

Multiculturalism and Marginalization: American Jews in Multicultural and Identity Studies

*The key point about multiculturalism is that there has been almost no place in it for Jews.*¹
David A. Hollinger

Abstract: Multicultural and identity studies have fallen short of their edifying goals when it comes to shedding light on American Jewry's many points of impact on American society. The theme has been long-neglected within Jewish studies as well due to a predominantly inward-looking perspective that focuses on the American Jewish condition and on projections regarding its own future.

This essay addresses the paradox of American Jews' marginalization from mainstream multicultural research. Citing Hollinger, who takes the overwhelmingly disproportionate presence of Jewish women in the American feminist movement as a case in point, as well as Jewish "overrepresentation" in academia, this essay looks at repercussions of this marginalization – positive as well as negative. A greater theoretical basis within multicultural and feminist theory would ground American Jews in a position which would be less vulnerable to either exclusion or Antisemitic innuendo.

Jewish Identity and Multicultural Discourse

"When it's good for the Jews, it's bad for Judaism."² This saying encapsulates the notion that the unprecedented freedom which served Jewish emigrants to America and their descendants so well has come at a price. We all know of the data that point to trends in American Jewry that suggest population decline.³ These findings have prompted numerous responses, including a concerted drive to research the state of Jewish identity. The driving motivation behind much of this research is a concern with Jewish survival in the face of, not Anti-Semitism and persecution, but, the welcoming environment of American pluralistic society. The overall objective of these studies, whether stated or implicit, is the search of prescriptions to secure American Jewry's future.⁴

Recent decades have also seen a surge of academic inquiry in the fields of identity and multicultural theory, which have become among "the most extensively studied constructs in the social sciences" and historical research.⁵ Multicultural research examines issues related to identity in a range of forms – individual identity, collective identity, multiple identity, cultural identity, ethnic, gender, occupational, national, narrative, social and more.

This talk opens with a look at a curious area of omission in the drive to understand Jewish identity, namely, its exclusively inward-looking focus of looking at Jews, with next to no literature that explores Jewish characteristics in the context of Jewish impact on American society at large. We'll then look at a mirror image of this omission that exists in scholarship on multicultural identity, summarized in historian David A. Hollinger's observation: "The key point about multiculturalism is that there has been almost no place in it for Jews."⁶ We will also see that this omission certainly pertains to Jewish women when it comes to research in feminist identity studies.

Part II of this talk puts forward where this research reticence may have originated, going back to American academia in the decades following WWII, when today's senior scholars were embarking on their academic careers. We will also note an intriguing parallel development, of how American Jews in both academic and public life generated the very language that helped present Jews to America, enabling greater entrance and acceptance.

Yet the omission of Jews, women and men, from American multicultural studies research leaves a gap in our understanding of American modernity as well as in a fuller understanding of American Jewry.

So: Considering the imperative nature of research on Jewish identity – the goal of bolstering the future of American Jewry – one might think that scholars' examination of this topic would leave no stone unturned. Yet despite volumes of valuable research which has looked at emerging indicators of Jewish behaviors, attitudes and affiliations while weighing what they may portend for American Jewry's numbers and resilience, there are certain areas of omission, due to which we lack a cohesive overall picture.

One of these blind spots concerns much of Jewish identity studies' overwhelmingly "inward" orientation, overlooking what Debra Kaufman referred to as "the subjective by-product of social location,"⁷ namely, we lack research on the context of Jewish identity within the American non-Jewish mainstream. To David A. Hollinger, this inward view typifies what he termed a "communalist" perspective, meaning, what he called

an emphasis on the history of communal Jewry, including the organizations and institutions that proclaim Jewishness, and the activities of individuals who identify themselves as Jewish and/or are so identified by non-Jews with the implication it somehow matters.⁸

This, as opposed to the "dispersionist" approach Hollinger advocated in order to rectify the disparity and to understand what he saw as the "demographic overrepresentations" of Jews in "the American worlds of finance, film, science, psychoanalysis, philanthropy, political radicalism, modernist movements in the arts and other domains of modernity." He explained,

By "dispersionist," I [refer to] a more expanded compass that takes fuller account of the lives in any and all domains of persons with an ancestry in the Jewish diaspora, regardless of their degree of involvement with communal Jewry and no matter what their extent of declared or described Jewishness.⁹ ...The skills promoted by the conditions of the European Diaspora...surely help explain many kinds of Jewish success¹⁰... [A] large swath of American popular and professional discourse ... [was] led by ... people who carried Jewish cultural baggage with them in their creative careers ...[whether or not they] identif[ied] themselves as Jews.¹¹

