
Theses, Dissertations, and Projects

2017

Two-sided healing : an exploration of Jewish women psychotherapists' experience

Aviva Bellman
Smith College

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.smith.edu/theses>



Part of the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Bellman, Aviva, "Two-sided healing : an exploration of Jewish women psychotherapists' experience" (2017). Masters Thesis, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
<https://scholarworks.smith.edu/theses/1878>

This Masters Thesis has been accepted for inclusion in Theses, Dissertations, and Projects by an authorized administrator of Smith ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@smith.edu.

**TWO-SIDED HEALING: AN EXPLORATION OF JEWISH WOMEN
PSYCHOTHERAPISTS' EXPERIENCE**

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

Aviva Bellman

Smith College School for Social Work
Northampton, Massachusetts, 01063

2017

Aviva Bellman
Two-Sided Healing: An Exploration
of Jewish Women Psychotherapists'
Experience

ABSTRACT

This study examined the subjective identities of Jewish women psychotherapists, as well as the ways in which they give meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice. Twelve narratives by Jewish women psychotherapists were utilized as secondary data, originally published in an edited book by Greene and Brodbar (2010). The study used a Jewish feminist epistemological stance, an intersubjective understanding of the therapeutic relationship, and an interpretive (hermeneutic) phenomenological approach, which led the researcher to self-reflect over the course of the analytical process (Ginsberg, 2002; Lopez and Willis, 2004). Narratives were analyzed for recurrent themes and sub-themes (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Implications of results are twofold: they add to the dearth of literature centering the experiences of Jewish women, and they contribute to our understandings of how sociocultural identity shapes the clinician and the clinical encounter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Carolyn Mak, for her guidance, encouragement, and dedication throughout this project. I would also like to thank my parents and step-father for their generous support and for helping to shape my Jewish identity and my journey toward becoming a clinical social worker/psychotherapist. I am also very grateful for the support and love of the rest of my family and friends – particularly my late grandfather, Rabbi Sidney Shoham (*zecher tzadik livracha*) – whose dedication to the spirit of the Jewish people has always inspired me. Finally, I would like to thank my husband Steve, for his patience as I turned all of the large surfaces of our home into data analysis stations, and for reminding me when this process grew challenging that I am more capable than I think.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
III. METHODOLOGY.....	28
IV. FINDINGS	41
V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	101
REFERENCES	118
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Human Subjects Review Committee exemption letter	125
Appendix B: Letter to narrators	126
Appendix C: Narrator demographic information and narrative summaries	127
Appendix D: Master table of group-level themes.....	131

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Graphic Representation of the Ten Super-Ordinate Themes, as Grouped by the Four Study Research Questions	42

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Despite the disproportionate presence of Jewish women in therapy – either in the role of client or therapist – there is no prior empirical study on the experiences of Jewish women therapists. The dearth of research in clinical social work and allied fields on a group that is so present suggests that Jewish women in therapy have become “ground rather than figure,” such that they “fade from view” (Kaschak, 2011). There are many possible explanations for this gap in the literature, some of which will be explored in the present review. These include the assumption that Jews are part of mainstream White North American society, whereas in fact Jewish identity is complex and multifaceted as well as presents a vulnerability to Anti-Semitism (see e.g., Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). The present project explored the subjective identities of Jewish women psychotherapists, as well as the ways in which they give meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice. In doing so, it aimed to add to the dearth of literature centering the experiences of Jewish women.

At the same time, the present study sought to contribute to literature exploring the experiences of clinicians – rather than only clients – in line with the contemporary psychodynamic assumption that experiences of *both* client and therapist are critical in understanding the process of psychotherapy (Wallerstein, 1999, as cited in Meyer, 2000; Tummala-Narra, 2016). According to an intersubjective lens, the therapeutic encounter consists of the separate and intersecting meanings created by both client and therapist (Davies, 2011, as

cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). The focus of the present study is on the ways in which Jewish women psychotherapists' intersecting ethnic and gender identities shape their therapeutic work.

More specifically, the present study consisted of a qualitative analysis of recent narratives by Jewish women psychotherapists, compiled by Greene and Brodbar (2010). These narratives were published in an edited book, which constitutes a reproduction of an issue of *Woman and Therapy*. While the narratives were commented upon by additional authors, no systematic analysis was conducted. As such, the present study provided a more systematic and integrated way to make meaning out of these narratives. Additionally, Jewish women psychotherapists arguably constitute an “elusive population” – one that is difficult to access (Long-Sutehall, Sque, & Addington-Hall, 2011, p.336). In general, psychotherapists may be unlikely to participate in research due to limits on their available time and energy, as well as potential professional risks of confidentiality breaches. When coupled with membership in a historically marginalized population which may breed a desire to remain invisible, it is possible that recruitment of this population would indeed have been elusive (see e.g., Greene, 2010). As such, I analyzed these existing published narratives in an effort to obtain a cost-and-time efficient way to provide empirical knowledge about an arguably elusive population that was previously wholly absent from empirical literature (Long-Sutehall et al., 2011).

The present knowledge about Jewish women psychotherapists' identity and psychotherapeutic practice will hopefully contribute to our understandings of how sociocultural identity – specifically that of the clinician – shapes the clinical encounter. Findings may be particularly valuable for clinical social work education, specifically for Jewish women clinicians-in-training who would like to deepen their understanding of the ways in which their identities as Jewish women shape their work. This would arguably allow them to serve their clients with

greater levels of self-awareness. In a parallel fashion, present findings may even assist more established Jewish women therapists in reflecting on the ways in which Jewish identity shapes their work.

In exploring the negotiation of (any) identity conflict in Jewish women psychotherapists, the present study added to literature on conflict between heritage and dominant cultural values as well as creative ways in which hybrid identities and new sets of meaning are formed (Tummala-Narra, 2016). The clinical implications of this are that Jewish women may desire to use therapy to help negotiate any conflicts in Jewish identity (Weiner, 1991). Additionally, this study can allow for more informed psychotherapeutic care of Jewish women psychotherapists – which is important given the utility and prevalence of personal therapy for psychotherapists. Arguably, more informed psychotherapeutic care of psychotherapists can contribute to their better ability to serve their own clients.

Finally, the present project added knowledge to the field of clinical social work about Jews – an understudied minority group (see e.g., Greene & Brodbar, 2010). Relatedly, in exploring Jewish women’s experiences, it added to the sparse literature on anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish oppression), a topic that is inherently connected to social work – given the field’s emphasis on countering oppression – but which has been almost completely absent from North American social work curriculum (Gold, 1996).

As alluded to above, clinicians may tend to assume that their Jewish clients – including those whom are psychotherapists themselves – are “generic” White Americans (Naumburg, 2007). This is a concern, given that even “assimilated” Jewish women are members of an ethnic minority group; “Assimilated or not... she will grapple with her Jewishness or she will be split from herself (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991, p.9). As such, the present project can assist clinicians in

developing greater awareness of clinically relevant identity variables that may inform the experiences of Jewish women so as to assist therapists – both Jewish and non-Jewish – in moving toward “the space in which we know enough to know that we don’t know enough” (Naumburg, 2007, p.97).

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Organization of the Literature Review

The present review begins with a discussion of the field of clinical social work, with a focus on contemporary psychodynamic perspectives. The subject of culture in psychotherapy is reviewed, as it is treated by both the field of social work and a contemporary psychodynamic perspective. Next, literature on how psychotherapists' ethnocultural identities shape their therapeutic practice is reviewed. The review then transitions to Jewish experience and reviews the sparse existing literature on the subject. This includes findings surrounding Jewish ethnic and religious identity, Jewish racial identity, and internalized anti-Semitism. There is then a transition to Jewish women's identity and experience. The very sparse existing empirical literature is reviewed, and writings by Jewish women surrounding their own identities are subsequently summarized.

Conceptual and Epistemological Stance

Despite the limited empirical literature on Jewish women's experiences, scholars have begun to utilize a Jewish feminist epistemological standpoint in studying Jewish women's experiences, which has mostly explicitly been expressed by Ginsberg (2002). The literature I have reviewed has largely taken this standpoint, whether explicitly stated or not, and it also matches my own identity as a Jewish feminist. This epistemology centers Jewish women's voices while valuing Jewish women's traditions (Tirosh-Rothchild, 1994, as cited in Ginsberg, 2002). It hopefully grounded me in the value of Jewish continuity – and at the same time, in the

ways in which Jewish women may critique Jewish patriarchy without being anti-Semitic (Tirosh-Rothchild, as cited in Ginsberg, 2002). As Ginsberg articulated, a Jewish feminist standpoint also allowed for the researcher's intention of furthering *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) by centering Jewish women therapists' voices and knowledge. Additionally, the study can be seen as furthering *tikkun olam* by indirectly contributing to clients' healing, via adding to knowledge surrounding the intersubjective therapeutic process. Relatedly, a feminist epistemology highlights the socially constructed nature of knowledge and the importance of the researcher identifying her subjective stance – in my case, as an Ashkenazi Jewish Canadian and American woman with an Orthodox upbringing and current religious affiliation as “Egalitarian Observant,” with a bend toward Jewish Renewal. This undoubtedly influenced the way in which I interpreted Jewish women's narratives. I took further steps to identify my “footprints” in the data, which will be outlined in the methodology chapter.

The present study also rested upon several interrelated theoretical assumptions, including a subjectivist, relativist stance (see e.g., Annells, 1996) and the notion that there is no “essential” experience of Jewish women therapists. Furthermore, study results were assumed to reflect blends of separate and intersecting meanings made by both participants and the researcher – all of whom are Jewish women therapists (Geanellos, 2000, as cited in Lopez & Willis, 2004). It also assumed an intersubjective understanding of the therapeutic relationship, which focuses on the ways in which both client and therapist separately and interactively create meanings and shape the therapeutic encounter (Davies, 2011, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). Finally, the study assumed that an understanding of human subjectivity is incomplete without attending to sociocultural context (see e.g., Tummala-Narra, 2016).

