"either you're proud of your Judaism or you're self-hating"—oversimplifies the layered realities of Jewish lives under European antisemitism. Edith Stein defies easy categorization: a baptized Catholic who died as a Jew in Auschwitz, her life exposes tensions between Jewish communal boundaries and Catholic soteriology.

The debates over "Who is a Jew?" remain unresolved—and perhaps unresolvable—especially when identity spans halakhic, cultural, ethnic, national, and existential definitions. Many Jewish thinkers who shaped modern thought (Hannah Arendt, Freud, Benjamin, Buber, among others) lived in that in-between space where identity was unchosen, reinterpreted, resisted, and reclaimed.

I conclude by posing two questions: What do we risk by viewing complex Jewish figures through the narrow lens of identity affirmation or betrayal? What does it reveal about contemporary Jewish anxieties that we revisit this debate with such moral urgency? Stein demonstrated the complexity of the theological, social, and historical reasons that prevent us from assigning her to a category of self-hate, despite the presence of certain internalized antisemitic perceptions.

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MUSICIAN ROULETTE: A REFLEXIVE ANALYSIS OF CAPITAL, CLASS, AND CREATIVE SURVIVAL

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Abstract

This autoethnographic study explores the intersecting pressures of class, labor, and identity across the career of a first-generation college student and working-class musician pursuing a professional trajectory in music and higher education. Grounded in Bourdieu's capital theory and related frameworks (including socioemotional capital, self-determination theory, and future orientation), the study critically reflects on the author's lifelong experiences navigating music training, academic mobility, and economic precarity. Drawing on personal narrative, thematic analysis, and epiphanic moments of reflection, the paper highlights how inequities in social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital shape artistic outcomes. Findings suggest that career advancement in the arts is not merely a function of productivity or talent, but of compounding capital access and strategic timing. This work contributes to ongoing conversations in cultural sociology, music education, and equity in the arts by modeling a reflexive, insider account of how cultural laborers adapt, survive, and resist in stratified systems.

Keywords: autoethnography, creative labor, cultural production, precarity, music education, first-generation, equity in the arts, capital theory, socioemotional capital, self-determination

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INTRODUCTION

Capital has become an increasingly decisive force in shaping the educational and professional trajectories of musicians (Arditi, 2021; Bates, 2021). Yet few studies have traced how life events and corresponding capitals unfold across the totality of a musician's lifetime in western capitalist society. This autoethnographic study examines one participant—the researcher—through a reflexive, constant comparative lens grounded in capital theory and sociological critique (Adams et al., 2022; Denzin, 2013; McIlveen, 2008).

In this study, I seek to describe the musician's lived experience through forms of capital including economic, social, symbolic, cultural, emotional, mental, and human (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993, 2018; Cottingham, 2016; Lizardo, 2006). The

goal is to provide rich, reflexive data that reveal how capital acquisition (or lack thereof) affects development, coping strategies, and perceived outcomes within music education and professional markets (Burnard et al., 2015; Pinheiro & Dowd, 2009). These insights illuminate the inequities that model which musicians thrive, stagnate, or disappear from the field.

This work is situated within the experience of a first-generation college student from a low-SES and low-socioemotional capital background entering an institutional field defined by capital transactions (Bates, 2017). Guiding questions include: How do life circumstances relate to capital access? What forms of capital influence a musician's ability to develop, grow, or endure? How do experiences of risk, exclusion, and cultivation inform one's trajectory in the arts?

While previous research has explored musicians' roles within professional and educational spheres (Wright, 2017), few have addressed how capital stratification affects these paths over time. This life story focuses on moments and epiphanies where capital gaps became decisive, with particular attention to the emotional, relational, and structural consequences of limited capital at critical junctures.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding capital in relation to musician trajectories requires a dual lens: one that attends to both structural forces and the individual's interpretive, reflexive experience (Bourdieu & Nice, 2008; Reed-Danahay, 2017). Autoethnographic methods are especially suited to this purpose, enabling a critique of self within social context while grounding the narrative in lived evidence (Ellis & Bochner, 2006; Holt, 2003; Le Roux, 2016). This approach is particularly useful for exploring how creative practitioners internalize, resist, or reproduce marginalizing field dynamics in the course of their training and careers.

The literature on capital theory is expansive but unevenly applied within music education. While scholars have investigated stratification in arts and education (Bates, 2021; Burnard et al., 2015), few have used autoethnography to connect Bourdieu's theoretical lens to a longitudinal emic narrative of artistic labor (Ritchey, 2019; Vasil & McCall, 2017). This study contributes a crucial voice to that gap, offering capital analysis from within the music field's habitus (Bourdieu, 1993, 2020).

Bourdieu's concept of field centers on a space of social positions where agents engage in structured struggles over resources and legitimacy. In artistic fields, these dynamics manifest through prestige, recognition, and access to platforms for cultural production (Bourdieu, 1996; Scott, 2012). The field does not merely reflect external inequalities—it reproduces and legitimizes them through patterned interaction and aesthetic gatekeeping (Hilgers & Mangez, 2014). In the arts, this includes notions of taste, prestige, and recognition that mask structural exclusion through claims of meritocracy or "talent."

Researchers in music, sociology, and education have addressed some of these dynamics, particularly regarding class and access (Cid, 2011; Coulson, 2012; Taylor, 2016). Still, few studies engage musicians' internal capital negotiations from a sociologically reflexive stance. Autoethnographic studies often center artistic process rather than structural critique, leaving a gap in longitudinal, emic narratives grounded in capital theory. As cultural workers in a meritocratic yet exclusionary system, musicians increasingly face a professional environment where the accumulation, exchange, and conversion of capital dictate long-term viability (Arditi, 2020; Hesmondhalgh, 2006). This study joins emerging scholarship in examining how that system unfolds across time for those without inherited advantages.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Capital Theory

Bourdieu's capital theory offers a comprehensive lens through which to examine how institutional and interpersonal dynamics affect inclusion and advancement in a field (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993, 2018). Capital—whether economic, cultural, social, symbolic, or emotional—is not equally distributed; its accumulation and legitimacy are conditioned by structural inequality.

Cultural capital includes institutional knowledge, aesthetic taste, and behavioral fluency that signals belonging (Bourdieu, 1977; Lizardo, 2006). Social capital comprises networks and relationships, often inherited or class-linked, that provide informal access and emotional scaffolding (Burnard et al., 2015; Luthans & Youssef, 2004). Symbolic capital refers to prestige, reputation, and recognition—the social value attached to one's identity and output (Bourdieu, 1991; Cid, 2011).

Subcategories like emotional capital (the ability to self-regulate or express empathy) (Cottingham, 2016), mental capital (optimism, motivation, and future orientation) (Luthans & Youssef, 2004), and human capital (knowledge and skillsets) (Pinheiro & Dowd, 2009) reveal the psychological and relational dimensions of capital as lived experience. I synthesize these elements into the broader frame of socioemotional capital (SEC)—a depletable, fluid, and composite resource encompassing the affective and relational capacities required to survive and self-sustain in creative labor contexts. While SEC may resemble Bourdieu's (2020) habitus in function, this study distinguishes it as a more dynamic and depletable set of affective resources that are sensitive to burnout, trauma, and environmental stress. Whereas habitus operates as an internalized generative structure, SEC foregrounds an individual's relational depletion and affective load across time, particularly in contexts of economic precarity. Habitus may shape what feels "natural," but SEC influences what remains possible. SEC functions here as an analytic lens through which moments of burnout, risk aversion, relational withdrawal, and identity negotiation are interpreted across the life narrative.

Economic capital—access to income, assets, or financial safety nets—remains the most easily convertible form. It can purchase time, health, exposure, and refinement in other domains (Bourdieu, 2018). Its absence restricts risk-taking, delays milestones, and amplifies opportunity costs (Sutherland, 2003; Thaning, 2021). Families with economic security are more able to invest in cultural formation and concerted cultivation for their children, guiding them toward institutional legitimacy with minimal friction (Bourdieu, 1977; Lareau, 2011).

Relational Theories: Concerted Cultivation, SDT, and Future-Orientation

Through the lens of the study, I also incorporate three interwoven relational frameworks and how they each connect to field trajectories:

1. Concerted Cultivation describes the early, often class-dependent structuring of motivation and advantage via enriched parenting, lessons, and interpersonal fluency. It stratifies access to culture and authority before formal training begins (Bodovski & Farkas, 2008; Lareau, 2011).
2. Self-Determination Theory (SDT) frames agency as a contextual response to perceived autonomy, competence, and relatedness. These are not fixed traits but outcomes of social affirmation, reinforcement, and environmental cues (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Sanguinetti, 2024).
3. Future Orientation Theory (FOT) explores how individuals project hopes, risks, and possibilities based on the interplay of capital access, cultural imagination, and environmental stability (Herrera et al., 2022; Seginer, 2008).

Together, these frameworks explain how ongoing negotiations with the field's structure influence seemingly personal choices (e.g., what risks to take, which paths to pursue). These theories inform the lens through which the author selects and interprets key life epiphanies: not as isolated decisions, but as affectively and materially conditioned responses to opportunity, legitimacy, and survival.

METHODS

Autoethnography

Autoethnography offers a reflexive method for studying culture by situating the researcher's experience within their field of practice (Adams et al., 2022; Poulos, 2021). It draws from critical theory to examine marginalization through richly descriptive narratives that foreground the voice of the author-participant (Le Roux, 2016). Trustworthiness emerges not from objectivity but from resonance, plausibility, and theoretical coherence across temporal, social, and

affective contexts (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Herrera et al., 2022). Validity is reinforced through triangulation with long-term significant others and the researcher's capacity to distinguish and interpret life themes (Howard et al., 1992).

Research Objectives

I use this narrative study as a container to analyze the researcher's life across a longitudinal timeline in music, interpreted through the lens of Bourdieu's capital theory and supported by related sociocultural frameworks (Bourdieu, 1993; Pinheiro & Dowd, 2009). The methodology employs constant comparative analysis, critical ethnography, and symbolic interactionism to trace how capital appears in, constrains, or enables specific epiphanies within educational and professional environments (Denzin, 2013; Emerson et al., 2011; McIlveen, 2008). Through this study, I aim to examine the relationship between capital and life trajectory; provide descriptive, reflexive narrative grounded in critical theory; and identify themes for future investigation by educators, sociologists, and artists.

Study Participant

The sole participant is the author, a professional musician and educator with over twenty years of lived experience across institutional and freelance contexts. I grounded this selection in purposeful and theoretical sampling (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). I intentionally retained my own voice, blending formal analysis with pseudo-poetic narrative prose. Personal recollections focus on moments settled by perceived access to capital, often framed through the lens of the first-generation college (FGC) student experience—a perspective underrepresented in music education research (Vasil & McCall, 2017).

Conducting this study did not require ethical review, but I strengthened validity via data triangulation, external audit, and member checks with close confidants. All personal references are anonymized through pseudonyms or relational cues (Lahman, 2022). Narrative episodes are deliberately vague yet affectively precise, capturing the intersection of capital and circumstance without compromising confidentiality (Denzin, 2013; Faulkner, 2009).

Data Collection

This study responds to gaps in research on the lived effects of capital access within music's labor and education markets (Bates, 2017; Reed-Danahay, 2017). Research questions include:

1. How do specific life circumstances relate to capital?
2. What forms of capital most affect musical development, holistic growth, and stress regulation?
3. In what ways do capital disparities stratify musicians' trajectories?
4. How do these phenomena map onto theories of self-determination, future orientation, and concerted cultivation?

Data sources include firsthand recollection, personal writings, social media archives, correspondence, and reflective notes collected over two months. I grounded trustworthiness in descriptive richness, theoretical alignment, and confirmatory input from long-term collaborators (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Richardson, 1994). While reliability is not a standard for qualitative work, the study includes a traceable audit trail to support future scholarly analysis (Richards, 2015; Tracy, 2013).

Although the focused analytic period occurred over approximately two months, the data themselves span nearly two decades of lived experience in music education and professional performance. The two-month window represents an intensive phase of retrospective analysis rather than the temporal boundary of the experiences examined. During this period, I systematically revisited personal archives, correspondence, social media records, and reflective journals to identify recurring capital-related tensions, turning points, and patterns across time. This approach allowed for longitudinal pattern recognition rather than episodic recollection.

Analytically, I employed a constant comparative process and identified episodes as "epiphanic moments," which I then coded according to forms of capital (economic, social, symbolic, cultural, and socioemotional). I then conducted a second round of interpretive coding to examine how these capital configurations interacted with self-determination,

risk perception, and future orientation at specific life junctures. I did not impose themes a priori; rather, themes emerged through iterative movement between lived narrative, theoretical constructs, and reflexive memo-writing. The final thematic categories represent patterned intersections between capital access, relational depletion, and decision-making across time.

Ethical Considerations

I grounded the study in an interpretive paradigm that challenges the myth of meritocracy in arts and education. Western professional systems are subject to capital-dependent stratification and selective inclusion (Arditi, 2021; Bourdieu, 2018; Freire, 2000). I acknowledged my positionality and interrogated it reflexively throughout the research process. I removed or generalized narrative identifiers through symbolic metaphors and pseudonyms (Ellis, 2007). I used no direct quotes unless essential. Member checking with three close relationships helped confirm details and ensure anonymity (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

LIFE STORY AND EPIPHANIC FINDINGS

Introductory Context

My life has been affected by constant instability: loss, trauma, economic precarity, addiction, and relentless transitions. It has also been affected by music. I've watched peers leverage trauma narratives for career gain, and I've certainly used creative work to metabolize pain—but never with a guaranteed return. I've seen others take on massive debt to create art, with mixed results. I eventually reached modest financial security, but not enough to gamble with high-risk investments in my music career. I used to joke about paying off a loaf of bread over two years.

I am a first-generation college student from a working-class background who earned a doctoral degree in music education. I've attended five major music universities over twelve years and earned two master's degrees, while living in unstable conditions for much of my adult life. I've rented constantly, owned little, and delayed major life milestones due to financial insecurity. I've moved over twenty times, sometimes five times in a single year.

High adverse childhood experience scores and low socioemotional capital marked my childhood. I've taken the General Causality Orientations Scale and Adverse Childhood Experiences questionnaire, scoring 93 in autonomy, 70 in controlled, and 54 in impersonal orientation, with an ACE score of 6 out of 10—quantifying a background of high independence, low environmental trust, and trauma-related adversity. I've had to choose between basic needs like gas or food, heat or pest control. Chronic high-functioning depression and burnout have shadowed my progress. I've seen both the fragility and resilience that arise from conditions like mine.

From a capital-theoretic perspective, these early experiences functioned less as isolated hardships and more as cumulative constraints on SEC. An ACE score of 6 did not merely represent adversity; it also signaled repeated disruptions to relational and systemic trust, environmental stability, and long-term planning—factors closely tied to future orientation and perceived risk tolerance (Felitti et al., 1998). High autonomy scores coexisted with low environmental trust, producing a form of self-reliance that, while adaptive, also limited help-seeking and collaborative risk-taking. In this sense, independence became both resource and restriction: a protective mechanism that preserved agency while simultaneously narrowing access to social and symbolic capital exchanges essential for advancement within institutional fields.

Despite earning strong academic credentials, I carry over $100k in student debt and earn less than $25k annually. My credit score is strong, held back only by the debt itself. I believe if I had different early access to economic and socioemotional capital, my career trajectory would have looked dramatically different. The weight of educational debt and chronic financial precarity did more than simply restrict purchasing power; it also structured decision-making. Economic capital's convertibility into time, experimentation, and professional visibility became starkly apparent, especially with changes in location and itinerant work. Without financial buffer, risk calculus shifts. Opportunities requiring upfront investment—conference travel, equipment upgrades, unpaid collaborations—carried disproportionate psychological and material stakes. In this way, capital scarcity amplified opportunity cost and

compressed future orientation, reinforcing patterns in which survival frequently superseded strategic professional expansion.

Youth and Adolescence

My early music experiences were self-directed: rhythm reading in primary school, informal piano practice, basic guitar from a friend, and saxophone starting in middle school. My family moved frequently, and I never felt grounded for long. My uncle, a central father figure, passed away during high school. Though relatives always surrounded me, we lived in a series of apartments with little stability or living space. I practiced as much as I could growing up, within the limits of noise constraints. Without a dedicated space or quality equipment, I often turned to free notation software and digital tools to explore music.

One wealthy relative had a piano. I taught myself to read notation on it over a summer, while they took formal lessons but later pursued a non-musical career. Our family assumed real instruments were out of reach due to transport, storage, and noise issues. Professional musicians often practice many hours a day, but that wasn't feasible for me.

We couldn't afford private lessons or extracurricular programs. I felt embarrassed by our financial situation and developed coping strategies that limited my socioemotional capital. I avoided social media, downplayed my needs, and internalized shame. Even until recently, I only owned a handful of presentable clothes. These early dynamics influenced my self-perception and professional comfort in elite spaces. From the perspective of concerted cultivation, these conditions reflect more than economic limitation; they signal differential socialization into institutional confidence and entitlement. Children exposed to structured enrichment, private instruction, and normalized interaction with authority figures often acquire not only skill but fluency in elite cultural codes (Lareau, 2011). In contrast, my early embarrassment and self-minimization reinforced patterns of withdrawal rather than entitlement. Avoiding visibility and downplaying needs conserved emotional energy but simultaneously reduced opportunities for symbolic capital accumulation. SEC, in this phase, functioned defensively—protecting dignity while constraining expansion into socially competitive arenas.

I've always worked with subpar equipment. My saxophones are 20 years old. Repairs were infrequent, and habits I formed around these limitations have been hard to unlearn. My home recordings have always been lo-fi, lacking the polish of studio-produced work. Dedicated spaces and resources could have significantly improved my creative output. Access to space and equipment is often framed as technical preference, yet in capital terms it represents cumulative cultural formation. Quality instruments, acoustic environments, and studio exposure not only refine output but normalize professional standards. Repeated reliance on subpar tools subtly aimed my habitus toward improvisational adaptation rather than aesthetic polish (Bourdieu, 1984, 2020). While this cultivated resilience and versatility, it also positioned my work outside dominant markers of prestige, limiting its convertibility into symbolic capital within competitive artistic fields. Some experiences outside of music (e.g., retail, advertising) proved useful later. Even marching band, though draining and difficult, now informs my teaching. But the opportunity costs were high—including mental health strain, time lost, and feelings of misfit.

Those with concerted cultivation had consistent support, quality mentorship, and exposure to opportunities. My first saxophone teacher in high school was affordable but inappropriate and emotionally harmful. I didn't attend music camps. I knew these opportunities mattered, but they were out of reach. Concerted cultivation operates not only through enrichment but through the quality of mentorship. Inappropriate or emotionally harmful instruction introduces distortions in relational trust and authority negotiation. Rather than reinforcing competence and belonging, such experiences can fracture SEC and complicate later professional interactions. The absence of camps, masterclasses, and stable mentors did not merely delay skill acquisition, but delayed integration into networks where symbolic capital circulates informally. Early exclusion thus compounded across developmental stages, influencing how I later navigated professional proximity to power.

Academics

Academia remains inaccessible for those lacking in capital. I never felt fluent in the norms of conferences, administration, or institutional networking. My education trained me to function more like a freelance worker than a professor. I value education deeply and try to advocate for others, but often feel at the lowest tier of power. From a field-theoretic

standpoint, this sensation of operating at the "lowest tier" not only reflects personal insecurity but signals a mismatch between embodied habitus and institutional expectations. Academic spaces reward fluency in symbolic exchange—confidence in presentation, informal networking, and strategic self-promotion. Without early socialization into these coded traditions, participation can feel performative rather than natural, reflecting unequal familiarity with the tacit mechanisms through which capital circulates and converts within institutional fields (Bourdieu, 1993, 2020).

Conference participation is costly: registration, travel, printing, lodging. At one event, I had to reprint a poster due to formatting rules that others simply ignored. My instinct was to comply fully with institutional expectations, reflecting a habitus shaped by uncertainty about legitimacy within academic spaces (Bourdieu, 2020). I observed how social capital influenced visibility—friends gathering to boost another's audience, presenters publicly affiliating with well-known peers. I often felt peripheral. In academic conferences, visibility functions as symbolic capital accumulation. Audience attention, public affiliation, and name recognition operate as informal signals of legitimacy. These dynamics illustrate how social capital converts into recognizable legitimacy within the field, at times independent of intrinsic merit. Positioning thus reflected not only evaluation of work, but degree of integration within relational networks that amplify recognition.

I've witnessed presenters with supportive parents who were academics themselves—offering insight into how networks of privilege replicate themselves. I tend to under-explain my work at conferences, perhaps because I feel unworthy of people's time. I've defaulted to parking my things near trash cans—a subconscious signal of self-placement, mirroring how blue-collar experiences can translate into self-minimization in white-collar spaces. The divide between white- and blue-collar worlds plays out symbolically in these moments. These embodied behaviors reveal how capital stratification becomes internalized. Over time, repeated positioning at the fringes redefined my professional identity: I began to anticipate invisibility and moderate my own presence accordingly to conserve socioemotional capital in environments perceived as evaluative or exclusionary. In this sense, identity was not fixed but negotiated through ongoing assessments of belonging, risk, and legitimacy within the field.

Despite moments of connection, I often lacked long-term mentorship. Many of my professors retired or moved, or remained distant. I leaned into self-reliance, but it wasn't always enough. The lack of socioemotional capital left skill gaps I couldn't fill. Mentorship, in capital terms, operates as a multiplier of both social and symbolic capital. Its absence compounds slowly but decisively across time. Without consistent advocates to normalize institutional navigation, strategic errors feel personal rather than structural. Leaning into self-reliance strengthened autonomy but also reinforced isolation, limiting exposure to the informal sponsorships through which academic mobility frequently occurs. This gap illustrates how capital disparities reproduce themselves across generations within higher education.

Professional Experiences

Most of my gigs came from word of mouth. I've taught all ages, performed in many settings, and participated in a wide range of musical contexts. My versatility has been both a strength and a survival strategy—one I now try to pass on to my professional mentees. But logistics have been challenging. Long drives, unreliable transportation, limited resources—these all informed my professional decisions. I've declined stable jobs due to ideological conflicts or unmanageable time commitments. At one point, I didn't have a car at all. Maintaining even minimal professional functionality required navigating endless logistical burdens.

I've carried musical gear across the country, clinging to the few items that offered consistency and transformative potential. For many musicians, instruments function as both practical tools and symbolic anchors of professional identity; in my case, limited financial capital intensified this attachment because replacing or upgrading equipment was rarely feasible. I've had promising ideas stalled because I couldn't access the networks or resources needed to bring them to life. I've applied for jobs that others were offered informally, through networks I wasn't part of. Tracking business expenses, joining organizations, and maintaining memberships has been difficult. Even when I've joined unions or professional groups, they rarely provided support unless I was already inside their network. Some colleagues have secured jobs with fewer qualifications but stronger mentorship ties.

Still, I've begun to stabilize. I recently became debt-free with the help of state-funded teaching assignments and now teach in higher education, gaining the cultural and symbolic capital that might help me advance. But it came at a cost, including a pay cut and years of economic strain.

Future Prospects

I've always been cautious about taking financial risks in music. I know people who attended music production schools only to be left with debt and outdated equipment. Without financial backing, I can't afford those risks. Even basic resources like textbooks or modern computers have sometimes been out of reach. Paradoxically, these constraints pushed me toward alternative strategies—open-source software, informal online communities, and self-directed experimentation—which partially compensated for resource limitations while also influencing my creative approach. Until recently, much of my software was outdated and incompatible with current systems, forcing me to use university-owned computers for basic tasks or manually recreate lost edits due to formatting mismatches.

Some of my best work remains unfinished because I lack the time, energy, or capital to realize it properly. During the pandemic, I released several "bedroom albums" using open-source tools. These were affordable and creatively fulfilling, but didn't necessarily increase my visibility or financial sustainability. I documented how algorithmic platforms and capitalist media dynamics have changed the way people value and consume music. The symbolism in my own albums reflects this: my debut project featured a train photo as a metaphor for career precarity; another used MIDI-only jazz to satirize commercialization. But without the right networks, these projects didn't travel far. While artistic quality and timing inevitably shape reception, visibility in contemporary music ecosystems also depends heavily on social circulation, platform amplification, and endorsement within professional networks. My cultural production may be high, but without social and cultural capital, it rarely translates into lasting impact.

My goal remains higher education, but without a dedicated mentor or insider connections, I worry about my competitiveness. In academic labor markets, opportunities often circulate through relational networks before formal hiring processes occur, reinforcing the importance of social capital in professional mobility (Bourdieu, 1993; Pinheiro & Dowd, 2009). I've watched peers succeed with less training but more capital—and I've seen how concerted cultivation creates access long before applications are ever submitted. My story isn't singular; but its details help reveal the deeper structures that filter who thrives and who merely survives in music and education. I hope this account can reveal what's often hidden: that success is not just due to talent or effort, but to who is granted the capital to endure. At the same time, prolonged navigation of these constraints can cultivate forms of resilience, adaptability, and creative problem-solving that also shape professional identity.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing my own trajectory through this autoethnographic lens, I uncovered distinct patterns of capital-based stratification and overlooked intersections between agency and access. While I anticipated that my lived experience would reflect disparities in capital, I hadn't realized how profoundly those disparities influenced every element of my education, music career, and mental health. These reflections revealed rich theoretical implications and thematic markers for future study. Across the life story, seven interwoven themes emerged: (1) constrained capital conversion, (2) interrupted network continuity, (3) habitus misalignment within elite spaces, (4) socioemotional depletion under chronic precarity, (5) time scarcity as structural constraint, (6) identity negotiation across classed contexts, and (7) conditional recognition mediated by endorsement. These themes clarify how agency and effort operate within—but are not independent of—capital-dependent systems.

Self-Determination and Future Orientation

I rarely listen to jazz anymore, despite working in the field and loving it deeply. It stirs too much anxiety and regret, illustrating how musical stimuli can reactivate emotional and autobiographical memory associations (Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008). Instead, I gravitate toward pop, country, or rap—genres that feel distant enough to soften the dissonance. When applying to academic conferences early on, I assumed that one could only present fully formed, polished research. I once submitted a paper and poster early in my studies, but the lack of recognition made me feel left behind. The

financial and cultural barriers to accessing symbolic capital—like album reviews or awards—require a tacit knowledge of the system, from what to submit to how to bend the rules.

Having pursued an academic career for over a decade, my experience within contingent labor and competitive job markets has led me to perceive higher education as structurally strained. From this vantage point, the proliferation of credentials, publications, and productivity metrics can feel inflationary—raising thresholds of legitimacy without proportionally expanding opportunity. Despite strong grades and completed projects, I applied to dozens of higher education positions and received no response until a well-positioned colleague vouched for me. That recommendation granted immediate access to teaching work, illustrating how social capital can convert rapidly into institutional legitimacy. This moment sharpened my awareness of how capital combinations—mentorship, endorsement, and immersion—influence academic mobility beyond formal merit indicators.

Throughout my journey, I've engaged with high-status professionals and peers, often holding my own musically and socially. But I didn't understand how to develop transactional or professional relationships, even with those I deeply admired. I've missed opportunities for collaboration and lost touch with colleagues who were some of my most musically compatible peers. In retrospect, these relational losses reflect inconsistencies in social capital maintenance rather than a deficit of ability. Bourdieu's framework clarifies that competence alone does not sustain mobility; relational durability and strategic reciprocity often determine whose work circulates and whose remains localized. My difficulty developing transactional professional relationships reveals how concerted cultivation affects not only skill acquisition but also comfort with strategic networking behaviors.

Economic and Socioemotional Capital

I believe deeply in my own ability. But that belief becomes strained when the world fails to validate my work or lift me out of poverty. I've often heard, "You seem like you've got it all together," which ends up masking my need for help, connection, and opportunity. This tension illustrates the paradox of high autonomy orientation under low structural support. Self-determination theory emphasizes autonomy, competence, and relatedness as psychological needs; yet autonomy without relational scaffolding can morph into self-isolation. My perceived competence obscured unmet needs for sponsorship and collective buffering against precarity.

My human capital and creative output are relatively strong. But every time I moved—geographically or institutionally—it reset my sociocultural and symbolic capital. These transitions disrupted my networks and momentum, and though they expanded my geographical reach, they didn't alleviate the chronic struggle.

At times, I scraped together enough financial capital to invest in better gear or professional services. And for a brief moment during the 2020 pandemic, when financial aid prioritized accessibility and public good, there was some recognition for my open-source projects. But those moments were rare.

I've learned to code-switch in academic and professional environments, adjusting aspects of speech, demeanor, and self-presentation to align with institutional expectations (Bourdieu, 1991). Formal settings do not always welcome my natural South Floridian mannerisms. Success in these spaces often depends on knowing which types of capital the ecosystem values (like studying abroad or organizing social gatherings), not necessarily teaching skill or musical proficiency.

My limited resources have created tangible obstacles: phones dying en route to gigs, unreliable cars, and emergency expenses that derail momentum. I've cried in my car after losing service while trying to navigate to a new school or rehearsal. These episodes reveal the emotional cost of working under chronic material insecurity.

Time is the most valuable form of capital. Financial capital buys time, and with time I could expand my contributions: arrangements, workshops, research, compositions, and more. Instead, I split my hours between caretaking, moving, and surviving. Time scarcity operated as a structural bottleneck on capital accumulation. While peers converted financial stability into research productivity or creative output, I was continuously diverting my temporal resources toward maintenance labor. When others were researching or composing, I was at the laundromat or fixing a car. This diversion illustrates how economic capital indirectly governs cultural production through the mediation of available time (Bourdieu, 2018).

During one difficult evening, I recorded a video monologue in my apartment. I rambled about the mounting costs of conferences, the outdated tech I couldn't replace, and the constant strain of keeping up. At one point I laughed, "Midlife crisis, here I come," alone in the camera glow. It was raw, absurd, and honest.

Current Outcome

To cope, I've turned to video content and therapy. More recently, I've adopted my late relative's symbolic worldview: that cockroaches signify resilience, termites warn against parasitic people, and every loss marks an invitation to grow. This mythology comforts me—offering meaning amid exhaustion.

I continue to create, but without the networks or marketing knowledge to sustain visibility. I've hesitated to ask friends for help, fearing the risk or cost would outweigh the benefit. I've never felt entitled to invest in myself artistically, especially post-2008 crash. Even when I had the means, I feared it wouldn't be "allowed."

Ironically, becoming fluent in capital theory made me hyper-aware of how it unfolds around me. I now see its movements in real time—in how people curate their appearance, name-drop connections, or perform mental wellness to maintain symbolic capital. I often stay silent during "mental health" conversations because my reality feels too heavy or unspeakable. Here, SEC becomes visible in its absence. Emotional disclosures that are palatable within professional discourse often presuppose a safety net. When vulnerability risks reputational cost without compensatory support, silence becomes protective. This dynamic reveals how even narratives of resilience can function as symbolic currency within stratified fields.

I'm doing somewhat better now. I've paid down significant debt and found enough side work to stabilize—though I still live paycheck to paycheck and remain shut out from homeownership or starting a family. A small inheritance helped me recover somewhat, while also reaffirming the trauma that accompanied it. Ultimately, prolonged navigation of stratified institutional environments and capital-mediated systems reshaped my professional identity. I oscillated between confidence in my musical competence and chronic doubt about my legitimacy within institutional hierarchies. Over time, this oscillation cultivated a survival-based orientation: cautious investment, guarded self-presentation, and strategic silence. Survival itself becomes a form of agency within capital-stratified systems.

Rather than framing this trajectory as grievance or deficit, I now understand it as an embodied case study in how capital structures shape not only opportunity but self-concept. This account illustrates that identity formation in creative labor is inseparable from material conditions; resilience emerges not as a personality trait, but as a negotiated response to structural constraint. Even now, I navigate grief and therapy while trying to find my place in a new city. I have not met conventional benchmarks of self-sufficiency, but I have endured—and with support from friends, colleagues, and family, I am building something sustainable. While this narrative offers conceptual insight into capital-stratified navigation, it remains bounded by methodological and positional constraints.

LIMITATIONS

This study is limited by its reliance on a single, reflexive case and retrospective interpretation of lived experience. Although triangulation and theoretical alignment strengthen credibility, the analysis reflects one positional standpoint shaped by memory, affect, and evolving self-understanding. I present socioemotional capital (SEC) here as a provisional analytic lens rather than a universal construct. Future research may test, complicate, or refine these themes across broader samples of musicians navigating similar structural conditions. The aim is not statistical generalization but illumination of patterned mechanisms within a single trajectory.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Musicians with high capital reserves may bypass key challenges while reaping full benefits of capitalist arts structures. This creates skewed definitions of success and reinforces inequities across education and professional music sectors. Capital stratification is intensifying, while the illusion of meritocracy masks how different capital forms (economic, social, symbolic, emotional) impact opportunity (Bates, 2021; Bourdieu, 1984). Music field agents should reflect on their own

access and trajectories—like the poster attendee who recognized their early advantages—and participate in this conversation.

Capital theory's limits are only those of the agents reflecting on it. Narratives like this can expose stratifying mechanisms and help illuminate pathways to reform. If SEC is depletable, then we must invest in replenishing it: through equitable support, peer-driven networks, and sustained, un-gatekept mentoring. Too often, those closest to transformative ideas are furthest from the means to implement them.

This study's findings suggest that capital access is time-sensitive and context-dependent: each form interacts uniquely with a musician's life and decisions. Seven emergent themes for further study include: (a) stressors and social distinctions; (b) socialization vs. isolation; (c) opportunity cost and risk; (d) stratifiers vs. advantages; (e) grief and loss; (f) mentorship gaps; and (g) lack of place or belonging.

In the case of this study, lower levels of SEC—including emotional, social, and symbolic capital—often overpowered strengths in cultural production, self-determination, and human capital. SEC does not replace habitus but complements it by foregrounding depletion, burnout, and affective load as dynamic variables in capital navigation. Cross-analysis by scholars in music, psychology, and sociology is needed to further map how capital interacts within musician trajectories—and what can be done to intervene before burnout becomes destiny.

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THE ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN ESSAY PRIZE
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As we did not publish an issue of *TIS* in 2024, the winning 2025 essay appears in this issue. We are delighted to be able to reprint the winning essay from the 2024 prize in this issue, with grateful thanks to the author and publishers.

2024 WINNER:

Mary Ann Irwin, "'Women with Hearts' and the Americanization of Jewish San Francisco, 1850–1880," Pacific Historical Review (2023) 92 (4): 538–575. https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2023.92.4.538. REPRINTED BELOW.

JOINT RUNNERS-UP:

Kate Burrows, "The History and Present of Hearing Aid and Cochlear Implant Advertising," *Advertising & Society Quarterly*. https://doi.org/10.1353/asr.2023.a905721.

Christine De Matos, "The Home as a Space for Re-education: Imperialism, Military Occupation, and Housekeeping Manuals," *The International History Review*, 46(3), 291-311. Jan.2024. https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2024.2303978.

2025 WINNER:

Susan Roth Breitzer, "Sisterhood was Limited: Jews, Intersectionality, and the Second Wave Feminist Movement." Preprint published online 30 July 2024. Final version published in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 11 (April 2026):4-21.