This broadened framework of study, he claims, is in the interest of understanding both the overrepresentation and underrepresentation of different "descent groups," an approach also adopted by Yuri Slezkine, for example, who in his book *The Jewish Century* put forward the case that skills honed by centuries of life in the European diaspora paved the way for unprecedented Jewish impact over the course of the twentieth century in America and elsewhere.¹²

The dispersionist perspective that Hollinger advocated, rejects the more common course we might recognize as avoidance, due to a perception that direct examination would invite anti-Semitic inferences. Rather than opening the door to theories of "Jewish domination" or "Jewish genius,"¹³ Hollinger says,

The grounds for this reticence diminish, if not disappear, if these statistics can be explained by taking full account of the conditions under which the various descent groups have been shaped. Avoiding the forthright historical and social-scientific study of the question perpetuates the mystification of Jewish history and subtly fuels the idea that the answer is really biological and will serve to reinforce invidious distinctions between descent groups.¹⁴

Turning his attention to multicultural studies, Hollinger pointed to a vacuum that is a mirror image of the communalist-dispersionist dichotomy:

The key point about multiculturalism is that there has been almost no place in it for Jews... Mainstream scholarship has been slow to recognize and appreciate Jewish history in relation to the larger prehistory and history of cultural diversity in America... One might think that this story [- the impact of groups of Jews -] would attract the attention of mainstream historians interested in the idea of identity formation and cultural diversity ... which has been a huge preoccupation of American historians for the last forty years.¹⁵

Instead, Hollinger contended that scholarship in multicultural and identity studies has discounted American Jews due what he called an “ethnoracial manner of mapping cultural diversity,” which he dated back to the late 1970s, saying

Jews were ignored [since] the main point of multiculturalism was color, and Jews were white, and a second point of multiculturalism was inequality, and Jews were doing very well. So, cool it, the collegial message was: let these [multicultural studies programs] deal with the needs of Americans color coded...in contrast to the white demographic block.¹⁶

It bears recalling here that Jews have only recently come to be considered white. Race has been a remarkably fluid form of categorization over the past centuries, with some referring to racial categorization as a social construct.¹⁷ As historian Sander Gilman noted,

for the eighteenth and nineteenth-century scientist, the "blackness" of the Jew was taken as fact and as mark of racial inferiority [in addition to]... an indicator of [his] diseased nature ... By the midcentury, being black, being Jewish, being diseased and being 'ugly' came to be inexorably linked...one bore the signs of one's diseased status on one's anatomy, and by extension, in one's psyche.¹⁸

Literature documenting race in America dates the designation of Jews as white as recently as the 1920's or the period following World War II. With the awareness of Nazi Germany's racial policies and resulting horror, “the 1940's produced a profound revision in the taxonomy of the world's races.”¹⁹ This is reflected in examples such as Arthur Miller's 1945 novel *Focus* or Laura Z. Hobson's 1947 *Gentleman's Agreement*, later adapted into the film starring Gregory Peck, whose message was that Jews are not only difficult to tell apart from non-Jews, but that their similarity to "real" Americans reflects their essential worthiness of racial equality as well. Expanding the definition of "whiteness" brought obvious benefits to Jews within American society. This identification with mainstream white America positioned American Jewry to attain greater financial security and power during the second half of the 20th century.

At the same time, in sources much more recent than the 1940's, Jews are described as “not quite white” or as “a different shade of white,” in other words, not quite blending in. A 1993 study involving white American women on the subject of their white identities by Ruth Frankenberg noted statements by Jewish participants indicating that

several points must be made about the intersection of Jewishness and whiteness...Ashkenazi Jews for much of this century in the US and Europe have been placed at the borders of whiteness, at times viewed as cultural outsiders, at times as racial outsiders, but in any case never as constitutive of the cultural norm.²⁰

Frankenberg's study is revealing in other ways as well. In the relatively short section she devoted to the Jewish aspect of those women among her participants who were Jews (numbering 11 out of 30), the theme of experiencing Anti-Semitism arose among every single one of them. Frankenberg picked up on statements by the Jewish women in her interviews which describe their senses of identity as Jews over different stages in their lives, calling into question the “ethnoracial mapping” Hollinger cited that excluded the experience of American Jews as a topic worthy of attention in its own right within mainstream research.