Clinical Social Work

There has been a dialectical tension in social work between intensive psychotherapy and work with the community (Meyer, 2000). There have been arguments in the field that an intrapsychic emphasis privileges the “worried well,” and excludes particularly vulnerable or oppressed people whose material and social needs are so pressing that there is no time for psychotherapy – or that therapeutic modalities cannot adequately address their realities (Brauner, 2015). However, the counterargument has been made, which resonates with the present author, that the assumption that people living with oppression cannot benefit from an in-depth exploration of their inner lives reinforces oppression by indirectly assuming that people living with forms of oppression do not have an inner life that is worth prioritizing for exploration (Meyer, 2000). Furthermore, psychotherapy can address how a person’s sociocultural identity and reality – including that of oppression - impacts our inner lives (Meyer, 2000).

Perhaps as influenced by the aforementioned tension between clinical and macro social work, the unique values of psychotherapy as practiced by social workers have not been coherently articulated until relatively recently (Brauner, 2015). Eda Goldstein (2009) has recently outlined a snapshot of the unique clinical social work identity, which includes an emphasis on genuineness in relationship, the clinician’s use of self within the relationship as fundamental, and the need for clinician self-awareness about the ways in which the clinician’s values, sociocultural identity, and personality influence the treatment process (Ewalt, 1980, Goldstein, 1996, Swenson, 1995, Waldfogel & Rosenblatt, 1983, as cited in Goldstein, 2009). Additional values include the importance of assessing the person-in-environment/social context, the willingness to “begin where the client is,” attending to a client’s need for tangible resources, and a heightened consciousness of social inequality (Brauner, 2015; Goldstein, 2009; Meyer,

2000). There is also of course the impact of the strengths-based perspective, by which the field of social work focuses on exploring and building upon client's strengths, in addition to attending to vulnerabilities, pain, and suffering (Brauner, 2015; Goldstein, 2009). Clinical social work incorporates a sensitivity to gender, ethnicity, and cultural issues and a commitment to working effectively with people who experience oppression, such as by way of poverty and/or racial discrimination (Goldstein, 2009; Meyer, 2000). Many clinical social workers also engage in forms of social and political action (Goldstein, 2009). Arguably, clinical social work has typically rejected the traditional psychotherapeutic model of the therapist as expert who knows the client better than themselves, but rather has focused on treatment collaboration and client self-determination (Goldstein, 2009). Finally, clinical social workers may be encouraged to explore elements of their countertransference that clinicians from other professions may not consider as deeply, such as their sociocultural location and implicit biases (Meyer, 2000).

Clinical Social Work and a Contemporary Psychoanalytic Lens

In discussing the relationship between clinical social work and a psychodynamic orientation, it would be useful to distinguish between “psychodynamic” and “psychoanalytic,” terms which have been used interchangeably but can be distinguished (Berzoff, Flanagan, & Hertz, 2011). Namely, psychodynamic is a broader term which incorporates psychoanalytic but extends beyond it; psychodynamics pertains to all theories of psychological forces that shape human behavior, whereas the broadest definition of psychoanalytic only incorporates theories that pertain to unconscious experience, most traditionally Freudian theory (Berzoff et al., 2011). A Lacanian definition of psychoanalysis is a “form of hermeneutics in which personal narrative, not objective data, is the only subject of interest” (Berzoff et al., 2011, p.6). A psychodynamic perspective, given its broader thrust, may be more able to incorporate more “objective” dynamics

that are not necessarily unconscious but that shape personality, including social and cultural forces, which may become internalized (Berzoff et al., 2011). As such, a psychodynamic perspective may be better suited for exploring the impact of cultural dynamics on people's internal worlds, for instance, by attending to the ways in which external forces become internalized. This does not, however, preclude the relevance of a psychoanalytic perspective on such matters, particularly as the field has evolved, which will be discussed below.

There has been growing involvement of clinical social workers in the psychoanalytic world, and more and more clinical social workers are seeking out this kind of training as well as obtaining supervisor positions (Goldstein, 2009; Meyer, 2000). This is perhaps due to both the growing acceptance in psychoanalytic institutes of inviting entry to social workers, which was historically restricted to physicians, as well as the shift from traditional psychoanalysis to a more contemporary version, which arguably better compliments the values of clinical social work, as outlined above (Goldstein, 2009; Meyer, 2000).

More specifically, contemporary/post-modern psychoanalytic perspectives have evolved to include a growing emphasis on the mutual impact of the client and patient, including the impact of the therapist's values and background on the treatment relationship (Goldstein, 2009; Tummala-Narra, 2016). Relatedly, there has been a paradigm shift from a one-person, exclusively intrapsychic psychology, to an interpersonal, subjective, and two-person psychology, such that client and therapist are viewed as co-creating the therapeutic encounter, and aspects of both client and therapist are viewed as critical in understanding the process of psychotherapy (Wallerstein, 1999, as cited in Meyer, 2000; Tummala-Narra, 2016). This heightened relational focus overlaps with the relational focus that has always been primary in social work (Meyer, 2000). Psychoanalytic social workers – as well as contemporary psychoanalysis - tend to lean

more to Ferenczi rather than Freud as a founding parent, given his focus on a new and real object relationship, as well as the loving and nurturing component of the therapeutic relationship (Meyer, 2000). Again, as mentioned above, both contemporary psychoanalytic and clinical social work tend to have more distance from the traditional model of therapist as “expert” in favor of “collaborative healer.” (Goldstein, 2009; Tummala-Narra, 2016).

Finally, therapist self-knowledge is fundamental to both a contemporary psychoanalytic perspective as well as the field of clinical social work. A contemporary psychoanalytic perspective emphasizes the therapists’ own unconscious processes in addition to those of the client (McWilliams, 2005, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). As mentioned above, a clinical social work perspective adds a focus on deeply exploring certain aspects of therapist countertransference, such as sociocultural location and implicit biases (Meyer, 2000).

Culture, Clinical Social Work, and Contemporary Psychodynamic Perspectives

Despite above mentioned dialectical tensions between a focus on the individual and a focus on the sociocultural environment, psychodynamically oriented clinical social workers and other practitioners have argued for a synthesis (Berzoff et al., 2011; Tummala-Narra, 2016): “The individual and the cultural cannot be separated... We tend to draw an artificial dichotomy between the psyche and culture largely as a function of our difficulty with not knowing.” (Tummala-Narra, 2016, p.64). Aspects of sociocultural context become internalized by individuals and thus shape their inner worlds, and at the same time, an individual’s inner world can work to influence their environment (Berzoff et al., 2011). Additionally, sociocultural identity impacts the ways in which people create relationships, including the therapeutic relationship (Tummala-Narra, 2016).

Social work as a field has historically attended to culture. The National Association of Social Workers' (1999, 2007) code of ethics includes the importance of "respective individual's cultural contexts, recognizing strength in all cultures, and validating individual's experiences with social oppression" (Tummala-Narra, 2016, p.66). Historically, the goal of a cultural competence framework has been to attend to the impact of the *client's* sociocultural context on the therapeutic process (Kirmayer, 2012, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). The addition of a contemporary psychodynamic perspective points to an extremely complex intersubjective space that incorporates the ways in which *both* client and therapists are separately and interactively shaped by the interplay between the individual and the sociocultural (Davies, 2011, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). A psychodynamic perspective also points to attending to "(sometimes unconscious) inner conflict and ambivalence in negotiating the complexity of cultural identity." (Boulanger, 2004 Layton, 2006, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016, p.81). A psychodynamically oriented, clinical social work perspective requires that therapists continually self-examine their own sociocultural context – and related values, assumptions, and biases – and how these impact their own internal worlds as well as the therapeutic relationship (Tummala-Narra, 2016).

How Psychotherapists' Ethnocultural Identities Shape Their Practice

There exists sparse literature on how various identities impact therapeutic practice, including race, ethnicity, immigration, sexual orientation, religion, social class, and dis/ability (see e.g., Tummala-Narra, 2016). The present section will focus on the impact of ethnocultural identity on practice. As mentioned above, clinicians have been urged to examine how their ethnocultural identities impact their interactions with clients (Hays, 2001; Kirmayer, Rousseau, Jarvis, & Guzder, 2008; Tummala-Narra, 2016). This is the case regarding both therapists' minority and majority statuses, as well as personal experiences of privilege, oppression, and

cultural values (Hays, 2001; Tummala-Narra, 2016). Hayes (2001) directs specific attention to examining potential values conflict between clinician and client.

There also exists minimal literature on the overarching ways in which ethnic minority therapists' identities and experiences may impact their practice. Ethnic minority therapists have been found to be more likely to attend to issues of race and culture in psychotherapy (Berger, Zane, & Hwang, 2014, Sadowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, & Corey, 1998, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). Therapists who are impacted by collective trauma may have these traumas evoked while listening to a client's trauma narrative, which in turn impacts the therapeutic encounter (Tummala-Narra, 2016). Therapists who have experienced marginalization of any kind may be more empathically attuned to clients' marginalization, while they may also unconsciously dissociate from associated painful affect (Tummala-Narra, 2016). Therapists' minority status may impact their sense of authority and competence, which in turn may stimulate an urge to reaffirm their authority or credibility, which can have differential impacts on the therapeutic process (Tummala-Narra, 2016).

There have also been a dearth of published explorations of clinicians' cultural self-assessment and exploration of its impact on their therapeutic practice. Hayes (2001) provides an example of a self-assessment conducted by a clinician with a complex ethnic and racial identity – particularly being one-quarter Seneca Indian, even as he was raised as a White man and adopted by an Irish American family. This particular clinician reflected on the ways in which his feelings of disconnection from any ethnic heritage impacted his relationship with clients, namely by allowing him to feel comfortable with people he did not know, as well as at times impeding his ability to fully connect with clients. Pratyusha Tummala-Narra (2016) detailed the ways in which her necklace with an Om symbol – which for her represents her Hindu, Indian identity –

impacted her work with a White woman. Through the course of their work, Tummala-Narra disclosed how her necklace represented sacred meaning in Hinduism, a disclosure which became a starting point for the client to talk about her own contrasting sense of emptiness. Notably, Greene and Brodbar (2010) edited a collection of narratives by Jewish women therapists who examined their subjective experiences of identity and explored the impact of their Jewish identities on their therapeutic practice, which was the focus of the present study.