JOINT RUNNERS-UP:

Gianncarlo Muschi, "Informality, Recurseo, and Entrepreneurship among Peruvians in Paterson, New Jersey, 1960-2001." April 2023. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 42(3): 73-102. DOI:10.5406/19364695.42.3.03

Mark Danley, "Problems and Possibilities for NACO Armed Forces Access Points: The Cases of Serbia and Yugoslavia." *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, *61*(2), 119–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2023.2189897

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"WOMEN WITH HEARTS" AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF JEWISH SAN FRANCISCO, 1850–1880

(WINNING ESSAY – 2024 Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize)

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(California, USA)

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Abstract

For San Francisco's female Jewish pioneers, learning to organize and operate charitable societies was an integral step in their Americanization, or assimilation into American culture. Charity work taught women leadership skills and, at the same time, accustomed their fathers, husbands, and sons to limited forms of female authority within the community. In the process, leaders of San Francisco's first female-led Jewish charities transformed themselves as well as their community. In some cases, male support for women's charitable enterprises marked the spread of American Reform Judaism through San Francisco's pioneer synagogues. In other instances, questions regarding the proper place of women intensified community members' adherence to the traditions of their fathers. Even so, by founding and leading charitable associations through the period 1850–1880, "womenwithhearts" transformed Jewish San Francisco, male and female, foreign- and native-born, helping all to become more fully American. The glory of the San Francisco example is that the sources allow us to watch the process unfold, as the female leaders of benevolent agencies trod paths taking them from Jewish immigrants to Jewish Americans, or from well-intentioned but untrained "ladies bountiful" to what Jacob Marcus Rader called the New Woman, the "Jewish social worker."

Keywords: Jewish women's history, San Francisco, nineteenth century, charity, women's activism, Americanization, Emanu-El, Sherith Israel

In the early morning hours of February 16, 1853, disaster struck the steamship *Independence.* Its passengers were on the final leg of their journey to California, having traveled by river, lake, and donkey on the Nicaragua Route, thence to San Francisco. Sadly, just off the coast of Baja California, the steamer struck a rock. Worse still, the boilers exploded as it sank. One hundred and fifty passengers lost their lives, but 283 survived, most with only the nightclothes on their backs (fig. 1).[1] San Franciscans learned of the disaster several weeks later, but they responded at once, in a manner calculated to succeed: they called on local women to help. On March 31, a local newspaper issued "An Appeal to Woman," imploring the city's "ladies of all countries" to take action on behalf of wreck victims.[2] It was up to local women, editors proclaimed, because so many of the survivors were "women and children… far from their homes and the bosom of their families."[3] Their faith was well placed: within ten days, San Franciscans had raised $2,829 (a little over $102,000 in 2022 dollars) for survivors.[4]

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[1] *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, "Loss of the Steamer *Independence*!" April 2, 1853, 1; *New York Times*, "Two Weeks Later," April 26, 1853. All cited newspapers are San Francisco-based unless otherwise noted.

[2] *Daily Alta California*, "Total Loss of the Steamship *Independence*," March 31, 1853, 2.

[3] *Daily Alta California*, "An Appeal to Woman," April 1, 1853, 1.

[4] *Sacramento Daily Union*, "Relief," April 11, 1853, 2.

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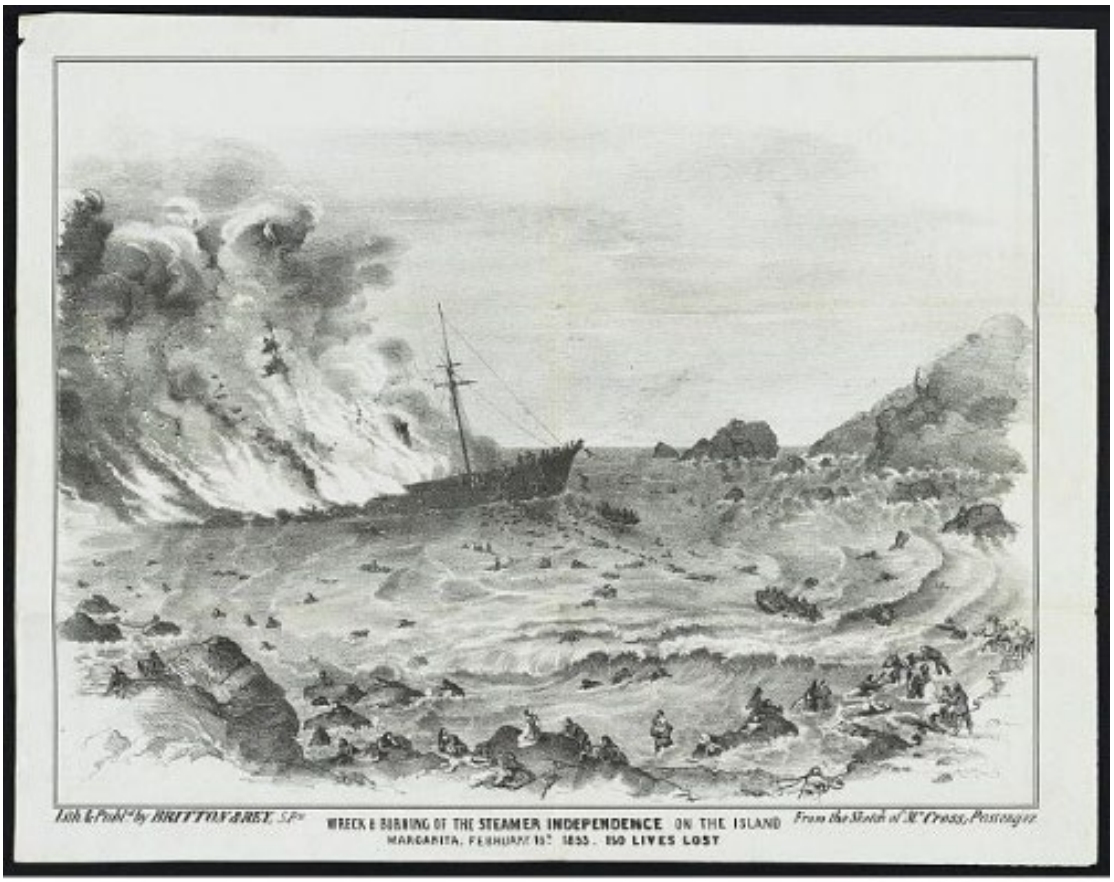

"Wreck & burning of the steamer Independence on the island of Margarita, February 16th, 1853; 150 lives lost; From the sketch of Mr. Cross, passenger" (San Francisco: Britton & Rey, 1853), http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011661695/

Figure 1. *Newspaper reports about the Independence illustrate the extent to which San Franciscans relied on local women to aid the needy. Source: Britton & Rey, Lithographer, "Wreck & burning of the steamer Independence on the island of Margarita, February 16th, 1853," Library of Congress.*

The San Franciscans who called upon "ladies of all countries" to aid the shipwrecked assumed that all local women were equally prepared to help, ignoring or perhaps not realizing the diversity of languages, religions, and charitable traditions that divided local womenfolk. They did not know how much they were asking of the city's Jewish immigrant women, recent arrivals to the United States and to California. For Jewish newcomers from central and northern Europe, the American tradition of relying on women to relieve the poor was a fairly new concept. Even the American-born daughters of immigrant parents were "greenhorns" in San Francisco, a frontier community that gladly entrusted welfare services to local women, especially services for women and children. When the *Independence* ran aground, the female-run San Francisco Protestant Orphan Asylum was in its second year.[5] Another group of Protestant women that year launched the San Francisco Ladies' Protection and Relief Society to aid penniless women and their children.[6] That same year,

[5] For San Francisco Protestant Orphan Asylum (SFPOA) history see, among others, SFPOA, *Ninth Annual Report of the San Francisco Orphan Asylum Society* (San Francisco: n.p., 1859), San Francisco History Room, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco (SFPL), 6; Anna Bissell (Mrs. W. A.) Haight, *Some Reminiscences of the San Francisco Protestant Orphan Asylum* (San Francisco, n.p., 1900), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California ("Bancroft"), 2.

[6] As far as I can determine, San Francisco Ladies' Protection & Relief Society (SFLP&RS) founders were all native-born. See SFLP&RS, *Articles of Incorporation* (San Francisco: n.p., 1855), SFLP&RS Records, 1854–1969, MS 3576, California Historical Society, San Francisco ("CHS"). For SFLP&RS history, see Carol Green Wilson, *A History of the Heritage, 1853 – 1970* (San Francisco: Lawton and

Catholic laywomen held a fair to raise funds to build St. Mary's Cathedral.[7] Local Jewish women did not number in these ranks of organized women.

This study examines the experiences of the Jewish women who founded or supported various charities in San Francisco in the second half of the nineteenth century and compares their activism with that of their non-Jewish peers. Their participation took place in roughly three stages: the pioneer generation of Jewish San Francisco women who set up mutual-aid societies similar to those they had known in Europe (1850–1860); those who established organizations, modeled on those of non-Jewish women's associations, that served Jews as well as non-Jews (1860s–1870s); and those whose service work paralleled and often overlapped with non-Jewish women's organizations, serving the broader community irrespective of nativity, religion, or gender (1870s and beyond). Each stage, with its different level of engagement with the wider society, contributed to their acculturation to American social norms.

But the process reached beyond these individual pioneering women. Their activities drew husbands and other men of the Jewish community into leadership roles in their self-help and benevolent societies. Increased participation in American-style philanthropy by both Jewish women and men paralleled the beginnings of what would become American Reform Judaism. Not coincidentally, members of the growing number of synagogues whose worship more closely resembled Christian forms disproportionately supported the Jewish women's organizations that were adapting to American styles of benevolence. Moreover, the early activism of these Jewish women pioneers, many without formal education or established social status, continued when their educated, American-born daughters built upon the philanthropic foundations that their mothers had laid.

This study departs from earlier scholarship in several ways. First, it follows Dorothee Schneider in defining "Americanization" as more than the settlement house programs of the late nineteenth- to early twentieth centuries.[8] In its public, most frequently discussed form, Americanization meant native-born Americans encouraging recent immigrants to adopt American norms. Far more significant was the private, largely internal form of Americanization which, explains Schneider, occurred "wherever immigrants arrived, settled, and oriented themselves in an English-speaking world and an industrial economy."[9] In other words, this study focuses on immigrants in the process of Americanizing *themselves*.

Unlike most studies of nineteenth-century American women's charities, this article compares associations founded by Jewish, non-Jewish, immigrant, and native-born women. It challenges existing frameworks by lingering at the middle of the nineteenth century, before the mass immigration of eastern European Jews, when these charity leaders were immigrants themselves, and it concerns itself with the decades before American Jewish women organized as social or political feminists.[10] Many students of Jewish American women's associations touch briefly on the first Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, founded in Philadelphia in 1819, then race forward to the National Council of Jewish Women (founded in Chicago in 1893), or to Hadassah (New York, 1912).[11] Casting charity leaders as proto-feminists is a

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Alfred Kennedy, 1970).

[7] Bradford F. Luckingham, "Associational Life on the Urban Frontier: San Francisco, 1848–1856" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1968) 54; Ruth Shackelford, "To Shield Them from Temptation: 'Child-Saving' Institutions and the Children of the Underclass in San Francisco 1850 –1910" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1991), 326.

[8] Dorothee Schneider, *Crossing Borders: Migration and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 151 – 52. For settlement work, see, among others, Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890 – 1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Daphne Spain, *How Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Evelyn Bodek Rosen, *The Philadelphia Fels, 1880 – 1920: A Social Portrait* (Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 63, 85 –86; Ellen Eisenberg, Ava Fran Kahn, and William Toll, *Jews of the Pacific Coast: Reinventing Community on America's Edge* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 57 –58, 132 –33, 140.

[9] Schneider, *Crossing Borders*, 151.

[10] William Lawrence O'Neill, *Feminism in America: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1989); Sybil Lipschultz, *Social Feminism, Labor Politics, and the Law: Women, the Law, and the Workplace* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[11] Karla Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 60. On Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Societies/Associations see, among others, Mark I. Greenberg, "Savannah's Jewish

teleology that makes sense when one reads history backwards, but it reveals little about the lived experiences of the women behind these pioneer entities, and misses the impact that organizing these institutions had upon the women themselves or the communities they served.[12]

The benefit of closely studying the activities of Jewish immigrant women in a given community—say, for example, San Francisco—is that doing so allows historians to watch the process of Americanization as it unfolds, as the female leaders of benevolent agencies trod the path that turned them from Jewish immigrants into Jewish Americans. San Francisco is a good site for study because the city's rapid development and dynamic economy, plus residents' willingness to accept Jews with valuable business connections, allowed the transformation to occur in relatively short order. In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, charity leadership had refashioned the city's well-intentioned but untrained "ladies bountiful" into, in Jacob Marcus Rader's words, "a new woman: the Jewish social worker."[13] Along the way, San Francisco's "women with hearts" helped Jewish San Franciscans—male and female, foreign-born and native-born—to become more fully American.[14]

In reclaiming the history of San Francisco's earliest organized Jewish women, this study reveals immigrant women learning to be Americans, both by adapting European traditions to the American landscape, and by launching the processes by which they, their families, and their community refashioned received ideas about gender and the place of women in Judaism. Changing rituals and practices in the synagogues attended by San Francisco's organized women reveal how changes in women's participation in communal affairs were integral to the Americanization of Judaism in San Francisco.

To quote the scholar Charlotte Bunch, the goal here is to move beyond "add women and stir."[15] Appraising Jewish immigrant women's charitable activities within a specific community longitudinally and broadly, across several decades and in comparison to other women's organizations, challenges older studies of community formation among ethnic groups. Thaddeus C. Radzialowski and Safia F. Haddad demonstrate the impact of organized women in later time periods in their studies of Chicago's Polish and Syrian immigrant communities in the 1890s and 1920s, respectively.[16] Careful study of immigrant and ethnic women's self-help, charitable, and reform societies in San Francisco and elsewhere reveals unexamined complexities in the processes by which Jews and other immigrant groups adapted to new environments.[17] Students of ethnic and immigration history will benefit from exploring how immigrant gender roles changed when recently arrived women joined together to aid themselves and others.

Women and the Shaping of Ethnic and Gender Identity, 1830–1900," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 751–74; Evelyn Bodek, "'Making Do': Jewish Women and Philanthropy," in *Jewish Life in Philadelphia, 1830–1940,* ed. Murray Friedman (Philadelphia: American Jewish Committee, 1983), 143–162; Gloria Ricci Lothrop, "Strength Made Stronger: The Role of Women in Southern California Philanthropy," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1989): 143–94.

[12] On charity leaders as proto-feminists, see Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power*, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990). For a rejection of this formulation, see Anne M. Boylan, "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797–1840," *Journal of American History* 71, No. 3 (December 1984): 52 – 82.

[13] Jacob Marcus Rader, *The American Jewish Woman, 1654–1980* Vol. II (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1981), 48. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, similar transformations might have occurred in other new communities with vibrant economies, rapid population growth, and generally tolerant attitudes toward Jews.

[14] Quote from "Caring for the Poor," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, December 16, 1888, 10.

[15] Charlotte Bunch, quoted in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, eds. Carole McCann and Seung-kyung Kim (London: Routledge, 2013).

[16] Thaddeus C. Radzialowski, "'Let Us Join Hands': The Polish Women's Alliance," *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1977): 183–203; Safia F. Haddad, "The Woman's Role in Socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago," in *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*, eds. Elaine C. Habopian and Add Paden (Wilmette, Ill.: Medina University Press International, 1969), 84–101.

[17] See, e.g., Michael Everette Bell, "Regional Identity in the Antebellum South: How German Immigrants Became 'Good' Charlestonians," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 100, no. 1 (January 1999): 9–28, 12, 18.

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THE PIONEER GENERATION: IMMIGRANT JEWISH WOMEN & VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1850–1860

Understanding the processes by which Jewish immigrant women Americanized themselves begins with discussion of social welfare practices in Gold Rush San Francisco (1850 –1880). From about 800 souls in 1848, the city's population soared over 36,000 in 1852. More than half of the city's residents were foreign-born, hailing from Ireland, France, Germany, China, Italy, South America, and other locales around the globe.[18] The city saw a 163 percent population increase, from 56,800 in 1860 to 149,500 in 1870. In the 1870s, local numbers approached 234,000. Such rapid growth naturally created severe social problems, but few, if any, public structures existed to meet the needs of the destitute, sick, or dying.[19]

Recent arrivals, male and female, representing diverse nations, races, and religions, responded by forming voluntary societies to care for their own. In 1860, San Francisco had 27 privately funded voluntary associations providing social welfare services to African Americans, Protestant and Catholic orphans, dependent and delinquent juveniles, a hospital for British expatriates, a home for sailors, and self-help societies for the Irish, French, Italians, Scandinavians, Spaniards, Swiss, Slavs, and, in common parlance, "Hebrews." Between 1848 and 1879, newcomers created at least 103 benevolent and reform organizations.[20] These private associations met the city's everyday health and welfare needs as well as its emergencies.[21]

Responding to their own rising numbers, Jewish San Franciscans likewise founded self-help organizations.[22] Attracted by the city's rapidly expanding economy, they arrived from other U.S. states and points around the world, including England, Alsace, Russia, Australia, and the German states, especially *Württemberg,* Bavaria, and Posen.[23] By the 1870s, Jews numbered 16,000 of the city's population, about 7 to 8 percent of the total, making San Francisco the nation's second-largest Jewish community.[24] They divided into two associations that provided a variety of services. German speakers organized as the Eureka Benevolent Society in October 1850.[25] Sephardic Jews and Polish speakers formed the First Hebrew Benevolent Society that same year.[26] Founders, like most of the city's Jewish pioneers, were male, and most were bachelors. They delayed marriage until they were financially successful, then imported brides from older communities in the United States or Europe.[27] Their societies provided needed services as well as companionship for

[18] Eisenberg et al., *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 19.

[19] Mary Ann Irwin, "'Going About and Doing Good': The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850–1880," *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (August 1999): 365–96.

[20] *LeCount & Strong's City Directory of San Francisco for 1854* (San Francisco: San Francisco Herald, 1854); *Colville's 1856–1857 San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: Comm. Steam Press, 1857); Harris, Bogardus, and Labatt, *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing October 1856* (San Francisco: Whitton, Towne, 1856); Henry G. Langley, *San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing July 1858* (San Francisco: Commercial Steam Press, 1858). Hereafter, all city directories dated 1858 or later are "Langley," followed by year of publication.

[21] See, among others, Luckingham, "Associational Life;" Merle Stewart Jaque, "The Origins of Private Benevolence in California, 1769–1869," M.A. thesis, San Diego State College, 1966; Mitchel Roth, "Cholera, Community, and Public Health in Gold Rush Sacramento and San Francisco," *Pacific Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (November 1997): 527–51.

[22] Fred Rosenbaum, *Visions of Reform: Congregation Emanu-El and the Jews of San Francisco, 1849–1999* (San Francisco: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2000), 6; Gustav Adolf Danziger, "The Jew in San Francisco: The Last Half Century," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. XXV (April 1895): 385–86; Irena Narell, *Our City, The Jews of San Francisco* (San Diego: Howell-North Books, 1981).

[23] Eisenberg et al., *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 18–20, 24. On Jewish ethnic diversity at mid-century, see Ava F. Kahn and Ellen Eisenberg, "Western Reality: Jewish Diversity During the 'German' Period," *American Jewish History* 92, no. 4 (Dec. 2004): 455–79.

[24] The largest was New York City. Eisenberg et al., *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 18–20.

[25] Eureka Benevolent Society, *Constitution and Bylaws of the Eureka Benevolent Society, San Francisco, California, Organized October 1850*, October 2, 1850, n.p., Folder 1, 3, Box 1, Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, BANC MSS 2010/606, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Unless otherwise noted, all BANC MSS sources are in the Bancroft Library's Magnes Collection.

[26] First Hebrew Benevolent Society, *Constitution and Bylaws of the First Hebrew Benevolent Society of San Francisco, California, 1862 and 1900, and List of Officers 1853–1900* (San Francisco: L. Rosenthal & Co., 1891), Folder 2, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/518; Ava F. Kahn, *Jewish Life in the American West* (Berkeley: Heyday Press, 2004), 19.

[27] The precise ratio of Jewish men to women in Gold Rush San Francisco is unknown, but certainly men initially outnumbered women. Jeanne E. Abrams, *Jewish Women Pioneering the Frontier Trail: A History in the American West* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 6.

lonely men.

Differences in language and worship practices prompted recently arrived Jews to found two separate synagogues. Congregation Emanu-El began in 1851 with members loyal to the *minhag Ashkenazi* ("German custom").[28] Sherith Israel began the same year; many of its members were from Posen.[29] They preferred Polish-language services and the *minhag Polen,* a custom slightly more traditional than *minhag Ashkenazi*.[30] The city's newly arrived immigrant Jewish women likewise divided, following their menfolk into the city's two pioneer congregations.[31] They too would soon found charities of their own.

Additional details about Jewish organizational life merit consideration before turning to the first Jewish women's societies. Like the small number of African Americans lured to San Francisco by the Gold Rush, Jewish newcomers benefited from the presence of an almost universally despised immigrant group, the Chinese, upon whom nativists concentrated much of their vitriol.[32] In addition to white skin and European birth, San Francisco's early Jewish merchants brought valuable commercial connections, which helped them gain early acceptance in what historian Moses Ricshin calls the "unsettled and unstructured West," which offered Jews "a rough-and-ready American welcome" that united diverse newcomers "in bonds of fraternity and solidarity with an ease not matched elsewhere in the country."[33] Adding to their welcome was the Jewish pioneer's determination to care not only for his own, but to liberally support all local charities. As one account puts it, "their gentile neighbors" saw the Jewish pioneer "as a pillar of civil and commercial society," and "among the town's 'best citizens'."[34] The openness of San Francisco society in the Gold Rush era, and residents' respect for the charitably inclined, ensured favorable reception for Jewish charity leaders, male and female.

Adding to the colorful patchwork of entities founded by men of all nations were San Francisco women's associations. Even though men initially outnumbered them by 6.5 to 1, women were quick to organize their own charities.[35] The first to organize were Protestant women, the wives of four local ministers, who founded California's first charitable society (an orphanage) in 1850.[36] Religious tradition encouraged native-born Protestant women to organize charities, as did the fifty-year legacy of woman-led charity leadership they brought with them to California. In towns and cities across the United States, they wrote constitutions, elected officers, composed annual reports, and raised and distributed funds to aid the sick and poor.[37]

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[28] Robert Scott Cline, "Community Structure on the Urban Frontier: The Jews of Portland, Oregon, 1849–1887" (M.A. thesis, Portland State University, 1982), xii, at http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1076&context=open_access_etds, accessed 5-25-19.

[29] Posen was a Polish province that, after 1793, became part of Prussia. Ellen Eisenberg, *Embracing a Western Identity: Jewish Oregonians 1849–1950* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015), 50–89.

[30] Cline, "Community Structure," xii.

[31] Congregation Emanu-El leaders limited congregation membership to male heads of household until 1921, when female congregants were admitted in their own names. Rosenbaum, *Visions*, 127. More research is needed to determine when other local congregations extended membership to females.

[32] See, e.g., Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War against Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 2007).

[33] Robert W. Cherny, "Patterns of Toleration and Discrimination in San Francisco: The Civil War to World War I," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 73 (1994), 131–41; William Toll, *The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry Over Four Generations* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1982), 9, 94; Moses Rischin, "The Jewish Experience in America: A View from the West," in*Jews of the American West*, eds. Moses Rischin and John Livingstong (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 33.

[34] Eisenberg et al., *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 18–19.

[35] Rosenbaum, *Visions*, 5. According to local directories of this period, sixty benevolent associations were male-led, thirty-eight female-led, four had mixed-sex boards, and one had duplicate male and female boards.

[36] Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good." See also Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 11–79; Nancy F. Cott, *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Encylopedia of Women and Religion in North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

[37] In 1797, for example, New York women formed the Female Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children. In 1802, it became New York's first charity (male or female led) to incorporate. One year later Philadelphia women drafted a constitution for their Female Association for the Relief of the Sick Poor. In 1812, another New York group founded the Association for the Relief of

Local Roman Catholic women's charity followed a different trajectory. At mid-century, local bishops throughout the United States directed charitable activities within their own diocese, while orders of women religious performed the work. For their parts, elite and working-class Roman Catholics donated money and volunteered time to these undertakings. As late as 1920, orders of women religious still performed 75 percent of all Catholic-sponsored charity work nationally.[38] In Gold Rush San Francisco, nursing and teaching orders acting under the auspices of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, such as the Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of Charity, managed schools, orphanages, hospitals, and other institutions. Most were foreign-born and, like many local Catholics, Irish.[39] Instead of founding independent, woman-led charities, Catholic laywomen worked behind the scenes. In 1853, for example, the women of St. Mary's Cathedral held a parish fair that netted $7,000 for the church building fund.[40] Six years later, the Sisters of Mercy organized a St. Mary's Ladies' Society. The nuns had two goals: "disseminating piety among the females of the Catholic Church" and orchestrating laywomen's fund-raising activities.[41] Catholic San Francisco laywomen delayed until 1887 before forming an entity independent of church leadership, the Catholic Ladies' Aid Society.[42]

Gold Rush San Francisco's first generation of Jewish immigrant women set yet a third course. Marked differences separated their participation in benevolence work from that of local Protestant and Catholic women, beginning with their understanding of charity. In Judaism, the duty of charity is *tzedakah* (צדקה) which translates as "justice" or "righteousness." *Tzedakah* envisions charity as an ethical obligation and not, as in Christian tradition, an act of generosity.[43] Although Jewish men and women shared equally in the duty of charity, their roles in its administration had not historically been equal. In synagogues throughout northern and central Europe, where most of San Francisco's Jewish pioneers were born, rabbis and male lay leaders had long controlled decisions about social welfare. Synagogue men confined women's roles to the male-led *hevrah kadisha* (burial society), which assigned them only the responsibility for preparing the female dead for burial.[44]

The European tradition of synagogue-based charity began to shift in the nineteenth century. Adapting *tzedakah* to fit changing local needs, Jewish women formed independent *hevrot* and expanded their societies' formal duties to include the kinds of charity work common to non-Jewish women. In 1840 London, for example, Louise Rothschild founded the Ladies' Visiting Society and charged members with caring for needy, sick, and dying Jews.[45] Jewish women formed similar societies in France and Germany that combined the traditional task of tending the female dead with something new, distributing aid to the poor.[46]

Respectable, Aged, Indigent Females. Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 49, note 27; 39; 73, note 12.

[38] Gwendolyn Mink and Alice O'Connor, *Poverty in the United States: An Encyclopedia of History, Politics, and Policy*, Volume 1 (Goleta CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 131.

[39] On the predominance of Irish immigrants, many of whom were Catholic, in San Francisco, see Robert A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848–1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). I was able to trace the ancestry of only a handful of San Francisco nuns, as they generally took new names upon entering their orders. Some personal details appear in histories of the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy. See, among others, Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, "San Francisco," at http://www.daughtersofcharity.com/who-we-are/heritage/san-francisco/, accessed 5-29-19.

[40] Luckingham, "Associational Life, 54.

[41] The society raised enough money in the early 1860s to build "St. Mary's Hall, a wooden building 60 x 30 feet" adjoining St. Mary's Hospital. Langley, 1864, 26, 560.

[42] Mary Roberts Coolidge, Cora Bell Kimball, and George Thomas Cochran, *A Directory of the Charitable and Benevolent Institutions of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Phillips, Smyth & Van Orden, 1901), 33.

[43] Rabbi Hayim Halevy Donin, *To Be a Jew: A Guide to Jewish Observance in Contemporary Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

[44] Benjamin Maria Baader, *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany, 1800–1870* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 171; Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*, 64.

[45] Paula Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation, in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 30–32. *Hevrot* is the plural of *hevrah*.

[46] Benjamin Maria Baader, "Rabbinic Study, Self-Improvement, and Philanthropy: Gender and the Refashioning of Jewish Voluntary Associations in Germany, 1750–1870,"; in *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society,* ed. Thomas Adam (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Tobias Brinkmann, "Ethnic Difference and Civic Unity: A Comparison of Jewish Communal Philanthropy in

These were the relatively new charitable traditions that Jewish immigrant women brought with them to San Francisco in the 1850s and 1860s. The outlines of their first local organizations support the findings of historian Rudolf Glanz, who argues that European Jewish women transplanted Old World practices whole to America, then adapted their societies to meet local requirements as needed.[47] It was by these and other small steps that San Francisco's Jewish immigrant women started upon their paths to Americanization.

In August 1855, two groups launched the city's first independent, woman-led Jewish entities. Each group adopted the name "*Israelitischer Frauen Verein*" then translated the name differently into English. One Anglicized its name as "Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Association" (HLBA).[48] The other became the "Ladies' Society of Israelites" (LSI).[49] Both were mutual-aid societies, meaning that members paid into a fund from which members might draw in times of need. Each raised money through member fees and monthly dues: HLBA charged an initiation fee of $1.00 (about $32 in 2022 dollars), then monthly dues of 50¢. LSI's initiation fee was $2.00 with monthly dues of $1.00[50] (see Table 1 following article).

In 1850s San Francisco, numerous challenges stood between HLBA and LSI women and their recognition as Jewish community leaders. Founders hailed primarily from northern and central Europe. Only one—Pauline Dinkelspiel—was native-born (Table 1). Few spoke English fluently; almost all spoke English as a second language. German was the first language of some, while others' native tongues were Polish or Yiddish. HLBA's first president Tandler, was born in Germany, as were LSI's Babette Regensburger, Julia Mayblum, and Sarah Bloomingdale.[51] HLBA initially printed its constitution in German and conducted meetings in that language.[52] Even foreign-born leaders who had been in the United States for years, like Fanny Tandler, did not necessarily speak English fluently.[53] As students of formal Americanization programs have observed, immigrant wives were often slower to master the language than their husbands, for whom success depended upon language proficiency.[54]

The city's newness compelled society leaders to be flexible in proposing services. Recognizing that calls for aid would be unpredictable, LSI founders simply promised that they would assist "Hebrew women under all circumstances of need."[55] The HLBA's commitment was similarly broad: "The object of this Association shall be to relieve persons in

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Nineteenth-Century German and U.S. Cities," in Ibid. At midcentury, private individuals in Germany had begun to form voluntary associations with constitutions, bylaws, annual reports, etc., but I do not know if those forms were common among European Jewish women's societies. Andreas Richter and Anna Katharina Gollan, "Charitable Organisations in Germany: Overview," Thomson Reuters Practical Law, at https://uk.practicallaw.thomsonreuters.com/3-632-5987?transitionType=Default&contextData=(sc.Default)&firstPage=true&bhcp=1#co_anchor_a429246, accessed 5-27-20.

[47] Rudolf Glanz, *The German Woman in America: Two Female Immigrant Generations, 1820–1929*, Volume II (New York: KTAV Publishing, 1977), 125.

[48] *Israelitischer Frauen Verein* [Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Association] of San Francisco, *Constitution & Bylaws of the Israelitischer Frauen Verein of San Francisco, Organized August 12, 1855*, n.p., n.d., Folder 2, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/606The HLBA later took the name Ladies' *United* Hebrew Benevolent Society (LUHBS). LUHBS, *Constitution of the Ladies United Hebrew Benevolent Society with a List of Officers from Date of its Organization [August 1855] and List of Members* (San Francisco: M. Weiss, 1876), Folder 2, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/606.

[49] No internal records survive. City directories include Ladies' Society of Isrealites (LSI) listings with names of officers and trustees, frequency, place, and times of meeting, and numbers of dues-paying members. LSI later changed its name to "Jewish Ladies' Relief Society." "Year of Charity Work Successfully Closes: Jewish Ladies Relief Society Holds 45th Annual Meeting and Election of Officers," *San Francisco Call,* January 17, 1902, 12; Jewish Ladies' Relief Society, "Forty-Eighth Annual Report [1904–1905]," January 25, 1905, n.p., Folder 2, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/606.

[50] HLBA, *Constitution & Bylaws*, 9.

[51] Information about officers' nativity and family relationships found in census records for 1860, 1870, and 1880, and city directories.

[52] Eisenberg et al., *Jews of the Pacific Coast*, 42.

[53] The 1850 U.S. census shows Tandler in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1850 with three children, one nine years old, all born in Kentucky. *1850 United States Federal Census, Louisville District 2, Jefferson, Kentucky*, Roll: *206*; Page: *215b*xxx (hereafter "U.S. Census," followed by city, state, year).

[54] Elliott Robert Barkan, *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration* (Goleta, Cal.: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 205.

[55] Langley, 1862, 477.

sickness, poverty and distress, and to respectively assist at and to the expenses for their burials."[56] Both groups offered women the comfort of Jewish sisters in times of distress. HLBA's constitution bound volunteers to visit ailing members at home and to "render them assistance." If leaders found the society's funds inadequate to meet members' wants, they promised to enlist the "other charitable societies in this city" to ensure that the needy received proper care.[57] Membership meant that HLBA women would not face crises alone. LSI went even further, extending its services beyond members to any needy Jewish woman in the city. In its 1863 directory listing, LSI promised to aid "persons in sickness, poverty and distress," "to attend the dying, and to bury the dead females of the Israelitish faith."[58]

These services were important in a community with so few adult Jewish women. Indeed, both groups offered services that leaders themselves might need. A twenty-year old bride when she became LSI's first treasurer, German-born Sarah Bloomingdale's only family in San Francisco was husband Emanuel.[59] Julia Mayblum likewise had no local family. Born in Bavaria, she and husband Moritz reached San Francisco by way of South Carolina. When she joined LSI's board in 1861, Julia's closest female relation was her three-year old daughter.[60] During her first year as HLBA president, Fanny Tandler's only female relations in San Francisco were her daughters, the eldest of whom was twelve.[61]

Leaders faced time constraints as well. Several of the women discussed here eventually became wealthy, but most were not when they arrived. Many were needed in their family businesses, such as LSI's first president, Babette Regensburger. Husband Henry and his business partner, David Stern, could not have managed their business, the St. Nicholas Hotel (fig. 2), without their wives' labor.[62] In 1860, the St. Nicholas was home to David and Caroline Stern, the Regensburgers, their combined six children aged one to ten years, and fifty-one lodgers. Babette, Caroline, and a staff of six provided all the comforts of home, including meals, to paying guests as well as their own families.[63] The women also maintained a kosher kitchen that lured single men to their table with advertisements for "the most delicate viands of the season."[64]

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[56] HLBA, *Constitution*, 3.

[57] HLBA, *Constitution*, 24.

[58] HLBA, *Constitution*, 3; Langley, 1863.

[59] The 1856 directory lists only one Bloomingdale (Emanuel). According to the 1870 census, Sarah's first child was born in California in 1858. Before coming to San Francisco, Emanuel Bloomingdale lived in St. Louis, Missouri, where he became a naturalized citizen. Find A Grave Index, "Sarah Bloomingdale," http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi; and census data; Ancestry.com, U.S. Census, 1870; San Francisco, California; Roll: M593_79; Page: 170B; Family History Library Film: 545578. California State Library. Sacramento, Cal.; Great Registers, 1866-1898; Collection Number: 4-2A; CSL Roll Number: 44; FHL Roll Number: 977099.

[60] Only one listing for Mayblum (Moritz) appears in the 1861 city directory. The 1860 census found Moritz in San Francisco with Julia and daughter Clara, born in California in 1858.

[61] The 1856 city directory listed only one Tandler (Abraham). In 1850 the Tandlers shared a home with business partner Jacob Lang, his wife, and their children. The Lang and Tandler families arrived together in San Francisco aboard the steamer *Cornelia* in March 1853. Thus Fanny knew at least one adult Jewish woman in San Francisco when she co-founded HLBA. U.S. Census, 1850; Louisville District 2, Jefferson, Kentucky; Roll: 206; Page: 215B; San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists Vol. I [1850–1864], Rasmussen, Louis J. San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists Vol. I [1850–1864], Baltimore, MD, USA: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978.

[62] In this era, San Francisco was home to two David Sterns. One was born in Bavaria in 1820, emigrated to New York City, married Fanny Strauss (sister of pant-maker Levi Strauss), and arrived in San Francisco in 1853. The second David Stern, innkeeper husband of LSI president Caroline, was born in Baden in 1827 and came to California by way of Texas. Intriguingly, the 1859 directory identifies Henry Regensburger and "C. Stern" (e.g., Caroline, not David) as the hotel's proprietors. U.S. census lists for Texas 1850, California 1852 state census, and U.S. census for 1860; Langley, 1859, 232.