Jewish Women: Doubly Eclipsed

When it comes to Jewish women, consistent with Hollinger's observations, the intersection of their identities goes unnoticed within the general field of identity studies. When it comes to research examining gender identity, feminist and multicultural identity, Jewish women are practically absent as case studies.²¹ Such "multiple exclusions," as Sara R. Horowitz termed them,²² stand in marked contrast to the considerable literature in Black Feminist theory²³ and that of other racial and ethnic groups.²⁴

The omission of Jewish women from general multicultural research appears particularly curious in light of Jewish women's contributions to the feminist movement in the United States,²⁵ both as activists and as leading theorists.²⁶ Hollinger in fact cited the feminist movement as a prime example of the lacunae he observed in multicultural research. "Despite the overrepresentation of Jewish women among the ranks of its leaders, (by how many thousand percentage points?)," he noted, "...our scholarly and popular histories take virtually no notice of this astronomically huge demographic fact."²⁷ Research asking "in what sense is Women's Liberation... a Jewish story,"²⁸ Hollinger claimed, likening it to the way scholarship has explored the role of Protestantism in the abolitionist and civil rights movements, would help streamline American Jewish history's integration into "mainstream American history."

Among rare examples of academic studies to examine the interface of identities for Jews within their non-Jewish "social location" is Joyce Antler's documentation of radical feminism and Jewish women,²⁹ illustrating a redeeming approach. Revealingly, the movement leaders she interviewed had disregarded the possible association between being Jewish at the time of their activism during the 1960s and 1970s at the height of second wave feminism. Only much more recently and in retrospect had they begun to assert its relevance. Dina Pinsky added dimension to this chapter of history in her 2010 study interviewing thirty Jews, most of them women, on the subject of their Jewish identities and their involvement as activists in the women's movement during the same period.³⁰

To provide another telling example of this point, when subjects in Debra Kaufman's study³¹ expressed sentiments to the effect that their identity as Jewish women "is grounded in their experience as 'the Other' within Judaism," it spoke directly to the experience of being a Jewish woman vis à vis Jewish men, as well as vis à vis the greater world's perception of the Jew as Other. These four studies – Frankenberg's, Antler's, Pinsky's and Kaufman's – provide isolated examples of how much more may be gleaned in a more thorough probing of the intersection of Jewish women's identities. Their observations call attention to the material yet to be mined by studying the interface of Jewish identities within American society in multicultural identity literature.

II. Jews in American Academia: A Tacit Footprint

If the rarity of research on Jewish women within mainstream multicultural research on the American feminist movement appears paradoxical, American Jewish scholars' "fail[ure] to get Jews on the standardized multicultural map of the United States,"³² despite "the heavy demographic overrepresentation of Jews in the cultural industries, including academia," is all the more paradoxical. The reason for this block may stem in part from what Alan M. Kraut recalled as the "chilling effect" of an American academia in the post-war period, as still "rife with anti-Semitism."

In the aftermath of the war, [he writes,] unabashed Jew-haters in the academy needed to keep more of a lid on their attitudes when speaking publicly. However, graduate students with professional aspirations still often hesitated ...to select a dissertation topic that

identified them as Jewish...Wise doctoral mentors took care to counsel against a topic that type-cast the young aspiring academic as "too Jewish."³³

Even those committed to writing history sans Jews had an uphill battle. "Jews specializing in American history had a particularly difficult time getting jobs," observed historian Edward Shapiro. "Historians were reluctant to entrust the teaching of the nation's sacred history to such [--] outsiders."³⁴

Examples of this aversion were given voice in my own dissertation research when American Jewish women – all senior members of faculty in the humanities or social sciences – described the process of choosing their field of academic research.³⁵ Many upheld the unwritten rule spurning Jewish themes as a given, some stating pointedly that choosing such a focus would have been akin to opting for "separatism" as opposed to the career they sought in the "mainstream." As a professor of American studies at Stanford University recalled her decision to me to forego a dissertation topic related to Yiddish:

If you viewed yourself as someone who wanted to live and work in an integrated environment, [it] was not really a viable option. But taking that intellectual drive and channeling it into the secular arena and excelling in the bastions of American learning, that was something we [Jewish graduate students in the ivy league] could handle.

A professor of English literature and Women's studies at Berkeley articulated this sense of mutual exclusivity between Jewish topics and mainstream research to me when she spoke of the course syllabi she developed on women, race and ethnicity in which it never occurred to her to include Jewish perspectives, saying:

I know of no one, certainly no one here at the university, who teaches Jewish women writers, or ... even Jewish writers, and that may be coincidence ... It may also have to do with a concern about a ghetto-ization. I'm not sure I would want to identify myself or be identified as someone circumscribed by a Jewish identification.