Understanding the Dearth of Literature on Jewish experience

Literature on Jewish ethnic identity has been relatively absent from clinical social work and related fields, despite increasing attention to sociocultural diversity. The dearth of literature that manifestly investigates Jewish experience is somewhat ironic given the ways in which Jewish experience has influenced Western psychotherapy (Tummala-Narra, 2016). In fact, some view psychoanalysis – which has as huge influence on psychotherapy – as a survivor of the Holocaust, in that it was largely developed by Jews fleeing Nazi persecution (Aron & Starr, 2013, Cushman, 1995, Hale, 1995, Prince, 2009, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). This gap in the literature may stem from several factors, including the classification of Ashkenazi Jews – who make up the majority sub-Jewish ethnicity in North American – as members of dominant White North American society (Friedman, Friedlander, & Blustein, 2005; Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013). Perhaps relatedly, being Jewish is a largely invisible minority status, unless a person wears a visible identity marker – such as a *kippah* (Schlosser, 2005). As well, Jews may be erroneously viewed as belonging exclusively to a religious group (Friedman et al., 2005); a more nuanced understanding of Jewish identity and Judaism integrates religion, peoplehood, culture, ethnicity, and shared history (Holzman, 2010, as cited in Ginsberg & Sinacore). There may also be an impact of Jewish assimilation, which may mask difference (Friedman et al., 2005). As

well, several scholars have pointed to the impact of anti-Semitism - whether external or internalized, leading to Jewish hesitancy to publicly reveal their ethnicity and write about being Jewish (Langman, 1999, as cited in Friedman et al., 2005).

Jewish Religious and Ethnic Identity

It is difficult to disentangle Jewish ethnic identity and Judaism, given that Jewish religion is arguably an important domain of Jewish identity (see e.g., Friedman et al. 2005). Despite significant religious diversity within Judaism, there are four main religious denominations, namely Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist, as well as smaller movements, such as Renewal, Humanistic Judaism, Egalitarian Traditional, and Chasidism (Naumburg, 2007). There are also Jews who identify as “secular” or “assimilated” – which suggests limited religious involvement – and “progressive” – which may be a dimension independent of religious identity, such that Jews who identify as progressive can belong to any religious stream (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991).

Jews are a multiethnic group; for instance, there are African, Indian, Arab, Asian, and Latin Jews (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). Despite this within-group diversity, there exists three larger Jewish ethnic categorizations (which not all Jews fit into): Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Mizrachi; Ashkenazi Jews trace their lineage to Eastern Europe, Sephardi to Spain and Portugal, and Mizrachi to North African and the Middle East (Schlosser, 2005). Despite the fact that Jews are a multiethnic group, two recent qualitative studies of American Jews delineated aspects of Jewish ethnic identity as a whole (Altman, Inman, Fine, Ritter, & Howard, 2010; Friedman et al., 2005). Altman et al.’s sample consisted of Conservative Jews, whereas Friedman et al.’s participants were chosen to reflect a range of religious observance and denominational affiliation. Neither study identified participants’ within-Jewish ethnicities, perhaps given their focus on establishing

features of an overall ethnic identity. In both studies, the vast majority of participants identified as bicultural, such that American and Jewish identities were not mutually exclusive. However, some described conflict and competition between these identities. One participant stated, “I feel like I have to be more American and keep some of my Jewish characteristics more inside” (Altman et al., 2010, p.170). Relatedly, Jewish versus American identities were found to be differentially salient depending on situation, life course, and the individual participant (Friedman et al., 2005).

As well, Friedman et al. (2005) found a connection between levels of religious observance and cultural identity, such that highly observant participants saw their Jewish identities as more salient than their American ones. Altman et al. (2010) discovered a perceived conflict between American values and Jewish values, such that American values were considered more strongly individualistic. Participants also spoke of the importance of family, a strong cross generational link, and having Jewish friends and community (Altman et al., 2010). Similarly, Friedman et al. uncovered the importance of family and childhood experiences in shaping present Jewish identity. A theme of generativity pertained to participants’ passing down their heritage to the next generation (Friedman et al., 2005). Notably, Friedman et al.’s participants spoke of a sense of pride in being Jewish, a search for meaning, and a connection to Israel. Participants of both studies reported experiences of stereotyping and discrimination associated with being a minority – whether personal experience or being informed of discrimination experienced by other Jews.

Jewish Racial Identity

A simple statement on a very complex topic is that Jews are a multiracial group (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). In the words of Frederick Douglas, Jews who never intermarried are

“White in Europe, brown in Asia, and black in Africa” (Berger, 1978, as cited in Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). “Jews of color” – who are thus racialized in a U.S. context, and who do not pass as White, whether due to countries of origin, conversion, adoption, or intermarriage – may be “invisible, marginalized, not even imagined.” (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007, p.9) This is influenced by a dominant assumption in North America – perhaps both within and without Jewish communities – that Jews are Ashkenazi/European Jews. Indeed, this group is the numerical majority group, but beyond this, Ashkenazi history and culture may represent the “dominant” perspective within Jewish culture, at times leaving little room for other Jewish histories and cultures (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). This occurs in the context of extensive loss of Ashkenazi culture in the context of the Nazi Holocaust (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). When taken together, this suggests that “Jews of color” may experience marginalization both within and without the Jewish community.

An incredibly complex – and perhaps anxiety-provoking – question pertains to the racialization of Ashkenazi/European Jews as “White” within the U.S. historical context (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). In the words of Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz (2007), “the more I have learned about Jews, Anti-Semitism, and race and racialization, the more complex the situation gets” (p.2). Scholars point to the fact that European Jews – along with other European ethnic groups – were not considered to be White in the early 1900s, but were “whitened” as a process of their move to suburban neighborhoods, an option that was not available to African Americans due in part to their exclusion from Food and Drug Administration subsidized housing programs post-World War II (Brodkin Sacks, 1999; McDermott & Samson, 2005). During this time, Jews and other European ethnics wanted to claim Whiteness in order to obtain associated privileges in the context of black-white racial segregation (Tenenbaum & Davidman, 2007). This fits with the

idea that White only exists as a political category in direct response to Black (West, 1993, as cited in Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007).

Although the White racialization of European Jews has the above described parallels to other European ethnics, some historical distinctions can be made. Importantly, millennia of Jewish persecution culminated in the Nazi Holocaust, which was predicated on the notion that Jews were a race (an inferior one; Goldstein, 2005). Anti-Semitic ideas based on the ‘Jewish race’ prevailed in the U.S. as well, however were forced underground after World War II ended (Brodkin Sacks, 1999). As such, Jews in the mid-1900s had particular reason to fear racial distinctiveness and strong motivation to assimilate/‘blend in’ so as to be perceived as White (Goldstein, 2005).

Perhaps ironically given this historical context, some present-day Ashkenazi/European Jews have argued that the racialization of Jews as White makes Jews invisible, leaves them out of multicultural literature, and precludes their protection via civil rights legislation (Goldstein, 2005; Lerner, 1993). This occurs in the context of many Jews having reached integration within middle class North American society, however many poor Jews exist as well (Gold, 1996). Lerner (1993) argues that labeling Jews as White, and the associated political implications of White privilege, serves as a trigger in the context of collective Jewish trauma, reinforcing the notion that Jews are guilty – that people’s oppression is the fault of Jews – which is a trope that has played over and over again in the history of anti-Semitism. Perhaps relatedly, some contemporary Jews have been found to understand their Jewish identity as having a biological and/or genetic component; scholars have understood this as a way to anchor Jews to Jewishness despite loss of connection to Jewish culture and religion due to assimilation, as well as a way to

proudly assert Jewish identity and distinction from dominant society (Tenenbaum & Davidman, 2007).

Although no definitive conclusions can be made as to whether Ashkenazi Jews are appropriately labeled as White, Ashkenazi Jews – who represent the majority of Jews in the U.S. – can perhaps be said to hold privilege in *passing* as White at the present moment in history – though simultaneously have a history and current experience of oppression in the form of anti-Semitism; the idea has surfaced that Ashkenazi Jews are either “the closest of the colored to White or the closest of the Whites to colored.” (Holzman, 2010; Naumburg, 2007).

Internalized Anti-Semitism

A comprehensive history and present reality of anti-Semitism is beyond the scope of the present review. However, a relevant focus is on a construct called internalized anti-Semitism, also called 'Jewish Self-Hatred' (Alperin, 2016). This topic draws heavily on psychodynamic theory, which allows for the understanding of the internalization of oppression by any group as well as an inherited Jewish annihilation anxiety, which may manifest as the fear of drawing attention to one’s Jewish identity (Alperin, 2016; Gold, 1996). One early manifestation of this is when German Jews in the 1900s felt ashamed of Eastern European Jewish immigrants to the United States, whom they judged as "backward and socially inferior" - which has been understood as stemming from German Jews’ fears that these immigrants' visible markers of Jewish identity would draw attention to their own (Rubin, 1995, as cited in Alperin, 2016, p.224). Contemporary manifestations may include secular/assimilated Jews showing disdain for observant Jews – who typically wear identifying markers of Jewish identity; in a parallel fashion to the above historical example, these Jews may be (unconsciously) concerned about the ways in which the presence of observant Jews may draw attention to their own Jewishness. Another

present-day manifestation may be Jews rejecting Judaism, which they tend to do more than members of other religious groups (Astin et al. 2011, Liebman, 1973, & Mooney, 2005, as cited in Alperin, 2016). Jewish self-hatred is typically associated with those who are not religiously observant, although can reportedly manifest even in Orthodox Jews, albeit in different ways (Alperin, 2016).

Jewish Women's Identity: A Review of Empirical Findings

There is even more of a dearth of literature in clinical social work and allied fields that explores the experiences of Jewish women (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013). This absence is especially concerning given that Jewish women possess intersecting marginalized identities. Stereotypes against Jewish women in North America include the notion of the “Jewish American Princess” (JAP) and being too aggressive, pushy, and difficult (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991). As well, in addition to sexism from the dominant culture, Jewish women may be impacted by the fact that Jewish culture has historically been male-dominated (see e.g., Gold, 1997).