[63] In 1860, U.S. census-takers listed St. Nicholas residents' names, including those of innkeepers and their families. In 1870, census-takers identified David's occupation as "keeps boarding house," and entered ditto marks below for Caroline's occupation. This was atypical for the era: census-takers usually identified wives' occupation as "keeping house." This suggests that the Sterns identified Caroline as co-manager of the boarding house. U.S. Census, 1860, San Francisco, California; Roll: M653_67; Page: 475; Image: 475; Family History Library Film: 803067; U.S. Census 1880; San Francisco, California; Roll: 76; Family History Film: 1254076; Page: 359A; Enumeration District: 143; Image: 0676.

[64] Langley, 1859, 187; 1860, 209.

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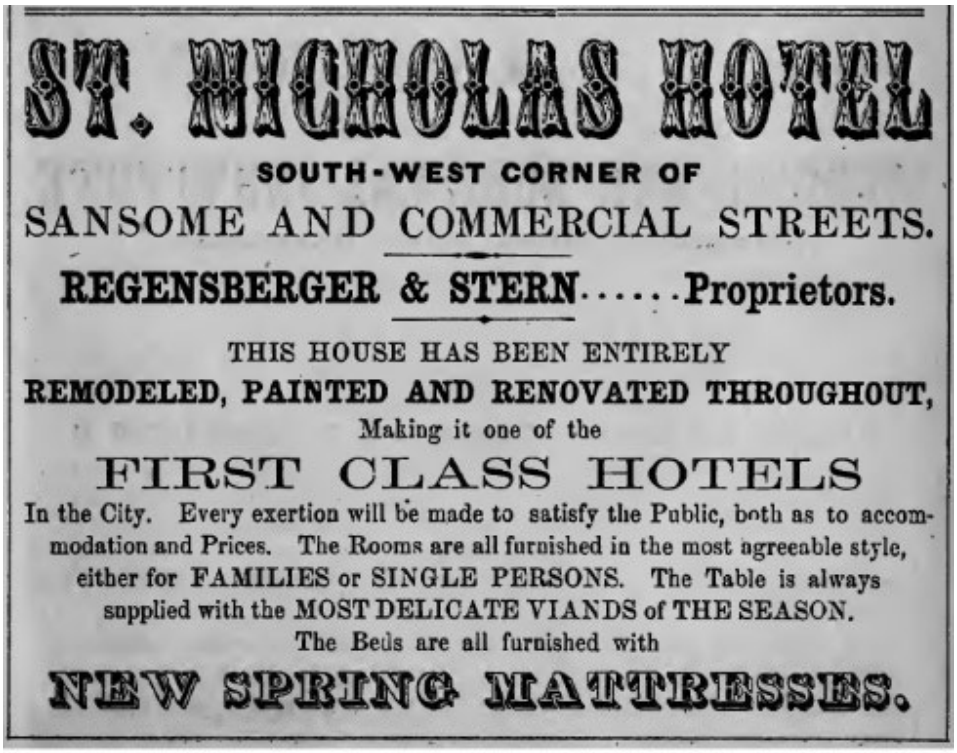

ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL

SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF

SANSOME AND COMMERCIAL STREETS.

REGENSBERGER & STERN.....Proprietors.

THIS HOUSE HAS BEEN ENTIRELY

REMODELED, PAINTED AND RENOVATED THROUGHOUT,

Making it one of the

FIRST CLASS HOTELS

In the City. Every exertion will be made to satisfy the Public, both as to accommodation and Prices. The Rooms are all furnished in the most agreeable style, either for FAMILIES or SINGLE PERSONS. The Table is always supplied with the MOST DELICATE VIANDS of THE SEASON.

The Beds are all furnished with

NEW SPRING MATTRESSES.

Henry J. Langley, The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing July, 1860 (San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1860), 517.

***Figure 2**. Advertisement for St. Nicholas Hotel in San Francisco city directory for 1860. Source: Henry G. Langley,* The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing July 1860 *(San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1860), 517.*

Other founders were equally pressed for time, since most were wives and mothers who could not afford paid household help.[65] Thirty-four when she became LSI's first president, Regensburger bore eight, possibly nine children (not all survived).[66] Thirty-year-old Sarah Rich juggled her duties as HLBA's first treasurer with four children under the age of four. HLBA's Charlotte Castle was a nineteen-year-old bride when she arrived in San Francisco in 1854; she bore nine children over the next two decades.[67] LSI's treasurer Bloomingdale produced six children between 1855 and 1865, as did LSI vice president Leah Sutro. When she agreed to serve HLBA in 1855, Caroline Wolf was a nineteen-year-old bride with a six-month-old baby. In 1867, her last year as an LSI director, Caroline had eight children aged one to twelve years.[68] Louisianian Dinkelspiel, who came to San Francisco in 1861 as a seventeen-year-old bride, had four children under the age of five when she joined the LSI board in 1868. By 1900, she had borne nine children, although only seven survived.[69] Despite these challenges, in 1855, Jewish immigrant women founded San Francisco's first woman-led

[65] The exceptions were Sophie Waldrow Cohen and Rachel Behrendt. See Table 1.

[66] Comparison of census data in 1850 Texas, California's 1852 state census, and the 1860 U.S. census suggest the death of at least one Regensburger child. Child mortality rates were high among the city's pioneer Jewish families. In 1860, Emanu-El lay-leader Henry Seligman counted 18 child deaths among the congregation's 227 families. U.S. Census 1850; Rio Grande, Texas; Roll: M432_909; Page: 509A; Image: 57; California State Census 1852; Roll #: 4; Repository Collection #: C144:4; Page: 415; Line: 29; U.S. Census 1860, San Francisco, California; Roll: M653_67; Page: 475; Image: 475; Family History Library Film: 803067; Kahn, *Jewish Voices*,179.

[67] Birthplace data derived from U.S. Censuses for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900, and California State Census of 1852.

[68] Information on HLBA and LSI founders' ages, nativity, and children found in 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 U.S. census records.

[69] Kahn, *Jewish Voices*, 252; Rosenbaum, *Visions*, 57; Meyer, *Western Jewry*, 86; Langley, 1868, 1869; U.S. Census, 1870, San Francisco, California.

mutual-aid societies and created services that they and other women surely needed. San Franciscans clearly valued these organizations since both continued to serve the community for the next sixty years.[70]

BECOMING "LADIES BOUNTIFUL": THE AMERICANIZATION OF JEWISH WOMEN'S AID ORGANIZATIONS

Local Jewish immigrant women embarked on their next phase of associational life in the 1860s, when they created two explicitly philanthropic organizations. The new entities opened to Jewish immigrant women the role of "ladies bountiful," a position already familiar to leaders of elite native-born Christian women's associations. The new entities illustrate historian Karla Goldman's observation that American Jewish women's associations incorporated "forms offered by the American environment" to blend Old and New World models.[71] In the process, local charity leaders broadened their engagement within the Jewish community and furthered their own processes of self-acculturation.

In April 1864, twenty-five local women founded "for benevolent purposes" the Association of the Daughters of Israel (ADI), which collected funds "to assist widows and orphans."[72] Founders were the wives of well-established businessmen: ADI's first president, for example, was Getta Scholle, whose husband Jacob was a partner in Scholle & Bros., a New York–based company that imported and manufactured clothing and dry goods.[73] ADI's first secretary was married to Benjamin Hagan, Congregation Emanu-El lay-leader and salesman with W. Steinhart Bros.[74] Louisa Steinhart, whose husband William was the "W" in W. Steinhart Bros., was ADI's treasurer in 1867.[75] The ADI remained active in San Francisco through 1880. Its existence reflected the growing prosperity of the city's pioneer generation as well as its assimilation of American patterns of elite, woman-led charity.

Another explicitly philanthropic association, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society (HLSS), appeared in April 1869.[76] Leaders used donations and members' dues to purchase materials to be made into clothing and household goods. The women met every Wednesday at a local hall and produced the finished goods themselves, which they distributed free to "disabled, unprotected and needy persons," regardless of religion or gender.[77] HLSS women met weekly well into the twentieth century.

The HLSS represents the second phase in the self-acculturation of San Francisco's Jewish immigrant women. Sewing circles abounded throughout the United States, but not among local Jewish organizations. HLSS founders likely borrowed wholesale from another local group, the San Francisco Ladies' Depository, founded in 1866.[78] Ladies' Depository managers raised funds via donations and member dues to purchase cloth and notions but, unlike HLSS, Depository women did not make the goods themselves. Instead they distributed the materials to needy women to finish at home and then sell in the Depository store.[79] HLSS women would certainly have known of the group: local newspapers routinely praised it, encouraging readers to join and to shop at its store.[80] The HLSS reveals Jewish

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[70] In 1915, the (male-led) Eureka Benevolent Society absorbed HLBA and LSI. Federation of Jewish Charities, *Ninth Annual Report of the Federation of Jewish Charities, December 31, 1918* (San Francisco: n.p.), 1.

[71] Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery,* 60.

[72] Langley, 1865, 606; 1871, 876. No internal records survive. Its first directory listing appears in 1865, the last in 1880. Despite the timing, ADI listings do not mention the Civil War.

[73] Jacob and William lived in San Francisco, brother Abraham in New York. Langley, 1865, 392.

[74] Langley, 1865, 606, 207. Listings for Benjamin and Mrs. Hagan placed them at the same address.

[75] Langley, 1867, 666.

[76] Langley, 1873, 859. No internal records survive. According to city directories, the organization was founded in December 1869.

[77] Langley, 1873, 1868. On American women's sewing societies, see Scott, *Natural Allies*, 52–53.

[78] Two groups called HLSS were founded in 1869 in Boston and San Francisco, but I am unsure which is oldest. The Boston group was inactive in 1878, when Lina Hecht revived it. Jonathan D. Sarna, Ellen Smith, Scott-Martin Kosofsky, *The Jews of Boston* (Boston: Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, 1995), 223; Ellen Smith, "Lina Frank Hecht, 1848–1921," Jewish Women's Archive, Encyclopedia, at http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/hecht-lina-frank, accessed 5-29-19.

[79] Ladies' Depository, *Annual Report of the Ladies' Depository, Constitution and Rules for the Government of the Ladies' Depository of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Edward Bosqui, 1867), CHS.

[80] Between January 1867 and October 1870, the *Daily Alta California* published thirty-nine appeals for volunteers and advertisements for sale of Ladies' Depository merchandise, typically on the first page. See, e.g., "Ladies' Depository," March 28, 1867, 1; "The Ladies'

immigrant women adapting American forms of benevolence to suit their own needs: weekly meetings gave Jewish women occasion to socialize with women like themselves while each fulfilled her duty of *tzedakah*.

HLSS leadership in the 1870s also reveals the growing complexity of associational life among American Jewish women. In 1873, the president of San Francisco's HLSS, Maryland-born Lina Hecht, lived in Boston.[81] Day-to-day management of the group fell to her San Francisco vice president, German immigrant Sarah Sloss.[82] The two women became transcontinental conduits of information. In 1872, for example, San Francisco's HLSS staged a "Calico Ball," an elegant affair in which tuxedoed men vied to outbid each other for handmade goods crafted by HLSS women. A few years later, Lina borrowed the Calico Ball fund-raiser idea for Boston's HLSS.[83] On either coast, the HLSS shows Jewish women—both native- and foreign-born—adopting the social welfare strategies prevalent among women of other faiths.

Yet real differences existed between organizations founded by native-born Christians and Jewish immigrants. An excellent example is San Francisco's First Hebrew Ladies' Mutual Benefit Association, founded by a group of Jewish men in January 1864 to care for ailing Jewish women. In their first directory listing founders promised to provide "ladies of the Hebrew faith" with "a physician and medicine," to pay weekly benefits to the sick, and to cover members' funeral expenses. By 1872, the organization boasted 116 dues-paying members; it continued operations through the turn of the century.[84] The group was not unusual among American Jews: men elsewhere in the United States also organized to aid needy Jewish women. In 1854, for example, men founded the New Orleans Association for Relief of Jewish Widows and Orphans of the Jewish Faith.[85] Between 1848 and 1860, men in New York City likewise formed many Jewish benevolent societies, often to aid needy women. In each case, membership was restricted to women but only men were officers.[86] Yet the First Hebrew Ladies' Mutual Benefit Association had no peers among Christian charities in Gold Rush San Francisco, where male—and female-led entities consistently formed same-sex organizations to care for members of their own sex, especially in medical matters.[87] Only the European custom of male control over communal affairs can explain the anomaly of a male-led San Francisco voluntary association providing health-care services to women.

When Jewish immigrant women organized their first local charities in 1850s and 1860s San Francisco, they were not necessarily thinking about Americanizing themselves or others. And yet this is what happened. For example, at mid-century, American custom dictated that white, middle-class married women identify publicly by their husband's names rather than their own. In 1855, native-born Sarah Allen, president of the Ladies' Depository, used her husband's initials to identify as "Mrs. L.H. Allen."[88] In contrast, in 1856, Bavaria-born Babette Regensburger, LSI's first president, gave directory compilers her own name, "B. Regensburger," rather that of husband Henry.[89] Local directories published the

Depository: Annual Report of the Managers, Financial Matters, Etc.," November 9, 1869, 1; "Annual Report of the Ladies' Depository," November 6, 1870, 1.

[81] Lina's husband Jacob was one of four brothers and relations (Abraham, Isaac, Marcus H., and Louis Hecht Jr.) engaged in bicoastal commerce in Boston and San Francisco as Hecht Brothers Co., manufacturers and dealers in leather, bindings, boots, and shoes. Louis Jr. was also a partner in Buckingham & Hecht, wholesale boot manufacturers., 1873, 295, 123.

[82] Sarah's husband Louis was partner with Lewis Gerstle in Alaska Commercial Co. Rosenbaum, *Visions*, 58, 62.

[83] *Daily Alta California*, "Calico Invitation Ball," February 10, 1872, 2.

[84] No internal records survive. City directories include the group from 1867 through 1905, always with male directors. The group does not appear in directories published after 1905.

[85] Bauman, "Southern Jewish Women," 34–78; 60–61, note 12.

[86] Nathan M. Kaganoff, "Organized Jewish Welfare Activity in New York City (1848–1860)," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (September 1966): 27–61, 33.

[87] Rickey Hendricks, "Feminism and Maternalism in Early Hospitals for Children: San Francisco and Denver, 1875–1915," *Journal of the West* 32 (1993): 61–69.

[88] Sarah Allen was at least a third-generation American, born in New York to New York–born parents. U.S. Census, 1880; San Francisco, California; Roll: 74; Family History Film: 1254074; Page: 48D; Enumeration District: 063; Image: 0531; Find A Grave, "Sarah H. DeWitt Allen," at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=139556071&ref=acom, accessed 5-29-19.

[89] Harris, 1856, 130, 503. Custom decreed that widows might use their own first names. For example, Mathilda Esberg's first name never appeared in a city directory before her husband's 1896 death. Thereafter, city directories included her first and last names, plus "widow."

first name of HLBA's Fanny Tandler through the seven years of her presidency.[90] In 1859, LSI's Amelia Sutro shared her first name rather than that of husband Adolph.[91] In time, however, the newcomers adapted American forms. After 1862, Fanny Tandler was always "Mrs. A. Tandler." In 1865, ADI's Getta Scholle gave her own initial, but thereafter she was "Mrs. Jacob Scholle."[92] From the 1860s forward, LSI and HLBA leaders appeared in city directories demurely cloaked behind their husbands' names.

Marital status suggests another point of comparison between charities founded by women of different faiths. Irrespective of religion or nativity, women faced legal difficulties transacting business in their married names, even in the community-property state of California.[93] This is why the native-born women who founded the San Francisco Protestant Orphan Asylum Society named male trustees to handle its legal affairs, as did the San Francisco Ladies Protection & Relief Society.[94] When Jewish immigrant women organized their own self-help and charitable agencies, they followed the lead of their Protestant peers and named men to their boards.[95]

ORTHODOXY, REFORM, AND FEMALE-DOMINATED CHARITY IN JEWISH SAN FRANCISCO FROM THE 1870S ONWARD

In the 1850s, Jewish immigrant women embarked on their first phase as San Francisco community leaders, launching organizations based on European models. In the 1860s and 1870s, as they absorbed new patterns of charitable activism, they broadened their engagement in Jewish community affairs. Yet Jewish women's path to local civic engagement remained different from that of women of other faiths. Nothing better illustrates this difference than the state's first orphanages. As previously mentioned, in October 1850 local Protestant women met to discuss the need for an orphanage. Six months later, nine orphans moved into the newly opened asylum, built entirely by private funds raised by the women themselves.[96] Six days after the Protestants met, the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul spurred local Catholics to build their own orphanage. The Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum opened two years later, operated by the Sisters under the direction of the Archdiocese of San Francisco.[97]

Although Jewish orphans surely existed, it took Jewish San Franciscans two decades longer than neighbors of other faiths to found the state's first Jewish orphanage, at least in part because the decision was in male, rather than female, hands (fig 3).[98] In January 1869, the fraternal order B'nai B'rith announced plans to build a combined orphanage and old folks' home, hoping, in part, to reduce the expense of supporting deceased members' widows and orphans.[99] Disagreements within the community stalled opening the orphanage for several years. At last, in September 1872, the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum (PHOA) opened with nine residents.[100] The need for such a facility was soon apparent:

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[90] Harris, 1856, 130.

[91] Langley, 1859, 389. Amelia Harris wed Adolph Sutro in 1855. William R. Huber, *Adolph Sutro: King of the Comstock Lode and Mayor of San Francisco* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2020).

[92] Langley, 1867, 670.

[93] California's 1849 constitution included protections for married women's property rights but subsequent legislation and case law undermined those protections. Donna C. Schuele, "'None Could Deny the Eloquence of This Lady': Women, Law, and Government in California, 1850–1890," in *Taming the Elephant: Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California*, eds. John F. Burns, Richard J. Orsi, and Marlene Smith-Baranzini (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 169–98.

[94] Lecount & Strong, 1854, 258. San Francisco Ladies' Protection & Relief Society, *Constitution and Bylaws with a List of Members, August 4, 1853* (San Francisco: n.p., 1854); *Articles of Incorporation* (San Francisco: n.p., 1855). According to U.S. census records, SFPOA founders were all native-born.

[95] HLBA, *Constitution & Bylaws*; LUHBS, *Constitution*. I am not sure if LSI began with male trustees, but after 1862 (the year LSI incorporated), directory listings name male trustees. Langley, 1862, 561.

[96] Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good," 30.

[97] James Flamant, "Child-Saving Charities in this Big Town," *San Francisco Morning Call*, May 28, 1893, 18.

[98] Reena Sigman Friedman, *These Are Our Children: Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880–1925* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994).

[99] International Order of B'Nai B'rith, Grand Lodge No. 4, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting, January 17, 1869* (San Francisco: Hebrew Observer, 1870), 11.

[100] The first PHOA facility was located in rented quarters at 1517–1519 Mason Street. Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum (PHOA), *Synopsis of First Annual Report, 1871–1872*, 3–4, Folder 5, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/606; Langley, 1872, 481.

within two years, the PHOA housed forty-two children.[101]

Divisions within Jewish San Francisco account for that community's delay in founding an orphanage. Language and ethnicity were sticking points, as were doctrinal disagreements. Non-Jewish San Franciscans seemed largely unaware of the differences between themselves and their Jewish neighbors. Indeed, local men were so accustomed to woman-run orphanages that, when the PHOA opened, city directory compiler Henry G. Langley simply assumed that Jewish women were in charge. Langley incorrectly identified PHOA in 1872 and 1873 as one of five "noble organizations … controlled by ladies" in San Francisco.[102]

However, once local men agreed to organize the PHOA, Jewish immigrant women swept in and began actively caring for the orphans. Even before the PHOA opened, members of the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society decided to focus solely on sewing for orphans.[103] Others organized as the PHOA Ladies' Visiting Committee. For immigrant women with little formal education, the PHOA Visiting Committee was the ideal charity, providing a new yet comfortably familiar way to performing their duty to serve those in need. For some women, the orphanage provided their first entry into community service. In 1873, Louisa Wormser, a thirty-eight-year-old wife with two older children living at home, joined the Ladies' Visiting Committee.[104] She served alongside forty-two-year-old Hannah Gerstle, mother of six. When she joined the committee in 1874, Hannah Walter was a twenty-six-year-old mother with two young children.[105] She devoted the next thirty years to caring for orphanage children.

Pioneer charity leaders also became orphanage visitors. In 1877, LSI treasurer Babette Heller added PHOA visitor to that work.[106] Delia Fleishhacker, thirty-four-year old mother of six and president of the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society, orchestrated PHOA fund-raisers.[107] Sarah Sloss likewise entered public life via the orphanage. She joined the HLSS the year it decided to focus on sewing for the orphans. Thirty-seven years old, wife and mother of four, Sloss had delayed charity work until her youngest was four years old.[108] She then left servants in charge of her household and began an earnest charity career thirty-five years long.[109] The PHOA shows San Francisco's first generation of Jewish immigrant women embarking upon form of public engagement that historians call "maternalism," wherein women extended their domestic responsibilities for nurturing the young into the community at large.[110]

Doctrinal and language differences certainly factored into the years that passed between the founding of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish orphanages. But the most telling difference between these communities of faith was male support—or lack of it—for female leadership. The closer Jewish males clung to religious orthodoxy, the less likely they were to accept feminine control over social welfare services. Indeed, to track male support for local Jewish women's charities (Table 1) is to mark the path of American Reform Judaism as it moved through San Francisco.

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[101] PHOA, *Synopsis*, 3–4.
[102] Langley, 1872, 52.
[103] PHOA, *Second Annual Report of the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum & Home Society for the Fiscal Year 1872–1873* (San Francisco: n.p., 1873), 10.
[104] Information about leaders' ages and families drawn from 1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses.
[105] U.S. Census, 1870; San Francisco, California, Roll: M593_85; Page: 840B; Image: 258; Family History Library Film: 545584.
[106] Langley, 1873; PHOA, *Sixth Annual Report PHOA… Fiscal Year 1876–1877* [September 1877], n.p., Folder 5, Box 1, BANC MSS 2010/606.
[107] PHOA, *Sixth Annual Report*.
[108] Langley misidentified HLSS vice president Sarah Sloss as "Mrs. L. Schloss" in Langley, 1873, 859. Husband Louis Sloss appears in the 1873 directory, but no one named "L. Schloss."
[109] PHOA, *Fourth Annual Report PHOA … Fiscal Year 1874–1875* (San Francisco: n.p., 1875), Folder 5, Box 1, WJHC Collection 78/01.
[110] See, e.g., Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good," 366; Yvonne Zylan, "Maternalism Redefined: Gender, the State, and the Politics of Day Care, 1945–1962," *Gender and Society* 14, no. 5 (2000): 608–29; Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

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Figure 3. *The Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum, circa 1900. It occupied the block bounded by Hayes, Grove, and Scott streets. Courtesy of Jewish Family & Children's Services of San Francisco, The Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties*

San Francisco's Congregation Emanu-El was the first to move toward reform. Among other things, this included Rabbi Elkan Cohn's 1860 decision to eliminate the *mechitsa* (partition) that separated females from males in the synagogue and to switch to mixed-gender seating, which had long been the custom among Protestants and Catholics. Cohn chose a Sabbath service to introduce the change, explaining that Judaism had far too long "excluded women… from many privileges to which they are justly entitled."[111]

Congregation Emanu-El lay-leaders took reform one step further when they publicly endorsed Jewish women's societies. From 1855to 1880, ten Emanu-El lay-leaders ratified woman-led social welfare activities by serving as HLBA and LSI trustees.[112] Their wives were even more enthusiastic: in the same period, eighteen Emanu-El wives served on the boards of Jewish women's groups, often for multiple terms.[113]

It was a different story at Congregation Sherith Israel, which retained elements of orthodoxy through the 1860s. A

[111] Rosenbaum, *Visions*, 46–47, quoting I. Harold Sharfman, *The First Rabbi: Origins of Conflict Between Orthodox & Reform: Jewish Polemic Warfare in Pre-Civil War America: A Biographical History* (London: Pangloss Press, 1988), 395. Rosenbaum suggests Emanu-El moved to family seating around 1860.

[112] Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*, 64; Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, 30–32.

[113] Analysis based on city directories and surviving association records.

loosening began in April 1870, when Sherith Israel lay-leaders voted to eliminate the women's gallery.[114] Allowing families to sit together had little to do with support for gender equality: leaders hoped the change would improve male attendance.[115] Sherith Israel's conservatism is reflected in members' refusal to serve on the boards of woman-led societies. Throughout this period, only five Sherith Israel lay-leaders publicly endorsed the HBLA by serving as board members; none served the LSI.[116] Sherith Israel women were just as conservative; from 1855 to 1880, only five Sherith Israel women assumed leadership positions with Jewish women's groups.[117] Although Sherith Israel families endorsed mixed seating, they did not necessarily endorse expanded roles for women within the community.

An inverse relationship between religious orthodoxy and support for female-led societies continued as new congregations appeared in the 1860s and 1870s. In November 1863, a group of Emanu-El congregants left to form Congregation Ohabai Shalome.[118] The protestors had no objection to family seating, yet Ohabai Shalome lay-leaders and their wives declined to serve on the boards of Jewish women's organizations. The same was true of the conservative Congregation Beth Israel, founded in 1862.[119] Although leaders opted for family seating, no Congregation Beth Israel men or women joined the boards of woman-led Jewish organizations from its founding through the 1880s.

Newer, more orthodox congregations rejected all elements of reform, including family seating. In 1870, a faction defected from Sherith Israel to form Congregation Shaare Zedek; the new group maintained its orthodoxy, including the women's gallery, well into the twentieth century.[120] Those leaders, too, declined to endorse the city's pioneer Jewish women's associations by serving as directors or trustees. Similarly, no leaders of Congregation Nevah-Zedeck (founded in 1874) or Congregation Beth-Menahim Streisand (1880) lent their names to the boards of woman-led societies.[121]

Instead, leaders of conservative congregations such as Sherith Israel, Ohabai Shalome, and Beth Israel, and orthodox groups (Shaare Zedek, Nevah-Zedeck, and Beth-Menahim Streisand) created male-led *chebras* (mutual-aid societies).[122] Rejecting American models of benevolence, orthodox and conservative San Franciscans hewed to European tradition by keeping charity in male hands.

The role of women in San Francisco congregations was the defining characteristic that distinguished one from another. Likewise, support for a wider role for women in public life was the key marker for congregations making the shift from European orthodoxy to American Reform Judaism. The experiences of Emanu-El congregants, male and female, fit the

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[114] Kahn, *Jewish Voices*, 155.

[115] Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery*, 96–98.

[116] Analysis based on annual city directory listings of Sherith Israel lay-leaders and HLBS and LSI trustees and counselors. Although no Sherith Israel lay-leaders served as trustees or counselors, congregants might have supported LSI financially and otherwise.

[117] The five women are Sarah Zlottwitz Rich, Leah Meyer, Mrs. M. Lichtenstein, Caroline Newman, and Jeanette Ephraim.

[118] The conflict centered on Emanu-El leaders' decision to read the Torah in a three-year cycle. The breakaway group favored a one-year cycle. Kahn, *Jewish Voices*, 184. Use of the lower case in "reform," "conservative," and "orthodox" follows contemporary local usage. In 1893 Sherith Israel secretary Alexander Badt explained that San Francisco's six congregations divided into three groups: "the orthodox or old-fashioned, the medium or partly progressive, and the reformed Jews." Badt classed Emanu-El as "the reformed kind," Beth Israel and Sherith Israel as "conservatively reform," Ohabai Shalome as "conservative," and Shaare Zedek and Beth-Menahim Streisand as "strictly orthodox." Alexander L. Badt, "Our Hebrew Folk," *San Francisco Call*, March 6, 1893, 8. Formalization of these terms lay many years in the future, but San Franciscans were aware of these distinctions.

[119] Badt, "Our Hebrew Folk," 8.

[120] Congregation Shaare Zedek's early leaders were immigrants and early arrivals to San Francisco, including its first president, sixty-one-year-old Polish immigrant Abraham Watters. "Abraham Watters," http://www.jmaw.org/abraham-watters-early-pioneer-synagogue-founder-san-francisco/, accessed 5-29-19.

[121] Beth-Menahim Streisand first appears in Langley in 1880. For more about local congregations, see "The Jewish New Year," *San Francisco Call*, September 22, 1892, 2; Badt, "Our Hebrew Folk," 8; Langley, 1868, 746.

[122] In strictly orthodox communities, the term *chebra* denotes two types of associations, one religious, the other philanthropic. Sol Steinmetz, *Dictionary of Jewish Usage: A Guide to the Use of Jewish Terms* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 28. San Francisco's Chebra Beth Yisrael, formed 1868, was the religious kind; it ultimately became the conservative Congregation Beth Israel. Langley, 1868, 751. San Francisco's other seven *chebras* were the philanthropic kind. Little overlap in leadership occurred between the city's two dominant male-led Jewish charities, Eureka Benevolent and First Hebrew, and the eight *chebras* formed between 1850 and 1900.

patterns historians find among middle-class Jews elsewhere in the United States and Europe. In the United States, writes historian Paula Hyman, by midcentury American Jewish leaders had "adapted themselves, and their Judaism, to the prevailing bourgeois model" in which "religion fell naturally within women's domain" and, with religion, responsibility for charity. Because elite Jewish men were "busy with worldly concerns," community leaders were often glad to hand off the duty of good works to wives and daughters.[123] In nineteenth-century Germany as well, writes Marion Kaplan, middle-class Jewish women were more likely than their fathers and husbands "to continue ritual observance." In this way, women "mediated the acculturation of their families within middle-class German society" and, at the same time, the women strengthened "their families' ethnic and religious ties to Judaism."[124] As a result, concludes Susan L. Tananbaum, wherever they settled, Jewish women "spearheaded an even broader reorganization of modern Jewish life."[125]

The 1850s and 1860s saw local Jewish women founding separate women's societies that focused primarily on needs within the Jewish community. This pattern changed in the 1870s, when they entered their third phase of development as local community leaders. San Francisco was swept up in the national charity kindergarten movement in 1878, when Felix Adler came to town. The German-born rabbi's son, philosopher, and reformer had founded New York's Free Kindergarten the previous year, and soon convinced local leaders that San Francisco must have kindergartens too.[126] Adler and other promoters of early childhood education viewed kindergartens as equal parts charity and reform school, geared as they were towards Americanizing immigrant families and instilling middle-class morals in the children of the working poor.[127] Within months of Adler's visit, the Silver Street Kindergarten (fig. 4) opened in the city's working-class, heavily immigrant South of Market district.[128] A second kindergarten opened on Jackson Street in 1879.[129]

Kindergarten work reveals local Jewish immigrant women and their U.S.-born daughters fully embracing the American system of female-dominated charity and, with it, expanded roles for themselves in public life. Jewish women enlisted *en masse* in the kindergarten movement. Women with no prior charitable experience volunteered, as when twenty-nine-year-old Alice Arnold Hecht became a founding member of the Silver Street Free Kindergarten Society in 1878.[130] Women already engaged in the city's pioneer Jewish charities also became involved. In 1884, Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Association president Rachel Behrendt joined the board of the Pioneer Kindergarten Society; Blemma Hecht of the PHOA Ladies' Visiting Committee became a manager of the Pioneer Kindergarten Society.[131]

Kindergartens were bridging institutions for Jewish immigrant women, integrating them into voluntary associations dominated by Protestants and Catholics. For some, service to local kindergartens was their first experience working

[123] Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History*, 24–26.

[124] Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 144; Marion Kaplan, "Gender and Jewish History in Imperial Germany," in *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth Century Europe*, eds. Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 200–1.

[125] Susan L. Tananbaum, "Jewish Women, Philanthropy, and Modernization: The Changing Roles of Jewish Women in Modern Europe, 1850–1939," in *Dutch Jewry in a Cultural Maelstrom, 1880–1940*, eds. Judith Frishman and Hetty Berg (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 140.

[126] Meyer, *Western Jewry*, 13, 122–23; San Francisco Free Kindergarten Society (SFFKS), *A History of the Silver Street Kindergarten, San Francisco, July 23, 1878* (San Francisco: Murdock & Co., 1881), 5.

[127] Carol Roland, "The California Kindergarten Movement: A Study in Class and Social Feminism" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Riverside, 1980), 196.

[128] Patricia L. de Cos, *History and Development of Kindergarten in California*, prepared for the Joint Legislative Committee to Develop a Master Plan for Education, Kindergarten through University, April 2001, 16, at https://www.loc.gov/item/2001387539/, accessed 5-29-19; Kathleen Anne Adams, "Kindergarten and Community: The Silver Street Kindergarten of San Francisco, 1878–1906" Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 2010).

[129] Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Company, 1892), 133; Shackelford, "To Shield Them," 517; Langley, 1893, 78.

[130] SFFKS, *A History*. Alice Arnold (Mrs. Marcus H.) Hecht was born in the United States to a German-born father and U.S.-born mother.

[131] Langley, 1894, 82. Blemma Rosewald (Mrs. Issac J.) Hecht was born in the United States to Bavarian immigrant parents.

closely with non-Jews. In 1881, leadership of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Society brought Sloss into the orbit of famed author, educator, and public-school superintendent John Swett, as well as some of the West Coast's most powerful women, such as Jane Lathrop Stanford, wife of former California governor Leland Stanford, and Phoebe Apperson Hearst, wife of miner, businessman, and politician George Hearst and mother of future newspaperman William Randolph Hearst.[132]

Whether they relished their wives' and daughters' entry into public life or not, Jewish community leaders could not fail to see how it raised their status among San Franciscans of all faiths. Male and female alike basked in the praise that San Franciscans lavished upon benevolent Jewish women. In 1867, the *Daily Alta California* urged citizens to attend the fund-raising concert put on by the "noble women" of HLBA.[133] Local newspapers never tired of praising the good done by HLSS.[134] In 1888, San Francisco's *Daily Examiner* lauded May (Mrs. Ignatz) Steinhart for her "open-handed and widespread benevolence" to all, irrespective of religion, which earned her "the admiration and gratitude of even those not in the circle of her own faith" (fig. 5).[135]

Figure 4. *Silver Street Kindergarten, 64 Silver Street, near Third, ca. 1879. Source: CA.gov, "19th Century Kindergarten Uncovered in San Francisco," at https://dot.ca.gov/caltrans-near-me/district-4/d4-popular-links/forward-issue-3/kindergarten, accessed 7-17-23.*

[132] Alexandra M. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst: A Life of Power and Politics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Mildred Nichols Hamilton, "Continually Doing Good: The Philanthropy of Phoebe Apperson Hearst, 1862–1919," in *Women and Politics: California from the Gold Rush to the Great Depression*, eds. Cherny, Irwin, and Ann Marie Wilson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 88.

[133] *Daily Alta California*, "Grand Concert in Aid of the Funds of the Hebrew Ladies' Society," September 23, 1867, 2.

[134] See, among others, *Daily Alta California,* "Pacific Hall," July 18, 1870, 1; "Calico Invitation Ball," February 10, 1872, 2; "The Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society," February 22, 1872, 2; "Grand Amateur Dramatic Musical Entertainment and Ball!" March 8, 1874, 4.

[135] "Caring for the Poor," *San Francisco Daily Examiner*, December 16, 1888, 10. May (Mrs. Ignatz) Steinhart was sister-in-law to Louisa and William Steinhart. See Table 1.