Now – we come to an intriguing parallel development. In contrast to the above trend of demarcation between mainstream academia and Jewish topics, Lila Corwin Berman, in her 2009 book, *Speaking of Jews*,³⁶ traced a very different development over the same general period, a phenomenon which functioned indirectly – and almost surely inadvertently – in countering marginalization. During the second half of the twentieth century, Jews in academia (along with Jewish leaders, rabbis and intellectuals) "sought to generate a public language... of presenting Jews to the United States" as a means of navigating relationships with non-Jews within an open, yet non-Jewish society. By creating this "intellectual framework," Berman noted, Jewish leaders strove "to make Jewishness intelligible to the American public."³⁷

When properly conceived, [she noted,] a public language of Jewishness, instead of marking Jews as outside of or peripheral to American life, enabled Jewish leaders to define Jews as indispensable to the United States.³⁸

Berman described the intensive involvement of Jews within the academy, particularly the social sciences, and their active role in *creating both the theories and the very language* of academic discourse:

The Jewish attraction to the social sciences [, she writes, was] a response to the particular circumstances of minority and Jewish life....Sociology offered minority groups an opportunity to integrate their experiences into larger national contexts.... Sociological language and models became unrivaled sources of authority, sculpting the public language that American Jewish leaders used to talk about Jewishness... The fact that Jews helped mold the field of sociology is critical to understanding why sociological language became so useful in Jews' efforts to explain themselves to the United States.³⁹

In other words, to Berman, part of what secured American Jews' entrance and acceptance into academic life was the terminology they themselves crafted within emerging academic disciplines.

Still, countering these gains are the gaps to which Hollinger pointed. For when it came to American Jewry as the subject of academic research, the communalist emphasis on the one hand, and the marginalization of Jews from mainstream topics on the other, "allowed the narratives of American history and American Jewish history to remain mutually exclusive."⁴⁰

Yet what of the parallel effect he described, that "large swath of American popular and professional discourse ... led by persons of Jewish ancestry [or] people who carried Jewish cultural baggage with them in their creative careers."⁴¹ How may this influence have "disseminated into [the] American public sphere" at large?⁴² An excerpt from the interview with the Stanford professor quoted above provides an example of how her contributions to academic discourse may have incorporated elements of her Jewish identity as she construed it. Describing her current academic venture, an international journal, she wondered,

The [journal] has been a really fruitful area that I've gone into... Do I find this congenial because being Jewish makes me somehow more cosmopolitan-focused or something?

– She surmised:

I can't really say that I have had a sustained commitment to Jewish topics or Jewish intellectual concerns in my work, but in a sense ... I like to feel that by doing the kind of scholarship that I do, and by being kind of both bold and careful and trying to move things in fresh directions, I'm somehow carrying on in Jewish intellectual traditions, even though it's in the secular realm. I'd like to think that.

So we see that the mid-twentieth century pressures to which Kraut referred, where "wise doctoral mentors" curtailed their Jewish protégées' academic areas of focus to exclude Jewish topics, imposed a doctrine of mutual exclusivity. The above interview excerpts reflect the kind of ingrained constraints that shaped academic careers as well as the fields of multicultural and identity research. Yet the excerpts also suggest the "public language of Jewishness," to which Berman referred. Expressing that their "secular" areas of research may "carry on Jewish intellectual traditions" indicates the degree to which Jewish academics' work may implicitly carry blueprints rooted in Jewish experience – elements traceable within their scholarship and ultimately in the public sphere beyond.

"An Empirical Orphan in the Theoretical Storm"

The absence of Jews as subjects within mainstream academic research relates sharply with another form of invisibility, that of Jewish women within the academic literature of feminist theory.⁴³ As we saw, the marginalization of Jews stemmed from a barely-concealed often baldly Anti-Semitic aversion communicated to researchers setting out on their academic careers. A concurrent development, as we saw, was American Jews' leading contribution to social science theory and terminology, "molding the field," in Berman's words, and thus "enable[ing them] to define Jews as indispensable to the United States."⁴⁴ Perhaps ironically, the very fact of being "defined into" the mainstream, coupled with the prescribed "color-coded" cultural typologies which Hollinger described,⁴⁵ may have swayed American Jewish feminists from developing distinct theoretical models and epistemological standpoints akin to Black feminists'.⁴⁶ Any perceived inclinations to do so were (pardon the pun) whitewashed.