There exists a very small number of empirical studies exploring Jewish women's experiences. A quantitative study of Jewish college women – the majority of whom were Ashkenazi and belonged to a Conservative or Reform religious denomination – explored the impact of attachment to parents and separation on participants' well-being (Goldberg, Brien, Hoffman, Kim, & Petersen, 2005). Results of the study revealed that Jewish women who had a close relationship with their parents – as evidenced by a strong attachment – had slightly lower levels of psychological distress, which is consistent with studies of other groups. In discussing attachment in Ashkenazi families, the authors point to cultural values of family closeness and cherishing children in the context of historical oppression and anti-Semitism; they posit that this value of close contact with children may be motivated by a desire to ensure their survival. The

process of separating from parents, on the other hand, was found to predict psychological distress – particularly when there was unresolved conflict with parents. The authors point to the importance of resolving conflict with parents for psychological well-being in adolescents in a more general sample. Goldberg et al. (2005) also found a positive association between Jewish religious identity and well-being and noted that this finding contrasts past literature that found a negative association. They explain their results by pointing to increased gender egalitarianism within Judaism over the past number of years, as well as the potential therapeutic factor of religiosity.

Nora Gold (1997) conducted a unique qualitative study of Canadian Jewish women and their experiences of anti-Semitism and sexism. Forty-Seven Jewish women of both Ashkenazi and Sephardic ethnicities and diverse religious observance levels participated in focus groups in Toronto and Montreal. Results revealed that women overwhelmingly experienced anti-Semitism, and reported feeling safest amongst Jews, particularly Jewish women. They also detailed experiencing sexism outside and within the Jewish community; many experienced Judaism as a “boy’s club” and felt a lack of belonging as a result (Gold, 1997, p.4). Participants described diverse responses to this, ranging from rejecting Judaism to finding egalitarian forms of practice. In contrast, some participants who identified as Orthodox reported that they felt respected within their communities and did not feel this kind of alienation as women. Women largely felt that their experiences of anti-Semitism were more distressing than that of sexism, given that sexism is recognized by the dominant society, whereas anti-Semitism may not be. Women also reported feeling worried about being labeled as Jewish American Princesses (JAPs), and some described complicated body images surrounding feeling like they look “too Jewish.” (Gold, 1997, p.6) Finally, many women reported that they felt the burden of Jewish continuity – and the need to marry a Jew and raise a Jewish family – more strongly than Jewish men. This last finding may be

related to findings of other ethnic minority women who disproportionately carry the burden of cultural continuity (see e.g., Inman, 2006).

More recently, Ginsberg & Sinacore (2013) conducted an exploratory qualitative study of Ashkenazi non-Orthodox women and their understandings of their Jewish “identity, ethnicity, worldview, and ways of expressing Jewishness.” (p.2). Women reported experiencing their Jewish identity as relating to the themes of Jewish ethics and values. Women identified with the value of *tikkun olam* – of responding to oppression – and doing *Mitzvot* – loosely translated as “good deeds.” Women also spoke of Jewish family and communal life, and how their Jewish identity is shaped by cross-generational transmission of Jewish religion and culture. Another of the themes that emerged pertains to gender roles; women reported experiencing clear expectations of how to be a Jewish woman. Reports included expectations that Jewish women be strong and confident, as well as wise, moral, and good wives and mothers. There appears to continue to be an impact of culturally embedded traditional gender role expectations that Jewish women “maintain a Jewish home, raise Jewish children, and preserve Jewish culture.” (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013, p.137). Ginsberg and Sinacore point to the importance of considering potential challenges that Jewish women may face when deviating from familial and cultural expectations – for instance, by being a lesbian, being single or childless, or focusing on career.

Participants in the same study also pointed to a sense of belonging to the Jewish people as a component of Jewish identity; one participant expressed, “I need my Jewish world to come back to. That's my home back. That's my rock” (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013, p.135). The same women also discussed their experiences of being Jewish within mainstream North American society. They discussed being a minority within a majority Christian society – and feeling a sense of otherness and separateness from the dominant culture. They reported identifying with

other minority groups. They also discussed experiencing both Jewish stereotypes and personal experiences of Anti-Semitism. They cited stereotypes including the “rich Jew, the loud pushy mother, and the JAP (Jewish American princess). Participants shared several personal experiences of anti-Semitism within a variety of contexts. For example, one woman was told directly by a potential employer, “I’m not going to have a kike on my staff” (p.136). Finally, participants discussed how the past trauma of the Holocaust continues to impact them psychologically in the present, for instance, in the form of nightmares and unwanted thoughts and fantasies.

Jewish Women’s Identity: Narratives

Despite the dearth of empirical literature on Jewish women’s experiences, there are books and narratives on the subjects written by Jewish women psychotherapists and scholars (see e.g., Greene & Brodbar, 2010; Siegel, 1991). This body of work overlaps to a large degree with the empirical study by Ginsberg and Sinacore discussed above. One main finding from the literature is that Jewish identity formation – like that of any other personal identity – consists of a dynamic, ongoing, and subjective process of development (Bergman, 2010; Glassgold, 2010; Greene & Brodbar, 2011). Jewish women narrate their processes of negotiating conflicts within their identities, such as grappling with hierarchical and sexist elements in Jewish prayer, fighting oppression within Judaism, identifying feelings of ignorance and shame within Jewish circles, negotiating progressive views on Israel within familial contexts, and discovering progressive ideas within Torah (Bergman, 2010; Holzman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991; Mirkin, 2010). Scholars also point to the within-group diversity of the Jewish people, which parallels the within group diversity of other groups (Greene & Brodbar, 2011; Lerman, 2010). Jews may be from any country, race, or socioeconomic status (Holzman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991). Despite this

within-group diversity, perhaps one commonality amongst Jews is the experience of outsider status from dominant Christian society – and concurrently, the possession of a distinct historical narrative that differs from members of other marginalized groups (Bergman, 2010; Greene & Brodbar, 2011; Lerman, 2010).

Cultural and ethical values. Cultural and ethical values is another important topic in Jewish women’s scholarly works. There is a nuanced discussion about the meaning of *tzedakah* (charity) within Jewish tradition, as well as a sense of personal responsibility to work toward ending oppression and *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) – which authors connect to the Jewish history of oppression, the Exodus narrative, and the ways in which very recent history has afforded some Jewish women with areas of privilege (Kaye-Kantrowitz, 1991; Mirkin, 2010; Stepakoff, 2010). Another cultural value pertains to connection to the community, a desire to affiliate with other Jews, and the notion that Jewish culture is “towards collectivity” (Bergman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991, p.13). Relatedly, one author points to a communal responsibility and reports feeling hurt when another Jew seems to not be acting ethically (Lerman, 2010).

Another related finding is the cultural pressure to marry someone Jewish and have children so as to pass Jewish culture on to the next generation, which may be connected to issues of survival given the history of genocide (Holzman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991; Lerman, 2010; Mirkin, 2010). As mentioned above, this may present identity conflicts and/or complexity for Jewish women - particularly for those who identify as lesbian or who chose to be single or childless (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013; Weiner, 1991).

Stereotyping, anti-Semitism and psychological impact of the Holocaust. Another finding pertains to women’s experiences of stereotyping and Anti-Semitism. Authors point to the existence of stereotypes about Jewish women as “aggressive, bossy, tense, driven, difficult, loud,

and pushy” (Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991, p.8; Stepakoff, 2010). Relatedly, one author points to the possible societal distain for nonverbal communication patterns of Jewish women, which she identifies as including “gesturing with one's hands while talking, a fairly rapid rate of speech, a fairly loud volume, using a questioning tone even when uttering statements that are not questions, and a quality of emotional expressiveness that manifests facially, vocally, and gesturally” (Stepakoff, 2010, p.361). Another narrates her lived experience of anti-Semitism, including Holocaust denial and the assumption that all Jews are rich (Holzman, 2010).

Scholars also discussed the present psychological impact of the Holocaust on Jewish women. Authors point to their experiences of being taught by their parents that the world is a dangerous place – and receiving “training” to maintain alertness for anything that could possibly go wrong (Holzman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991) This has been theoretically connected to the ways in which Holocaust trauma is transmitted across generations (Holzman, 2010). Another scholar writes of her “coming to terms” with the Holocaust and the challenge of forming a positive Jewish identity given this history (Glassgold, 2010). Scholars have also discussed the potential for mistrust of gentiles on some level, which may in part explain why some Jewish women may prefer a Jewish psychotherapist (Gold, 1997; Holzman, 2010; Kaye/Kantrowitz, 1991; Mirkin, 2010)

Impact of Jewish women psychotherapists’ identity on practice. Unique findings pertain specifically to the impact of Jewish women psychotherapists’ identities on their therapeutic practice – with respect to theoretical and value orientations and relationships with their clients (Greene & Brodbar, 2010; Siegel, 1991). It is worth restating that this knowledge presently exists in narrative form only; no empirical studies exist to date. Jewish women psychotherapists point to the “Jewishness” of psychodynamic theory, including elements of soul-

searching, self-examination, and the focus on uncovering implicit meanings, which may overlap with the spirit of Jewish religious practices and scholarship traditions (Holzman, 2010; Stepakoff, 2010). Stepakoff also discusses the influence of Jewish culture and religion's emphasis on written and verbal expression on her belief in the power of words and dialogue to heal and to bring people toward more nuanced positions. She also delineates ways in which she sees herself as using *chutzpah* – which can be translated as brazenness and pushiness, or more positively, as “nonconformist and gutsy” – to advocate for her clients (Stepakoff, 2010, p.358). Finally, she identifies with the meaning of *Israel* (one who wrestles with God), and identifies a cultural value of “questioning authority, developing critical thinking, and challenging assumptions,” which she views as influencing the ways in which she thinks about her work and herself (Stepakoff, p.359). Mirkin (2010) expressed that her identity as a feminist and multicultural psychologist stems directly for her Jewish identity, citing her sense of responsibility to rectify injustice and her tool of writing and scholarship, which she associates with her Jewishness. Bergman (2010) discusses how her identity as an “outsider” and comfort with dual identities – which she connects with her Jewish identity – facilitates her building of therapeutic alliances with clients and her theoretical identity as “eclectic” (Bergman, 2010).