More importantly, the public praise heaped upon Jewish women proclaimed them the social equals of Christian "ladies bountiful." In the 1888 article mentioned above, editors drew no distinction between Phoebe Hearst and Jane Stanford, the undisputed titans of California society, and Jewish charity leaders May Steinhart, Gerstle, and Sloss. Editors praised all equally as "women with hearts."[136] By engaging in good works, Jewish women had narrowed the social distance between themselves and their peers of other faiths. These women were integral to solidifying the "rough-and-ready American welcome" that Jewish San Francisco enjoyed, and in building the "bonds of fraternity and solidarity" of which San Franciscans were so proud.[137]

Figure 5*. This sketch of May Friedlander (Mrs. Ignatz) Steinhart appeared in an 1888 newspaper article praising San Francisco's "women with hearts." Source:* San Francisco Daily Examiner, *December 16, 1888, 10.*

CONCLUSION

More research is needed—for example, in Philadelphia, Norfolk, and other cities discussed here—to trace the impact of women's charity work in Americanizing leaders and their communities in the decades preceding the settlement-house era. Jewish San Franciscans entered that era in 1894 when they launched the Emanu-El Sisterhood for Personal Service. Aiming to aid recent eastern European immigrants, the Emanu-El Sisterhood looked just like the charities with which local Jewish women were already familiar.[138] Women already active in local community services promptly joined.

The charities that immigrant Jewish women founded were temporal bridges, uniting generations of women in good works. The daughters of the women discussed here often apprenticed in the same charities, in what historian Sarah Wilkerson-Freeman calls "a chain of intergenerational activism."[139] In the twentieth century, those daughters became what Rader calls "the New Jewish Woman," moving into careers in the "helping" professions, especially social work. One example will suffice: Louisa Steinhart, born in Germany in 1842, was treasurer of the Association of Daughters of Israel.

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[136] "Caring for the Poor, *San Francisco Daily Examiner*.

[137] Rischin, "The Jewish Experience in America," 33.

[138] Emanu-El Sisterhood for Personal Service, *Constitution and By-Laws of Emanu-El Sisterhood for Personal Service of San Francisco, California, Adopted January 24, 1902* (San Francisco: PHOA, 1902).

[139] Sarah Wilkerson-Freeman, "Two Generations of Jewish Women: North Carolina, 1880–1970," *Southern Jewish Historical Society Newsletter* (July 1989): 3–6.

Her daughter, Aimee D. Steinhart, born in San Francisco in 1879, attended the University of California at Berkeley and trained as a social worker (fig. 6). Aimee commanded such respect that, in 1918, California's governor appointed her to the state commission for Mothers' Pensions.[140] State office would have been inconceivable to Louisa, but Aimee was simply continuing work that her mother's generation had begun.

***Figure 6**. Portrait of Amy Steinhart Braden by Arnold Genthe, 1903, Source: Portrait file of The Bancroft Library, BANC PIC 1905.00002--POR, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley*

The self-help and charitable societies that the city's first Jewish women leaders created were significant agents of Americanization for the leaders themselves. In the 1850s, Jewish immigrant women retooled European models to meet their own needs. In the 1860s and '70s, they extended their reach, engaging in "American-style" charity on behalf of any and all who were in need. In the second half of the nineteenth century, their evolving programs represented a break from older European models of Jewish social welfare, in which rabbis and synagogue lay leaders oversaw poor relief. Kindergarten work took immigrant Jewish women and their daughters one step further, engaging them in work designed to reform the poor and working classes, regardless of nativity, faith, or gender, and to "Americanize" more recent immigrants, in the public sense of the word, inculcating in them the mainstream, middle-class norms that Jewish immigrant women themselves had only recently mastered.

Founders of the city's pioneer Jewish women's associations probably did not set out to abandon orthodoxy or to transform women's roles within Judaism. Yet they were integral to the forces that carried some Jewish San Franciscans from orthodoxy to reform. As leaders of independent Jewish mutual-aid societies and charities, newcomers from Germany, Poland, England, and elsewhere learned how Americans managed poor relief. In the process, along with their male kin, they inched toward reformulated gender roles within their congregations and the American Jewish community at large.

[140] *Emanu-El*, "Miss Amy Steinhard [sic] Named Member of Mothers' Pensions Body," December 27, 1918, 4.

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Table 1 *San Francisco Jewish Charity Leaders, 1850-1880, drawn from California and U.S. census data, city directories, and institutional records.*

Leader (birth–death) birthplace	Husband (birth–death) birthplace	Number of Children	Leadership Age	Congregation	Leader's Affiliations	Husband's Affiliations
Rahel "Rachel" **Behrendt** (1846–1910) Prussia	Herman Behrendt (1834–1890) Prussia	0	31	unknown	Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Association (HLBA) president, 1876–1880; Pioneer Kindergarten Society director 1894	Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum (PHOA) bequest 1890
Sarah Livingston **Bloomingdale** (1835–1898) Prussia	Emanuel Bloomingdale (1822–1893) Prussia	6	20	unknown	Ladies' Society of Israelites (LSI) treasurer 1855	unknown
Jane Rosenbaum **Brandenstein** (1838–1904) Germany	Joseph Brandenstein (1827–1910) Germany	11	56	Emanu-El	Emanu-El Sisterhood for Personal Service (EES) member 1894, 1895	PHOA trustee 1871, 1872, 1906; patron 1873; Eureka Benevolent Society (EBS) vice president 1867, 1868
Charlotte Levy **Castle** (1832–1912) England	Frederick Levy Castle (1830–1893) England	9	44	Emanu-El	HLBA member, 1874; EES member, 1894, 1896	Boys & Girls Aid Society, trustee 1876; EES, member 1894
Sophie Myers Waldrow **Cohen** (1814–1903) England	Samuel Hyman Cohen (1818–1890) England	0	42	unknown	HLBA secretary 1856, 1857, 1858, 1860, 1861, 1863, 1864	unknown
Beatrice Lucille Bachman **Dinkelspiel** (1874–1952) California U.S.A.	Samuel L. Dinkelspiel (1864–1930) California U.S.A.	2	31	Emanu-El	Jewish Ladies Relief Society member 1905; EES director 1916	Emanu-El president; Federation of Jewish Charities; Young Men's Hebrew Association
Pauline Hess **Dinkelspiel** (1844–1907) Louisiana U.S.A.	Lazarus Dinkelspiel (1843–1900) Baden, Germany	9	24	Emanu-El	LSI trustee 1868, 1869; Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum, donor 1872; EES member, 1894–1896	Emanu-El trustee 1865; treasurer, 1867; trustee 1870; vice president 1872–1874; EBS life member 1878
Mathilda Hirschfeld **Esberg** (1850–1934) New York U.S.A.	Mendel Esberg (1834–1896) Germany	5	44	Emanu-El	EES director 1894, 1896, 1897, vice president 1899, 1902, 1917, 1922, president 1909–1917; German Ladies General Benevolent Society vice president 1904; PHOA Ladies Auxiliary 1906–1907; Board of Managers 1910–1911	Boys & Girls Aid donor 1896
Delia Stern **Fleishhacker** (1839–1923) New York U.S.A.	Aaron Fleishhacker (1820–1898) Bavaria	8	36	Emanu-El	Hebrew Ladies Sewing Society (HLSS) president 1875, vice president 1877, 1880; EES member 1894	EES donor 1894
Hannah Greenebaum **Gerstle** (1839–1930) Bavaria	Lewis Gerstle (1824–1902) Bavaria	7	35	Emanu-El	PHOA member 1873; Ladies Visiting Committee 1880, 1881; EES treasurer 1894, 1896–1897, 1899, 1901–1904; director 1908–1909; honorary vice president 1917	PHOA member 1873; EES advisory board 1894, 1896–1899
Alice Arnold **Hecht** (1849–1922) Pennsylvania U.S.A.	Marcus H. Hecht (1844–1909) Germany	4	29	Emanu-El	San Francisco Free (Silver Street) Kindergarten Society trustee 1878; Pioneer manager 1884; EES member 1894, 1896, 1899	unknown

(continued)

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TABLE 1. *(continued)*

Leader (birth–death) birthplace	Husband (birth–death) birthplace	Number of Children	Leadership Age	Congregation	Leader's Affiliations	Husband's Affiliations
Blemma Rosewald **Hecht** (1844–1905) Maryland U.S.A.	Isaac J. Hecht (1832–1895) Germany	5	33	Emanu-El	HLSS president 1877; PHOA visitor, 1876, 1881, 1887; Pioneer manager 1884	unknown
Caroline "Lina" Frank **Hecht** (1848–1921) Maryland U.S.A.	Jacob H. Hecht (1834–1903) Germany	0	33	Emanu-El	San Francisco: HLSS, president 1873; Boston: Hebrew Ladies Sewing Circle, Hebrew Industrial School for Girls, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, National Council of Jewish Women	unknown
Helen **Hecht** (1863–1918) California U.S.A.	unknown	0	30	Emanu-El	Pioneer Kindergarten treasurer 1893, 1904; EES director 1908, 1911–1912, 1916–1917	unknown
Frances Koenigsburger **Helbing** (1833–1896) Bavaria	August Helbing (1824–1896) Bavaria	4	39	Emanu-El	PHOA patron 1872; EBS president 1861, treasurer 1863, 1882–1885, trustee 1867	EBS founder 1849, president 1861, 1885, treasurer 1863, vice president 1881–1883; PHOA patron 1872
Babette Tupper **Heller** (1832–1888) Bavaria	Martin Heller (1821–1894) Bavaria	7	45	Emanu-El	PHOA patron 1872, Ladies Visiting Committee 1877; LSI treasurer 1872–1877, 1880	Emanu-El trustee 1861, treasurer 1862, vice president 1863–1867, 1880–1894, trustee 1876, 1877, 1880; LSI counselor 1875–1876
Mrs. **Lichtenstein** (unknown)	M. Lichtenstein (unknown)	unknown	unknown	Sherith Israel	HLBA trustee 1856	Sherith Israel trustee 1876–1877, 1880
Julia **Mayblum** (1829–1911) Germany	Morris (Moritz) Mayblum (1820–1888) Germany	1	35	Emanu-El	LSI Secretary, 1861; trustee 1864–1865; president 1868	EBS trustee 1861, 1863; treasurer 1864–1868; Emanu-El trustee 1862, 1867, 1868
Leah Weintraub **Meyer** (1838–1910) Prussia	Charles Meyer (1828–1893) Prussia	8	22	Sherith Israel	HLBA trustee 1860, president 1868	Sherith Israel trustee 1861–1862, vice president 1863–1864, president 1867–1868, 1870, 1872–1875; First Hebrew Benevolent Society (FHBS) president 1863, 1868, 1875; HLBA trustee 1860, councilman 1864; PHOA trustee and vice president 1871
Caroline "Carrie" Heller **Newman** (1853–1935) Alabama U.S.A.	Juda Newman (1848–1934)	2		Sherith Israel	PHOA Ladies Visiting Committee 1893; EES donor 1895; LSI treasurer 1897, 1905, trustee 1902	Sherith Israel trustee 1880; PHOA trustee 1900, 1906–1907, 1909
Babette **Regensburger** (1820–1903) Germany	Henry Regensburger (1809–1865) Germany	8 (9?)	34	Emanu-El	LSI president: 1855, 1856, 1864, 1865, trustee: 1861–1862; secretary 1867; counselor, 1868; German Ladies General Benevolent Society vice president, 1876, 1894	EBS vice president 1863–1864

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BOOK REVIEWS

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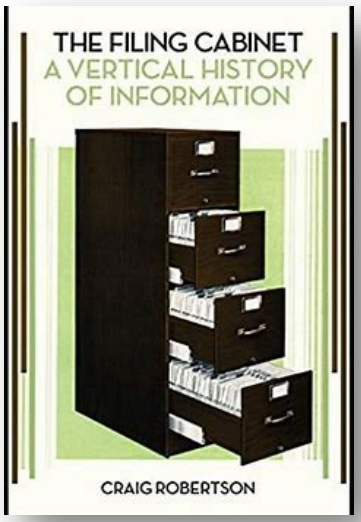

The Filing Cabinet: A Vertical History of Information

Craig Robertson

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021
ISBN 978-1-5179-0946-8
259 pp + Acknowledgments, Notes, Index. Illus, B&W.

https://www.amazon.co.uk/Filing-Cabinet-Vertical-History-Information/dp/1517909465

Reviewed by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 26 March 2024.

In The Filing Cabinet: A Vertical History of Information, Craig Robertson demonstrates what can be done when something taken-for-granted is examined, and examined minutely, or to use Robertson's phrase, with "granular certainty." He places this piece of office furniture within the context of the growth of corporate capitalism in the United States, placing it alongside books such as Alan Trachtenberg's The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age (1982) and Olivier Zunz's Making America Corporate, 1870-1920 (1992). He uses the term "granular certainty" to denote the aim(s) of those who devised filing cabinets and their systems: this term does not refer to a specific fact or document, but rather on location: where and how to specifically find it. When efficiency met "information" ("information" being the general term, as opposed to particular items of knowledge), "granular certainty" was born, a child of Frederick Winslow Taylor's scientific management. Taylorism focused on breaking down processes into ever smaller discrete movements in the interest of speed and efficiency.

The book is divided into two parts: "The Cabinet" and "Filing." The first part examines the filing cabinet as an object in and of itself, in three dimensions: Verticality, Integrity and Cabinet Logic. "Filing" looks at the inside components of the filing cabinet (Granular Certainty, Automatic Filing, the Ideal Filing Clerk, Domestic Storage).

Prior to the filing cabinet, records were stored in books, whether inscribed or physically placed—a domestic version of this was within family Bibles. Those who have done land title research (as this reviewer did) will be familiar with Tract Books, large volumes with separate

pages for particular land plots. Documents related to each real property are inscribed and updated. This is a finding tool; to see the actual deeds or other documents you would have to go elsewhere, such as a filing cabinet. Nonetheless, going over the Tract Book gave the researcher a general history of the parcel. Assuming that newer documents were posted in a timely fashion, the researcher could learn its present state. Tract books might be stored vertically, but to use them you would remove them from the shelves and open them on a flat or tilted surface. Robertson dates the change from horizontal storage to vertical to 1905 when Elihu Root became Secretary of State. Exasperated with the cumbersome copybooks, Root ordered a vertical filing system; four years later, the filing system began using decimals (pp. ix-x). A company called Library Bureau claimed to be the inventor of the filing cabinet; the founder of the Library Bureau was none other than Melvil C. Dewey, inventor of the Dewey Decimal system used in libraries. This kind of storage combined with the alphanumerical finding tool made for granular certainty. The alphanumerical designation for a particular book referred to a particular volume as it fit into the outline of knowledge used by the System.

The biggest innovation of the filing cabinet was to file separate sheets of paper standing on their end, encased in files rather than in flat stacks. Storing vertically, drawer on top of drawer, was fully in line with the vertical nature of the corporation. Advertisements with a filing cabinet placed next to images of skyscrapers emphasize the connection. This method of storage contrasted sharply with the pigeonhole desks of an earlier era. Robertson also gives a short presentation on the development of the desk as it went from the elaborate to the simple and streamlined. One of the advantages of the new-style desks was a reduction in the amount of dust

Robertson takes the reader on a journey of the filing cabinet: the changes and challenges in construction: everything from the casing to the connective, whether to be welded or screwed. He discusses the mechanics of devices to keep files upright and compressed. One of the engineering challenges concerned the drawers—how to keep them from tipping over when open. Two illustrations, one of a man in a suit jumping into an open drawer (p. 11) and another with a similarly dressed man doing a pull-up exercise on an open drawer while below a young girl opens a drawer by pulling on a silk thread (p. 13) exhibit the challenges faced by designers and manufacturers while at the same time noting some of the gendered aspects of filing work. Actually extracting a file or paper from a pile was female labor; dealing with the cabinet itself as a gross physical product was in the male sphere.

The second half examines what is inside the drawers: the files themselves, their arrangement, locating devices such as tabs, and the logic behind them. What factors entered into devising a system that combined speed with accuracy? He delves into all aspects of files and filing, including the materials involved, and presents alternatives.

The Integrity chapter looks at the physical aspects of the cabinet: materials used in construction and those later eliminated (such as asbestos for fireproofing), the elimination of dust (p. 82), drawer slides and stops. We learn that in Germany paper sizes became standardized in 1922 (p. 123)—something which occurred much later in the United States. This had implications for file folders which held these papers.

Throughout Robertson provides fascinating pieces of information, such as the origin of manila files:

> *"Manila paper was thicker than paper made from wood pulp. It was produced from abaca fiber, which came from a species of banana unique to the Philippines; the material was known colloquially as Manila hemp because it had arrived in the northeastern United States by way of 'grass rope' on Filipino ships. A product of the circulation of objects and use structured by capitalism and empire, manila paper was patented in 1843." (p. 126)*

Robertson pays particular attention to the gendered nature of office work. Male executives needed to know the contents of a particular item; women clerical workers need know only where to find the document(s). One of the few problems with this book is Robertson's assertion that there "'an assumed heteronormativity' played a critical role in determining the kinds of jobs available to young women" (p. 202) and that "efficiency depended on gender and sexuality to lower labor costs" (p. 203). "Heteronormativity" and female sexuality are nowhere shown to be a factor: nowhere is it shown that lesbians would or would not be good, efficient workers. Nowhere are there assertions about imaginary management principle(s)

along the line of "lower costs from lesbian labor" or "straighter is greater."

Throughout, Robertson points out how today's machine of information technology—the computer—employed the principles of the filing cabinet as a template: hence we use "documents" and "files" in discussing where we have stored particular items or sets of items on our "desktop." From the computer desktop we end up where most computers reside: in the home. Robertson notes how file cabinets and file cabinet organization became transformed in domestic spaces.

Robertson has filled the book with illustrations, most from advertisements, emphasizing all aspects of this excellent book. Impressively researched, this is the kind of book that compels readers to see the familiar with new eyes.

***Shelby Shapiro** (Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of Tsum punkt/To the Point, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, as well as for its predecessor publication, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with acculturation and American Jewish women in the Yiddish press; he is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism.*

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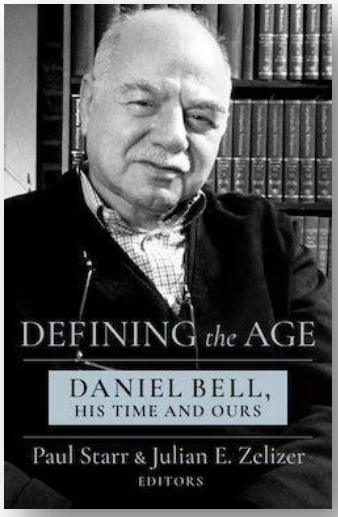

Defining the Age:
Daniel Bell, His Time and Ours

Paul Starr and Julian E. Zelizer (eds.)

New York: Columbia University Press, 2022

ISBN 9780231203678.

311 pp., inc. Notes (by chapter), + Notes on Contributors and Index.

https://history.princeton.edu/about/publications/defining-age-daniel-bell-his-time-and-ours

Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 15 July 2024.

Defining the Age contains twelve essays on the life, times, and contributions of the sociologist and public intellectual, Daniel Bell (1919-2011). He wrote three influential works: *The End of Ideology* (1960), *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1970), and *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976). A product of New York's City College and its cadre of "New York intellectuals," from immigrant Jewish backgrounds, its numbers included Bell, Irving Howe, and later neoconservative intellectuals such as Irving Kristol. Bell defined himself as "a socialist in economics, a liberal in politics, and a conservative in culture" (p. 59). One of Bell's major accomplishments was to move discussions of American history and society away from the economically reductionist viewpoint championed by historian Charles Beard to a much more nuanced view.

The essays include one by son David A. Bell ("Remembering Daniel Bell: Two Perspectives") and another by son-in-law Michael Kazin ("Of But Not in the Left: Daniel Bell and Radical Politics").

A minor correction is in order for Kazin's "Of But Not in the Left: Daniel Bell and Radical Politics." He writes about "such sympathizers with communism as Paul Robeson, Woody Guthrie, and Jacob Lawrence" (p. 99). Robeson was much more than a mere "sympathizer" – he was a member of the Communist Party who followed the twists and turns, the zigs and zags of the Party line faithfully, which included this giant of civil liberties defending the Smith Act prosecutions of members of the Trotskyist Socialist Worker Party, then condemning it when used against members of the Communist Party. Communist Party leader Gus Hall boasted that he had personally accepted Robeson's dues. As for Guthrie, he wrote a daily column for the Party newspaper, *People's World*, and praised the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Guthrie particularly admired Stalin. Unlike folk singer Pete Seeger, Guthrie never criticized or repudiated Stalin.

One of the most interesting essays is by Julian Zelizer, "Daniel Bell and the Radical Right," which fits in nicely with the theories of Richard Hofstadter, seeing "status anxiety" and resentment as the key to its rise. Zelizer ties this to the attractions of Donald Trump to his followers.

As noted in several of the papers, Bell's book *The End of Ideology*, written in the 1950s, did not argue that magically all ideology had disappeared. Rather, it spoke of World War Two as having spelled the end of mass beliefs in particular ideologies, in particular fascism/Nazism on the Right and Communism/ Marxist-Leninism on the Left. In their "Introduction," the editors (Starr and Zelizer), note that "[t]hroughout Bell's career, he was suspicious of fanaticism…. No distinction may have been more important to him than one that [Max] Weber made between 'an ethic of ultimate ends' and an 'ethic of responsibility.' An ethic of ultimate ends requires total devotion to those ends, to the disregard of the human cost, whereas an ethic of responsibility requires a weighing of consequences. Bell's choice was the ethics of responsibility, and how he interpreted that ethic critically affected how he responded to the major intellectual and political issues of the postwar decades." (9, 13). For Daniel Bell, that realization came with his reaction "at age thirteen, to the diary of Alexander Berkman, which recounted [Leon] Trotsky's brutal repression of the sailors' mutiny in 1921 at the Kronstadt naval base…. One passage of the essay has become deservedly famous: 'Every radical generation, it is said, has its Kronstadt. For some it was the Moscow Trials, for others the Nazi-Soviet Pact, for still others Hungary (the Rajk Trial; or 1956), Czechoslovakia (the defenestration of [Jan] Masaryk in 1948 or the Prague Spring of 1968), the Gulag, Cambodia, Poland (and there will be more to come). My Kronstadt was Kronstadt." (p. 35). Bell (1919-2011) learned from reading the diary of the Anarchist Berkman; the political philosopher and historian Isaiah Berlin (1909-1997) came to much the same conclusion—opposing the total panacea-seekers, based on personal experience as he witnessed street killings during the Russian Revolution as a child. Berlin was fond of quoting Immanuel Kant's 1784 line that "Out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made." To similar effect, see Starr's "Daniel Bell's Three-Dimensional Puzzle" (pp. 61-73).

Where Bell was most prescient was in his predictions of postindustrial America, one in which heavy industry would decline, while a new industry based on information and information systems would rise, going from the Rust Belt to Silicon Valley (Jenny Anderson, "Daniel Bell, Social Forecaster," 253). The rise of an information industry did occur, although not a completely as imagined. Those displaced from the pre-Silicon Valley economy did not fill the new information industry working slots. (Starr, "'Post-Industrial' versus 'Neoliberal,'" 187). Similarly, when America switched from coal to petroleum as a source of energy, coalminers did not become oil drillers, just as whalers did not become coal miners. In this new economy, there would be a new working class of technocrats and knowledge workers. Universities, Bell predicted, would become the spawning ground for this new class, as well as the new intellectual center. Talk about a "New Class," of course, were hardly novel: consider the writings of Milovan Djilas (1911-1995). While there has been a large growth of workers in this new industry, universities have not been transformed into the kinds of central force envisaged by Bell.

In Bell's *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism,* we see someone in the throes of a moral panic observing that which he neither understood nor approved, the so-called "counterculture." Claiming, à la Max Weber, that capitalism was a product of the so-called "Protestant ethic" of present denial for future pleasure – a questionable assumption. The hedonism exhibited by the so-called counterculture shocked the prudish

Bell. He wrote that instead of capitalism being undermined by class contradictions, as per Marx and Engels, late capitalism's "contradiction" lay in consumerism and consumption – the results of capitalist production. This kind of moralistic view of consumerism and consumption can be traced all the way back to Thorstein Veblen, and forward to Stewart Ewen. For an effective counter argument see Daniel Horowitz's *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes Toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940* (Ivan R. Dee, 1992). Of course, what is the good of production if nobody consumes what is produced? The outcome of such a scenario is an economic depression, overproduction vs. underconsumption.

There are two kinds of sociology: the descriptive and the prescriptive, the latter attaching value judgments to that which is being described. Bell's former friend, the sociologist C. Wright Mills, fell into the prescriptive camp, as demonstrated in Mills' paean to the Cuban Communist dictatorship, *Listen, Yankee: The Revolution in Cuba* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1960). Another sociologist, much less propagandistic, was Thorstein Veblen. He exhibited the same moral panic in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), which gave birth to the phrase "conspicuous consumption." Veblen and those following in his wake looked down upon the necessary byproduct of production, namely consumption. In their binary view, production was good, consumption bad; labor virtuous, leisure (defined as not-labor) frivolous. The social critic Vance Packard (1914-1996) attacked consumerism head-on with his popular books *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), *The Status Seekers* (1959) and *The Waste Makers* (1960). The basic argument of Veblen, Packard and to a certain extent, Bell was that consumerism and consumption had turned people into "cultural dopes," to use the term devised by the sociologist Harold Garfinkel. Bell's discomfort with the seeming hedonism of the so-called "counter-culture," as discussed by Fred Turner in his paper, "The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism, Then and Now" (pp. 267-290) led him to see capitalism's main contradiction as not being based on variations in class power or control over the means of production – the Marxist view, but rather that the economic fruits of capitalism had led to a dedication by people to those fruits in and of themselves. This threatened, he preached, the destruction of the "Protestant ethic" which animated capitalism, as set forth by Max Weber. (Stefan Eich, "The Double Bind: Daniel Bell, the Public Household, and Financialization," 291, 294-295, 300). But did it or has it? Or is the present state of the economy, society and consumption new forms of the old? This viewpoint grew out of concerns with the rise of "mass society," and what that might imply (Anderson, "Daniel Bell, Social Forecaster," 251-253).

Throughout this book, the authors note Bell's blind spots. He interpreted issues of race and racism through the prism of the European immigrant experience – people who came to this country voluntarily – rather than being brought here, and then socialized in a manner designed to keep them subservient (Starr and Zelizer, "Introduction," 17; Starr, "Daniel Bell's Three-Dimensional Puzzle," 75-76; Kazin, "Of But Not in the Left: Daniel Bell and Radical Politics," 99-100; Zelizer, "Daniel Bell and the Radical Right," 127). He thus ignored what was happening right in front of him. The authors note that he likewise ignored issues of gender and the women's movement (Margaret O'Mara, "Assessing Daniel Bell in the Age of Tech," 211, 224) was this the case, or was Bell a prisoner of his own generation and its attitudes? In "'Post-Industrial' Versus 'Neoliberal,'" Paul Starr notes that "[l]ike ordinary mortals, social theorists are subject to recency bias: the latest developments weigh more heavily on their minds than earlier ones." (p. 163) "Recency bias" notes that often those newer views make one blind to issues of an earlier variety. Starr pointed out that Bell's "recency bias" lay in his assumption that the federal government and its social policies would continue to grow in the same way. "*The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* may productively be reread today not only as an analytical, but also as a normative work… His book reminds us of a lost agenda of social democratic liberalism of the 1970s – lost because of the subsequent turn to the right." (p. 165).

Defining the Age is a fitting testament to a dedicated public intellectual. Daniel Bell wrote about many of the defining features of our time. Some things he got right, others wrong. This book does not seek to glorify, but present a fitting, accurate assessment.

Shelby Shapiro *(Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of* Tsum punkt*/To the Point, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. In 2024 he published* Words to the Wives: The Yiddish Press, Immigrant Women, and Jewish-American Identity *and his research interests include Jazz and Blues the labor movement, WWI, and immigrant anarchism.*

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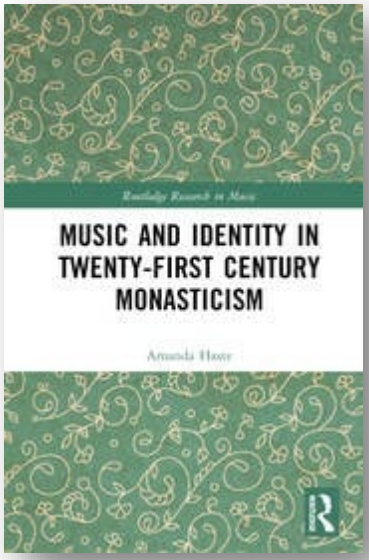

Music and Identity in Twenty-First-Century Monasticism

Amanda J. Haste

London & New York: Routledge, 2024

ISBN 9781032441788

182 Pages 13 B/W Illustrations

https://www.routledge.com/Music-and-Identity-in-Twenty-First-Century-Monasticism/Haste/p/book/9781032441788

Review by Jasmine Hazel Shadrack, first published online 9 April 2024.

In this book, musicologist Amanda Haste explores the role of music in Catholic, Anglican/Episcopalian and neo-monastic communities in Britain and North America. She points out that twenty-first-century monastic communities represent unique social environments in which music plays an integral part, and engages closely with communities of practice to produce an expertly researched book.

Each chapter moves seamlessly into the next, taking us through various aspects of modern contemporary monastic life. While the core theme of the book is the role of music in the negotiation of personal and communal identity, the author also brings out a sub-theme of self-care, thus exploring both the physiological and the psychological dimensions of the musical experience.

Following an Introduction in which the author situates this research within the literature and explains essential monastic and musical terminology, Chapter 1 explores the considerable agency of music in monastic life, both historically and in contemporary communities, including its role as a vector of both conflict and reparation. Chapter 2 then explores the encoding of monastic identity through musical composition, drawing on case studies of several monastic composers.

Numerous musical examples and clear explanations demonstrate the different ways in which they use notation (including specialist chant notation software) to express their awareness of and connection to two millennia of monastic history, while creating new music in different genres.

Chapter 3 tackles the negotiation of identity through instrumental music, and through the music that monks and nuns play and listen to just for pleasure, while Chapter 4, "Dancing my Prayer, Dancing My Self" extends into embodied identity using Balanchine's definition of dance as "music made visible" (p. 3).

The author then widens the focus to explore issues closely related to communal and personal music-making. Chapter 5 on the expression of gender identity through words and music is rich in insights from monastics themselves. Creative and procreative metaphors abound, with nuns referring to "giving birth" to musical ideas, and one monk describing how he found he was "just pumping [hymns] out" (p. 81).

Chapter 6 examines the commodification of monastic music, for which the world at large seems to have an insatiable appetite, and offers case studies of several communities for whom their music has provided not only an income stream but also a means of outreach.

Chapter 7 explores the "singing nun" phenomenon, in which a single musically talented member of a monastic community is promoted on the world stage. Through four fascinating studies of the original Singing Nun, "Sister Smile" (whose life ended tragically); the Australian Sister of Mercy Janet Mead (who wrote rock masses); Franciscan friar Br Alessandro ("The Voice of Assisi"); and Sr Cristina (who won the Italian version of "The Voice") the author examines issues of authenticity, naming and identity, and the consequences of leading a double life within their community and in the glare of the spotlight.

The final two chapters offer examples of how music is used in forging a particular denominational and/or community identity. Chapter 8 looks at the creation of an Anglican musical identity, while the final chapter examines how monastic traditions and more contemporary musical influences have played out in selected established and emerging neo-monastic communities.

The result is a comprehensive and compelling study of the agency of music in the construction and expression of personal and community identity. This is not a book just for university libraries, this is a text for choral composers, for those fascinated by chants and plainsong, and also for those interested in exercises in the ethnography of unusual groups, and how to embed those diatribes and conversations within rigorous academic endeavors.

Overall, this is an exceptional feat of research and ethnography.

Jasmine Hazel Shadrack, PhD is a British composer, conductor and performance autoethnographer, and her research areas are psychoanalysis, performance studies, trauma studies, disability and crip theory and extreme metal. She is adjunct professor at the Don Wright Faculty of Music Research and Composition Western University, Canada; visiting lecturer in music at Falmouth University, UK; and a visiting scholar in gender at the University of Central Missouri, USA. http://nacht-hexe.com

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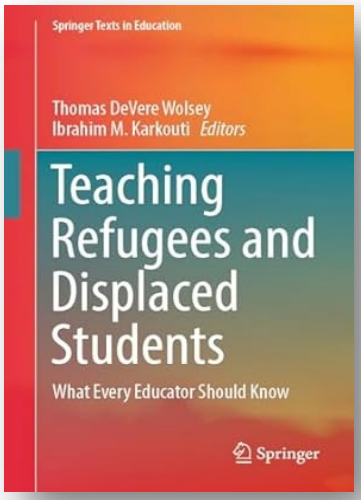

Teaching Refugees and Displaced Students: What Every Educator Should Know

Thomas DeVere Wolsey and Ibrahim M. Kartouki (eds.)

Springer Texts in Education
(Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 2023)

Paperback : 296 pages
ISBN-10 : 3031338332
ISBN-13 : 978-3031338335

https://www.amazon.co.uk/Teaching-Refugees-Displaced-Students-Education/dp/3031338332

Review by Amanda Haste, first published online 23 August 2024.

The editors of this important volume have both worked – and continue to work – with refugees, from the wars in Southeast Asia in the 1970s (Wolsey) to research with teachers and students of the present Syrian war (Kartouki) and are both fully cognizant of the trauma suffered by their students. As they say in their preface,

Neither of [us] have been refugees. We have not been forced to flee for economic or security reasons. Not once did we ever have to wonder if by leaving home, we might never see our families or friends again. Even trying to imagine that scenario is difficult for us, but we have worked with refugees for many years who are forced to do just those things. Together, we are trying to do what we can to fill life with some hope for those who are displaced and at the mercy of whatever agency will agree to help" (p. v).

From the point of view of refugee students themselves, "school is the safest, most normal place they know" and can be "a source of certainty or a source of more pain" (p. 249). As the editors point out, "nearly 50 million children are refugees, and almost half of them do not attend school. For those that do, new problems confront them when they walk through the schoolhouse doors" and they "need social-emotional support as much as they need academic support. Schools should be venues where they feel strongly and genuinely supported, feel welcome, understood, and cared for" (p. 249).

The editors acknowledge that educators working with refugees are "right in the thick of offering hope" and it is this message of hope "for those who have every reason not to have hope" that pervades the book (p. v).

This book was conceptualized as a resource for educators, to help them "understand what they could do to nurture hope when the students they serve do not speak their language and no translator can be found" and to "know that they, too, are not alone" (p. v).

With contributions from scholars from the USA, England, Ireland, Spain, Germany, Norway, Kazakhstan, Turkey, South Africa, and Egypt, this comprehensive volume is divided into five sections.

Part I Restoring Hope in School focuses on the role of education in refugees' lives. In "Where Hope Flourishes: Teaching Refugee Children in Troubling Times" Leila Kajee discusses tackling the concerns of the resident population to an influx of refugees, and offers advice for teachers managing the inevitable cultural and linguistic diversity of their classrooms. Subsequent

chapters include Safiye Namver and Yetkin Yildirim's "Restoring Hope in Resettlement" which examines the positive role of community-led extracurricular and experiential opportunities; Julie Sochacki and Karen I. Case's "Compassionate Pedagogy" that "seeks to develop universal classroom principles [...] via the merging of a narrative curriculum with mindfulness and a pedagogical form derived from compassion focused therapy (CFT)" (p. 11); and Kartouki's "Leveraging Multiculturalism and Social Support" that discusses helping Syrian refugees in Lebanon through teachers' diversity awareness and improved teacher training.

Part II Restoring Hope Through Access and Acceptance in Higher Education contains four highly focused essays, beginning with Dilma De Araujo's "How Teachers Can Improve the Experiences of Refugee Students with SEND[1] with Higher Education Goals". This chapter "addresses inclusive education and responds to diversity and equality issues to enhance higher education experiences of refugee students with disabilities" (p. 97).