Yet the absent "feminist Jewish standpoint" has signaled an element of homelessness both theoretically and in actual reality. The late Paula Hyman observed that unarticulated and

unnamed perspectives result in “social, psychological and spiritual malaise”⁴⁷ as well as in vulnerability.⁴⁸ I will borrow the feminist literary scholar Elaine Showalter's image from her essay, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness." Without a theoretical basis, Jewish women have remained "an empirical orphan in the theoretical storm,"⁴⁹ rendering American Jewish feminist women's sense of belonging within the mainstream of the movement as ticklish if not tenuous. In truth, the experience of feeling like a "cultural outsider" or "Other," noted in Frankenberg's and Kaufman's studies, is far from uncommon.⁵⁰ Jewish-targeted enmity often takes the form of anti-Zionism and hostility toward Israel – the interconnected nature of these two bigotries demonstrated by Kaplan and Small.⁵¹ In certain circles, in the academic world and beyond, the option of being a feminist and a supporter of Israel is rendered mutually incompatible, a contradiction in terms. Bereft of theoretical belonging or anchor, not even loyal, committed and radical feminists are exempt from bias, Anti-Semitic innuendo and slurs.

Conclusion: Expanding the Story

As we have seen, the “ethnoracial” mapping described by Hollinger which defined American Jewry as part of white mainstream culture complemented the Jewish “reticence” he cited: the reticence to call attention to their own “overrepresentation” in so many facets of American life. The effective omission of Jews from multicultural and identity research as case studies in their own right leaves a gap in our understanding of American modernity. As in the case of Jewish women's absence from feminist theory, it leaves Jews, women and men, ill-equipped to address the “not quite white” status that remains unexplored and unarticulated.

If the aim of studying Jewish identity is to channel understanding into securing American Jewry's future; and of multicultural, identity and feminist research to shed light on how individuals of different racial and ethnic groups – including Jewish women and men – negotiate their respective standpoints, the time for addressing the gaps in academic research is long overdue. Heeding Hollinger's call to decipher matters such as "to what degree is Women's Liberation a Jewish story," future studies can aim to trace the "Jewish story" within different academic canons and thus shed light on its impact on developments both within academia and beyond in the past century. By the same token, additional study to trace the American, the multicultural or the feminist "story" within the life stories of American Jews, would stand to add valuable dimension to what we would learn of their Jewish identities, the course of their development, as well as where Anti-Semitism's impact was salient. Such study will move toward integrating Jewish and "mainstream" research, adding dimension with which to understand more fully the American – and American Jewish – experience.

Notes:

¹ Hollinger, David A. 2009. "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," *American Jewish History*, 95 (1) 1-32, p. 17.

² Cited by Lazerwitz, Bernard and Ephraim Tabory. 2002. "National Religious Context and Familial Religiosity within a Jewish Framework," *Review of Religious Research*, 44 (1) 22-37 p.23.

³ Kosmin, Barry. A. et al. (eds.), 1991. *National Jewish Population Survey*, New York: Council of Jewish Federations, (1991); Kosmin, Barry A. et al. (eds.) 2000-01. *National Jewish Population Survey*. New York: United Jewish Communities.

⁴ See for example Cohen, Steven M. and Leonard J. Fein. 1985. "From Integration to Survival: American Jewish Anxieties in Transition," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Religion in America Today*, 480, 75-88; Himmelfarb, Harold S. 1980. "The Study of American Jewish Identification: How

it is Defined, Obtained, Sustained and Lost," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 19(1) 48-60; Wertheimer, Jack, Charles S. Liebman and Steven M. Cohen. 1996. "How to Save American Jews," *Commentary*, January, p.49; Herring, Hayim. 2000. "How the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey was Used by Federation Professionals for Jewish Continuity Purposes," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, pp.216-227.

⁵ Schwartz, Seth J. Koen Luyckx, Vivian L. Vignoles (eds.). 2011. *The Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, Springer Science and Business Media, ISBN 978-1-4419-7987-2.

⁶ Hollinger, David A. 2009. "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," *American Jewish History*, 95 (1) 1-32, p. 17.

⁷ Kaufman, Debra. 2005. "Measuring Jewishness in America: Some Feminist Concerns," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, Jerusalem, The Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies and The Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, No. 10, 84-98, p. 85.

⁸ Hollinger, David A., "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," (as above, note 1) p. 4.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Hollinger, David A. 2004. "Rich, Powerful and Smart: Jewish Overrepresentations Should Be Explained Instead of Avoided or Mystified," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 94(4) 595-602, p. 599.