Limitations of the Literature

As a whole, the literature reviewed represents an introduction of Jewish experience into social work and allied fields, as well as includes work that centers the experiences of Jewish women. Despite the inherent strength of literature in a largely unresearched area, it is not without its biases. In the sparse literature that exists on Jewish women's identities, there seems to be an absence of an exploration of religious and spiritual elements; it is not included in the single empirical study on Jewish women's identity by Ginsberg & Sinacore (2013). Perhaps this is due

to the desire to disentangle ethnocultural identity from religion, however Jewish religion is arguably an important domain of Jewish identity (see e.g., Friedman et al., 2005). Another important piece of Jewish identity pertains to Israel – which has been mentioned only sparingly in the literature reviewed; this may be due to its associations as a complex, painful, and divisive topic. It is also critical to explore the impact of additional minority statuses – such as those regarding race and sexual orientation – on Jewish women’s identity; in the literature review, there is only a limited discussion of “Jews of color” and Jewish women with lesbian identities, due to much of the literature leaving out such topics. Relatedly, there may be an Ashkenazi-centric approach to the literature, such that the experiences of Ashkenazi Jews are used to be the norm; in many cases, “Jewish experience” in the literature may more accurately reflect Ashkenazi Jewish experience (see e.g., Kaye/Kantrowitz, 2007). Finally, research has predominately taken place in the U.S. context; there has not been empirical exploration of Jewish women’s identity in other countries of the diaspora (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013).

Summary

Within a contemporary psychodynamic milieu, the field of clinical social work – and related clinical fields – asks clinicians to consider the impact of their own sociocultural identities on their psychotherapeutic practice (see e.g., Tummala-Narra, 2016). However, there exists little in the way of published accounts by clinicians of their own identities and the impact of their identities on their clinical work. In the course of this review, there was not a single empirical study found on this topic. There is also a dearth of research in clinical social work and allied fields on Jewish experience. The existing research on Jewish women’s identity is even more limited; to my knowledge, there exists only one empirical study to date on Jewish women’s identity in fields directly related to social work (i.e., counselling psychology; Ginsberg &

Sinacore, 2013). Possible reasons for this paucity have been discussed. Jewish women scholars have highlighted the importance of centering Jewish women's voices and narrating their experiences from their own mouths (see e.g., Ginsberg, 2002). This intention has yet to be fulfilled within clinical social work research.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Purpose and Overview

The present study aimed to qualitatively explore Jewish women psychotherapists' Jewish identities and how these identities shape their experiences as therapists. Despite the disproportionate presence of Jewish women in therapy – either in the role of client or therapist – there is no prior empirical study on the topic of how Jewish women's identities shape their psychotherapeutic practice. There is, however, a collection of recent narratives compiled by Greene and Brodbar (2011) for this same purpose. These narratives were published in an edited book, which constitutes a reproduction of an issue of *Woman and Therapy*. While the narratives were loosely interpreted by additional authors, there was no systematic analysis conducted. Using an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), the present study provided a systematic and integrated way to make meaning out of these narratives.

Origins of the Narratives and Original Questions to Narrators

Beverly Greene and Dorith Brodbar's decision to compile narratives of Jewish women psychotherapists stemmed from a dinner conversation of the editors and a few of the narrators. The first editor, Beverly Greene, an African-American, non-Jewish clinical psychologist with a professional focus on cultural diversity and issues of privilege and marginalization, harbored a curiosity about what “what it meant to be Jewish, how they would define it, and what kinds of things are included in that definition” (Greene & Brodbar, 2011, p.319). Her curiosity stemmed from multiple factors, including her professional interests in cultural identity development,

having had Jewish women therapists herself, having many central Jewish people in her life, and her desire to better understand the historical roots of psychoanalysis.

Given that Greene and Brodbar did not intend for their narrative compilation to be used as empirical research but rather as a scholarly collection of essays, they did not clearly delineate their questions to narrators. As such, it is difficult to differentiate the questions they initially posed to authors from themes that emerged from narratives. For instance, Greene states that, in telling their stories of their subjective identity formation and experiences, Jewish women psychotherapists tended to tell stories about family members. This suggests that editors did not necessarily ask this question initially. However, they do provide a general aim of the narratives, which I have restated in question form, and which may actually include themes that came out of narratives rather than only initial questions. They are as follows:

1. What are the “connections between family dynamics and the development and consolidation of an identity as a Jew” for Jewish women psychotherapists (Greene & Brodbar, 2011, p.3)?
 - a. How do their relationships with family members impact their Jewish identity development?
 - b. How do they feel about the “varying degree to which they ‘belonged’ as Jews” (Greene & Brodbar, 2011, p.3)?
 - c. What conflicts do they experience about their Jewish identities?
2. What are the effects of Jewish women’s identity on their psychotherapeutic practice?
 - a. How does Jewish identity impact the theoretical orientations they gravitate toward and the relationships they form with their clients?

Present Research Questions

Research questions stemmed from Greene and Brodbar (2010)'s work and were also influenced by other literature. They are as follows:

1. How do Jewish women psychotherapists experience their Jewish identity?
 - a. How have familial and Jewish communal relationships impacted the development of their Jewish identities?
 - b. What conflicts, if any, have they experienced related to Jewish identity, both between aspects of their Jewish identities – including relationships with other Jews – as well as tensions between the values of Jewish and dominant U.S. culture?
 - c. How have Jewish women psychotherapists negotiated any such conflicts? Have they created hybrid identities and/or new sets of meanings in negotiating such conflicts? (Tummala-Narra, 2016).
2. How does a history and current experience of anti-Semitism and Holocaust trauma, coupled with Ashkenazi (Jews who trace their lineage to Eastern Europe) experiences of 'passing as White' in a contemporary United States context, impact Jewish women psychotherapists psychologically, and how does it impact the ways in which they give meaning to their practice?
3. How do Jewish women therapists experience Jewish ritual practice and Jewish spirituality, and how does it impact the ways in which they give meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice?
 - a. In the sparse literature that exists on Jewish women's identities, there seems to be an absence of an exploration of religious and spiritual elements; it is not

included in the single empirical study on Jewish women's identity by Ginsberg & Sinacore (2013). Perhaps this is due to the desire to disentangle ethnocultural identity from religion, however Jewish religion is arguably an important and meaningful domain of Jewish identity (see e.g., Friedman et al. 2005)

4. How do Jewish women therapists give meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice?
 - a. How does Jewish identity impact women's motivation to practice psychotherapy? To become psychotherapists?
 - b. How do Jewish women psychotherapists experience their practice as shaped by their identities?
 - i. How do they see their Jewish identities as shaping the relationships they forge with clients and the therapeutic modalities they gravitate toward? (Greene & Brodbar, 2011).

Epistemological Framework

The present study used a Jewish feminist standpoint and a phenomenological approach, which contain parallels. Scholars have begun to utilize a Jewish feminist epistemological standpoint in studying Jewish women's experiences, which has mostly explicitly been expressed by Ginsberg (2002). The literature I have reviewed has largely taken this standpoint, whether explicitly stated or not, and it also matches my own identity as a Jewish feminist. This epistemology centers Jewish women's voices while valuing Jewish women's traditions (Tirosh-Rothchild, 1994, as cited in Ginsberg, 2002). It hopefully grounded me in the value of Jewish continuity – and at the same time, in the ways in which Jewish women may critique Jewish patriarchy without being anti-Semitic (Tirosh-Rothchild, as cited in Ginsberg, 2002). As

Ginsberg articulated, a Jewish feminist standpoint also allowed for the researcher's intention of furthering *tikkun olam* (repairing the world) by centering Jewish women therapists' voices and knowledge. Additionally, the study can be seen as furthering *tikkun olam* by indirectly contributing to clients' healing, via adding to knowledge surrounding the intersubjective therapeutic process.

Relatedly, a phenomenological and feminist epistemology highlights the socially constructed nature of knowledge and the importance of the researcher identifying her subjective stance – in my case, as an Ashkenazi Jewish Canadian and American woman with an Orthodox upbringing and current religious affiliation as “Egalitarian Observant,” with a bend toward Jewish Renewal. My reason for choosing this project was to gain in self-understanding and to better understand the ways in which my Jewish identity impacts my work as a student-therapist. My identity and motivations undoubtedly influenced my interpretations of Jewish women's narratives. I took further steps to identify my “footprints” in the data, which will be outlined below. The identities of the original scholars are also relevant. Beverly Greene, the first editor, is an African American clinical psychologist with a scholarly focus on identity, social privilege, and marginalization, and psychological services with socially marginalized people. Dorith Brodbar, the second editor, is an Israeli-born, Jewish clinical psychologist with a career focus on deaf cultural identity and clinical work with deaf individuals and their families.

More specifically, the present study took an interpretive (hermeneutic) phenomenological approach, which assumes a subjectivist, radical relativist stance (Annells, 1996). The goal of this approach is to understand and make manifest that which is normally hidden in human experience, rather than to create theory (Annells, 1996; Lopez & Willis, 2004). It has a long tradition in the interpretation of biblical texts – which arguably made it all the more appropriate

for both the present study population as well as my own subjective stance, having studied the *Torah* (Jewish bible) in this way (Lopez & Willis, 2004). An interpretive phenomenological approach focuses on both the commonalities and differences between individuals' subjective experiences within a group, with the assumption that interpretation is open to re-interpretation (Annells, 1996; Lopez & Willis, 2004). This matched my own assumption that there is no "essential" experience of Jewish women therapists, and instead, study results aimed to reflect the experiences of study participants. That said, interpretation of these texts was seen, in accordance with hermeneutic philosophy, as a kind of dialogue between the authors of the texts (study participants) and the interpreter (researcher), rather than only revealing what the authors meant (Annells, 1996). In other words, study results were assumed to reflect blends of separate and intersecting meanings made by both participants and the researcher (Geanellos, 2000, as cited in Lopez & Willis, 2004). This philosophical position nicely paralleled some of the conceptual underpinnings of the present study, including an intersubjective understanding of the therapeutic relationship, which focuses on the ways in which both client and therapist separately and interactively create meanings and shape the therapeutic encounter (Davies, 2011, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016).