A different perspective is offered regarding "Higher Education in Refugee Camps" in which Paul O'Keeffe presents a study of the University of Geneva's higher education in refugee contexts collaborative learning ecosystem (CLE), which he developed and led for higher education programs in Jordan's Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya and Azraq refugee camp 2017 to 2020 (p. 109).

"Cultivating Campus Belonging for Refugee College Students" by Mohamed Elhess, Julia Mahfouz, and Laura Summers tackles the challenges facing refugee students in locating themselves culturally and socially in their host country, while "bearing the nightmares of past experiences and facing the adversities of the sociopolitical climate of the host country" such as the shortening of the asylum application deadline in France, and the Muslim travel ban (p. 127).

In the final chapter in this section, Daria Mizza discusses "The Pathway to Unlocking Refugees' Learning Potential" at all levels of education. Her thesis is that national education systems rarely meet the needs of refugee students, "whose forced displacement makes them particularly vulnerable to a national education system hindering their integration potential" and that "learning opportunities are contingent upon the national education system detecting and accommodating refugee student's preexisting skills and knowledge from the beginning" (p. 139).

Part III Restoring Hope in the Community begins with a British perspective to "Promoting the Well-Being of Asylum-Seeking and Refugee Children Within and Beyond the School Gates" in which Mehmet Karakus, Anas Hajar and Hasan Aydin conclude that schools need "to develop socioemotionally, culturally, or/and religiously sensitive responses for a more inclusive school environment" (p. 167), while in "Multicultural School Events: Possibilities and Pitfalls for Refugee Students and Their Families" Thor-André Skrefsrud discusses the pros and cons of such events in mobilizing group-group-based identities and presents counter-narratives regarding diasporic identity, belonging, and learning (p. 197).

In Part IV Restoring Hope Through Effective Leadership, Omer Caliskan and Hilal Buyukgoze look at "Social Justice Leadership and Ecology of Education" in a Turkish context, while Bünyamin Han and Rasim Tösten examine "Leadership for Refugee Education," concluding that "policies on refugee education made by governments alone are not sufficient" but that "all sectors related to education [...] are expected to contribute to this process (p. 244). The section is rounded off by Wolsey and Kartouki's "School Leadership Makes Hope Possible" in which the authors offer a set of practical solutions that can be immediately implemented by school leaders.

Part V Restoring Hope Across Generations contains a single essay: Wolsey's "Fostering Hope Through Generations—Overcoming Trauma," that emphasizes the resilience of families who, "rather than view [their] trauma as a source of anger and despair [have] found strength through adversity" (p. 270).

Within the covers of this book lie harrowing accounts of the lived experiences of refugee students that will make anyone who has never been displaced from their home and family count their blessings. The teachers working with refugees or with transgenerational trauma often have little or no training, but from the pages of this page we see that, time and again, dedicated educators draw on their own skills and

[1] Special Education Needs and Disabilities.

experience to rise to the challenge of making school and college safe places where refugee students can thrive and realize their potential. As Wolsey says, in engaging with their students and learning about their stories and their cultural background, educators can teach with empathy and optimism, and by doing so can teach their students "the nuances of resilience, iteration by iteration" (p. 270).

In short, this volume not only provides in-depth scholarly studies in the field of refugee education, but achieves the editors' aim of a comprehensive, sensitive and practical guide for all educators working with refugee students and their families. This reviewer recommends this volume wholeheartedly, and its message of hope, optimism and resilience is one we should all take to heart.

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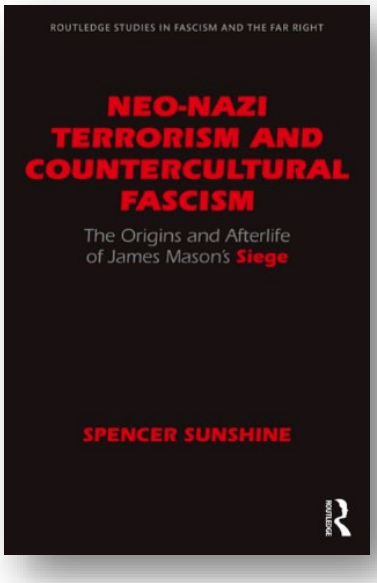

Neo-Nazi terrorism and Counter-Cultural Fascism: The Origins and Afterlife of James Mason's "Siege"

Spencer Sunshine

London and New York: Routledge, 2024.

484 Pages

ISBN 978-0-367-19060-6.

https://spencersunshine.com/nntccf/

Review by Goddard Graves, followed by the author's response. First published online 21 March 2025.

Truth in packaging is as essential in scholarship as it is—or should be—in the rest of life. Skip the main title, whose subjects have already commanded—and should continue to demand—entire libraries. Cut to the subtitle. This book is a truly exhaustive study of a particular publication which author Spencer Sunshine claims is a veritable Bible for what many have chosen to call "the alt right". In eighteen chapters of narrative, plus another hundred pages of commentary and apparatus, we are treated to the life and work of the ideologue, pornographer, and recurrent jail-bird whose seventy-some years were involved with such juicy

characters as George Lincoln Rockwell (founder of the American Nazi Party, assassinated in 1967) and the Manson Family. His outlook on life was encapsulated in the slogan "Total attack or total drop-out." To describe him as racist or fascistic would be a little like calling the Grand Canyon a low spot in the road.

It is mildly unnerving for this reviewer to recall that several decades have passed, and two generations come to something like maturity, since the peaks of activity and notoriety of both Rockwell and Manson. The connection to Sunshine's work is crucial, and remains a burning issue of our time. To paraphrase Groucho Marx, the not-so-secret word is "racism." Have people forgotten that Charles Manson (1934-2017) seriously believed that the multiple murders committed by him and his Family were intended to start a race war?

In *Helter Skelter* (1974), Vincent Bugliosi (1934-2015), who pursued and prosecuted Manson and his Family, for the Tate-La Bianca killings, laid out the scenario for a race war which Manson insisted these murders would spark. As Sunshine thoroughly demonstrates, such "thought" was mother's milk to James Mason. Sunshine goes on to argue that such thoughts were, so to speak, the mothers of such deeds as the violence in Charlottesville in 2017, and the outrages of the self-named Atomwaffen Division, whose German-language perfectly boxes the compass back to the Nazi heritage.

Mason's thought and experience, plus what some might contend are chronic unresolved mental issues, were ultimately distilled into the slogan "Total attack or total drop out." This slogan could resonate with rebels on the Right or the Left, and in fact did, as Sunshine demonstrates, again in copious detail and seriousness of purpose.

Along his rocky road of sectarian agitation, Mason produced quantities of manifestos, all under the same title, *"Siege"*. In 1993, these writings were collected and published in book form. Sunshine contends that this opus is a significant motivator and resource for much subsequent radical Right activity, including open criminal violence. It is at this point, however, that Sunshine's analysis starts to lose traction.

This reviewer would never down-play the danger of any of that "thought," or the need to understand its dynamic, but must say that Sunshine, for all his hard work and high principles, fails badly to identify credible causalities, and instead, pulls back on the evocation of moods and attitudes. There is a place for this, of course, but it isn't history, sociology, or forensics. Some might call it, "abnormal psychology," but since Sunshine is writing about a cluster of movements, rather than diagnosing an individual, the psychological label loses relevance.

It is credible, indeed astonishing, that much of Sunshine's work was based on interviews, including with James Mason himself. It is a pity that with these resources and his seemingly inexhaustible energy, Sunshine couldn't give a clearer picture of such salient facts as press runs, and the mechanics of distribution for this supposedly crucial publication. How did it fit in with other "classics" of the alt-right, such as the William Luther Pierce's more well-known *The Turner Diaries* (1978)?

In preparation for this review, extensive efforts were made to find any trace of *Siege*, or even any living person who'd heard of it. Results: near zero. Same for my search for any of the numerous acolytes whom Sunshine associates with Mason as a cult-figure, except for John (Gary) Jewell, who explodes into the story comparatively late, and then disappears with equal suddenness. Having known Jewell back when as "Gary," he was a Wobbly, this reviewer was naturally curious. Jewell began his public life as an Anarchist member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), leaving it to become a full-blown racist. Jewell had hoped for a face-to-face meeting with Charles Manson while the latter was still in jail. It may indeed be comforting to conclude that historically speaking, Mason was at most, a big fish in a small pond. This reviewer was reminded of the story about the French revolutionary syndicalist Alphonse Merrheim (1871-1923) when he was asked what he thought about Georges Sorel's *Reflections on Violence* (1908). Merrheim said he couldn't really say, because he preferred the adventure novels of Alexandre Dumas .

A woodsman's proverb tells us that if you aim all over a moose, you don't have much chance of hitting him any place in particular. Perhaps then, this volume might be taken as a down payment on a bigger transaction, particularly as the alt-Right moves and shakes almost faster than conventional printed scholarship can ever chronicle. I would like to suggest that Sunshine remain in this subject area to address other individuals as case studies, and to probe other related matters. How did these people live? How were

their projects financed? What might have been the role—beyond a couple of specific cases cited of spies and provocateurs? What about the generational demographics over the many decades of this study? Some readers will regret the absence of serious analysis of the strange dance—if you will—between radical Leftists and radical Rightists.

One can never fault a book for not being what it was never intended to be. Spencer Sunshine's book is valuable, and well-worth the thirty-five dollar price tag. I would, however, stop short of pre-publication appraisals like "spellbinding", "tour de force", or "essential reading". The research is humbling in its extent and breadth, though sometimes unintentionally goofy, as when we are told (p. 237) that Sammy Davis Jr. was a member of the Church of Satan, or that mass-murderer Timothy McVeigh might have had a micro-chip in his butt (p. 219). Sunshine's prose is clear and effective, even occasionally drole, as when he describes one particular right wing nutter as "smarter than the average bear". On balance, this is a welcome work, but in the immortal words of Samuel Johnson, "one never wished it longer."

Goddard Graves *is the author of a visionary prose work* Harmony Junction *(2010) and sundry other smaller efforts of folklore, criticism, and music history. A student of Archie Green, Philipp Fehl, and George Mosse, he was active in the Industrial Workers of the World and the United Steelworkers of America.*

AUTHOR'S RESPONSE

It has been many years since I replied to a review; I do my best to take both accolades and lumps with grace. Neo-Nazi Terrorism and Countercultural Fascism is a long and complicated book, primarily written for readers already familiar with the subject. I appreciate that Goddard Graves took the time to engage with my work and want to acknowledge he offered some very positive remarks, and a good many of the negative ones were quite fair in their criticisms. That said, there are several points where his review misrepresents what the book says, says I missed things that were included, and downplays the significance of the material based on his personal knowledge of the subject.

Graves starts by saying, "In preparation for this review, extensive efforts were made to find any trace of Siege, or even any living person who'd heard of it. Results: near zero." I spent about fifteen minutes online and found about 30 mentions of James Mason on the website of the Southern Poverty Law Center, the most prominent group that watches the US Far Right. Additionally, Siege and Mason are also discussed in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Guardian, Der Spiegel, VICE, and the BBC. There are Wikipedia entries for both Mason and Siege, and if you search for the two terms together on Google Scholar you get over 600 results.

Graves says the book "fails badly to identify credible causalities." The first chapter explains how five murders were committed by members and associates of the Atomwaffen Division, a neo-Nazi group whose members were all required to read Siege. (In fact, it was a former Atomwaffen member who said Siege was the group's "bible," an appellation Graves credits me with. To be fair, after re-reading my passage closely it is reasonable that one could conclude that this was my comment, although if you look up the footnote's reference you can see the original quote. So I will give him that one.)

The first chapter also outlines arrests for illegal weapons possession, bomb components, child pornography, and swatting operations by members of Atomwaffen and a number of other groups inspired by Siege, including The Base and Feuerkrieg Division—most of which are now banned terrorist organizations. These are not marginal players. By late 2024—too late to include in the book—I had tracked over twenty murders committed by individuals linked to Siege's ideology. For example, the manifesto for a triple murder in Jacksonville, Florida specifically named Siege as suggested reading for interested parties. Even if Graves wasn't convinced by the evidence in the book, a quick Google search would provide much more where that came from.

Graves claims I argue that Mason's ideas were "the mothers of such deeds as the violence in Charlottesville in 2017." This is not only inaccurate—it's the opposite of what I wrote. On page 10, I state explicitly that Charlottesville "neatly illustrated Siege's argument about why neo-Nazis should not hold public, legal rallies." Mason rejects Charlottesville's

approach of public rallies, and instead advocates terrorism—a point I reiterated throughout the book (for example, see pages 39, 79, 81, 115, 164, 331, 343).

Graves also claims that I did not clearly describe "such salient facts as press runs, and the mechanics of distribution for this supposedly crucial publication." This is a headscratcher. I note that the SIEGE newsletter's print run never exceeded 100 copies an issue (p.8), and specified that there were 66 subscriber names that he passed on to others when it folded up (p.124). I also describe the different editions and translations of the books (p.13) and the Black Sun edition's press run (p.310). I detail quite specifically how Siege was sold ($22 by mail order; p.293), and that Tom Metzger was responsible for half the sales (p.295). The book also documents nearly every known article, review, and media appearance by Mason in the 1990s.

Graves also said "near zero" was also the amount of information he could find on "any of the numerous acolytes whom Sunshine associates with Mason as a cult-figure, except for John (Gary) Jewell"—who was a high-profile figure in the IWW and on the GEB when Graves was active in the union. Even then, Graves strangely fails to note another IWW member, Perry "Red" Warthan, who was on the GEB at the same time, and who shared Jewell's chapter in the book. Graves even ignores Mason associates like David Duke—the most famous U.S. White Supremacist of the 1980s after his election to the Louisiana state House—and Church of Satan founder Anton LaVey.

It's more understandable that Graves hadn't heard of the countercultural figures in the second half of the book who each have a chapter—but it seems he might have noted their importance anyway. I will give him a pass on Boyd Rice and Nikolas Schreck, cult figures by any estimate. But Adam Parfrey was the founder of press Feral House, which has sold hundreds of thousands of books, some of which were made into films, and—as I mention—was famous enough when he died that the New York Times ran an obituary (p.205). Michael Moynihan is the co-author of a very famous book on black metal, Lords of Chaos, which has sold tens of thousands of copies and was also made into a movie. In fact, another ex-IWW GEB member of Graves's generation told me he didn't know who Mason was, and was only familiar with Parfrey, Moynihan, Rice, and Schreck.

Graves also asked, "Have people forgotten that Charles Manson…seriously believed that the multiple murders committed by him and his Family were intended to start a race war?" Judging by what an attendee shouted out in the middle of a recent book presentation of mine, the answer to that is a resounding Yes.

Last, and perhaps my pettiest peeve, is Graves's claim that the book is "sometimes unintentionally goofy, as when we are told…that Sammy Davis Jr. was a member of the Church of Satan, or that mass-murderer Timothy McVeigh might have had a micro-chip in his butt"—even as he acknowledged, in the very next sentence, my style is "occasionally droll."

Davis's Church of Satan membership has been a well-known public fact for decades. In fact, Rolling Stone ran a story about it in August 2024—right around when Graves was writing his review. Another former IWW member I talked to said Davis's membership in the Church of Satan was literally the only thing he knew about the group.

As far as the butt microchip, Graves missed my tone, despite his next sentence. Droll, in fact, is the correct answer.

I appreciate that Graves took the time to read the book and to engage with it critically. He offered some generous remarks alongside his critiques, and I respect the effort involved in reviewing a dense and challenging work. And although I am assuredly going on for too long again, I did still feel the need to reply to some of the things he wrote in the review.

Spencer Sunshine

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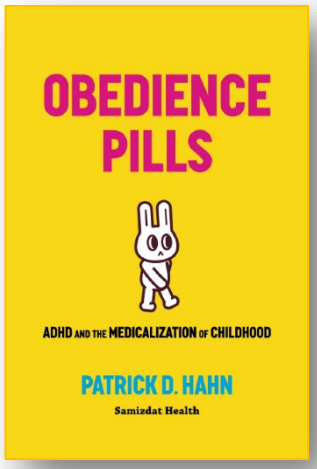

Obedience Pills:

ADHD and the Medicalization of Childhood

Patrick Hahn

Samizdat Health Writer's Co-operative Inc. (April 29, 2022)

Paperback, 376 pages

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Obedience Pills: ADHD and the Medicalization of Childhood: Hahn, Patrick D.: 9781989963241: Amazon.com: Books

Review by Kathryn Burrows, followed by the author's response. First published online 21 March 2025.

The first thing to see on a copy of *Obedience Pills* by Patrick Hahn is the name of its publisher, Samizdat Health. Unlike its namesake, "samizdat" does not secretly copy and distribute its writings in defiance of State censorship and repression. Samizdat Health is a writers' cooperative focusing on health and seems to be mostly, but not all, anti-psychiatry; the collective includes such luminaries as David Healy. Their website states,

> "The new Health is totalitarian, a cradle to grave worldview, full of the passion that once drove politics and religion. The debates are vigorous—if the orthodoxy that lays down Guidelines lets them happen. All sides can turn staggeringly nasty when threatened."

The website continues,

> "Publishing has also lost its soul. Increasingly a business, focused on a bottom line, publishers can see how to sell good news about drugs, devices and services, or claims that all is evil, a conspiracy. But they shun complexity—where's the market in that?"

These statements imply that in some lost Golden Age publishing was not a business, but rather a holy institution with neither agenda nor a mission. Hahn, who has to date published three books under their imprint, is someone with both a mission and an agenda.

To Hahn's credit, he does not hide this. Writing about a 4-year-old girl killed by an overdose of ADHD medications, he writes, "I have not attempted to write a balanced book [...] you already know everything the drug companies want you to know." He argues that his "unbalanced book" will contribute to a "balanced discussion" because the information about Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) that is in the public domain is already skewed toward over-diagnosis, over-medication, and medicalization of normal childhood behavior. Unfortunately, Hahn's book is not the answer to that unbalanced discussion.

The book starts in a very logical place—the invention of ADHD as a medical diagnosis. Hahn provides a nice account of the medicalization of childhood deviance, and clearly traces the development of the ADHD diagnosis as we know it today, from a concept that was limited to only a small number of children with very severe symptoms, to the "epidemic" of ADHD that we see today in children and adults.

Throughout the book, he comes back to this point, emphasizing that ADHD (and other psychiatric disorders) are social constructions that are only as good as the man-made diagnoses that which created

them. He describes the stories behind the men who first classified what we now call ADHD in institutionalized children. Hahn makes the argument that much of what we see today as ADHD used to be called "childhood." He also makes the point that what we now call ADHD used to be reserved for the most troubled children, and now it is a label applied widely and indiscriminately.

He traces the trajectory of the diagnosis from a "lack of moral control" to "organic drivenness", "hyperkinetic impulse disorder", and "minimal brain function" to ADD (Attention Deficit Disorder) and now finally ADHD as we know it. The concept of "lack of moral control" is interesting because, unlike the other diagnostic categories such as "minimal brain function" and ADHD, it is not a medicalized concept—instead it places the responsibility for disruptive behaviors squarely on the child (and maybe their parents).

Hahn discusses the fact that the rise of the ADHD diagnosis is partially a result of parents and children not wanting to take responsibility for their own behavior and instead blaming it on a biological, chemical, brain structure, or genetic malady that is "out of their hands." With this attribution to a biological cause, no blame can be assessed—it is simply how you are born, and no amount of "nurture" can change the "nature."

"Lack of moral control," on the other hand, has other implications, and implies a social fault in the moral development of these children, which certainly can be attributed to social and environmental factors and not solely on personal responsibility. Hahn does a great job throughout the book of citing actual scientific papers from the era he is discussing, using the author's own words, and lending credibility and authenticity to his otherwise very biased viewpoint. He backs up his bias, sometimes sarcastically, with evidence from the doctors and "experts" who created the diagnoses.

One of the great strengths of the book is his focus on the socially constructed nature of the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual) and emphasizes that it does not represent "real reality". In this case, he blames the school system for forcing kids to sit through boring lectures all day long without enough unstructured time as the systemic societal cause of ADHD, not a chemical imbalance. While a refreshing viewpoint, is that all there is?

Hahn makes a compelling case for the social construction of ADHD diagnoses by comparing rates of the diagnosis between the US and other countries. He chooses to highlight countries that have embraced the ADHD diagnosis and those that have not. If ADHD were a biological disease, one could assume that every country would have similar rates, but because he is making the argument that it is socially constructed, showing how different countries have different rates is a very effective argument in favor of this. For example, he shows how the diagnostic criteria for ADHD in France are much more restrictive than they are in the US, which limits the number of children who receive the diagnosis. Again, this shows how ADHD diagnostic criteria are man-made, and it is these man-made criteria that dictate who is and who is not diagnosed and given medication.

Hahn starts by looking at brain tomographies and finds that there is no difference between ADHD-diagnosed brains and normal controls. No test shows a difference between normal controls and ADHD-diagnosed brains. But then Hahn talks about studies showing that ADHD is in fact a brain disorder and not an "impact of poor parenting." This is an important point. One of the reasons people like to medicalize things, especially childhood, is that it resolves people of guilt. Parents are afraid, and teachers are afraid, that ADHD is caused by them, and having it viewed a brain disorder relieves them of this guilt. So there is a compelling reason for these stakeholders to find out, once and for all, if ADHD is a brain disorder. Hahn takes complicated medical and genetic information and distills it into information that is digestible for everyone. But "digestible" is not necessarily logical, especially in the face of contradictions.

One of the continuing themes throughout the book is that the diagnostic criteria of ADHD, including those of these very early diagnostic categories, try to explain almost every kind of behavior of a child, including hyperactivity, passivity, bed wetting, theft and violence. He makes the valid argument that many of these behaviors are not only contradictory, but also occur in a wide range of people, and as such, do not necessarily represent pathology, but instead represent normal human development and variation. Behaviors, "good" or "bad," are not necessarily symptoms.

Throughout the book, Hahn emphasizes that a lot of these children with problems, even the ones with the most severe symptoms, may be dealing with social factors that are causing their problems. These social factors include everything from stress at home to not being interested in classroom material. As a sociologist, I certainly appreciate his wide view here, and putting these children's problems into context really matters. That is what this book does best: pulling ADHD out of a medicalized context and putting it back into a social context.

He ends Chapter 1 with a question: is hyperactivity a true problem? This is one of Hahn's central arguments, that "hyperactivity" is a normal part of childhood, and it can be exacerbated by societal issues (such as large class sizes and "teaching to the test") and social issues such as family dysfunction.

In the first chapter, Hahn also introduces us to the main drugs used in the treatment of ADHD, and traces the history of using amphetamines for these very troubled children. One truly impressive aspect of this book is Hahn's facility with interpreting scientific data and distilling it in a fashion that the lay reader can understand. As we have learned from *How to Lie with Statistics* (Huff 1993), some researchers skew their data by hiding numbers and doing double-crossing with their statistics. How does the average reader know Hahn is not doing the same thing? He reinterprets figures and statistics and tells the reader what the statistical tests are hiding. However, without reading the papers myself, I can't suspend disbelief long enough to have confidence that Hahn is not misinterpreting or hiding important data to benefit his own agenda. Statistics are manipulable, and just as socially constructed as ADHD diagnoses, and are not as black and white as people would like to think. While Hahn does an admirable job of emphasizing that, how does the reader know that his interpretation of the data is any more complete or truthful than that of the original authors? As he stated in the beginning of the book, his monograph is not meant to be unbiased, so how can the reader trust that any of his statistical interpretations are not also biased?

Hahn does an admirable job of tracing the development of ADHD medications and asserts that researchers are often in the pockets of the big pharmaceutical companies. However, he makes problematic assumptions about why kids are having the problems they have on ADHD drugs. For example, he cites examples of children who have experienced serious side effects, or even died, after consuming ADHD drugs, but doesn't make a strong enough case, in some of his examples, that the side effect or death was unequivocally caused by the drug itself. Indeed, he seems to fall into the same trap as the scientists he is critiquing – picking and choosing cases that further his cause. While he states at the outset of the book that this is what he intends to do, it leaves me as the reader feeling suspicious.

As he notes, millions upon millions of children are on these drugs, and most do not die or have severe side effects. Just because most do not, does not mean that there is not a problem with prescribing these drugs to children, or that children are over-medicated, but a statistic or two about how many medicated children suffer side effects, how many suffer serious side effects, and how many suffer no side-effects (serious or otherwise) would have been useful to put the horror stories into context. Not knowing how rare or common these side effects are makes it hard to evaluate his claims. Although he does not explicitly say so in the book, it is clear that he is making an argument that people need to read between the lines of what the drug companies tell us, and examine the statistics ourselves and ask "what is missing?" When I do that same exercise with Hahn's book, I come up with the answer, "a lot" and I feel a bit cheated.

He spends a fair amount of time on the structure of school today and how it is not conducive to helping children learn. Children are not meant to sit still for hours upon hours, and he talks about model schools in which students have ample play time and time for creative work. He calls the symptoms of ADHD a symptom of schools that force kids to sit still for too many hours and not give them an outlet for their normal childhood energy. Yet Hahn does not address the fact that most children being taught under similar conditions, with the same lack of outlets for energy, are not diagnosed with ADHD.

One strange thing about the book is that it seems to be partially a vehicle for Dr. David Healy, also a member of the Samizdat collective, to espouse his views. Hahn quotes Healy extensively. This collaboration between the two men is commendable on one hand because Healy's name has some household resonance among those who study medicalization and the

psychiatrization of normality, but on the other hand, I feel like Hahn over-uses Healy's words as if he is too weak or unsure to say it himself. It's almost as if affixing Healy's name to a passage gives it more credence and weight than if Hahn himself said it. Most readers are probably not as familiar with Healy's work, but it still strikes me as odd.

Hahn does a great job talking about the role of the pharmaceutical industry in the rise of ADHD diagnoses without appearing too paranoid or conspiratorial. It's not a conspiracy. It's latent capitalism, and anyone who can be exploited for money, including children and their parents, are prime targets. He does a good job of painting these families as victims of the pharmaceutical and psychiatric professions. He talks about how ADHD researchers are being in the back pockets of Big Pharma; it was very revealing to see exactly who the big names in ADHD science are aligned with, financially. Hahn consistently targets premier ADHD researcher Joseph Biederman as the enemy. While Biederman is certainly at the forefront of ADHD medications and ADHD research, Hahn's focus on one researcher seems misguided.

Especially interesting is the chapter concerning the convergence of ADHD and pediatric bipolar disorder (PBD) (I have written a currently unpublished article about the medicalization of childhood as it relates to PBD, and have a forthcoming article about prepubertal bipolar disorder). I have also published about bipolar "epidemics" (Burrows 2010), and was happy to see Hahn lead off the chapter with a discussion of the socially constructed nature of PBD. However, he makes an interesting leap here, equating ADHD medications with the emergence of PBD. He argues that ADHD medications cause PBD, which reifies the category of PBD in a way that he does not do with ADHD. PBD is just as socially constructed as ADHD: it is a way to classify, explain, and define childhood deviance. Do ADHD meds cause some children to have psychotic breaks or manic episodes? Perhaps. But that does not mean that ADHD drugs cause PBD—it causes those symptoms which have been classified by humans as PBD.

The reification of PBD in this section was troubling. Hahn discusses the convergence of the amount of prescribed ADHD meds as being correlated with a staggering increase in PBD diagnoses. However, these two issues are not necessarily related. I would suggest instead that, at the same time that there was a rise in ADHD drug prescriptions (Hahn gives this as 1994 to 2002), concurrently there was a move to diagnose more children with PBD, to sell antipsychotic medications. It is much the same argument as he makes about ADHD. These two movements to medicalize childhood occurred simultaneously—one was not necessarily the cause or result of the other.

Chapters 6 and 7 are strange entities, as they appear in the middle of the book as case studies of children prescribed ADHD medication which has gone terribly wrong. Hahn makes the fundamental attribution error of assuming that the children's problems were linked to ADHD medication, even though the proximity of taking the drugs to the problems experienced by the children is not always clear. These chapters might have been better at the beginning of the book. As it is, these two short chapters felt out of place and weakened Hahn's overall argument, simply because he attributes the children's problems to ADHD medication; this is exactly the same mistake that doctors make when they attribute a child's problems to ADHD or PBD. We do not always know the origins of children's problems, but Hahn points to several social factors such as abuse and neglect, and stifling classroom environments. In these chapters, he makes the same mistake which he accuses doctors of making when attributing children's problems to ADHD.

Along the same lines, Hahn adds a chapter about two families whose children experienced adverse reactions from ADHD medication. But again, his argument feels suspicious, because the adverse effects do not appear to be unequivocally ADHD medication reactions. For example, he admits that one of the teenagers whose story he relates was also suffering from sleep deprivation and the abuse of a "cornucopia" of other drugs. For Hahn to blame this teenager's problems solely on ADHD medications seems misguided. Hahn calls ADHD medications the "gateway" drug for this teenager. His sister is quoted as saying "His Adderall abuse is what sparked the fire." Whether or not these medications work at all, and whether or not they have real side effects, is something that Hahn does not really explore. Instead, he spends time talking about these horror stories and his assertion that the origin of the horror is rooted in ADHD drugs, but he does not have me convinced.

ADHD medications can be addictive substances and

some people do in fact abuse them. Hahn asks whether the use of ADHD medications in early life opens children to the abuse of other substances later in life, as he asserts earlier in the book. He cites a study which found that the rate of cocaine dependence by young adults who had been medicated for ADHD for a year or more was almost twice that of ADHD-diagnosed subjects who were never medicated. That is certainly interesting data.

I like the heading, "Follow the Money" and with ADHD, that is complicated, because not only do we need to follow the money of the drug companies, but also the researchers who are making dividends on these pro-ADHD medication studies (funded by drug companies). Is Biederman motivated by his drug-money funding to show that ADHD is a brain disease? Certainly that is what Hahn proposes.

Hahn spends a whole chapter following the money trail, focusing especially on Biederman and other researchers, and where their money is coming from. No surprise: it all comes from the drug companies. Strangely, in this chapter, he talks about the benefits for children with the ADHD label, such as being given extra time to take tests, including the LSAT and MCAT. It's not clear why this information, as well as information on patient advocacy groups such as CHADD (Children and Adults with ADHD) is included in a chapter called "Follow the Money."

I was pleased to see the chapter called "Expanding the Market: Adult ADHD." ADHD was originally a diagnosis that children grew out of (as Hahn so gracefully says, "This used to be called growing up"), but now many people have ADHD diagnoses as adults. In fact, many people are not even diagnosed until adulthood. Hahn does a good job throughout the book, both in the childhood and adult sections, in emphasizing that there is not a lot of evidence that ADHD medications actually prevent or ameliorate any of the negative effects of so-called ADHD. Adults with ADHD diagnoses who have suffered from self-destructive behavior are quoted as being miraculously cured by their medication, with their spouses saying it is like night and day. Hahn provides a great quote from a doctor who says: "We are not sedating or tranquilizing people…we're making them normal. It's like giving insulin to diabetics."

The diabetes analogy is given frequently throughout the book by doctors who promote the use of ADHD medications, as an excuse for why these medications should be used liberally and without bias. I especially appreciated this section, as illnesses are not reified in Hahn's book (although I don't believe he uses this technical term, signaling that this book is meant for a general audience, although possibly a biased audience who will be reading Samizdat books). Illnesses as categories are created by people, who create diagnostic criteria. Forgetfulness, the inability to get work done, and job-hopping; all of these characteristics used to be considered the mark of poor behavior, laziness, or just plain shiftlessness, but now are often considered an illness. But should they be?

Hahn answers this question unequivocally: absolutely not. He does not, however, give a lot of alternatives for adults suffering from these symptoms. For children, he suggests that the cure is "growing up" —whatever that means. But what about the adults who never do so? What then? Hahn does not have an easy answer for this.

In the chapter "Inspiring Kids" Hahn talks about programs that are meant to inspire and activate kids without medicating them. This was a great chapter because it actually provides some practical advice about how to decrease the number of children given an ADHD diagnosis. Most importantly, it backs up his assertions that the solution to the ADHD "epidemic" is to "let kids be kids." This is one of the strongest arguments in the book, and it is unfortunate that he only dedicates three pages to it.

Hahn ends the book with some nostalgia about his own childhood, and how he and his contemporaries used up their excess energy out by running around and simply being children. He said that, although they were expected to sit still during class, they were allowed ample running-around time. He also says that parents were not expected to be perfect. He writes about the fact that everyone ate dinner as a family, and that family time was prioritized. This is all fine. But then he pokes fun at schools teaching children "mental health awareness" which, according to Hahn, is teaching them that they are fragile creatures who need help from pills. His closing argument is that we are a society hooked on mental health drugs, and they are not helping our children, who are profoundly troubled.

In this chapter, Hahn calls the rates of ADHD a national disaster. He ends the book with an extensive quote. The quote is a good one, but I would have liked to have seen him come to his own conclusion and not rely on

someone more famous to end the book. He ends his own prose with a dire warning that these medications—and mental health medication in general—are killing our children and causing abuse, suicide, and even Parkinson's Disease.

One important aspect to note when discussing children's emotional or psychiatric problems—which Hahn does not do very well—is that children, their parents, and even their teachers, are suffering. Whether this suffering is caused by strict classroom environments, abusive family homes, or any other cause, there is real pain occurring. People need help. Medication is not always, or even usually, the answer, but there are some seriously troubled children out there: children who take knives to their siblings and parents, children who kill animals, and children who spend nights without sleep and become sexually promiscuous in prepuberty. These children need help. Medicine and diagnoses—whether that be of ADHD or PBD—are not necessary, but help is. I would like to have seen Hahn focus on this point more. At several points in the book, he mentions that the behaviors labeled as ADHD used to be called "being a kid," but there is a line between "being a kid" and "being a troubled kid." Whether these problems have a biological or social root is rather a moot point, Hahn goes into great detail about the biological determinism argument, which seems somewhat unnecessary, because the impetus here is that children get the help they need. In our medicalized society, a diagnosis and medication make parents and teachers feel that something is being done for or about the troubled child, and perhaps—as Hahn argues—it is making it worse. But he stops short of making recommendations about what should actually be done with these truly troubled children. He needed to do better here.

In conclusion, Patrick Hahn's *Obedience Pills* presents a compelling, thought-provoking contribution, in this intentionally biased critique of the ADHD diagnosis and medication paradigm. The book's strengths lie in its thorough historical account of ADHD's evolution as a diagnosis, its exploration of the social construction of mental health categories, and its critical examination of the pharmaceutical industry's influence on ADHD research and treatment.

However, the book has several limitations. Hahn's reliance on anecdotal evidence and potential cherry-picking of data weakens some of his arguments. His attribution of various problems solely to ADHD medications sometimes feels oversimplified, neglecting other potential contributing factors. Additionally, while Hahn critiques the current paradigm, he falls short in providing comprehensive alternative solutions for children and adults struggling with attention and behavior issues. Readers should therefore approach the book with a critical eye, using it as a starting point for further exploration and discussion rather than as a definitive text on the subject.

Kathryn Burrows *(PhD in Sociology) researches medical and mental health sociology and the intersection between health, mental health, and ability and technology. She published the edited volume* "Medical Technology and the Social: How Medical Technology is Impacting Social relations, Institutions, and Beliefs about what is Normal" *and is currently writing a monograph about the technologically-enabled surveillance and monitoring of psychiatric patients, culminating in the recent development of Bluetooth-enabled "smart pills" and AI/LLM predictive modeling and preventative treatment for algorithmic-determined psychiatric crises. She is also interested in diagnostic creep and nosology, especially as it relates to Pediatric Bipolar Disorder. In addition to this work in medicine and the sociology of knowledge and technology, her work crosses intradisciplinary boundaries and also works in the area of the sociology of religion, and studies sermonic discourse and its impact on the political process and other social action.* https://kateburrowsphd.com/

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AUTHOR'S RESPONSE

I thank Dr. Burrows for her close reading of my book. As I noted in the Preface, the debate over the safety and effectiveness of these drugs seems largely to have died down, and I am heartened to whatever extent I have succeeded in my stated goal or re-igniting that debate.