¹¹ Hollinger, David A., "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," (as above, note 1), p. 12.

¹² Slezkine, Yuri. 2004. *The Jewish Century*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, pp. 367-371.

¹³ Michels, Tony, 2009. "Communalist History and Beyond: What is the Potential of American Jewish History?" *American Jewish History*, 95 (1) 61-71, pp. 65-66.

¹⁴ Hollinger, David A., "Rich, Powerful and Smart: Jewish Overrepresentations Should Be Explained Instead of Avoided or Mystified" (as above, note 8), p. 597.

¹⁵ Hollinger, David A., "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era" (as above, note 1), pp. 16, 12.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 17-19.

¹⁷ For discussion of the evolution of American Jews' classification as white, see Brodtkin, Karen. 1999. *How the Jews Became White Folks: And What That Says about Race in America*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press; Cheyette, Bryan. 1995. "Neither Black nor White: The Figure of 'the Jew' in Imperial British Literature," *The Jew in the Text*, Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb (eds.), London, Thames and Hudson, pp 31-42; Gilman, Sander L. 2006. "Are Jews Multicultural Enough?" *Multiculturalism and the Jews*, New York, Routledge; Gilman, Sander L. 1994. "The Jewish Nose: Are Jews White? Or, the History of the Nose Job," *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity*, Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn (eds.), New York: New York University Press; Boyarin, Jonathan. 1994. "The Other Within and the Other Without," *The Other in Jewish Thought and History: Constructions of Jewish Culture and Identity*, Laurence J. Silberstein and Robert L. Cohn eds., New York: New York University Press; Goldstein, Eric L. 2006. *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race and American Identity*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press; Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1998, 2002. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

¹⁸ Gilman, Sander L. 2006. "Are Jews Multicultural Enough?" (as above, note 16) p. 370.

¹⁹ Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1998, 2002. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (as above, note 16) p. 188.

²⁰ Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (216, 224).

²¹ Friedman, Michelle. 2002. "Toward an Understanding of Jewish Identity: An Ethnographic Study," Ph.D. dissertation, Albany, State University of New York; Friedman, M. L., Friedlander, M. L., and Blustein, D. L., 2005. "Toward an Understanding of Jewish Identity: A Phenomenological Study," *Journal*

of *Counseling Psychology*, 52, 77–83; Gold, Nora. 1993. "Diversity, Jewish Women and Social Work," *Canadian Social Work Review*, Special Issue on Women and Social Work, 10, No. 2, 240-255.

²² Horowitz, Sara R. 1998. "At the Borders, At the Margins: Feminist Theory, Jewish Studies, and Identity Politics," *Freedom and Responsibility: Exploring the Challenges of Jewish Continuity*, KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 271-286. <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=5582>, p. 272.

²³ See for example Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought*, New York, Routledge, Chapman & Hall, Inc.; hooks, bell (sic). 1984. *Feminist Theory: from Margin to Center*, Boston, South End Press; Christian, Barbara. 2007. "The Race for Theory," *New Black Feminist Criticism 1985-2000*, by Barbara Christian, Bowles, Fabi and Keizan (eds.), Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press.

²⁴ See for example: Anzaldua, Gloria. 1997. "La conciencia de la mestiza: Towards a New Consciousness," *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd eds., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 765-775; Geok-lin Lim, Shirley. 1997. "Feminist and Ethnic Theories in Asian American Literature," *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd eds., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 807-826; Ling, Amy, 1997. "I'm Here: An Asian American Woman's Response," *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd eds., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 776-783; Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Chapel Hill, Duke University Press; Sanchez, Rosaura. 1997. "Discourses and Gender: Ethnicity and Class in Chicano Literature," *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, Robyn D. Warhol and Diana Price Hernd eds., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1009-1028.