Additionally, hermeneutic philosophy posits that trying to eliminate one's subjectivity in interpretation is "not only impossible, but manifestly absurd" (Gadamer, 1975, as cited in Annells, 1996, p.707). In fact, a researcher's intimate knowledge of the study topic is viewed as a valuable guide in helping to make the project meaningful, and in pointing to why the researcher initially chose the topic and identified it as worthy of study (Annells, 1996; Heidegger, 1962; Koch, 1995, as cited in Lopez & Willis, 2004). At the same time, as mentioned above, this approach points to the need for the researcher to self-reflect over the course of the analytical

process, which again will be outlined below (Lopez & Willis, 2004). However, this process of researcher self-reflection was fundamentally incomplete according to hermeneutic philosophy; in the words of Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Interpretation is always on the way... Self understanding is always on the way, it is on a path whose completion is a clear impossibility.” (Gadamer, 1987, as cited in Annells, 1996, p.707).

Participants

Contributors of narratives to Greene and Brodbar’s (2011) book were Jewish women psychotherapists who are, as a group, quite accomplished in their fields. The vast majority of narrators held PhDs, although there was one masters-level clinician. Their predominant fields were clinical and counseling psychology. There was some diversity with respect to narrators’ socioeconomic statuses of origin, sexual orientations, ages, theoretical orientations, and geographic locations within the U.S. There was also some diversity with respect to denominational affiliation and background, although not all identified a denominational affiliation; a plurality of narrators - five - identified as “secular” or “non-practicing.” All either identified as Ashkenazi or their Ashkenazi identity was implied. Most did not identify a racial identity, however four either indirectly identify as White or as having White privilege.

Sampling

Greene and Brodbar’s book contains twenty-four narratives by Jewish women psychotherapists. Given that narrators are identified by name, I obtained their individual permissions for use of narratives as secondary data via email and phone, with the end result of obtaining 12 narratives (See Appendix B for Letter to narrators). This process of individual consent introduced sampling bias, in that I only analyzed narratives of individuals who consented to this process. As such, I obtained a non-random sample of narratives from within the collection

of narratives. The original sample was a convenience sample of accomplished professionals who the editors had connections with. As mentioned above, the majority of narrators held PhDs in clinical psychology – which matches the credentials of the editors. Relatedly, the sample contained volunteer bias – the special characteristics of the women who agreed to submit their narratives for publication. My secondary sample contained further bias – the special characteristics of authors who I was able to contact and who agreed to participate. For instance, I had more access to current contact information for women who held academic positions, since their email addresses were more likely to be listed online. As a result of these considerations, results are not generalizable to the larger population of Jewish women psychotherapists in the U.S.

Procedure

I secured a waiver from Human Subjects Review from the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Committee on the basis of the present study's use of secondary data which has been previously collected and published. I then obtained permission from individuals who published narratives in Greene and Brodbar's (2011) book, and thus obtained a sample of narratives. I then performed an interpretive phenomenological analysis of narratives, discussed in greater depth below. As I performed my analysis, I kept a "researcher log" - a record of my own thoughts, feelings, questions, and concerns, so as to further track and reflect upon my own fingerprint on the analytic process (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009).

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed in accordance with an interpretive phenomenological qualitative analysis. As described above, an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) allowed for a

focus on how Jewish women psychotherapists apply subjective meaning to their identity and practice experiences (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013; Lopez & Willis, 2004). The phenomenon under study were twofold: 1.) How Jewish women therapists experience their identity and 2.) How Jewish women therapists give meaning to their therapeutic practice. A phenomenological approach allows for a rich description of the phenomenon being studied (Sinacore, Mikhail, Kassan, & Lerner, 2009). It focuses on individual meaning-making and how people interpret their experiences (Worthington, 2013).

More specifically, in conducting my analysis, I largely followed the IPA process as outlined by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009). I used Smith et al.'s instructions for working with larger samples, given that they recommend a sample of six as appropriate for an IPA study, and my sample size was twelve. As well, I kept in mind that I was not using interview transcripts but rather rich narratives produced by academically leaning psychotherapists. This suggested some reduction of analytical steps given that the initial text already had so much density and depth. As mentioned above, I kept a researcher log throughout each stage of the analysis to track my “footprints” on the analytic process.

Step 1: Close reading. As Smith et. al recommend, I started my analysis with the narrative I found to be the most interesting and complex. I closely read this narrative and took notes in my researcher log of my most powerful initial perceptions.

Step 2: Initial noting of exploratory comments. I then performed a textual analysis of the narrative, producing a detailed set of notes. Although I was comprehensive in my analysis, I created more commentary on richer portions of the text. My analysis was composed of three types of commentary: descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual. Descriptive comments described the content of the text within the participants' context. Differently, linguistic comments focused

on participants' use of language, such as metaphors, symbols, and repetitions of words or phrases. Finally, conceptual comments were initial interpretations and mostly took the form of questions.

Step 3: Developing emergent themes. In this stage, I moved away from the narrative text itself and produced emergent themes that stemmed from connections between my exploratory comments. Emergent themes were a few words long yet conveyed a lot of information. They aimed to constitute the "psychological essence" of the corresponding commentary yet stay grounded in the text (Smith, et al., 2009, p.92).

Step 4: Searching for connections across emergent themes. Once I had obtained emergent themes for a single narrative, I looked for connections across emergent themes. In order to do this, I printed out my list of themes that were ordered chronologically (i.e. the order they came up in the transcript) and (literally) cut up the list. I then used a large table to move themes around looking for patterns and connections in order to cluster emergent themes as a way of pointing to the "most interesting and important aspects" of the narrative (Smith, et al., 2009, p. 96). I used several processes to do this. I used abstraction – "putting like with like and developing a new name for the cluster." (Smith et. al., 2009, p. 96). I also used subsumption – whereby an emergent theme itself becomes the super-ordinate theme for a cluster. I also looked for oppositional relationships – whereby I focused on difference instead of only on similarity. I paid attention to the frequency with which a single emergent theme arose within a narrative – as one indicator of its importance. Through this process, a minority of emergent themes were discarded – based on their not fitting with the research questions and/or not clustering with other themes. I represented my analysis via creating a table of super-ordinate themes and themes that emerged from the analysis, along with corresponding line numbers and key words for each

theme.

Step 5: Moving to the next narrative. I completed Steps 1 - 4 for each narrative. I set my intention to analyze each narrative without focusing on other narratives, however I was undeniably influenced by my prior analysis.

Step 6: Developing group themes. At this stage, I examined the connections between the themes of all narratives and arrived at group super-ordinate themes and themes. In order to do this, I utilized the same analytic techniques I described in Step 4. As I conducted my analysis, I produced a table of themes that involved group super-ordinate themes, themes, and quotes from narrators illustrating each theme (see Appendix D: Master table of group-level themes).

In order to contextualize study conclusions as well as strengthen them in accordance with interpretive phenomenological principles, I utilized a number of techniques. First, I reflected upon my own internal process as I analyzed the data (researcher log). This helped guide my analytic process as well as allowed for the opportunity to make explicit the ways in which my own subjectivity influenced the analytic process, in accordance with an interpretive phenomenological philosophy (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

The most fundamental finding that emerged from this ongoing self-reflective process is that I was very emotionally engaged with the narratives – which was no doubt informed by my own identity as a Jewish woman and a psychotherapist-in-training, and my search for similarities and differences between my own experiences and those of the narrators. I experienced the narratives as very rich, and struggled to eliminate or reduce data when it was not directly related to my research questions. I was particularly emotionally moved during my initial readings, even finding myself brought to tears when reading accounts of violent anti-Semitism and Holocaust stories. This suggests my personal investment in the topic of Jewish collective trauma. I was also aware

of my desire for narrators to be connected with their Jewish identities. This suggests that I may have been more attuned to descriptions of connection to Jewishness and Judaism than disconnections.

The second technique I utilized in order to strengthen my methodology was using another researcher to examine and reflect upon my analysis of one transcript with the purpose of determining whether my initial analysis was logical, plausible within the framework, and reflective of the realities of participants (Lopez & Willis, 2004). I then discussed illogical or implausible interpretations I did make and re-calibrated accordingly. This was consistent with an interpretive phenomenological approach, which posits that researcher subjectivity shapes the interpretive process, and that no one “true” meaning exists (Lopez & Willis, 2004). As such, an independent analysis performed by another researcher and a negotiation of differences would arguably have been inconsistent with an interpretive phenomenological approach, as two researchers’ analyses would be expected to differ in accordance with their differing subjectivities (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

The only specific requirements I had for this researcher is that they be willing to serve in this role, have knowledge in qualitative research, and familiarity with the broad themes of the present study (Ginsberg, 2002). I understood that there would be advantages to enlisting the help of both a researcher who does and does not identify as a Jewish woman psychotherapist. Consistent with an interpretive phenomenological approach, the involvement of another Jewish woman clinician would have been useful in that her intimate knowledge would serve as a valuable guide (Lopez & Willis, 2004). Another Jewish woman clinician’s involvement would have also been useful in helping to better represent the within-group diversity of Jewish women in shaping the interpretive process of the present study, thus helping to balance my own specific

identity as a religiously observant Jewish woman. On the other hand, I considered the potential utility of this researcher not identifying as a Jewish woman therapist, so as provide an outsider's perspective to balance my insider one. As such, I kept my requirements for the role open.

Ultimately, this other researcher was a PhD in social work who was also my thesis advisor. She identifies as a Chinese-Canadian woman with limited prior knowledge about Jewish culture, spirituality or practice with Jewish clients.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

This chapter outlines the findings from the interpretive phenomenological analysis process as described in the previous chapter. It begins with a description of the narrators whose works were analyzed. There is then a brief description of the themes and sub-themes, followed by more in-depth examination of each. The chapter ends with a brief summary.

Description of Narrators

Twelve contributors of narratives to Greene and Brodbar's (2011) book were included in the present study. They are all Jewish women psychotherapists who are, as a group, quite accomplished in their fields. The vast majority of narrators hold PhDs and the title "psychologist", although there is one masters-level "counselor." Half of the narrators (6/12) received doctorates in the field of clinical psychology, with four in counseling psychology. Three narrators (25%) identify a minority sexual orientation. Regarding Jewish denominational affiliation, five narrators identify as "secular" or non-practicing. All either identify as Ashkenazi or their Ashkenazi identity is implied – most commonly, via identifying their recent ancestors as coming from Eastern Europe. Most did not identify a racial identity, however four associate themselves with Whiteness, whether by indirectly identifying as White or as having White privilege (33%). Most have recent ancestors (parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents) who immigrated to the U.S. See Appendix C for more extensive demographics obtained from the narratives and brief summaries of the narratives.