There are two points I would like to address specifically. Regarding the "cure" for the "symptoms" of "ADHD," Dr. Burrows notes:

> *He does not, however, give a lot of alternatives for adults suffering from these symptoms. For children, he suggests that the cure is "growing up" —whatever that means. But what about the adults who never do so? What then? Hahn does not have an easy answer for this.*

Well, I plead guilty to that one. But perhaps that's the point. Perhaps part of the answer is recognizing there are no "easy answers" to this messy, complicated, frustrating business we call "life."

Elsewhere, she writes:

> *He stops short of making recommendations about what should actually be done with these truly troubled children.*

In this case, I plead innocent. In the last chapter, I discuss in great detail a residential program for "truly troubled children" that had great success in treating these cases with order, structure, discipline, and kindness, along with lots and lots of physical exercise. This program was described in a paper published all the back in 1935 – two years before Charles Bradley published the first study of the effects of amphetamine on troubled children.

Every history of the diagnostic category which came to be known as "ADHD" mentions Dr. Bradley and his work giving amphetamines to these kids, but a point that has been all but forgotten is the reason he began giving this drug to them in the first place – to try to counteract the brain-damaging effects of the pneumoencephalographic brain-imaging studies he carried out on his hapless charges.

Eighty years of brain-imaging studies, as well as over one hundred years of psychiatric genetics studies, have failed to yield one cure, or treatment, or even a diagnostic test, not just for "ADHD" but for any of the five hundred or so "functional disorders" described in the *DSM*. Forty-five years of randomized controlled trials have yet to demonstrate any long-term benefits from drugging children or adults diagnosed with "ADHD." The MTA was far and away the longest and far and away the largest such trial, carried out by eminently credentialed researchers, probably every single one of whom was pro-med, and the only long-term effect they were able to demonstrate – the only one – was that the drugs stunted the kids' growth. And no, they didn't "catch up."

What's that definition of insanity again? It's time to say enough is enough.

Patrick Hahn

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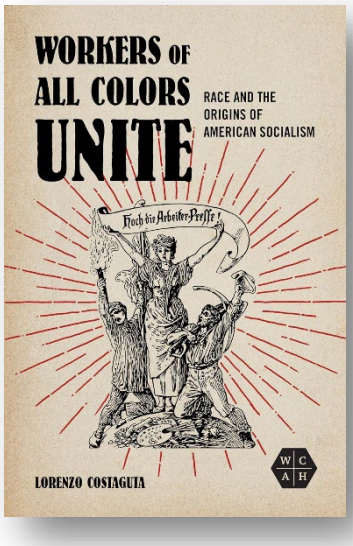

Workers of All Colors Unite: Race and Origins of American Socialism

Lorenzo Costaguta

University of Illinois Press, 2023.

175 pp + Notes & Index. Illus. b&w. $40.00.

ISBN 978-0-252-08707-3

https://www.amazon.co.uk/Workers-All-Colors-Unite-Socialism/dp/0252044924

Review by Shelby Shapiro, with author's response, first published online 20 February 2026.

Lorenzo Costaguta has written a very interesting work that fills in holes in labor history and the histories of race and ethnicity in America. It will also be of interest to scholars of the radical and ethnic press. This volume covers the period prior to the Civil War into the early twentieth century, with occasional mentions of events and movements thereafter. His book meets at the junction of labor history and socialism in America, within the contexts of developing Darwinism, the ideas of Herbert Spencer ("survival of the fittest") and scientific racism. Specifically, Costaguta examines changes in the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) as it went from being centered in the German-American immigrant community prior to 1890 to its more "Americanized" version under the leadership of a non-German immigrant, Daniel DeLeon.

Costaguta does an exemplary job of tracing the interactions of ideas and ideologues. He traces the ins and outs of radical politics from before the Civil War with skill, noting that the Radical Republican abolitionist Wendell Phillips opposed any compromise on the issue of Chinese exclusion (p. 76).

Costaguta starts, not with the SLP, but with the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS) and then its California rival, the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC). The book focuses on American labor history from before the Civil War into the early decades of the twentieth century, with occasional mentions of what followed that period. Among those dealt with at length is the early German-American socialist, Joseph Weydemeyer, who emigrated to the US after the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe. He joined the Union Army

and rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Weydemeyer was one of the American connections of Karl Marx to the US.

Costaguta examines the changing attitudes and activities of socialists in various arenas: slavery and racism; Chinese exclusion; and matters concerning Native Americans. Unfortunately, there are significant sins of omission in his account. While talking about the policies of the First International Workingmen's Association and the activities and analyses of Karl Marx, nowhere does Costaguta mention why the First International left London for new headquarters in New York, where it would fade and die. Nor does he even mention the name of Marx's main rival in the International, the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin, or any other rival, for that matter. To correct this, readers should turn to a major and recent (2016) study, Gareth Stedman Jones's *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion* (Penguin Books).

Equally disturbing is that there is not a single, solitary mention of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), founded in 1905, which organized everyone from timber workers in the Northwest to pine workers in the South, longshoremen on the East Coast, agricultural workers in the Midwest, and textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and Patterson, New Jersey. The languages employed by the IWW went beyond German and English, as noted in a website devoted to its press.[1] Publications appeared in "Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Flemish, German, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, Swedish and Yiddish," in addition to English and a daily paper in Finnish. Its organizers and orators were likewise multilingual. Moreover, it sought to organize industrially, seeking to enlist both skilled and unskilled workers under the slogan of "One Big Union" for All. The AFL excluded the unskilled and racial minorities, and the IWW became a main rival of the SLP's organizational efforts. Not even mentioning the IWW is thus a serious omission in Costaguta's account.

Even though the IWW is not mentioned at all, Costaguta cites one of its most famous leaders, Big Bill Haywood—once (p. 171), without noting Haywood's connection with the IWW, the Socialist Party (from which he was expelled), or the Western Federation of Miners. He also does not note that Haywood recommended refusing to follow state law banning interracial meetings. This, he said, was a law that needed to end by direct action—just doing it.

Arguably one of the best chapters in the book is the one entitled "Must They Go? American Socialism and the Racialization of Chinese Immigrants, 1876-1890". The Great Railroad Strike of 1877 spurred the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS) into action. With Black and White workers standing shoulder to shoulder in the eastern states, a different reaction occurred on the West Coast, as Denis Kearney of the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC) rallied workers in California to mob action under the slogan and program of "the Chinese must go." Three years earlier the Cigar Makers Association had devised something new—the union label. This union label served less to denote a product made by unionized workers, but was a way to let buyers know these goods were made by white men.[2] (This fact too is strangely omitted by the author.) Costaguta relates the interactions between the WPUS and the WPC. The question of whether to oppose Chinese exclusion in accordance with socialist internationalism came face to face with a desire to be "with the masses" (p. 74). Ultimately the SLP would sacrifice principle for expedience, as did the American Federation of Labor.

It was not only the SLP which supported Chinese exclusion: In 1904, Morris Hillquit (born Hillkowitz) of the Socialist Party of America supported a resolution before the International Socialist Congress in favor of immigration restriction, justifying it by stating that it "only" sought to restrict "Asiatics." *Dos yidishes tagblatt*, a conservative anti-radical daily paper, lambasted him, writing "Morris Hillquit belongs to those who hide their Jewish nationality . . . who crawl after the Gentiles on all fours. It was not enough for him

[1] ("IWW Newspapers-IWW History Project", see http//depts.washington.edu/iww/newspapers.html.

[2] Shah, Nayan, Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown (Berkelely: University of California Press, 2001), 160.

to change his name . . . not only did he run away from his people, he . . . backed closing the door of the land of freedom to those who like himself wished to find a home in America."[3] Costaguta notes Daniel DeLeon's opposition to the Hillquit resolution (p. 160).

In dealing with Black Americans, Costaguta writes about Peter H. Clark, the first African-American in the SLP. Clark represented lost potential for the SLP, since he soon moved on—a pattern in Clark's career as he moved from movement to movement, starting as a protégé of Frederick Douglass, and ultimately ending up in the then-segregationist Democratic Party.[4] Clark's short, two year life within the SLP, could have been contrasted with that of IWW leader, Ben Fletcher (1890-1949), who led Local 8 of the Maritime Transport Workers Union, whose membership consisted of African Americans, Irish-Americans and European immigrants. At the height of its influence it controlled most of Philadelphia's docks for almost a decade. Fletcher served three years of a ten-year sentence for criminal syndicalism at Leavenworth (commenting to Haywood that the judge spoke ungrammatically—his sentences were too long . . .).[5] While arguably Fletcher's activities fell outside the time period for the rest of the book, Costaguta mentions the Black Panther Party, the New Left, the Communist Party, and others who certainly fell outside the book's time period.

In the chapter on the SLP and its positions and reactions to the situation of Native Americans, the author discusses the changing attitudes of Socialists when dealing with race, evolution, Darwinism, and associated topics. Although interesting, the section concerning Karl Marx's final attitudes on these matters has no relevance, since his notes were not published until 1971 (p. 142). The same goes for the writings of Kevin B. Anderson (b. 1948) and Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987) (p. 142). Neither person, no matter how informed, was part of these discussions.

Workers of All Colors Unite is well worth reading, with notes of the author's sins of omission. Even with these in mind, there is much to be gained from this volume.

Shelby Shapiro *(Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of* Tsum punkt/To the Point*, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, as well as for its predecessor publication, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. In 2024 Palgrave Macmillan published his* Words to the Wives: The Yiddish Press, Immigrant Women and Jewish-American Identity*. He is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism. He is presently researching a history of the "Yiddish Fleet Street", New York City's East Broadway.*

[3] Gorenstein, Arthur, "A Portrait of Ethnic Politics: The Socialists and the 1908 and 1910 Congressional Elections on the East Side," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society 50, no. 3 (March 1961): 202-238.

[4] See Taylor, Nikki M., *America's First Black Socialist: The Radical Life of Peter H. Clark*. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2013), for a full treatment of his life and career.

[5] For more on Fletcher, see, Cole. Peter, *Ben Fletcher: The Life and Times of a Black Wobbly* (PM Press, 2021).

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AUTHOR'S RESPONSE

I would like to thank *The Independent Scholar* and its editor for the in-depth review of my book. I am glad they found value in my scholarship and considered it worth to be read, discussed and criticized. I am also grateful for reaching out to ask if I wanted to respond to some of the critiques raised. I am taking this opportunity as a chance to give to the journal's readers some further reasoning about what the reviewer calls "sins of omissions." I do not want to abuse the readers' patience, so I will keep my reply short and engage with what I found were the most significant points raised.

Upon reading Shelby Shapiro's review of my book, I got the impression that his intention was to revive one of the oldest and most venerable clashes in the history of left – the clash between socialism and anarchism. Most of the points raised by him relate to episodes in the history of European and American anarchism that I was guilty of not discussing or mentioning in my book. I admit I found those critiques puzzling.

Anyone with some familiarity with the history of the Western left (i.e., anyone that has or will read my book) knows that the First International failed because of the contrasts between Marx and Bakunin. In the first chapter of my book, in a section entirely dedicated to the internal contrasts between English- and German-speaking members of the American branch of the First International, adding details on the Marx-Bakunin debate would have been distracting if not simply out of place.

Even stranger is the expectation that I discussed in my book episodes in the history of anarchism that happened outside its timeframe (1848-1899), like the history of the Industrial Workers of the World, founded in 1905, and the life of Ben Fletcher, an African American leader who was active in the IWW from the 1910s onwards. The only part of my book where I venture in the twentieth century in some depth is the conclusions. In that section, my goal is clear: establishing the relevance of the socialist Gilded Age debate on race in the history of socialism in the United States. If the Black Panther Party, the New Left and the CPUSA (to mention the three organizations that the reviewer points at) are part of my analysis, it is because they are very clearly part of that history. But the IWW? Scholars of anarchism would be the firsts to contest this characterization, with much reason.

One last critique I would like to address is the reviewer's opinion that including a sustained discussion of Karl Marx's thought on anthropological theories (and later debates by Dunayevskaya and Anderson) in my chapter on Native Americans had "no relevance", because no American socialist in the 1880s could be part of these discussions. Nowhere in the book I stated that they could. The point of including Marx's ideas was to show how, unbeknown to one another, Marx and SLP members followed similar intellectual trajectories, struggling to square historical materialism with contemporary anthropological science (with different levels of complexity and different results, of course).

Thanks to the readers for their attention and to the reviewer for this occasion of debate and exchange. I look forward to further discussions on my book and on shared topics of interest.

Lorenzo Costaguta

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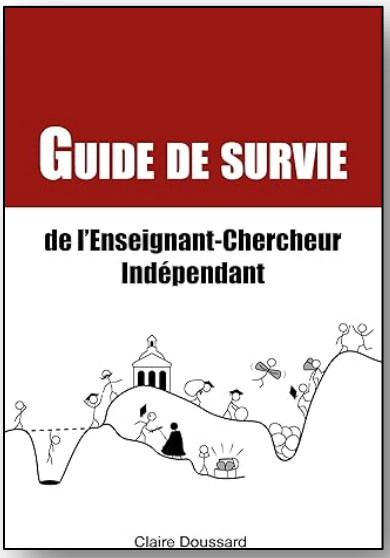

How to Survive as an Independent Researcher

[Guide de survie de l'enseignant-chercheur indépendant]

Claire Doussard

Librinova, December 2, 2024

Paperback: 318 pages

ISBN: 9791040565901

https://www.amazon.co.uk/survie-lenseignant-chercheur-ind%C3%A9pendant-Claire-Doussard/dp/B0DPK4W5K6

Review by Lionel Lainard, first published online 21 March 2025.

Although the policy of TIS is only to review publications in English, we have made an exception for Doussard's book due to the subject matter, written from the point of view of France's higher education system.

Lionel Lainard's review is given in his English translation, followed by the original French.

This book targets a readership of academic researchers, particularly young researchers interested in pursuing independent careers in self-employment. It seeks to explore alternatives to conventional institutional career paths while highlighting the limitations of the current academic system and the challenges of working as an independent professional.

The drawing on the book's cover evokes the stages of "*The Hero's Journey*" concept, a universal structure found in myths worldwide. However, here it is represented in a linearized form. At first glance, my impression was that the myth of Sisyphus was integrated into the design. According to legend, Sisyphus was condemned to endlessly roll a boulder up a hill for defying the gods, only for it to roll back down each time. A closer inspection reveals that the myth of Sisyphus is not actually depicted in the illustration. Yet, during the reading of the book, the feeling associated

with this myth unexpectedly remained with me in the background.

The author dedicates her self-published book "*to all those who wish to learn and pass on*", giving meaning to the life mission of many researchers. In her guide, she shares an assessment of her experience over the last ten years in the field of humanities and social sciences. As a landscape engineer and urban planner with a doctorate in urban planning, she lives in France. Humor and raw directness are central to the book. Comparisons with various characters from the Star Wars movies are frequently used.

The main issues presented revolve around the growing malaise and precarity in higher education and research, as well as the challenges associated with the status of independent teacher-researcher. The legitimacy of non-institutional paths in the academic and university world is also explored.

The choice to write the book in a subjective and narrative style, with an informal approach, makes it an accessible read. Based on personal experience, the author relies on empirical observations and anecdotes rather than a scientific methodology.

Throughout the book, the reflection is structured around the concept of "independence," inspired by dictionary definitions of the term.

The book is organized into three main sections:

- *The institutional dimension :* Exploring the activities of independent scholar-teacher and the possible attachment to an institution.
- *The entrepreneurial dimension* Addressing issues related to finances, creating a business connected to research and higher education, and the self-employed status.
- *The personal dimension of an independent scholar-teacher's life:* Focusing on psychological and emotional needs for recognition, social consideration, coping with failure, loneliness, fear of peer judgment, and mental health — topics that remain taboo in the world of higher education and research.

Reasons given for leaving the institution

Explicit and implicit critiques of the academic system in France abound. Through personal anecdotes and shared collective discontent, the book highlights institutional obstacles, injustices, oppressive practices, the discouraging administrative workload required in higher education, the prevailing gloom, the precarious conditions faced by young researchers in doctoral and postdoctoral contracts, the limited prospects offered to doctoral students, the chronic lack of recognition within universities, the unrealistic and ever-increasing expectations in academia, the declining funding for PhD students and early-career researchers especially in the humanities and social sciences, the "tailor-made positions" for university recruitment (positions already unofficially preassigned before publication through favoritism, with so detailed and precise requirements that only one candidate can meet them), the constant pressure, burnout, the rigidity of university systems, ongoing budget cuts, and the lack of dynamism in recruiting new tenured teachers.

In 2019, according to *Nature Magazine*, 36% of the 6,300 researchers surveyed worldwide reported seeking help for anxiety or depression problems, particularly related to their PhD work. The author of the book shares:

> "*Research on PhD student loneliness offers some insights. Being left alone with one's thesis, dealing with family and friends who often do not understand the PhD process, dealing with peers, and facing thesis supervisors who sometimes display the empathy of an oyster are all sources of anxiety. Furthermore, when your thesis is unfunded, precariousness becomes a way of life, panic sets in about post-PhD prospects due to the lack of positions, or you can't find any meaning in what you're doing, then it is entirely normal (or not) to feel like you're losing your grip a little*."

The author also identifies a number of motivations for considering independent status: the ability to work on a variety of projects, unlike CNRS researchers who, for example, may spend 10 years on the same subject; the freedom to design research projects in a transversal and transdisciplinary way; earning a daily rate often higher than university or CNRS colleagues; and finding recognition more easily from clients.

The three approaches presented for working outside the traditional academic framework

- Starting a business.

- Engaging in contract and applied research for private or public clients.

- Providing professional training.

It is possible to combine a dual activity as a civil servant and an independent professional, but this depends on the discipline and the administrative requirements of universities or schools.

An independent teacher-researcher can work as a trainer for training organizations, local authorities, or companies. In France, it is also possible to set up one's own training organization, which is a lucrative market, provided that the "*Qualiopi*" certification mark is obtained.

However, presenting oneself as an independent researcher can raise concerns among potential clients or partners, because unlike consultants from business or engineering schools, researchers are less familiar with project-based logic and objectives focused on immediate results or commercial gains. While ethics, rigorous methodology, and long-term reflection are important to researchers, these traits can unfortunately be perceived as "complex" or less action-oriented. Clients tend to aim for immediate commercial objectives and expect promises of quick solutions along with practical and cost-effective recommendations.

Adopting the label of "expert" is often preferable for reassurance:

> *"This term is less intimidating to our friends and future collaborators in the business world than 'researcher' (here comes the Professor Calculus effect)."*[1] *(...) "You know, a genius who lives in his head, makes eccentric connections with reality that have little practical application, and remains deaf to the needs of professionals."*

Strategies identified for overcoming the professional obstacles of self-employment

The author synthesizes information on various legal statuses and administrative tasks, and offers advice on intellectual property. She also points out the importance of broadening complementary skills by training in areas such as management, negotiation, communication, and the economic valorization of research.

> *"The economic and financial valorization of our work (...) is essential for aligning ourselves with our fellow consultants, providing relevant recommendations within companies, and reassuring future clients."*

Independent researchers must conduct market research and train themselves in the economic and operational translation of their research to meet business expectations and stand out from less specialized consultants. Clients expect research results to be adapted for commercial applications.

To enhance one's value, strategies include adapting communication techniques inspired by influencers, creating a professional image that resonates with businesses, and developing a clear, convincing narrative about one's activities. Practicing the 2-minute elevator pitch exercise can be particularly helpful.

Academic publications can serve as a showcase for expertise, provided the research is presented in an accessible way that makes the work more appealing.

Depending on the mission and the audience, one should adapt their presentation as an expert, a consultant, or an independent researcher.

Acting as a consultant involves offering targeted assistance for specific studies, analyses, applied research, or evaluations. Proposing a short consultancy mission to potential clients can make initiating collaborations easier.

Expanding activities means developing a strong network and creating strategic partnerships with various entities such as university labs, companies and local authorities. Ideally, academic programs should be oriented toward market actors and multiple sources should be identified for co-funding projects (public and private organizations, calls for proposals).

Challenges faced as an independent researcher

Independent research, grounded in scientific methodology, enables researchers — particularly in the humanities and social sciences — to provide in-depth

[1] Professor Calculus, from "*The Adventures of Tintin*" comic series.

expertise thanks to their academic background. They can go beyond what other consultants and experts offer:

> *"The primary goal of an independent teacher-researcher is to produce new knowledge and contribute to the state of the art on a given issue. Or to produce a truly innovative process or product."*

Consulting activities require aligning closely with specific market needs. For clients, a rapid and pragmatic approach becomes a priority, as businesses often have pressing expectations.

While pursuing consulting missions, continuing to publish in scientific journals helps maintain academic legitimacy.

> *"I also believe that producing books or taking part in conferences are important ways of ensuring that your skills are recognized within the scientific community."*

For researchers in the humanities and social sciences, getting closer to technology-related topics makes it easier to obtain projects:

> *"Technology Transfer Acceleration Companies (SATTs) have a furious tendency to combine humanities and social sciences research with digital technologies to fit into the 'right boxes'. After all, it's understandable since SAATs are technology-driven, but their way of framing things exasperates me. An excerpt from the official SATT website reads: "While the support process is intangible, the specificities related to the soft sciences are numerous. Innovations from humanities and social sciences laboratories are rarely embodied and usually reach the concept or idea stage. That is why, for example, at SATT Sud-Est (south-west SATT) we have just implemented a specific invention declaration for innovations arising from digital field and humanities and social sciences, to better identify and capitalize on their full potential."*

Combining part-time employment at a university with independent activities remains the most comfortable option in terms of financial stability, personal investment, and professional recognition. For those who wish to leave the institution, the author suggests starting by requesting permission to hold dual roles and then transitioning to an 80% part-time schedule — while keeping the project a secret from colleagues.

Identified personal & psychological consequences

In her book, the author refers to "Anger and Frustration" seven times, describing them as frequent companions over the past ten years.

The book emphasizes the emotional burden, isolation, and emotions/feelings experienced, which is consistent with the term "*Survival*" in the title. This term reflects the idea of resisting decline, maintaining oneself even in a weakened state within an unfavorable or harmful environment. This concept is reinforced with references to being "*masochistic*" which appears eight times, and the sense of "*struggle*" being repeated six times.

At the same time, the book promotes benevolence, respect, empathy, mutual support between researchers and a sense of community.

According to the author, becoming independent requires mentorship and moral aid to effectively handle repeated failures, professional instability, tension, gender inequalities, mansplaining, discouragement, and burnout.

Numerous discontents and negative feelings arise in response to the pervasive gloom in Higher Education and Research, in the face of the academic recruitment process:

> *("So, if some of the members of recruitment panels had to apply with the CVs they had 20 or 30 years ago when they got their positions, their applications might not even be considered for an interview today"),*

in the face of various injustices, institutional mistreatment, the devaluation of the humanities and social sciences compared to the "hard" sciences, the attacks suffered from the "Reviewer 2," the difficulties of finding projects as an independent researcher, and the liquidation of the author's first company.

The last shared learnings

The author advises against staying isolated and encourages seeking companionship: *"Find like-minded people to share experiences with"* (...) *"And the idea that our community can grow is something I wouldn't mind at all."* She suggests having mentors who are

more experienced or intelligent, summoning the courage to distance oneself from toxic people, learning to say no, strengthening resilience, honoring failures by recognizing the lessons they offer, being kind to oneself and others, playing down mistakes and imperfections, fulfilling the need for recognition, getting out from workaholism with the help of a psychologist, learning to delegate, and taking or even imposing rest on oneself.

Regarding the decision to become independent, the author concludes: *"With a bit of motivation, discipline, and a pinch of luck, I'm convinced that you, dear readers, can succeed."*

On adaptability, she highlights the ever-present nature of change: *"As you've likely realized, nothing in life is set in stone."* (…) *"Only fools never change their minds."*

Conclusion

"How to Survive as an Independent Researcher" is a committed work that provides a comprehensive overview of the real problems and difficulties encountered in the current intra- and extra-academic context. Although presented through a subjective point of view, it opens up perspectives and suggests alternative career paths for researchers. Reading it prompted me to reflect on various aspects of my own life. As Henri Poincaré rightly stated, *"A problem well posed is a problem half solved."*

The concept of "survival" fits the book well. However, while I personally found it burdensome, it made me think about my own choices and broadened my awareness of the lack of meaning that pervades our society. The author's humorous on difficult or painful experiences highlights the idea that what truly matters is not what happens, but how we deal with it. The concrete examples of discrimination against women shared in the book can also serve as a wake-up call.

This guide also demonstrates the therapeutic nature of writing, and can inspire others to use writing as a tool for transforming negative emotions and processing necessary grieves to move forward both professionally and personally.

The revelation of the extent of societal dysfunctions and the damage it causes reminds me of how technical knowledge often pales in comparison to the importance of knowing *how to be* and *how to do* to develop healthily, especially in a faulty environment. It is clear to me that living in "survival" mode is mortiferous in the long term, and identifying such a situation as early as possible is crucial to avoiding serious harm. Survival is appropriate only if it remains a temporary phase, not a lasting state.

If, one day, I find myself feeding the victim within me by constantly complaining (as we French often do), I hope I'll recognize it quickly and act in the service of my true needs in order to regain a satisfying balance. I understand the value and significance we generally attribute to professional identity. Thanks to this book, I can affirm that what matters more to me is simply doing what I love, what I want, what feels good and right. It also remains more important to me to just feel useful and in my rightful place, to arrange myself so as to suffer only a minimum of constraints and not feel crushed or suffocated, to disengage from dysfunctional systems, to favor simplicity and sobriety in both work and life, to avoid the mortifying accumulation of professional and psychological burdens, to stay true to my vision and values, to establish a framework that brings joy, to have the courage to redecide and make positive changes when needed, to let go of ideals and restore meaning… All of this, even if precariousness sometimes becomes part of the equation.

For a possible second edition of the book, incorporating testimonies from researchers in other disciplines could enrich the diversity of perspectives.

Lionel Lainard *is a French independent researcher in humanities. He works as a therapist, trainer of professional coaches, and humanistic management consultant in Europe and USA. He currently serves as president of the NCIS-affiliated ReCIF (Réseau des Chercheurs Indépendants Francophones) Partner Group. His collaboration with Gilles Lecourt, a peer therapist, sparked his passion for conducting research on the development of the intelligence of creative genius, by creating new connections between body and mind, combining various bottom-up and top-down psycho-corporeal techniques. His forthcoming book is the* Manual of Life: The Keys and Conditions to Unlock the Creative Genius of Body and Mind.

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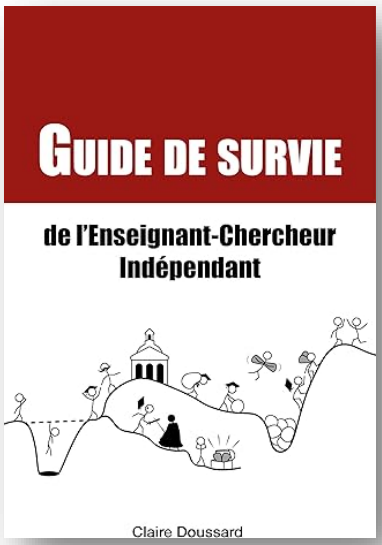

Guide de survie de l'enseignant-chercheur indépendant

Claire Doussard

Librinova, 2 décembre 2024

Broché: 318 pages

ISBN: 9791040565901

https://www.amazon.co.uk/survie-lenseignant-chercheur-ind%C3%A9pendant-Claire-Doussard/dp/B0DPK4W5K6

Critique de Lionel Lainard, première publication en ligne le 21 mars 2025.

Le livre cible un public d'enseignants-chercheurs et particulièrement les jeunes chercheurs intéressés par une activité indépendante. Il vise à explorer des alternatives aux parcours institutionnels classiques tout en exposant les limites du système académique actuel ainsi que les difficultés d'entreprendre en tant que travailleur indépendant.

Le dessin sur la couverture du livre rappelle les étapes du concept du « *voyage du héros* » cette structure universelle retrouvée dans tous les mythes. Mais ici, elle est représentée sur un plan linéarisé. Mon œil a eu la première impression forte que le mythe de Sisyphe y était intégré. Celui-ci, pour avoir osé défier les dieux, fut condamné à éternellement faire rouler un rocher jusqu'en haut d'une colline sans jamais y parvenir. Une observation plus précise du dessin révèle que le mythe de Sisyphe n'apparaît finalement pas. Cependant, lors de la lecture du livre, le sentiment lié à ce mythe m'est étonnamment resté en filigrane.

L'autrice dédicace son livre auto-édité « *à toutes celles et ceux qui souhaitent apprendre et transmettre* », donnant du sens à la mission de vie de nombreux chercheurs. Elle partage, dans son guide, un bilan sur l'expérience de ses dix dernières années dans le domaine des sciences humaines et sociales (SHS). Ingénieure paysagiste, urbaniste et docteure en aménagement, elle vit en France. L'humour et la franchise brute sont très présents. Des comparatifs avec les différents personnages du film Star Wars sont régulièrement employés.

Les principales problématiques présentées se déclinent autour du mal être et de la précarité croissante dans l'Enseignement Supérieur et la Recherche (ESR), ainsi que des défis associés au statut d'enseignant-chercheur indépendant. L'interrogation sur la légitimité des parcours non institutionnels face au milieu universitaire et académique y est également évoquée.

Le choix de rédiger ce livre de manière subjective et narrative, dans une approche informelle, rend sa lecture accessible. En se basant sur l'expérience personnelle, l'auteure s'appuie sur des observations empiriques et des anecdotes, sans démarche scientifique.

Pour l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, la réflexion est structurée autour du mot "indépendance" et inspirée des définitions de ce mot issues du dictionnaire.

Le livre est organisé en trois grandes parties :

- *La dimension institutionnelle* : l'exploration des activités de l'enseignant-chercheur indépendant et le possible attachement à une institution.
- *La dimension entrepreneuriale* : les questions liées à l'argent, la création d'une entreprise en lien à la recherche et à l'enseignement supérieur, et le statut d'indépendant.
- *La dimension personnelle de la vie d'un enseignant-chercheur indépendant* : les besoins psychologiques et émotionnels de reconnaissance, de considération sociale, la gestion de l'échec, la solitude, la peur du regard des pairs, et la santé mentale (des sujets qui sont tabous dans le monde de l'ESR).

Les raisons indiquées qui poussent à quitter l'institution

Les critiques explicites et implicites du système académique en France sont nombreuses. A partir d'anecdotes personnelles et des mécontentements collectifs exposés, sont mis en lumière les obstacles institutionnels, les injustices, les pratiques oppressives, la surcharge décourageante de travail administratif demandé dans l'enseignement supérieur, la morosité ambiante, les conditions précaires des jeunes chercheurs dans les contrats doctoraux et postdoctoraux, les perspectives limitées offertes aux doctorants, le manque chronique de reconnaissance dans les universités, les attentes irréalistes et croissantes dans le milieu académique, la baisse des financements pour les doctorants et jeunes chercheurs notamment en sciences humaines et sociales (SHS), les « postes à moustache » pour le recrutement d'enseignants (postes déjà attribués officieusement avant publication, par copinage, dont les profils sont tellement détaillés et précis qu'un(e) seul(e) candidat(e) peut y répondre), la pression constante, l'épuisement professionnel, la rigidité du système dans les universités, les constantes restrictions budgétaires et le manque de dynamisme dans le recrutement de nouveaux titulaires.

En 2019, selon la revue *Nature*, 36% des 6300 chercheurs interrogés dans le monde indiquent avoir demandé de l'aide pour des problèmes d'anxiété ou de dépression, notamment liés au doctorat.

> « *Des recherches sur la solitude du doctorant donnent quelques pistes. Se retrouver seul devant sa thèse, gérer ses proches (qui ne comprennent souvent pas ce qui se passe en thèse), ses pairs, dont les directeurs/directrices de thèse qui font parfois autant preuve d'humanité qu'une huître, sont des facteurs d'angoisse. Par ailleurs, lorsque la thèse n'est pas financée, que la précarisation devient un mode de vie, qu'on s'affole pour l'après car il n'y a pas de poste, ou qu'on ne trouve plus de sens à ce que l'on fait, alors il est tout à fait normal (ou pas) de péter un tant soit peu un câble.* »

L'autrice repère également les motivations invitant à s'intéresser au statut d'indépendant : Pouvoir travailler sur différents projets, contrairement aux chercheurs du CNRS qui, par exemple, restent 10 ans sur le même sujet. Pouvoir librement établir des projets de recherche de façon transversale et transdisciplinaire. Bénéficier d'une rémunération journalière souvent supérieure à celle des collègues de l'université ou du CNRS. Trouver plus facilement de la reconnaissance auprès des clients.

Les trois pistes présentées pour exercer en dehors du cadre académique classique

- La création d'entreprise.

- La recherche contractuelle et appliquée pour des clients privés ou publics.

- La formation professionnelle.

Mettre en place une double activité de fonctionnaire/indépendant est possible mais tout dépend de la discipline et des exigences administratives des universités/écoles.

Un enseignant-chercheur indépendant peut intervenir comme formateur au sein d'organismes de formation, de collectivités ou d'entreprises.

En France, il lui est aussi possible de directement créer son propre organisme de formation, c'est un marché particulièrement porteur, à condition d'obtenir la marque de certification Qualiopi.

Mais se présenter comme un chercheur indépendant peut susciter des craintes auprès des clients ou partenaires potentiels, car contrairement aux consultants issus d'écoles de commerce et d'ingénierie, le chercheur est moins coutumier de la logique de projet et des objectifs orientés vers un résultat immédiat et un gain commercial. Là où l'éthique, la méthodologie rigoureuse, la réflexion à long terme sont importantes pour le chercheur, cela peut

malheureusement être perçu comme "complexe" ou moins orienté vers l'action directe. Les clients visent plus souvent un objectif commercial immédiat et attendent une promesse de solutions rapides ainsi que des recommandations pratiques et économiques.

Se présenter avec l'étiquette d' « *expert* » est alors préférable pour rassurer,

> *« ce terme effraie moins nos amis et futurs collaborateurs en entreprise que celui de chercheur (bonjour l'effet Professeur Tournesol) »* (…) *« Vous savez, un génie qui vit dans sa tête et établit avec le réel des connexions loufoques sans grande application pratique, tout en demeurant sourd au besoin des professionnels.* »).

Les stratégies distinguées pour contourner les obstacles professionnels de l'indépendant

L'auteure synthétise les différents statuts juridiques et les tâches administratives, conseille à propos de la propriété intellectuelle. Elle indique également qu'il est opportun d'étendre ses compétences complémentaires en se formant à la gestion, à la négociation, la communication, la valorisation économique de la recherche.

> *« la valorisation économique et financière de nos travaux (…), essentielle pour pouvoir nous aligner sur nos collègues consultants, et effectuer des recommandations pertinentes au sein d'entreprises, et pour rassurer nos futurs clients ».*

Le chercheur indépendant doit réaliser une étude de marché et se former à la traduction économique et opérationnelle de ses recherches pour répondre aux attentes des entreprises et se démarquer des consultants moins spécialisés. Les clients attendent que les résultats de recherche soient adaptés pour des usages commerciaux.

Pour se valoriser, on peut adapter sa stratégie de communication en s'inspirant des influenceurs, créer une image qui parle aux entreprises, développer une narration claire et convaincante autour de son activité en s'entrainant à faire l'exercice du 2-minutes elevator pitch.

Pour démontrer l'expertise, les publications académiques peuvent être utilisées comme vitrine, à condition de présenter ses recherches sous un angle accessible afin de rendre ses travaux attractifs.