²⁵ (a) One may certainly find research which has offered historical documentation of this involvement. See for example Antler, Joyce, (ed.). 1998. *The Journey Home: How Jewish Women Shaped Modern America*, New York: Schocken Books; Antler, Joyce (ed.). 1997. *Talking Back: Images of Jewish Women in American Popular Culture*, Hanover, NH, Brandeis University, University of New England Press; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 1989. "The Impact of Feminism on American Jewish Life," *American Jewish Year Book*; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 1995. *A Breath of Life: Feminism in the American Jewish Community*, Lebanon, NH, Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 2001. "Women's Transformations of Public Judaism: Religiosity, Egalitarianism and the Symbolic Power of Changing Gender Roles," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry Vol. XVII: Who Owns Judaism? Public Religion and Private Faith in America and Israel*, Peter Medding, (ed.), Published for the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem by Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford University Press; Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 2008. *Matriarchal Ascent/Patriarchal Descent: The Gender Imbalance in American Jewish Life*, Lebanon, NH, Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Hyman, Paula E. 2002. "Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity," *Jewish Social Studies*, 8, No. 2, 153-161; Friedenreich, Harriet Pass. 2007. "Joining the Faculty Club: Jewish Women Academics in the United States," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues*, Jerusalem, The Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies and The Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, 68-101; Reinhartz, Shulamit and Mark A. Raider (eds.). 2005. *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, Lebanon, NH, Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England; Chesler, Phyllis. 2005. *The Death of Feminism: What's Next in the Struggle for Women's Freedom*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan; Nadell, Pamela S. and Jonathan Sarna (eds.). 2001. *Women and American Judaism*, Lebanon, NH, Brandeis University Press, United University Press of New England.

(b) Within non-scholarly literature, one may find authors' personal accounts and reflections regarding what being a woman, Jewish and feminist has meant to them. See for example: Pogrebin, Letty C. 1991. *Deborah, Golda, and Me: Being Female and Jewish in America*, New York, Crown Publishers; Plaskow, Judith and Donna Berman (eds.). 2005. *The Coming of Lilith: Essays on Feminism, Judaism and Sexual Ethics, 1972-2003*, Boston, Beacon Press; Schneider, Susan Weidman. 1985. *Jewish and Female: Choices and Changes in Our Lives Today*, New York, Simon & Schuster; Levitt, Laura. 1997. *Jews and Feminism: The Ambivalent Search for Home*, New York, Routledge; Heschel, Susannah (ed.). 1983, 1995. *On Being a Jewish Feminist: A Reader*, New York, Schocken Books.

(c) The issue of Jewish women within the context of the contemporary Jewish world, their religiosity or spirituality (i.e. "Jewish feminism," women and halacha) has found worthy treatment in its own body of

scholarship. See for example Dufour, Lynn Resnick. 2002. "Sifting Through Tradition: The Creation of Jewish Feminist Identities," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39(1) 90-106; Adler, Rachel. 1999. *Engendering Judaism: An Inclusive Theology and Ethics*, Boston, Beacon Press; Plaskow, Judith. 1991. *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective*, New York, Harper One; Cohn Eskenazi, Tamara and Rabbi Andrea Weiss (eds.) 2007. *The Torah: A Women's Commentary*, Philadelphia, Union for Reconstructionist Judaism Press; Goldstein, Elyse. 2008. *New Jewish Feminism: Probing the Past, Forging the Future*, New York, Jewish Lights Publishing; Goldstein, Elyse (ed.). 2008. *The Women's Haftarah Commentary: New Insights from Women Rabbis on the 54 Weekly Haftarah Portions, the 5 Megillot and Special Shabbatot*, New York, Jewish Lights Publishing; Hartman, Tova. 2008. *Feminism Encounters Traditional Judaism: Resistance and Accommodation*, HBI Series on Jewish Women, Waltham, MA, Brandeis University Press; Lavie, Aliza. 2008. *A Jewish Woman's Prayer Book*, Spiegel & Grau; Plaskow, Judith and Donna Berman (eds.). 2005. *The Coming of Lilith: Essays on Feminism, Judaism and Sexual Ethics, 1972-2003*, Boston, Beacon Press; Ross, Tamar. 2004. *Expanding the Palace of Torah: Orthodoxy and Feminism*, Brandeis Series on Jewish Women, Waltham, MA, Brandeis University Press; Rutenberg, Danya (ed.). 2001. *Yentl's Revenge: The Next Wave of Jewish Feminism*, Boston, Seal Press; Hartman, Tova. 2003. *Appropriately Subversive: Modern Mothers in Traditional Religions*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press; Haut, Rivka and Susan Grossman (eds.). 1992. *Daughters of the King: Women and the Synagogue*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society; Greenberg, Blu. 1991. *On Women and Judaism*, New York, Jewish Publication Society of America.

²⁶ See for example Friedan, Betty. 1964. *The Feminine Mystique*, New York, Dell Mass Market Paperback; Rich, Adrienne. 1967. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Institution and Experience*, New York, W. W. Norton & Co; Rich, Adrienne. 1979. "Disloyal to Civilization: Feminism, Racism, Gynophobia," *On Lies, Secrets and Silence: Selected Prose 1966-1978*, New York, W.W. Norton, 275 – 310; Okin, Susan Moller. 1989. *Justice, Gender and the Family*, New York, Basic Books; Dworkin, Andrea. 1991. *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, New York, Plume Books.