Themes and Sub-themes

Ten themes emerged using the methodology outlined in the previous chapter. This *minyan* of themes coincidentally mirrors the symbolism in Greene and Brodbar’s book title “A Minyan of Women” in which the narratives are published; (a *minyan* is a meeting of 10 adult Jews, traditionally men, for prayer). Figure 1 displays a graphic representation of these ten themes, as grouped by the four study research questions. “Jewish identity” and “Anti-Semitism” are each composed of multiple super-ordinate themes. Themes surrounding Jewish identity, anti-Semitism, Jewish spirituality and ritual, and psychotherapy practice are conceived of as interconnected. The following sections present these ten themes and the sub-themes. For a comprehensive list of themes, sub-themes, and corresponding quotes from the text, please see Appendix D (Master Table of Group-Level Themes).

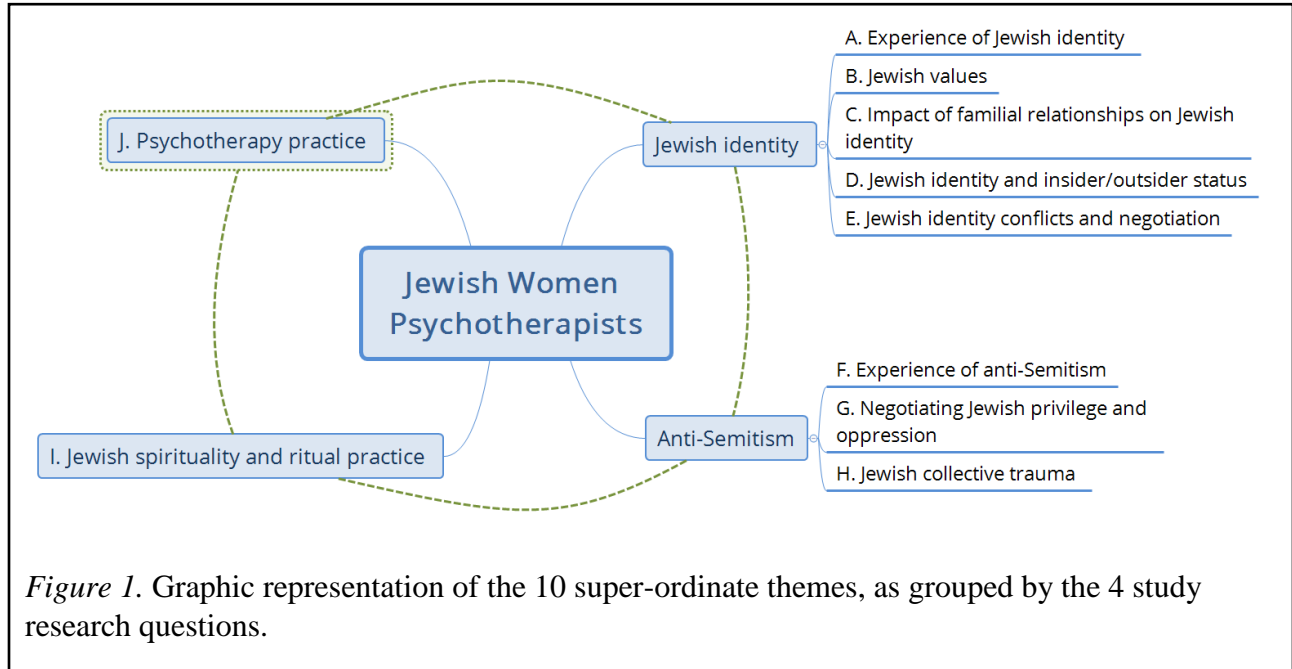


Figure 1. Graphic representation of the 10 super-ordinate themes, as grouped by the 4 study research questions.

Jewish Identity

Although narrators report very different experiences of their Jewish identities, some commonalities emerged in the way of 11 sub-themes. These include the experience of Jewish identity as core or strong, a love of Jewishness, and within Jewish diversity. Narrators also convey the dynamic nature of Jewish identity – such that Jewish identity development is experienced as ongoing over the lifespan. Jewish identity is on the one hand depicted as independent from Judaism – and as a cultural identity – and on the other – Jewish culture and religion are described as intertwined. Jewish identity is also characterized as an ethnicity, and North American Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers are outlined. Jews are portrayed as a “people,” and Jewish identity is linked with a connection to Jewish ancestors. Finally, Jewish identity is tied to a connection with Israel.

Jewish identity as core/strong. Five of the narrators (42%) describe their Jewish identity as either strong, solid, or central to their sense of self. Many tree/rock/earth related metaphors are used, including “trunk” (Dworkin), “grounded” (Ancis), “solid” (Dworkin, Ancis), and “bedrock” (Cole). These women appear to experience their Jewish identities as stable, unmoving, and central to their lives. Brown expresses her experience of her Jewish identity using biological imagery that evokes permanence, depth, and lasting influence:

I am a Jew to the bone, to the marrow, to the mitochondria of my cells. Deeply, in other words ... How I am a Jew distinctly influences ... just about everything ...

Contrastingly, Kaschak uniquely experiences her Jewish identity as *not* central to her life:

Being Jewish was centrally located on my grandparents’ maps and even on those of my parents, albeit in a different way. But on the map of my own generation and particularly on my own individual mattering map, this was not the case.

Love of Jewishness. A minority of narrators (2; 17%) describe their love for Jewishness. Brown points to her love in describing the intention behind her critiques of Jewishness, whereas Ancis proclaims her love for the “richness of Judaism” as something that she “celebrates.”

Jewish diversity. A sizable minority of narrators (3; 25%) generically discuss within-Jewish diversity. In describing this diversity, Holtzman uses the preface “of course” –suggesting that in some sense, this goes without saying, and yet she feels compelled to ‘say’ it. Two narrators (Brown, Holtzman) invoke Jewish maxims or sayings that support the notion of Jewish diversity as imbedded within Jewishness. Brown, for instance, writes, “Two Jews, three schuls – various Jews.” She also uses Jewish humor here in expressing that Jewish diversity is imbedded within both Jewish religion and culture.

Dynamic nature of Jewish identity. Half of the narrators (50%) characterize their experience of Jewish identity development as ongoing. Many utilize language that conveys motion – “not ... static; shift; moved; gained” (Holtzman, Richman, Ancis, Cole). Two use the term “journey” (Dworkin, Firestein) and one “course” (Holtzman), which connotes travel. After describing her mother’s shift in Jewish identity, Richman writes:

As I entered middle age, I too experienced a shift in my sense of myself as a Jew.
For these women, Jewish identity appears to develop “over the course of a lifetime” (Holtzman).

Jewish identity as cultural and independent from Judaism. Half of the narrators clearly distinguish between their Jewish identity and the observance of Judaism (Kaschak, Richman, Bergman, Holtzman, Cole, Firestein). All of these narrators state that they do not regularly practice Judaism – and yet maintain their Jewish identity. Three narrators characterize their Jewish identity as cultural. For this sub-group, their experience of Jewish identity as a cultural one appears to be linked with their distance from Jewish religious practice. For some,

this need to separate culture from religion appears to be related to the desire to accurately understand the nature of their Jewish identity, given distance from Judaism; Bergman writes:

I was beginning to understand how I could be a Jew without believing in God.

Link between Jewish culture/ethnicity and Judaism. Quite contrastingly to the above, four narrators (33%) link Jewish culture and religion. Most express their own experiences of this link; in contrast, Ancis presents it as a statement of fact:

The culture and related behaviors are intrinsically tied to religious practices ...

In doing so, she presents this link more strongly than via using her individual experiences alone.

Jewish identity as ethnicity. Four narrators characterize their Jewish identity as ethnic (Richman, Holtzman, Dworkin, Kaschak). That said, there is not much distinction made between the experience of Jewishness as cultural versus ethnic. For instance, Kaschak writes:

I consider being Jewish my ethnicity, my culture.

It appears that the distinction between ethnicity and culture is not particularly salient for these Ashkenazi women's experiences of their Jewish identities.

North American Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers. Five narrators discuss either verbal (e.g. "New York accent"; Dworkin) or nonverbal ethnic/cultural markers (e.g. "gesturing with one's hands while talking"; Stepakoff) that they experience as characterizing their behavior as Jewish (Ashkenazi). Two mention the Yiddish language (Dworkin, Holtzman). Three outline nonverbal communication norms that they experience as distinct from mainstream North American society (Cole, Stepakoff, Ancis); two specifically distinguish these norms from those of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture (Dworkin, Ancis). When communicating her experience within a small-town Jewish community in Vermont, Cole writes:

We spoke rapidly, loudly, waving around our hands. We didn't mind talking at the same time, interrupting one another.

For Cole, it seems that the experience of connecting with a Jewish community in a place with a small Jewish population increased her attention to Jewish distinctiveness.

Jewish peoplehood. Three women invoke the concept of Jewish peoplehood, which Brown terms with the Hebrew "K'lal Yisrael." Their descriptions convey a sense of oneness among Jews. For Holtzman's family, this extends to a kind of shared or collective identity:

We were proud when a Jew made the news because of a special achievement, and cringed when a Jew disgraced himself or herself publicly.

Jewish identity and Jewish ancestry. Half of the narrators portray a connection with their Jewish ancestors as informing their experiences of their Jewish identity. For two, Jewish ancestry is *the* defining feature of Jewish identity (Cole, Holtzman) and for Heffer, a defining feature among others. Two other narrators discuss a strong sense of connection with their ancestors (Firestein, Stepakoff); Kashack goes so far as to metaphorically depict her ancestors as present in her immediate experience. She writes:

... they [my ancestors] are not just secreted back in my early memories, but, at the very same time, here, there, and everywhere. Mitten drinnen ["in the middle of everything"].