Selon les missions et les interlocuteurs, adapter sa présentation d'expert ou de consultant ou de chercheur indépendant.

Intervenir comme consultant correspond à offrir une assistance ponctuelle pour des études, des analyses spécifiques, des recherches appliquées, des évaluations. Le fait de proposer une mission d'expertise courte pour démarcher des clients permet d'initier plus facilement une collaboration.

Etendre ses activités passe par le développement de son réseau, la création de partenariats intelligents avec différentes parties telles que les laboratoires universitaires, entreprises, collectivités locales. L'idéal est de mener des programmes académiques qui soient orientés sur des acteurs de marché, et d'identifier plusieurs sources permettant de lancer le co-financement d'un projet (organismes publics et privées, appels d'offres).

Les défis rencontrés en tant que chercheur indépendant

La recherche indépendante s'appuyant sur une démarche scientifique, les chercheurs indépendants notamment en sciences humaines et sociales, apportent une expertise approfondie grâce à leur parcours académique. Ils peuvent aller un peu plus loin que ce que propose les autres consultants et experts,

> *« L'objectif premier de l'enseignant-chercheur indépendant est ainsi de produire de la connaissance nouvelle et contribuer à l'état de l'art sur une question. Ou encore de produire un procédé ou un produit véritablement innovant. ».*

L'activité de consultant demandant de se positionner au plus proche des besoins spécifiques du marché identifiés, il devient prioritaire vis-à-vis des clients de penser à une intervention rapide et pragmatique, car les attentes des entreprises sont souvent pressantes.

Tout en explorant des missions de conseil, continuer en parallèle à publier dans des revues scientifiques aide à maintenir une légitimité académique.

> *« J'estime également que la production d'ouvrages, ou la participation à des colloques sont également importantes pour faire*

> *reconnaître ses compétences auprès de la communauté scientifique.* »

Pour les chercheurs dans le domaine des Sciences Humaines et Sociales (SHS), se rapprocher de sujets liés à la technologie facilite l'obtention de projets :

> *« les Sociétés d'Accélération du Transfert de Technologies (SATT) ont une furieuse tendance à vouloir associer les recherches en SHS avec les technologies du numérique pour qu'elles puissent rentrer dans les « bonnes cases ». Après tout, c'est normal comme ce sont des SATT, mais leur manière de formuler les choses m'exaspère. Extrait du site officiel des SATT : « Si le processus d'accompagnement est intangible, les spécificités liées aux sciences douces sont nombreuses. Les innovations issues des laboratoires de Sciences Humaines & Sociales sont en effet rarement incarnées et arrivent généralement au stade de concept, d'idée. C'est la raison pour laquelle, par exemple, nous venons de mettre en œuvre, au sein de la SATT Sud-Est, une déclaration d'invention spécifique aux innovations issues des SHS et du numérique, afin de pouvoir identifier et capitaliser sur tout leur potentiel. » »*

Combiner un emploi à temps partiel dans une université avec des activités indépendantes reste le plus confortable en termes de stabilité financière, d'investissement personnel et de reconnaissance professionnelle. Pour ceux qui souhaitent quitter l'institution, commencer par demander une autorisation de cumul puis un temps partiel à 80%, le tout en cachant le projet aux collègues.

Les conséquences identifiées sur le plan personnel et psychologique

A sept reprises dans ce livre, l'auteure parle de « *Colère et Frustration* » qu'elle présente comme deux compagnons souvent présents ces dix dernières années.

Le livre insiste sur la charge émotionnelle, la solitude et les émotions/sentiments vécus, ce qui est cohérent avec le terme « *Survie* » dans l'intitulé, qui va dans le sens de résister au déclin, de se maintenir même sous une forme affaiblie dans un environnement de vie défavorable ou mortifère. Ce concept est bien soutenu avec par exemple la notion d'être « *masochiste* » qui revient à huit reprises et le sentiment de « *lutte* » qui est répété six fois.

En parallèle, sont promus la bienveillance, le respect, l'empathie, l'entraide entre chercheurs et le sens de la communauté.

Selon l'auteure, devenir indépendant demande un mentorat et un soutien moral, pour gérer au mieux les situations d'échecs répétés, d'instabilité professionnelle, de tensions, d'inégalités de genre, de mansplaining, de découragement, et de burnout.

D'innombrables mécontentements et sentiments négatifs prennent naissance face à la morosité ambiante dans l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, face au processus de recrutement académique :

> (« *Ainsi, si certains des membres des jurys de recrutement devaient candidater avec leurs CV d'il y a 20 ou 30 ans quand ils ont obtenu leur poste, leurs candidatures ne seraient peut-être même pas considérées pour audition aujourd'hui.* »),

face aux diverses injustices, face à la maltraitance institutionnelle, face à la dévalorisation des Sciences Humaines et Sociales par comparaison avec les sciences « dures », face aux attaques subies du « *reviewer 2* », face aux difficultés de trouver des projets pour un chercheur indépendant, face à la liquidation de la première entreprise de l'auteure.

Les derniers apprentissages partagés

L'auteure recommande de ne pas rester dans la solitude, de s'entourer, « *trouver des semblables avec qui échanger* » (…) « *Et l'idée que notre communauté puisse grandir n'est pas pour me déplaire.* », d'avoir des mentors plus expérimentés/intelligents que soi, d'avoir le courage de fuir les proches toxiques, d'apprendre à dire non, de renforcer sa résilience, d'honorer ses échecs en voyant la leçon à apprendre suite à l'expérience vécue, d'être bienveillant envers soi-même et envers les autres, de dédramatiser les erreurs et les imperfections, de satisfaire son besoin de reconnaissance, de sortir du workaholism avec l'aide d'un psychologue, d'apprendre à déléguer et de prendre (voire s'imposer) du repos.

Concernant le choix de devenir indépendant, l'auteure évoque dans sa conclusion :

> « Avec un peu de motivation, de discipline, et une pincée de chance, je suis convaincue que, chers lecteurs et chères lectrices, vous pouvez y arriver. »

A propos du sens de l'adaptation, le changement de direction est constant : « *Vous l'aurez compris, rien n'est figé dans la vie.* » (…) « *Seuls les cons ne changent pas d'avis.* »

Conclusion

Le « *Guide de survie de l'enseignant-chercheur indépendant* » est un ouvrage engagé, qui propose un état des lieux complet des réels problèmes et des difficultés rencontrés dans le contexte intra- et extra-académique actuel. Bien qu'il soit présenté sous une approche subjective, il ouvre des perspectives et propose des pistes de carrière alternative pour un chercheur. Sa lecture m'a invité à me poser des questions dans différents aspects. Henri Poincaré disait en effet très justement « *Problème bien posé est à moitié résolu* ».

Le concept de « *survie* » colle bien au livre, même s'il m'a été personnellement pesant, il m'a fait réfléchir sur mes propres choix et a élargi ma conscience sur le manque de sens qui envahit notre société. Les expériences difficiles ou douloureuses tournées en dérision par l'auteure mettent en avant l'idée que le plus important n'est pas ce qui arrive mais comment on le prend. Les discriminations concrètes rapportées envers les femmes peuvent éveiller les consciences.

Ce guide illustre également que l'écriture est thérapeutique et cela peut inspirer d'autres personnes à faire de même pour transformer les émotions négatives et faire les deuils nécessaires afin d'avancer sur le chemin tant professionnel que personnel.

La révélation de l'ampleur des dysfonctionnements dans la société et des dommages infligés me rappelle combien les savoirs techniques représentent finalement peu à côté de l'importance des savoirs comment être et comment faire pour se développer sainement, notamment dans un environnement défaillant. Il apparait clair pour moi que le mode « *survie* » est mortifère à long terme et qu'il est capital d'identifier la situation au plus vite pour ne pas en subir de lourds dommages. La survie est appropriée si elle reste une phase, passagère et non durable. Si un jour je me vois nourrir la victime que je serais devenu en me plaignant ou en râlant quotidiennement (comme bon français que je suis moi aussi), j'espère le voir et agir vite au service de mes vrais besoins afin de retrouver un équilibre satisfaisant. Je comprends l'intérêt et la valeur que nous donnons généralement à l'identité professionnelle, et grâce à ce livre je peux confirmer qu'il demeure plus important pour moi de simplement faire ce que j'aime, ce que j'ai envie, ce que je sens de bon, de juste me sentir utile et à ma place, de m'arranger pour ne subir qu'un minimum de contraintes et ne pas me sentir écrasé ou étouffé, de ne pas rester impliqué dans un système dysfonctionnant, de favoriser la simplicité et la sobriété dans mon travail comme dans ma vie, d'éviter le cumul mortifère de charges professionnelles et psychologiques, de rester dans le respect de ma vision et de mes valeurs, d'établir le cadre nécessaire qui soit source de plaisir, d'avoir le courage de redécider et de changer positivement de cap selon la situation, de lâcher les idéaux et remettre du sens… Le tout, même si la précarité doit parfois s'inviter.

Comme piste, pour approfondir une éventuelle deuxième édition, l'intégration de témoignages de chercheurs d'autres disciplines enrichirait la diversité des perspectives.

Lionel Lainard *est chercheur indépendant français en sciences humaines, thérapeute, formateur de coachs professionnels et consultant en leadership humaniste en Europe et aux États-Unis. Il préside actuellement le ReCIF (Réseau des Chercheurs Indépendants Francophones), le fancophone Groupe Partenaire de la NCIS. Sa collaboration avec Gilles Lecourt, un pair thérapeute, a fait naître sa passion pour la recherche sur le développement de l'intelligence du génie créatif, en créant de nouvelles connexions entre le corps et l'esprit, alliant diverses techniques psycho-corporelles ascendantes et descendantes. À paraître : « Manuel de*

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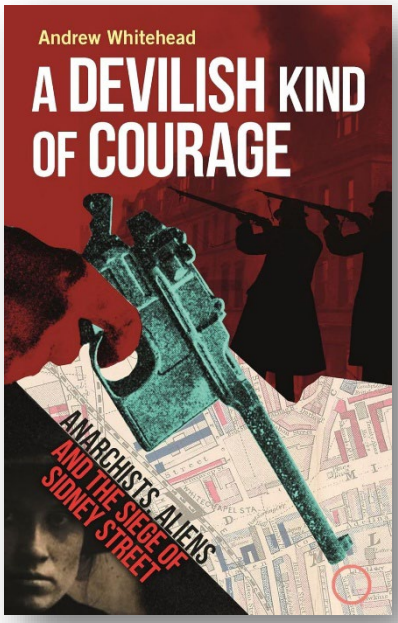

la Vie : Les Clefs et les Conditions pour Libérer le Génie Créatif du Corps et de l'Esprit ».

A Devilish Kind of Courage: Anarchists, Aliens and the Siege of Sidney Street

Andrew Whitehead

London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2024

281 pp +Appendix, References, Index, Select Bibliography. Illus., b&w, inc. maps & drawings

ISBN 978-1-78914-844-2

A Devilish Kind of Courage: Anarchists, Aliens and the Siege of Sidney Street: Amazon.co.uk: Whitehead, Andrew: 9781789148442: Books

Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 24 June 2025.

"A devilish kind of courage"—this was the assessment of the Daily Chronicle, describing the actions and intensity of two men who held off the police and the army for six hours [p. 7].

There were actually three separate, but connected, events: a payroll robbery (the "Tottenham outrage"), the failed attempt to tunnel into a jewelery store (on Houndsditch Street) to crack its safe, and then the "Siege of Sidney Street." Anarchists were only peripherally involved. The protagonists in all these events consisted of Latvian revolutionist refugees.

So what was the Anarchist "involvement"? It turned out that Latvian emigres were among those who would socialize and go to lectures at the Anarchist club house on nearby Jubilee Street, a venue open to all.

One of the most interesting aspects for this reviewer lay in how the author noted the roles played by recent technological changes in multiple spheres: "

> London's evening papers were the first to introduce the 'new journalism' that had proved so successful—and profitable—in the United States. This took advantage of the invention of the Linotype press and the availability of cheap newsprint made from wood pulp, which together made possible the printing of hundreds of thousands of copies of a paper an hour. The halftone process of printing photographs allowed grainy but often starkly dramatic images to appear in the daily press, heralding the end of woodcut images, of staff engravers and—more gradually—of newspaper sketch artists. The popular press went for cheap cover prices, large advertisements and prominent headlines. Two other technological innovations, the typewriter and the telephone, also began to revolutionize how journalists worked." [p. 156]

Human interest feature stories represented one of the hallmarks of America's New Journalism. The result? A lively, engaged and immediate press, a change from the staid and sober journalism which had characterized the press before all of these cumulative changes.

While in the 21st century we congratulate ourselves on the fact that dissemination of news is instant, Whitehead points out that the newsreel—an innovation in movie houses, in a period before the advent of sound—came to England from France in 1910. Mere months after its introduction on British shores, movie theatres depicted the events on Sidney Street the very day they occurred. Sidney Street sparked the action newsreel.

Houndsditch unleashed virulent antisemitism: a 1910 cartoon advocating for a more restrictive Aliens Act depicted hooked-snouted rats teeming through a gate, in a style that would become familiar two decades later in the Nazi newspaper *Der Sturmer* or the infamous film of the Nazi Fritz Hippler, "*Der ewige Jude*" [The Eternal Jew] (1940), with its images conflating and combining groups of Jews in Poland and swarming rats. This particular antisemitic trope (Jews as rodents) has been traced back to the Middle Ages and the outbreaks of bubonic plague..

Fortunately for Jews and radicals in England, the voices clamoring for immigration restriction went unheeded. The country remained a site of refuge for political dissidents.

The "Siege of Sidney Street" was a six-hour shoot-out between Latvian nationalist revolutionaries and police and the Army. What led to the Siege was a failed attempt to break into a jeweler's store and safe through a tunnel from an adjoining building.

None of those involved in the Siege were Anarchists, although a number of them had gone to the Anarchist clubhouse, open to the public, in nearby Jubilee Street. The would-be safecrackers had used a device made at the workshop of the Italian Anarchist Errico Malatesta, without him knowing how it was to be used and for what purpose.

The Latvians were using a tactic common to Eastern European revolutionaries at the time: "exes"—"expropriating" funds for the cause by illegal means. Since the object of the exercise was to raise funds for the Cause (whatever it might be) by taking it from the perceived enemy (or the enemy's class representative), those involved in "exes" justified their actions. One of the most notorious practitioners of such activities was a man who went by the *nom de guerre* of "Koba," Joseph Vissaarionovich Dzhughashvili, a Georgian who became better known by the name he assumed later, "The Man of Steel" —in Russian, "Stalin."

Those involved in the "Siege of Sidney Street" were neither Jews nor Anarchists. The protagonists in both incidents were Latvian nationalist revolutionaries. England was a safe place for political exiles of many kinds, and probably the most notorious exile had been a bitter enemy of the Anarchists, Karl Marx. Marx famously wrote *Capital* while using the British Library. Other non-Anarchist exiles included the Hungarian nationalist Louis Kossuth, France's Emile Zola, and the Czechoslovakian Tomas Masaryk. The three most prominent Anarchists in London all came from overseas: Errico Maltesta (Italy), Peter Kropotkin (Russia) and Rudolf Rocker (Germany). All three opposed the activities of the Latvians. They recognized that Britain was much more tolerant than their home countries. Not only was it possible to express dissent with greater freedom, it had opened its shores to rebels of all stripes. In 1909, Rocker had successfully worked to convince Russian revolutionists to abandon plans to bomb a Lord Mayor's show [p. 67].

The most notorious Latvian nationalist was Peter Piatkow, dubbed "Peter the Painter" by the daily press. In contrast to the mythical image of the bomb-throwing anarchist, Peter the Painter was an elegantly dressed young man more suggestive of a dandy than a political desperado. He was not even in the country for either the Houndsditch shootings or Sidney Street. Indeed, the British authorities had been notified of Piatkow's presence in Australia, and chose not to extradite [p. 20]. After the furore over Sidney Street had ended, Peter the Painter disappeared for good, never to be heard from or about again, beyond " sightings" in, among other places, Brussels, Paris, Marseilles, Illinois, Winnipeg, Naples, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and even India.

What exactly these particular Latvian revolutionaries sought—their goals, aims, objectives, and mission—remains a mystery. Were those in London just in favor

of national independence from Czarist Russia, a constitutional republic, or a social revolution? To what extent, of any, did they differ from other exile groups in England's capital? Peter the Painter, we learn, began his revolutionary career with the Latvian Social Democratic and Workers Party, organizing its military wing and successfully planning a jailbreak for two Latvians scheduled to be executed, who then made their way to London [p 41].

In the final chapter, "Legacy," Whitehead examines Sidney Street's continued life as a cultural touchstone. In 1934, Alfred Hitchcock used the frame upon which to make the final scene of *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934); when he remade the film in the 1956, that scene was deleted [pp. 258-259]. Georges Simenon's *Inspector Maigret* series began with Pietr-le-Letton, inspired by Peter the Painter [p. 259]. The author discusses more of these offerings, noting accuracies and inaccuracies. Sidney Street had two main legacies: new police weaponry (personally tested by Home Secretary Winston Churchill) and the refusal of the Liberal Government to enact knee-jerk restrictive legislation aimed at ending the rights of political refugees [p. 265].

While Sidney Street marked the demise of the Latvian anarchist group Liesma (in conjunction with many being attracted back to Russia following the Russian Revolution) the glory days of the mostly Jewish Anarchist workers movement still lay ahead, despite the closure of the Jubilee Street Club. Jewish workers struck at the sweating system[1] and the Yiddish anarchist newspaper, *Arbeter fraynd* (Workers' Friend) appeared as a daily. Their victory was followed up with poor Jewish families taking in the children of striking dockworkers. World War One marked the end of the active movement. Yet…despite being unable to reestablish itself at the end of the war, in 1936 the longest-lasting legacy appeared when Nazi-supporting Oswald Mosley's black-shirts tried to start a pogrom in the East End of London. They were met by young Jews, anti-fascists—and the children of the dock-workers—who physically routed the Mosleyites in the Battle of Cable Street [p. 256].

Finally, a word about this book's production. This reviewer has looked at other volumes published by Reaktion Books. Like the others, the physical object is first-rate. with good bindings, and excellent reproduction of illustrations. Reaktion has treated Andrew Whitehead's *A Devilish Kind of Courage: Anarchists, Aliens and the Siege of Sidney Street* with the publishing respect this interesting, well-written and well-researched book deserves.

Shelby Shapiro *(Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of* Tsum punkt/To the Point*, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, as well as for its predecessor publication, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. In 2024 Palgrave Macmillan published his* Words to the Wives: The Yiddish Press, Immigrant Women and Jewish-American Identity. *He is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism. He is presently researching a history of the "Yiddish Fleet Street", New York City's East Broadway.*

[1] The system of exploiting labor by supplying materials to workers and paying by the piece (piecework) for work done in workers' homes or in small workshops (sweatshops).

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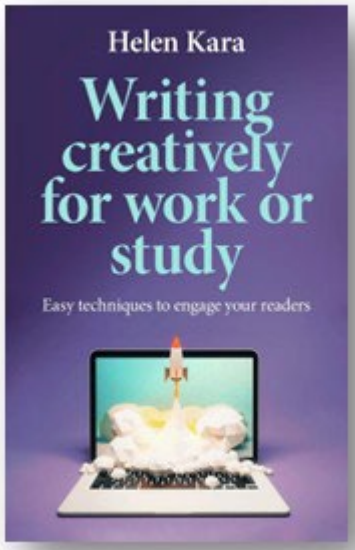

Writing creatively for work or study: Easy techniques to engage your readers

Helen Kara

Manchester University Press (2025)

192 pp (including index)

ISBN 978 1 5261 7845 9

https://manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/9781526178459/

Review by Linda Baines, first published online 17 June 2025.

This gem of a book (60,000 words) is packed with ideas, examples and advice on how to practise creating writing techniques in business and professional writing. The author, Helen Kara, is an independent scholar, a member of NCIS, and founder and organiser of the International Creative Research Methods Conference (ICRMC - https://creativeresearchmethods.com). She teaches on and has written books about creative research methods, and on using creative writing techniques in academic writing.[1] Her new book is different as the author shifts her gaze to focus on using creative techniques for writing in the workplace.

By 'workplace', the author means using creative writing techniques in writing that we do at work, in our professional lives. For academics and independent scholars, this can include writing anything from reports, social media posts, case studies and reports, letters and emails, in fact anything that is not academic writing.

The book seeks to show how using creative writing techniques, such as poetry, which the reader may not have considered using in business and professional writing, can be useful in writing in the workplace and in non-fiction writing more generally. The book aims to explain and use different creative writing techniques in these kinds of writing. The author argues that using creative writing techniques can make writing more accessible to a wider range of people: it does this by engaging readers' emotions, keeping them interested,

[1] Creative Writing for Social Research: A Practical Guide Richard Phillips and Helen Kara. 2021. Policy Press. £27.99 (Paperback) https://policy.bristoluniversitypress.co.uk/creative-writing-for-social-research

and helping them to remember what they have read. Using creative writing techniques can also make writing more authentic.

The book comprises an introduction and conclusion, with seven chapters focusing on different genres of creative writing, with a penultimate chapter focusing on good practice in writing. In the Introduction, the author looks at why we might want to use creative writing techniques in workplace writing. The rest of the book looks in detail about how and when to use various kinds of creative writing techniques or genres of creative writing.

In Chapters 1 – 7, the author explores a particular kind of creative writing and different forms or approaches within each genre. Each chapter concludes with a 'Try it yourself' or exercise, usually suggesting options or different ways to approach them. Each chapter also includes notes and references.

In Chapter 8, the author moves away from exploring genres of creative writing to focus on good practice in writing. Here she considers issues such as grammar ('the rules of language'), different myths about writing, dealing with your inner critic, and identifying your audience.

The author argues that all writing is creative, both at word and macro level; writing is an embodied process, physically (we use our bodies to write) and emotionally (when we write, we express our feelings, thoughts and reflections). The author observes that the emotional aspect of writing is rarely discussed; this is something that she seeks to explore in the book. She observes that a reader can take something from a piece of writing that the writer did not intend them to do so; this reaction can be prompted by the reader's experience or what is happening in the world more generally.

The author argues that the writer can have three roles: as a teacher, as a therapist, and as a friend. In writing as a teacher, the author shows how writing, particularly freewriting or directed freewriting (using prompts to focus our writing) can help us work through our thoughts and ideas about a topic by putting them on the page, The author suggests different ways of approaching this.

Writing can be therapeutic and reflective; writing can be cathartic as it offers a space and a way to express our feelings and reactions, to externalise our thinking, to put what we feel on to the page, and helps us to put some distance between what is going on in our heads, especially in turbulent or difficult times; writing offers a way to release and express these emotions. Cathartic writing includes memoir, autoethnography and poetry where these can be by-products of cathartic writing.

Writing can also be a friend; it is always available. The author acknowledges that writing can be difficult, a chore, something that we procrastinate about doing. She argues that experimenting with using different creative writing techniques, experimenting with using different genres, can be a way to get to dislike the process of writing less, to make it more interesting and enjoyable.

The author argues that writing is a visual representation of speech. She shows how graphic writing in the form of cartoons, comics, graphic novels and zines can be used in creative writing. She argues that the boundary between drawing and writing is fluid; for example, cartoons are vehicles for storytelling. Essentially, writing is a visual representation of speech.

The author is very much aware that there can be limited scope to use creative writing approaches in some kinds of writing in the workplace; for example, where strict formats or templates are used for reports or case notes. She also understands why non-fiction writers may be wary about using creative writing techniques, and that they may not know where to start. She encourages readers to explore, without any pressure, and to do so for fun.

The book includes much practical advice, and many ideas and suggestions. Different readers will get different things from the book and find different things to come back to. The most interesting chapters for this reviewer are Chapter 1 – Storytelling, Chapter 2 – Writing from life, Chapter 3 – Poetry, and Chapter 7 – The personal is professional. This is a practical and insightful book to come back to time and again for ideas, insights and reassurance. Highly recommended.

Linda Baines, PhD *is an independent scholar and President of NCIS (National Coalition of Independent Scholars). She undertook her PhD at Southampton Business School, University of Southampton where she now holds an honorary position as a Visiting Academic. She co-edited the* NCIS Guide for Independent

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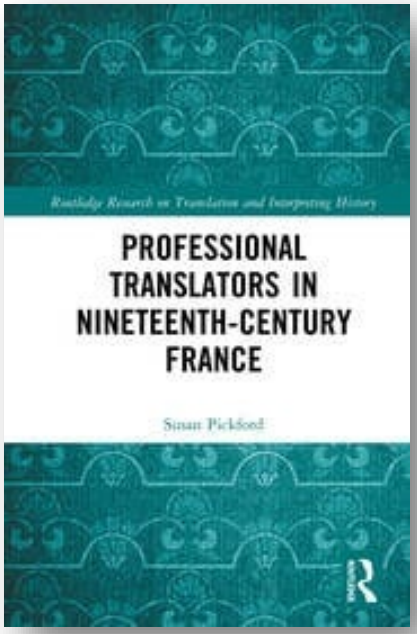
Scholars *with Amanda Haste, and they are currently collaborating on writing* Becoming a Successful Independent Scholar *for the Routledge series Insider Guides to Success in Academia.*



Professional Translators in Nineteenth-Century France

Susan Pickford

(Routledge Research on Translation and Interpreting History series)

New York & London: Routledge (2024)

236 pages

ISBN: 9781032001791 (hardback)

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ISBN: 9781003173090 (ebook)

Professional Translators in Nineteenth-Century France | Susan Pickford

Review by Amanda J. Haste, first published online on 22 July 2025.

Susan Pickford's *Professional Translators in Nineteenth-Century France* explores the historical practices and professional identities of translators in France in the long nineteenth-century (1789-1914). The author brings these to life by contextualising translators' personal and professional lives within the political, sociocultural, legal, and economic developments in France – and by extension, in Europe – that led to the development of the professional translation industry in France.

The author's deep dive into publishers' records, archival and secondary sources reveals details of working conditions in the state-run translation bureaux:

> "We know [translators] had fixed hours, since a decree dated 14 brumaire an III [4 November 1794] stipulated '*les heures de sortie des employés du bureau des traducteurs*' [the time translation bureau staff were allowed to leave]; we know that they were held to certain professional standards, because a certain Pierre-Louis Beaufort was dismissed in May 1795 for '*inexactitudes dans son service*' [lack of punctuality] (Masson 1877: 343).[1] We know the *Convention nationale* translators ran their own printing press, anchoring them in the wider communication circuit (Schreiber 2015: 148; Darnton 1982) (pp. 4-5).[2]

Over the following six chapters, Pickford explores the

[1] Masson, Frédéric (1877) *Le Département des affaires étrangères pendant la Révolution, 1787–1804*. Paris: Plon.

[2] Schreiber, Michael (2015) "'Citoyens – Ciudadanos – Cittadini': Le travail des traducteurs de la Convention nationale", in *La Ciencia como dialogo entre teorias, textos y* lenguas, Jenny Brumme and Carmen Lopez Ferrero (eds.) Berlin: Frank & Timme, 145-66; Darnton, Robert (1982) "What is the History of Books?". *Daedalus* 111(3): 65–83.

hitherto unknowns such as the working practices of both freelance and translation service staff.

Chapter 1 outlines the growing demand for translation services that resulted from an expanding trans-European economy and the internationalisation of economic exchanges. In the words of the translator Courrouve dit Pold (1861: 7–8):[3]

> "Today, now that steam, electricity, and a newly civilised world have, as it were, suppressed distances, overthrown borders and made international communication instantaneous, what an advantage is it not for the merchant, for the scholar himself, to know immediately what has been written to him, and to be informed of what is happening and being published abroad? How many honourable traders and skilled industrialists have found themselves in difficulties for the want of an immediate, accurate translation of a telegram, business letter, or order in a foreign language? How troublesome, how worrisome, when one must call on a friend, or even entrust oneself to a stranger or competitor to discover the contents of a missive containing trade or family secrets that one would wish known only to oneself!" (p. 38).

Importantly, this led to the recognition of translation as a professional career. The author cites Masson's (1877) demonstration of the impact of the French Revolution, in that "its need to disseminate information across France to speakers of all regional languages was a significant milestone in the bureaucratisation of translation practice" (p. 45). Although the original "Dugas entreprise" that undertook to translate revolutionary decrees into the local languages in 30 *départements* remained largely unpaid due to lack of bureaucratic infrastructure, it was:

> "characterised by a high degree of professionalisation: the translators were lawyers thrown out of work by recent events and keen to prove their revolutionary zeal (Pic 1989),[4] while the project as a whole gave rise to a new category of public employee, the *vérificateur*, whose role was translation quality assessment (Simonin 2013)"[5] (p. 14).

In Chapter 2 "Tracing an Emergent Discourse of Translatorial Labour" the author begins the story in late eighteenth-century Germany and Britain, and cites a discussion of the German publishing industry, and particularly the *Übersetzungsfabriken* [translation factories] in Nicolai's *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker [The Life and Opinions of Sebaldus Nothanker]* (1773–6), translated into English by Thomas Dutton in 1798. This "compared the manufacture of translations to weaving linen and knitting stockings to fulfil orders for the military" (p. 43), and described the emerging hierarchy of translation for the publishing trade:

> "[A] translator from the English, for example, ranks higher than a translator from the French, as being scarcer. A translator from the Italian expects to be solicited before he begins to work, and will not always be content to be tied down to any particular day for the delivery of his work. As for a translator from the Spanish, there is scarce a single one to be had. And this is the very reason why people frequently undertake to translate from this language without understanding a syllable of it. On the other hand, translators from the Greek and Latin are so numerous, that they are never sought after, but come for the most part to offer their services. In addition to all these, there are translators, who do nothing their whole life but translate; – translators, who make their translations at their leisure hours by way of amusement, in the same manner as our young ladies employ themselves with ornamental needlework, knotting and filligree [sic]; fashionable translators who accompany their

[3] Courrouve dit Pold, Léopold (1861) Notice sur l'Athénée Polyglotte, agence universelle fondée en 1850. Paris: à l'Athénée Polyglotte

[4] Pic, François (1989) "Essai d'inventaire des textes en occitan de la période révolutionnaire (1788–1800)", in *Le Texte occitan de la période révolutionnaire*, Henri Boyer, Georges Fournier, Philippe Gardy, Philippe Martel, René Merle, and François Pic (eds). Montpellier: Section française de l'Association internationale d'études occitanes, 434.

[5] Simonin, Anne (2013) "La République en ses provinces: la traduction des lois, histoire d'un échec révolutionnaire (1790–1792 et au-delà)", in *La République en voyage: 1770–1830* (eds). Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 197–218.

> translations with a preface, in which they assure the public, that the original is excellent; – learned translators, who improve upon their work, accompany it with remarks, and assure us that the original is very bad, but that they have made it tolerable; translators, who translate themselves into originals; these worthy gentry get hold of a French or English book, leave out the beginning and end, alter and improve the remainder at leisure, put their name boldly in the title page, and publish the book as their own production. Lastly, there are translators who make their translations themselves, and some, who get them made by others (Nicolai, tr. Dutton 1798: 1.153–5)"[6] (p. 43).

These fascinating contemporary insights lead into an exploration of the hierarchy of social and linguistic capital at play, including translators' habit of emphasizing their linguistic credentials, such as their teaching posts, past work, or social connections.

Chapter 4 explores the development of a legal framework for the nineteenth-century French literary translation market. Much of this centred on the translator's right to claim authorship of the translated version, and thus the *droit d'auteur* [intellectual property rights]. Legal opinion was divided, with Pardessus maintaining that "translations of French books published in France were by their very nature counterfeits" (Pardessus 1825: 35);[7] a lack of international law on the subject, however, led Pardessus to maintain that "French translations of foreign books [were] perfectly licit" (p. 89).

In Chapter 5, the author explores the economic lives of women translators, using Louise Swanton-Belloc (1796-1881) and Emma Allouard (1836-1918) as case studies. Swanton-Belloc was married to an artist, and both came from formerly wealthy families whose wealth was decimated by the Revolution. Louise cared for her three children, and other relatives, and her earnings from translation must have been a welcome addition to the family's finances. Likewise, Emma's family was experiencing financial difficulties when she began her translation career in about 1863. The records show that both Louise's and Emma's income dipped when their children were young, a pattern that will be familiar to anyone with caring responsibilities, and the author compares this to the difficulties encountered by female translators during the Covid pandemic.

The final chapter provides a short biography of Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Defauconprêt: originally a legal professional, financial difficulties forced Defauconprêt to flee Paris for London in his forties, and he turned to translation, claiming a prodigious productivity. However, Pickford surmises that many of the translations for which he claimed authorship were outsourced to other translators whose names we shall probably never know.

This beautifully researched and extensively referenced book fleshes out the lives of translators in France in the long nineteenth century, and underlines the Paris-centric nature of the French publishing industry as well as the social and cultural capital needed to provide credibility in an unregulated industry. While the focus is most certainly on literary translation, with other fields of translation (e.g. commercial, maritime and legal translation) remaining tangential, the fascinating accounts of the lives of individual translators, collectives, agencies, and the revelations about rates, working conditions and quality control will surely resonate with social and cultural historians as well as with today's professional translators. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose !* [The more things change, the more they stay the same].

Amanda J. Haste *(PhD Musicology, Diploma in Translation, Chartered Linguist) is an Anglo-French musicologist and academic translator. She was adjunct faculty in both the Translation Studies and Music departments of Aix-Marseille University, France, and her research interests include identity construction through music and language. Her books include* Music and Identity in Twenty-First-Century Monasticism *(Routledge, 2023)*, Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization *(Ex Modio, 2015), and (with Linda Baines) the* NCIS Guide for Independent Scholars *(NCIS, 2024).*

[6] Nicolai, Friedrich (1773–76) *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker.* Berlin/Stettin: In der Nicolaischen Buchhandlung. Trans. Thomas Dutton (1798) *The Life and Opinions of Sebaldus Nothanker.* London: Printed for C. Lowndes and sold by H. D. Symonds.

[7] Pardessus, Jean-Marie (1825) *Cours de droit commercial.* Paris: Nève.

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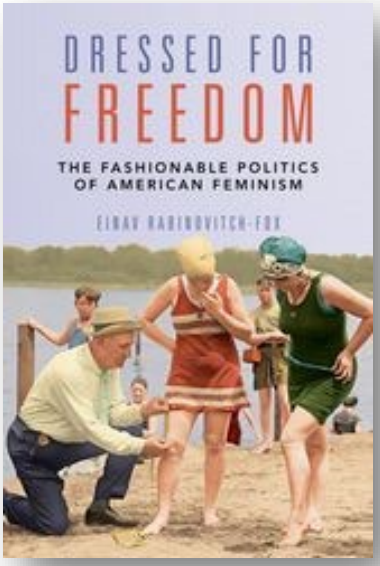
With Linda Baines she is currently writing Becoming a Successful Independent Scholar *for Routledge.*



Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism

Einav Rabinovitch-Fox

University of Illinois Press, 2021.

193pp.+Notes, Index, Illus. b&w.

ISBN 978-0-252-0806-9.

Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism | Illinois Scholarship Online | Oxford Academic

Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 14 November 2024.

Einav Rabinovitch-Fox's *Dressed for Freedom: The Fashionable Politics of American Feminism* deserves a place on your bookshelves next to the works of scholars such as Kathy Peis[1] and Valerie Steele.[2] In addition to their skills as historians and interesting and accessible writers, they both see women as agents rather than (to use ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel's phrase) "cultural dopes."[3] All three go to great lengths to demonstrate that, whether in cosmetics or clothing, women are making conscious choices. They are not being manipulated by either designers or the denizens of Madison Avenue.

In the mid-to-late 1950s, social critic Vance Packard (1914-1996) had a series of best-sellers, all based on

[1] *Hope in a Jar: The Making of American Beauty Culture,* 1998; *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style*, 2011.