Leading feminist Jewish theorists in a range of academic disciplines include:

History: Lerner, Gerda. 1986. *The Creation of Patriarchy*, New York, Oxford University Press; Zemon Davis, Natalie. 1997. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*, Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press; Scott, Joan Wallach. 1999. *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York, Columbia University Press;

Literary Criticism: Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. 1979. *The Madwoman in the Attic*, New Haven, Yale University Press; Showalter, Elaine. 1981. "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 8(2) 179-205; Showalter, Elaine. 1985. "Writing and Sexual Difference," *New Feminist Criticism: Women, Literature and Theory*, New York, Pantheon;

Psychology: Chodorow, Nancy. 1978. *The Reproduction of Mothering*, Berkeley, The Regents University of California Press; Chodorow, Nancy. 1991. *Feminism and Psychoanalytic Theory*, New Haven, Yale University Press; Chesler, Phyllis.. 1972. *Women and Madness*, New York, Doubleday & Co.; Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press;

Feminist Research Methodology: Reinharz, Shulamit. 1992. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, New York, Oxford University Press;

Queer Theory: Butler, Judith. 2004. *Undoing Gender*, New York, Routledge Press; Butler, Judith. 2006. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York, Routledge; Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1990. *The Epistemology of the Closet*, Berkeley, The Regents of University of California Press.

²⁷ Hollinger, "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," (as above, note 1), p. 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁹ Antler, Joyce, "Radical Feminism and Jewish Women," paper delivered at the Biennial Scholars Conference on American Jewish History, New York, June 15, 2010.

³⁰ Pinsky, Dina. 2010. *Jewish Feminists: Complex Identities and Activist Lives*, Chicago, University of Illinois Press.

³¹ Kaufman, Debra. 2005. "Measuring Jewishness in America: Some Feminist Concerns" (as above, note 6).

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- ³² Hollinger, "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," (as above, note 1), pp. 5, 18.
- ³³ Kraut, Alan M. 2009. "Dispersionism, Pluralism, and the Nebulous Contours of Post-Jewish Identity," *American Jewish History*, 95(1) 43-51, pp. 43-44.
- ³⁴ Shapiro, Edward S. 1992. *A Time for Healing: American Jewry Since World War II*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 105.
- ³⁵ Roskies, Jennifer, forthcoming. *The Multiple Identities of Jewish Academic Women*, Ph.D. dissertation, Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University.
- ³⁶ Berman, Lila Corwin. 2009. *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals and the Creation of an American Public Identity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ Antler, Joyce, "Radical Feminism and Jewish Women" (as above, note 28).
- ⁴¹ Hollinger, "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," (as above, note 1), p. 12.
- ⁴² Berman, Lila Corwin. 2009. *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals and the Creation of an American Public Identity* (as above, note 38) p. 6.
- ⁴³ See Roskies, Jennifer. 2010. *Missing from the Map: Feminist Theory and American Jewish Women*, Working Paper Series, The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism (YIISA) ISSN: 1940-6118; ISBN: 978-0-9819058-7-7.
- ⁴⁴ Berman, Lila Corwin. 2009. *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals and the Creation of an American Public Identity* (as above, note 38) p. 6.
- ⁴⁵ Hollinger, David A., "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches to American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era" (as above, note 1), pp. 17, 19.
- ⁴⁶ Patricia Collins states that ultimately, the goal of Black feminist theory is to articulate Black women's standpoint, making full use of "access to both the Afrocentric and the feminist standpoints... [expecting that it] should reflect elements of both traditions, but be distinct – a search for the distinguishing features of an alternative epistemology." *Black Feminist Theory* (as above, note 22) p. 206.
- ⁴⁷ Hyman, Paula E. 2002. Gender and the Shaping of Modern Jewish Identity, *Jewish Social Studies*, 8(2), 153-161.
- ⁴⁸ Beck, Evelyn Torton (1988). "The Politics of Jewish Invisibility." *National Women's Studies Association Journal*, 1(1), 93-102.
- ⁴⁹ Showalter, Elaine. 1981. "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," (as above, note 25), p. 180.
- ⁵⁰ Roskies, Jennifer. 2010. *Missing from the Map: Feminist Theory and American Jewish Women*, (as above, note 43).
- ⁵¹ Kaplan, Edward and Charles A. Small. 2006. "Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Anti-Semitism in Europe," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50: 548-561.