[2] *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age*, 1985; *The Corset: A Cultural History*, 2001.

[3] Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Prentice-Hall, 1967); see also Anthony Giddens, "Garfinkel, Ethnomethodology and Hermeneutics," in *Politics, Sociology and Social Theory : Encounters with Classical and Contemporary Thought* (1995), 235.

the concept that Madison Avenue was duping the public through the evils of consumerism. *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957) "exposed" the advertising industry; *The Status Seekers* (1959) spoke to the evils of conspicuous consumption, while *The Waste Makers* (1960) dealt with "planned obsolescence" as a method of capitalist profit-making. These books were the grandchildren of Thorstein Veblen's conception of "conspicuous consumption" from his *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). This view of consumption and consumerism uses sociological language to mask a moralistic message, namely that "production is good" and "consumption is evil." (Consider for a moment that "consumption" was the former name for tuberculosis).[4]

What Rabinovitch-Fox does particularly well in this book is to display the diversity of American womanhood and feminisms. In discussing how various issues played out among different groups, she integrates these varieties, noting the similarities as well as the differences. For example, two events occurred in 1968: the No More Miss America protest (pp. 153-156) and the first Miss Black America contest (p. 162), which also challenged the Miss America contest, but in another way. Working-class women and immigrants had interests different from those of the mainstream feminist movements. When Clara Lemlich, leader of the Uprising of the 20,000 garment workers' strike, wore a fashionable shirtwaist, she was not imitating middle-class college students or pretending that she was anyone else but herself: she was asserting her right to wear beautiful clothes (pp. 32-34).

Rabinovitch-Fox is careful to note the differences among those calling for equal rights for women, women's suffrage and feminism. Despite similarities in clothing style, the African-American civil rights leader and activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett was barred by White suffragists from marching with the Illinois delegation in the 1913 suffrage parade in Washington, D.C., Wells

> " . . . famously integrated the 1913 parade, when--despite resistance from the organizers to march with her fellow state suffragists—she joined the Illinois delegation from the crowd, wearing their matching hats and banners. By dressing like her White counterparts, Wells not only asserted her right to equal citizenship as a woman, but she also promoted racial equality as a African American, laying claims to middle-class respectability." (p. 66-67).

Rabinovitch-Fox recognizes that particular fashions do not carry inherent messages, but rather the messages its users wish to convey, if any. Rabinovitch-Fox is careful to note the variety of messages those wearing particular clothes seek to convey, and how these change over time. Angela Y. Davis, the African-American radical who ran for office under the Communist Party USA banner, championed the natural, or Afro hairstyle. While for Davis it was a political statement, ultimately it became one of the possibilities available to women as a hairstyle, regardless of political persuasion. Rabinovitch-Fox notes that the same kinds of clothes were worn by feminists such as Betty Friedan, Shirley Chisolm and Bella Abzug—and conservative anti-feminists such as Phyllis Schlafly (p. 159).

One of the few criticisms this reviewer has with *Dressed for Freedom*—and admittedly it is not huge—is that at least four times she refers to "self-proclaimed" or "self-identified feminists" (pp. 49, 71, 106, 186). Does this mean that they were not "real" feminists? Or simply that they announced their allegiance, instead of having outside others foist it upon them?

Fashion historian Valerie Steele noted how fashion cycles occur: a particular innovation becomes increasingly exaggerated until finally a new innovation comes along. The insight might have been mentioned , and would have helped in following the life-cycle of the mini-skirt; the same could be said of the width of men's jacket lapels, which reached its zenith with Zoot suits.[5]

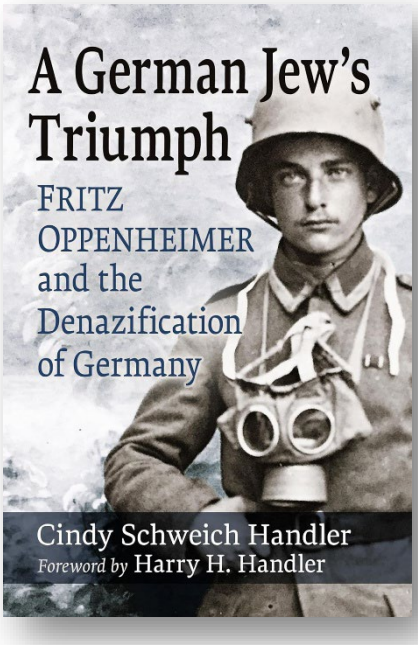
This is an extremely rich book, and this reviewer has only touched upon a few of its treasures. The author talks about early attempts at clothing reform, such as the Rainy Day Club, attempts to develop uniforms for feminists—as well as attempts to influence fashion by the clothing industry, the change from the pre-World War Two center of fashion (Paris) to New York, initially in reaction to wartime exigencies, and then, to developments within the industry. She amply demonstrates how women customers adopted

[4] For a history and critique of this orientation, see Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940* (Ivan R. Dee, Publisher, 1992).

[5] Peiss, Kathy, *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

some changes and rejected others. Not willing to play the role of "cultural dopes," customers had the final say. This book deserves wide recognition, readership, and attention.

Shelby Shapiro *(Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of* Tsum punkt*/To the Point, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater Washington, as well as for its predecessor publication, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with acculturation and American Jewish women in the Yiddish press; he is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism.*



A German Jew's Triumph: Fritz Oppenheimer and the Denazification of Germany

Cindy Schweich Handler

Foreword by Harry H. Handler

McFarland & Co. (2025)

288 pages

ISBN-10: 1476697353

ISBN-13: 978-1476697352

Amazon.com: A German Jew's Triumph: Fritz Oppenheimer and the Denazification of Germany: 9781476697352: Handler, Cindy Schweich: Books

Review by Ilana Maymind, first published online on 20 February 2026.

In this provocatively composed biography, Cindy Scheweich Handler presents Fritz Oppenheimer as a man of immense intellect, remarkable resilience, and survival skills. At the same time, the book raises challenging questions about identity, loyalty, and moral judgment in the context of Nazi Germany and postwar denazification.

Harry Handler's foreword situates Fritz as a long-standing presence in the family, complicating his wife, Cindy Schweich Handler's approach to writing. The personal proximity has likely shaped both the narrative perspective and the emotional stakes of the book. The foreword also discusses Handler's mother's decision to end her life on her own terms. This decision casts light on her father's values and sense of autonomy, revealing parallels in their insistence on self-determination and dignity. Harry Handler initially resisted reading his grandfather's diaries, but "9/11 was an impetus that changed his approach, and he felt the need to understand the forces that made his father the man he was" (6). This urgency intensified after his mother's

death, making the diaries a critical tool for understanding both personal and historical legacies.

Fritz Oppenheimer emerges as a perennial outsider: a Jew in Christian Prussia, a German in the U.S. Army, and potentially an outsider in his own Jewish tradition. Being Jewish was "assigned" to him by the Nazi regime rather than chosen. Jewishness appears primarily as a legal and racial classification rather than a cultural or spiritual commitment. Fritz and his family were more connected to Christian traditions, such as Christmas, than to Jewish practice. Fritz himself referred to being "of Jewish heritage" rather than Jewish, a choice that signals both detachment and self-preservation.

His patriotism toward Germany is a defining feature of his character. Before World War I, he was driven by loyalty and love for Germany, and this devotion persisted throughout his life. Yet Cindy Schweich Handler notes that "the war changed his view of the world" (41), and even as he maintained loyalty, she writes: "Fritz is loyal to his homeland, but something needs to change" (43). In Chapter 6, she observes that Fritz's patriotism, his "loud enthusiasm, former zeal," "had been replaced … by a sense of grim duty" (60). This shift signals a personal transformation in which duty supplants earlier forms of patriotic exuberance. Even as Fritz was awarded another Iron Cross, Schweich Handler notes: "It is an honor that represents his patriotism and sacrifices to the world at large and will retain its meaning even as what it means to be a German change" (63), highlighting the evolution of his understanding of national identity.

Fritz's initial inability to perceive the dangers of fascism is striking. He dismissed the rise of fascism in Italy as "just another exotic rite," and although Hitler's reputation grew in the 1930s, he and his wife Elsbeth focused primarily on economic opportunities rather than ideological threats. This reluctance underscores the perils of liberal assimilation and normalizing extreme movements.

His father Ernst's membership in the Association of German Jews, which promoted full assimilation and rejected Zionism, Marxism, and liberalism, might have inadvertently influenced Fritz's views on assimilation. The association insisted Jews should be "Germans of Jewish descent," loyal to Germany, opposed to Eastern European Jewish immigration, and willing to forgo a distinct Jewish national identity. This lens is evident in Fritz's response to anti-Jewish legislation: he emphasized his military service, awards, and "absolutely native German disposition" (93), while Elsbeth's diary notes that "Jews and those with Jewish heritage are being eliminated from the courts." The phrasing "Jewish heritage" rather than simply "Jew" signals both distance and internalized hierarchies within the Jewish community.

Fritz and Elsbeth initially regarded Nazism as addressing real concerns, albeit with only "small blemishes" (94). The realization that they were not merely Germans with Jewish ancestry, but Jews whom Germany would never accept, developed gradually. Even as Fritz planned an escape in 1935, he continued in 1936 to pursue recognition as a "permanent German," holding onto the hope of inclusion until exclusionary policies and social realities made that impossible.

After emigrating to America, Fritz faced new challenges. He wrote that he was "afraid that 'life in America means a new start, a new fight and everything connected therewith'" (130). He encountered American diversity but also pervasive bigotry (141). Though "not ashamed" of being Jewish, he remained reluctant to disclose his identity, reflecting both survival instincts and formative influences from his upbringing.

During World War II, Fritz retained a vision of himself as a "native German" and considered the Nazi era "a tragic aberration in the nation's long, proud history" (159). He asserted that Hitler "exploited human misery and hunger for order and security to unearth and install an incentive structure that rewards the worst human impulses—toward greed, envy, fear, and hate" (159). This perspective informed his approach to postwar reconstruction: he aimed for objectivity rather than vengeance. Schweich Handler notes the tension here: can loyalty and patriotism color perceptions of German culpability, and is it accurate to say, as does Schweich Handler, that it is not the German people as a whole who are responsible for what has taken place, but only a few (?) Nazi leaders (160)? The small number of Germans officially recognized as Righteous Among the Nations—651, likely closer to 3,000 in Berlin, representing only 0.0045% of a population of 67,000,000—further complicates any sweeping claim about collective innocence.

Fritz's legal work during denazification illustrates the challenges of impartiality. Schweich Handler describes his careful distinction among "militarists," "ardent Nazi

sympathizers," and those "likely to act contrary to Allied interests and principles" (166). Success depended on the availability of "uncompromised" Germans, yet expediency may have limited a fully accurate assessment. She writes that Fritz believed "there are enough Germans who, as best can be determined, didn't actively support fascism and can be entrusted to build the nation's future. Besides, with so many opponents to the Nazis killed, or in exile, this is the only path forward that makes sense" (211). This highlights the moral tension of necessity versus ideal justice.

In one memorable encounter, Fritz meets Keitel, chief of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht and Hitler's "yes-man." Keitel asks why Fritz's German is so perfect. Schweich Handler recounts that "nothing would have made Fritz happier than telling Keitel that he is Jewish and that 'they had much more in common than the Nazi could ever imagine, that yes, like him, he was a German native who had been raised as a proud and loyal Prussian, with every expectation of enjoying a high-profile, fulfilling career in his homeland; that they had both fought through the crucible of Verdun, been wounded, been promoted several times, and been awarded the Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class for valor. That the single biographical detail of being of Jewish heritage made Fritz a pariah in his homeland, while Keitel was rewarded for his cruelty until his army lost the war'" (195–196). Fritz refrains from revealing his heritage, reasoning that "the fact that he is a patriotic American who is fulfilling his duty, and no other biographical details are necessary" (195–196). This raises questions about whether objectivity requires disowning one's own identity, and whether assimilation effectively demands moral compromise.

Fritz's insistence on seeing even his "bitterest enemies" as fully human (197), despite their treatment of Jews as less than human, and his observation that "I had the firm conviction that the defeat did not teach [Nazi leaders] any lesson" (197), highlight his moral rigor but also provoke discomfort. Was he vindicated? Did he need vindication? Would he have acted differently had Keitel known his Jewish heritage?

Cindy Schweich Handler further notes Fritz's understanding of Nazi motivations: "some Nazis joined not because of ideology but in hopes of personal gain or self-preservation" (209). This raises difficult questions about whether such opportunism makes Nazism more or less dangerous, and whether atrocities like these could recur.

Finally, her discussion of displaced persons camps underscores the prolonged suffering of survivors. She writes that "the army came to Europe to fight Nazis, and not to stand guard over their victims… many don't have patience for the way years of savagery can reduce humans to a primitive state," and that the so-called liberators "created the displaced Jews' prolonged misery" (213). Many Jewish displaced persons "had no clothing other than their concentration camp garb… while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German SS uniforms" (213). Though E.G. Harrison criticized these conditions as comparable to Nazi brutality, Fritz worried that such statements would provoke antisemitic claims that "Jews want preferential treatment" and preferred improvements "without so much noise and excitement" (214). Cindy Schweich Handler notes that this stance shifts the burden onto victims and advocates, raising the uncomfortable question of whether pragmatism becomes complicity when public perception is prioritized over justice.

Even in the final chapters, Fritz's defense of industrialists like Thyssen and I.G. Farben, despite their complicity in genocide, reveals the persistent tension between legal reasoning, pragmatism, and moral accountability (228–229).

In conclusion, *A German Jew's Triumph* presents Fritz Oppenheimer as a figure of extraordinary skill, moral complexity, and intellectual discipline. Cindy Schweich Handler's work preserves his voice, his diaries, and the historical record, while also inviting readers to grapple with the discomforts of assimilation, restraint, and ethical judgment under extreme circumstances.

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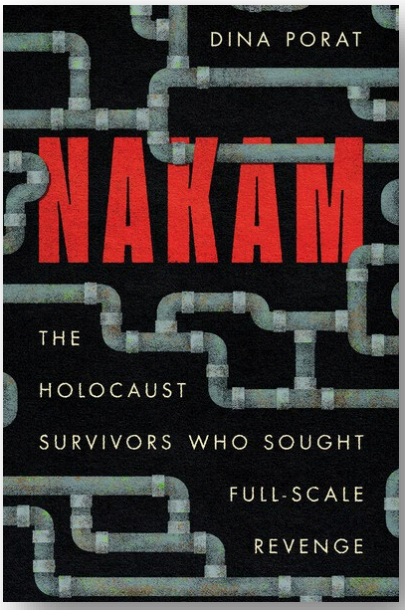
2015). She is interested in diaspora and exile studies, and is a member of the Cambridge Scholars Religious Studies Advisory Board.



Nakam: The Holocaust Survivors Who Sought Full-Scale Revenge

Dina Porat

Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2023.

305 pp. + Notes, Bibliography, Appendices (Chronology and List of the Avengers). Illus., b&w.

ISBN 978-1-5036-3031-4.

https://www.sup.org/books/title/?id=34005

Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 30 July 2024.

In *Nakam: The Holocaust Survivors Who Sought Full-Scale Revenge*, Israeli historian Dina Porat presents the story of a small group of men and women—around fifty—emerging from the Holocaust, former ghetto fighters and forest partisans, who sought vengeance for the murder of the Six Million by Nazi Germany. There were two plans pursued by the Avengers (Nokmim): Plan A sought to poison the waterworks in three German cities (six million for the Six Million); Plan B sought to poison bread being served to German prisoners of war (mostly members of the S. S.) at an Allied prisoner-of-war camp. Plan A was abandoned; Plan B did not succeed to the point of causing deaths, and was never connected to its perpetrators.

This book is both carefully written and riveting. She thoroughly discusses the motivations, intentions and of the actors—both those involved and those not. Vengeance—what it was, how it was to be effectuated and against whom—is discussed throughout the text. The very first chapter deals almost totally with the issue, examining it from religious and philosophical points of view. Vengeance entailed more than payback; it was seen as having future value.

> "Some fifty young women and men decided to take vengeance against the German nation and kill six million of them. The book will concentrate…not on the various other acts of vengeance carried out primarily by non-Jews against the Germans…. In contrast to those acts, the Nokmim wished their revenge to go public and on a scale that, in the view of the planners, would be commensurate with the Holocaust. They wanted vengeance that would stand as at the overt response of the victimized nation against the murderer, vengeance to be recounted around the world, visits on millions, vengeance that would strike the Germans in specific but warn the rest of the world that Jewish blood would never again be forfeited as it had throughout history and above all, during the Holocaust." [p. 2]

She points out that until the survivors started exchanging stories, the full extent of the Holocaust was unknown. And even with what was known, antisemitism still raged—witness the pogrom in Kielce after the war. Those who survived remembered how their "neighbors" had rejoiced in their suffering and humiliation, and then reacted in a hostile manner when they returned from the camps, the forests and ghettos. Who was to say that it couldn't happen again, and soon? Porat conveys their sense of urgency.

The Nokmim's leader was the Hebrew poet Abba Kovner, a charismatic personality from Vilna, who would lead not only the Nokmim, but also the effort to smuggle the surviving remnant to Palestine, not yet Israel. He also sought to unify the survivors regardless of their former political allegiances. This made him suspect to those in Palestine still loyal to their pre-War beliefs. Further, those living in the Land of Israel who had not gone through the crucible of the Holocaust could not truly comprehend those who had. Their aim was to establish a Jewish State; his was vengeance against the murderers. Kovner had led partisans in the forests near Vilna, and was credited with warning the Jews of Vilna of the impending catastrophe, urging resistance so that they would not go like sheets to the slaughter. At war's end, he led the Avengers, as well as activities to smuggle the surviving remnant to Palestine.

Porat pays close attention to the moral dilemmas entailed by wholesale revenge (as compared with a more targeted variety). There were some former ghetto fighters and partisans who declined to become involved, for example Antek (Yitzhak Zuckerman), one of the leaders of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Among those rejected from the Avengers were members of the Revisionist Zionist youth group, Beitar, which saw the British as an equal, if not greater, enemy than the Nazis (78-79). Although some former Communists belonged, Kovner's time as a forest partisan witnessing how Soviet partisans had murdered Jews led him to reject them. Indeed, in the years following the Second World War, Stalin's antisemitism just intensified. Whatever their ideological allegiances were before the war, their experience trumped prior beliefs.

> "As … the historian of the kibbutzim movement, put it astutely, in the Land of Israel there was a failure to realize that their identity as Holocaust survivors was deeper than their political identity, which, although dating farther back, had lost its significance to them." [p. 173]

Although most were Zionists and most helped others to evade the British and got to the land of Israel before statehood was declared in 1948, the Nokmim decided to remain in Europe posing as anyone but Jews, going underground so that they could carry out their mission. They had to pretend to be members of the various nationalities which had betrayed them. This reviewer was reminded of Vladka Meed (1921-2012) who, as a member of the Socialist Jewish Labor Bund, acted as a courier for those involved in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, living outside the Ghetto to act as a liaison with the anti-German resistance outside the Ghetto. In her book about that experience, *Fun beyde zaytn geto-moyer* (*On Both Sides of the Wall*), she recalled having to laugh at antisemitic jokes being cracked by Poles in Warsaw about those in the Ghetto, lest she give herself away to Polish "Jew-catchers."

The Germans lived in fear of Jewish retribution [p. 104-105]. Members of the Jewish Brigade, a military force from then-Palestine attached to the British army, and survivors engaged in individual acts of revenge. But this was not what the Nokmim stood for. In deciding which cities would be targeted for Plan A, they took Hamburg off the list because of the large numbers of Allied troops that might be hurt.

> "Berlin was quickly dropped from consideration. There was no point remaining in a city so thoroughly destroyed, despite the symbolic

> value that would redound from an operation there. [Nokmim member] Mira [Verbin-Shabetzky] explored Berlin for a day and said there wasn't a single house left intact. It was at the happiest day of her life so far—Berlin was in ruins!" (p. 236)

Many of the Nokmim saw themselves as dead people walking, and were ready to die in the effort to exact revenge. Yehiel Feiner (later De-Nur)—better known by his nom de plume, Ka-tzetnik 135633 [literally "Concentration Camp Inmate 135633"]—expressed his profound estrangement in his testimony at the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961. Ka-tzetnik 135633 noted that

> "Those who came away from the smokestacks of the crematoria know what they want. We want tanks demolishing city streets. Rebuilding comes later. Our job now is destruction [. . .] Who dares deny it to us? We are Frankensteins. We, who came away from the ruins, will show the world. We will snatch up the name 'Jew' in every language and uplift it [. . .] . Words of vengeance will light our way. For as long as one member of this nation remains, we shall not rest." [p. 74]

The Avengers were not the only party in play after the war. From the Land of Israel, there was the fighting detachment connected with the British Army—the Jewish Brigade; those who just wished to leave Europe totally behind; people involved in getting the surviving remnant to Israel; Jewish soldiers in the Allied Forces; the Zionists from what would become Israel in 1948. Each of these groups had their own agenda and sets of priorities. Those from the land of Israel had as their greatest priority formation of a State. Acts of vengeance in Europe would not advance that cause.

The Avengers came out of the forests where they had to improvise to survive. These various groups had their own perspectives; from the viewpoint of the Avengers it came down to whether the various sets of actors had witnessed or undergone in a very visceral way the horrors, humiliations, helplessness and soul-destroying hopelessness of those under the Nazi boot. Porat traces how these factors played out as each group jostled against the others. She notes that the reason

> "[t]he reason the Nokmim consisted mostly of former partisans and former fighters might be traceable to the years of the war and to the subsequent fighting in the forests, which had demonstrated to them the worth of legal codes and procedures, whether Soviet or German, and turned them against any system of law except what they had devised for themselves." (p. 37)

Whereas survivors such as Simon Wiesenthal saw his duty as bringing the perpetrators to justice, the Nokmim felt differently, and presciently so. The number of Nazi war criminals who went free—plus those who served them (think of Operation Paperclip which brought German missile scientists to the US)—makes the mission of vengeance much more understandable. They lacked the faith in Allied judicial institutions which failed to even make the slaughter of Jewish victims a war crime.

At the Nuremberg Trials, the Yiddish poet Abraham Sutzkever, a comrade of Kovner's in the Underground, testified as a witness. The Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenberg convinced Sutzkever to abandon Sutzkever's plan to smuggle a pistol into the courtroom to kill Hermann Goering. [p. 264]

Porat notes the factual discrepancies among members of the Avengers after decades of silence, and seeks to untangle fact from fiction; sometimes this is not possible. She presents evidence pro and con. She unravels the threads off why Plan A was abandoned, and the failure of Plan B.

Porat does not seek to judge, but rather—like a good historian—to understand, and understand while grasping all kind of complexities and contradictions. For a study in nuance and at the same time a page-turner, *Nakam* is highly recommended. Dina Porat had promised members of the Nokmim that she would tell their story. She kept that promise.

Shelby Shapiro *(Ph.D. American Studies) served for many years as the English-language editor of* Tsum punkt*/To the Point, the magazine of Yiddish of Greater*

Washington, as well as for its predecessor publication, and was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut 2012-2021. His Ph.D. dissertation dealt with acculturation and American Jewish women in the Yiddish press; he is a Yiddish-English translator, and his research interests include Jazz and Blues (having presented jazz radio programs for nine years), the labor movement, the First World War, and immigrant anarchism.

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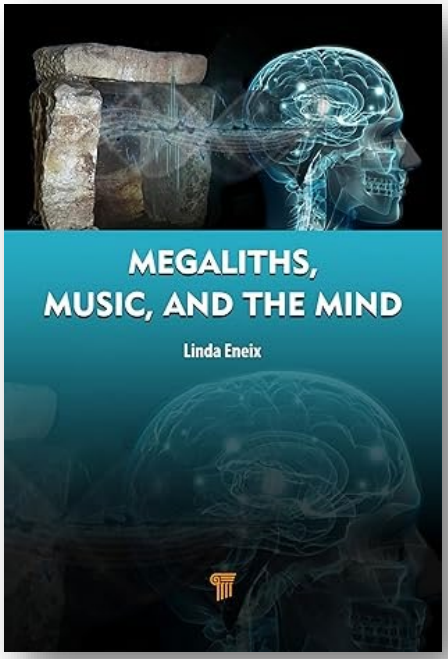

Megaliths, Music, and the Mind: A Transdisciplinary Exploration of Archaeoacoustics

Linda Eneix

Jenny Stanford Publishing Pte. Ltd. (2024)

280 Pages 15 Color & 41 B/W Illustrations

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Megaliths, Music, and the Mind: A Transdisciplinary Exploration of Archaeoacoustics

Review by Amanda J. Haste, first published online on 25 July 2025.

This reviewer was delighted to learn of Linda Eneix's work, and particularly this book. Having avoided the Acoustics option like the plague during my first music degree (far too much physics and maths for my liking) it is a subject that no musician can ignore in practice. As an example, when wild-camping near Carnac in north-western France in the 1990s, I found a dolmen (stone tomb) and went inside to play some music in this abandoned megalithic space. It was soon evident that anything melodic, or even tonal, simply didn't work at all. It was as if the space itself was repelling my efforts. I ended up 'communing' with the space, playing low notes with different dynamic (volume) levels, using these as fundamentals and creating natural harmonics, and all the time I was listening to the response, staying in tune with what the space was telling me. I was down there for hours, lost in this 'other' world. (Apparently a couple wandered up to the entrance, but once they heard these unearthly – or rather very earthly – sounds emanating from the chamber, they took fright and ran away!)

After this experience, I started wondering about the possible soundscapes that could be generated in such spaces, and how music could have been a powerful tool in neolithic rituals and ceremonies. So I am delighted that Linda Eneix has been exploring those very topics, using material from archaeology, architecture, anthropology, ethnomusicology, genetics, neuroscience, physics and more to create a truly interdisciplinary opus.

As the author points out in her introduction, "the human capacity for listening was functioning just as well thousands of years ago as it does today. The past was not silent" (p. 1). She begins with the question of why humankind abandoned a nomadic hunter-gathering lifestyle in favour of a settled lifestyle, and

points out that recent discoveries pinpoint this as contemporary with the building of megalithic structures such as Stonehenge in southern England.

> "Why start building huge stone structures? Obviously there are folks who believe that sound and music may have had something to do with it. Something very interesting happens when we add a soundtrack to the picture" (p. 4).

The field of archaeoacoustics developed from a meeting of Princeton physicist Robert Jahn and English writer and artist Paul Devereux in ruins in New Mexico. They hatched a plan that resulted in "an evaluation of the acoustic properties of several ancient megalithic sites in England and Ireland." In Malta, the site of the world's oldest freestanding buildings, a multidisciplinary international symposium in 2014 demonstrated the evidence for widespread use of sound in monuments and sacred places.

> "Participants learned from a psychologist about the human experience of a primordial scream. They found that Babylonians sang out painful emotions in a language as fierce and angry as any modern rap lyric. And they had a chance to sample sounds in an environment that echoes and astounds today just as it did more than 5,000 years ago." (p. 13).

Chapter 2 describes the 6,000-year-old Maltese structure, Hal Saflieni, abandoned at about the time the Egyptians were building the Great Pyramids. It is a complex "of interconnecting rock cut chambers set on three distinct underground levels." Importantly, "[t]he soundscape in Hal Saflieni is virtually unchanged […]. Sound behaves within this space exactly the way it was heard by people in the Stone Age" (p. 25) and this has been the basis for acoustical analysis of the space.

In Chapter 3, the author gives a wide-ranging account of the elements that contributed to our ancestors' development. These include cooking, allowing them "to spend less time gnawing on raw material and digesting it, providing time – and energy – to do other things instead, like socialize" and to "develop more powerful brains [using the] calories that cooked food provided" (p. 51). She also tackles genetics and migration, including the use of crop and livestock farming.

Chapter 4 deals with the megaliths themselves – how they were built, the choice of location, and their design – and leads into Chapter 5 on music. The author points out that, while we are "hopelessly removed" from our ancestors' world, "sound and music still have the power to move us deeply" (p. 104). While we have no evidence for what our ancestors sang or played, music anthropologist Prof. Iegor Reznikoff says:

> "That people sang laments or prayers for the dead in the [Hal Saflieni] Hypogeum is certain, for (a) it is a universal practice in all oral traditions we know, (b) at the same period, around 3,000 BC., we have the Sumerian or Egyptian inscriptions mentioning singing to the Invisible, particularly in relationship with death and Second Life, and finally (c) the resonance is so strong in the Hypogeum already when simply speaking, that one is forced to use it and singing becomes natural" (p. 105).

The author goes on to explore the role of musical instruments – or rather the instruments or tools that humans have always used to make music. Wind instruments of bone or wood; percussion, starting with using the body (clapping, stamping); and the human voice. She describes the use of song to transmit stories and histories, with the "person who knew and preserved the songs [becoming] the keeper of knowledge and of memory: the whole identity of the community" (p. 108). The chapter ends with a discussion of the concept of 'melody' in the context of megalithic spaces.

> "What we have to go on for clues would be the effectiveness of the low notes. It seems logical that in a venue like the Hypogeum, there would be a period of maximizing of a single note to bring it to full force, combined with a period of slight variation so that the returning echo of one note could be incorporated with the next" (p. 112). [1]

In Chapter 6 "The Mind" the author examines the religious and spiritual connotations of megaliths, and the use of sound in rituals and ceremonies. She emphasizes that:

[1] Definitely an 'Aha!' moment for this reviewer.

> "theirs was a world that was full of spirits and powers that hadn't been explained by science [and] the mysteries of nature were interconnected all around them because it touched their lives so directly" (p. 121).

This means that unfamiliar natural phenomena could be perceived on a spiritual level, as a sign of the gods, or as magic. The rest of the chapter focuses on representations of sound in sculptures, carvings and paintings, and recent research into the neurological aspects of music-making, including the relationship between music and dopamine release. She also tackles "transcendental resonance", the term for "an altered state of consciousness triggered by the right sound" (p. 149).

The final chapter "The Present of Archaeoacoustics" tackles thorny topics such as the risk of the discipline being seen as pseudoscience due to the lack of firm evidence. The author outlines recent research that demonstrates the therapeutic benefit of sound in many areas, including chanting and overtone chanting with Alzheimer's patients as it is said to help with memory function. Rigorous research with replicable results are of course necessary, and the author suggests laboratory-based means of achieving this.

The overall premise of this book, as stated in the introduction, is the exploration of "an ill-understood sensory element of developing culture, with hope for therapeutic application in the modern world" (p. viii) and the growing phenomenon of intonation therapy and sound baths would suggest we are well on the way to benefiting from our neolithic roots.

Writing in an accessible style, and providing plenty of illustrations, the author also creates lively descriptions of how our ancestors may have used the spaces, as well as encouraging the reader to think about how they themselves listen to and process the world around them. For anyone interested in the history of human civilization, and the human response to sound, this book is an absolute treasure.

Amanda J. Haste *(PhD Musicology) is an Anglo-French musician, musicologist and academic translator. She was adjunct faculty in both the Translation Studies and Music departments of Aix-Marseille University, France, and her research interests include identity construction through music and language. Her books include* Music and Identity in Twenty-First-Century Monasticism *(London & New York: Routledge, 2023), and co-authored (with James E. Block)* Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization *(Paris: Ex Modio, 2015), and (with Linda Baines) the* NCIS Guide for Independent Scholars *(NCIS, 2024). She is currently working on two more books:* Becoming a Successful Independent Scholar *(with Linda Baines), and a monograph on the British in nineteenth-century Marseille.*
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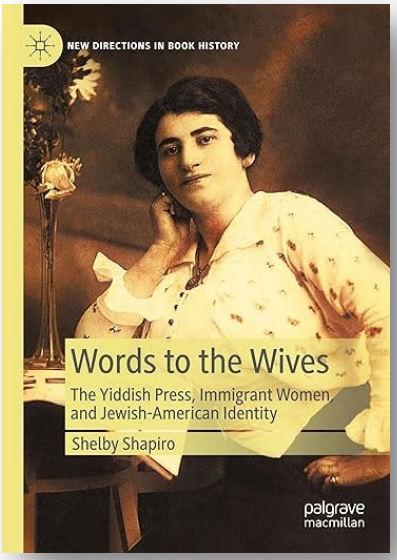

Words to the Wives: The Yiddish Press, Immigrant Women, and Jewish-American Identity

Shelby Shapiro

Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature Switzerland (2024)

Illustrated. Appendix. Notes, glossary, bibliography, index. 244 pp. $110.00

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Words to the Wives: The Yiddish Press, Immigrant Women, and Jewish-American Identity (New Directions in Book History): Amazon.co.uk: Shapiro, Shelby: 9783031499432: Books

Review by Annie Rehill, first published online on 1 August 2025.

From 1881 to 1924, an estimated 10 percent of European immigrants to the United States—about 2.3 million people—were Jewish. In the New World, they found themselves adapting to an intercultural society characterized by both greater freedom and fresh dangers. The Yiddish press developed in the midst of this destabilized environment, holding out threads of continuity between readers' old traditions and exciting new ones even as they were being shaped. Of note for Shelby Shapiro's study of this cultural phenomenon, the previously male-dominated female population looked to these publications as roles changed and new life paths opened up. Not only were women now able to find work in any number of occupations, they could even choose whether or not to center their lives around religious traditions. How they dressed was no longer a mandate, and—after the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920—they could vote.

Shapiro delves in to a detailed, meticulously researched and annotated consideration of five New York Yiddish periodicals, and how they helped create Eastern European Jewish immigrant women's sense of their own new identity between 1913 and 1925: *Di froyen-velt/The Jewish Ladies Home Journal*, which advocated actively for women; *Der idisher froyen zhurnal/Jewish Women's Home Companion*, focused on Americanization and topics such as health and etiquette; and three fiercely competing mass circulation dailies that featured pages aimed specifically at women—*Dos yidishes tageblatt/Jewish Daily News*, the first daily of its kind, established in 1885; *Forverts/Jewish Daily Forward*, which supported the Socialist Party; and *Der tog/The Day*.

These key publications contributed to the discourse on Jewish identity and women's roles, at a time when, in the larger picture, American middle-class women's magazines were on the rise as societal values changed. In the Yiddish press, writers expressed diverse and sometimes complementary views and images of femininity. For instance, *Di froyen-velt* advocated an

end to superstitions and urged women to vote and become more actively engaged. *Froyen zhurnal* wanted women to participate economically and politically, with Adella Kean and Ray Malis, among other columnists, exhorting women to expand their roles beyond the home. But writers including Ella Blum, Harold Berman, I. L. Bril, and Ray Bril favored a more traditional Judaism—one that would be female-centered. The deeply religious Blum, who wrote for *Froyen zhurnal*, went so far as to argue that Jewish women were by their very nature more pious and responsible than non-Jews.

Despite fundamental differences among some of these outlooks, all the publications in Shapiro's study supported voluntary Americanization. Differences between them emerge more as cultural assumptions, premises, and methodology to accomplish the common goal than as conflicts, even though the competition between presses could be intense. At issue were questions of relevance to all women at the time: education, jobs, the right to vote. Specific to the Jewish population, concerns debated included assimilation, Zionism, Socialism, and training in Jewish belief systems. Within the Jewish home, these five publications influenced even intimate aspects of women's lives, from how they saw themselves and presented themselves in the world to how they perceived and prepared for traditional holidays—or not.

In the now-historical pages of the three newspapers and two magazines that Shapiro closely analyzes, what is reflected is nothing less than a whole new world of possibilities for women. Cultural historians focused on in-depth analysis of European Jewish immigrants' adaptation and assimilation in the United States, along with the inevitable tensions between those two disruptive and disrupting dynamics, will find in Shapiro's study an essential contribution to the wider literature on immigration, as well as to the narrowly focused, specific field of the history of Yiddish publications in the United States.

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