Jewish identity and connection to Israel. Five narrators report their connection with Israel. Two associate Israel with family ties (Bergman, Heffer). Two others relay the evocative nature of being in Israel for them (Kaschak, Ancis). Two clearly express a connection between Israel and either connecting to or understanding their Jewish identity (Brown, Bergman); Brown writes:

I feel completely comfortable in this place of contradiction. I know, here, precisely how I am a Jew

In juxtaposing contradiction and clarity, Brown gives the impression that her time in Israel has helped to clarify the apparent contradictions that may be imbedded within her experience of both Israel and her Jewish identity.

In contrast to this theme, Cole writes of her lack of connection with Israel. When describing the ways in which others may not comprehend the distinction she feels between Jewish religion and Jewish ethnic/cultural identity, she writes the ways in which others are “perplexed” when she says “something like” the following:

I’m Jewish, but I don’t really know much about ... Zionism and the Promised Land.

Cole makes it clear that her Jewish identity is distinctly *not* wedded to a connection with Israel.

Jewish values

Four sub-themes emerged that consist of narrators’ experiences of Jewish values. They include the value of learning, introspection, *chutzpah*, and *tikkun olam* (repair of the world). Of these, *tikkun olam* is most widely expressed.

Jewish value of *tikkun olam*. More than half of the narrators (7; 58%) identify *tikkun olam* as a Jewish value central to their experiences of Jewish identity. In discussing her experience of her Jewish community, Cole associates *tikkun olam* with making the world a “better place” and with social activism; she writes:

We had known since birth that we were on this earth to make it a better place, to live true to the spirit of *tikkun olam*. We were Jewish, and we were social activists; there was never a doubt about this.

Cole strongly associates her Jewish and social activist identities. A distinct five narrators associate social justice with Jewish religion, two more generically (Ancis, Stepakoff) and three via pointing to specific Jewish texts or teachings (Brown, Mirkin, Heffer). Brown points to multiple texts from the Jewish bible and describes *tikkun olam* as a religious obligation; she writes:

Jews run after justice, here in Vayikra (Leviticus), and oh, yes, check out those prophets while you're at it preaching against the rich and powerful and calling for more of that justice for the poor and oppressed. Jews were slaves and the stranger, the "other," in the land of Egypt, so we have an obligation to be the friend and ally of the stranger among us.

Rather than using her personal experience, Brown assumes the role of teacher and demonstrates both her Jewish traditional knowledge and her conviction that Jews "run after justice" (referencing a biblical text).

Jewish value of learning. Two narrators portray the Jewish value of learning as rooted in the Jewish religious tradition. Mirkin characterizes learning as "sweet" – invoking a traditional Jewish story (which stems from rabbinic text) surrounding teaching a Jewish child – and Holtzman discusses learning a "reverence" for "books as physical objects" – which she associates with reverence for the Torah (in this context meaning the scroll which is publicly read from). When taken together, this minority of narrators depict learning in Jewish tradition as both pleasurable and deeply respected.

Jewish value of introspection. Two narrators convey a Jewish value – again rooted in Judaism – of either "self-criticism" (Mirkin) or "self-examination" and soul-searching

(Stepakoff). While clearly distinct in tone, both of these require a process of self-focus and of examining one's own behavior and/or internal world.

Jewish value of *chutzpah*. An overlapping two narrators identify *chutzpah* as a Jewish value. Holtzman defines *chutzpah* as “gall, brazenness, impudence” and asserts that this was “celebrated” in the Jewish culture of her childhood. Stepakoff adds synonyms including “daring, nerve, arrogance, presumption, and guts” and “proudly claim[s]” *chutzpah* as “part of [her] legacy.” In addition to limiting it to “contemporary American society,” she qualifies her claim that *chutzpah* is a Jewish value by providing the following context:

It is traditionally used as an insult (as in “what *chutzpah!*”), namely, when a person disregards social expectations or behaves offensively.

This suggests that there may co-exist a Jewish traditional value of adherence to social expectation.

Impact of Familial Relationships on Jewish Identity

Four themes emerged regarding the impact of familial relationships on Jewish identity. These include both points of convergent and divergence between narrators' Jewish identities and those of their parents. Another theme is cross-generational transmission of conflict or ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity. Finally, a small minority of narrators report a return to Judaism as a parent.

Points of convergence between parents' and own Jewish identities. Half of the narrators delineate ways in which their own Jewish identities overlap with those of their parents. Of these, four recount ways in which they positively received their parents' Jewish teachings (Holtzman, Mirkin, Dworkin, Ancis). Dworkin writes:

From my father I learned the love of God and the religious tenets to care for those less fortunate, to pursue justice, and to mend or repair the world (*tikkun olam*).

Differently, two express ways in which they share with their parents a disconnection from Jewish religion (Richman, Cole). In discussing the death of her mother, Cole writes:

My father, brother, and I did not want any kind of religious service.

Both Cole and Dworkin appear to be ‘on the same page’ with their fathers regarding religion, albeit in very different places.

Points of divergence between parents’ and own Jewish identities. A minority of narrators (three) describe ways in which they differed from their parents in terms of Jewish identity (Brown, Mirkin, Richman). Brown details different trajectories regarding Judaism, whereas the remaining two narrators express an interest in non-Jewish friendships and/or romantic relationships, which starkly contrasts their parents’ positions – which are informed by anti-Semitism. Mirkin writes:

While over the years my parents came to embrace my Christian friends, they could not imagine why I would be interested in living in a predominantly Christian community and marveled that I could feel secure in that situation.

For Mirkin and her parents, there appears to be a generational gap regarding sense of safety and interest in connecting with others outside of the Jewish community. She associates a sense of safety/security with a desire to cross the boundaries of faith and culture.

Cross-generational transmission of conflict/ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity. Four narrators illustrate ways in which conflict or ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity are passed on – whether from their parents to themselves (Dworkin, Firestein, Bergman, Richman) or from themselves to their own child (Richman). Two discuss internalizing parental

conflict surrounding Jewish identity (Dworkin, Firestein); in recounting her childhood, Dworkin writes:

This conflict between my mother and father about how my brother and I were to be raised was a source of confusion for me as I struggled to define my own identity.

In the words of Firestein, Dworkin appears to have felt “conflicted about my [parents’] conflict.”

Relatedly, two narrators discuss their parents’ ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity (Bergman, Richman). In discussing her attempt to make sense of her Jewish and Catholic identities in the context of surviving the Holocaust as a child via adopting a Catholic identity, Richman writes about how her parents’ Jewish ambivalence “complicates” her own identity integration:

My personal struggle to reconcile these mutually exclusive identifications in order to have a coherent sense of identity was also probably complicated by my parents’ ambivalence about their own Jewish identities.

For these women, parental conflict and ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity appears to interfere with their own Jewish identity development.

In contrast, Heffer asserts that her ancestors did *not* hold ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity. She writes:

There was no ambivalence in my grandparents as with many Jews, regarding being Jewish. They often talked about how disturbing it was to them that many Jews changed their names or felt compelled to hide their identity out of fears for their safety.

Interestingly, in expressing her separation from a legacy of ambivalence, she depicts Jewish ambivalence as having caused a strong and negative emotional response from her grandparents. It appears that although this family has escaped Jewish ambivalence, they remain impacted by it.

Return to Judaism as parent. Two narrators report increasing their synagogue attendance via parenthood; with Holtzman, the return was her child's decision, whereas Bergman intentionally increased her connection with Judaism; she writes:

I feel a sense of community in my shul and I am proud that I am providing my daughters with the sense of spiritual community that I did not have as a child.

For her, it seems, parenthood is a chance to repair a familial disconnection from Judaism and Jewish community. Accordingly, the present theme serves in some ways as a contrast to the above one.

Differently, Cole expresses her experience of guilt at *not* "providing my children with a Jewish education"; she writes:

I have four grown children, not one has married a Jew, not one will raise my grandchildren as Jewish, and it's my fault. I have single-handedly killed American Jewry.

Cole's scathing self-critique perhaps demonstrates the strength of a cultural pull toward providing children with a Jewish identity, particularly given Jewish historical persecution.

Jewish Identity and Insider/Outsider status

Two groups of themes emerged that relate to Jewish insider/outsider status – three pertaining to Jewish insider/outsider status among non-Jews, and three pertaining to Jewish insider/outsider status among Jews.

Jewish identity and self as different/outsider among non-Jews during childhood.

Three narrators disclose their experience of feeling "different" from others as a child. Brown details the ways in which Hebrew school separated her from her peers, whereas Richman and Heffer report feeling different from Christian/Catholic peers or families. In discussing her

experience being raised in a Catholic neighborhood, Heffer writes that she felt “like an outsider” that she was “frequently reminded that I was different”:

I was the ‘Jewish’ friend when introduced to friend’s families, or when I went to a friend’s country clubs and told not to let anyone know that I was Jewish.

Heffer’s narrative, as does Brown’s, extends difference to otherness – to a kind of difference that connotes exclusion by the mainstream, which can be seen in her needing to hide her Jewishness as a child in order to occupy an exclusive space.

Jewish identity highlighted when among non-Jews. Three narrators reflect upon the increased salience of Jewish identity when they lived in a place – whether neighborhood (Brown), state (Bergman), or town (Cole) – with few other Jews. Cole succinctly sums up her experience of this phenomenon:

... Over the years it has become clear to me that as I moved further away from Jewish population centers I have identified myself more and more as Jewish. For Cole as well as Bergman, there is an internal draw to “gravitate toward other Jews” (Cole) and to “affiliate with other Jews” (Bergman). Contrastingly, Brown’s increased identification as Jewish is imposed by her peers and relates to the sense of difference/otherness described above; she writes:

In a neighborhood where we were the first Jewish family and few other Jews ever lived, Jewishness was my foreground identity among my peers. As a Jew, I was deeply other.

As Heffer alludes to in the theme above, the centrality of Brown’s Jewish identity within her childhood social world is not something she has chosen.

Connection/identification with people of other minority identifications. Half of the narrators discuss a sense of similarity or connection with people of other minority identifications (Cole, Firestein, Dworkin, Heffer, Kaschak, Ancis; this does not include two additional narrators who discuss this topic in relation to their clinical work, which will be discussed below). Two mention relationships with individuals who hold ethnic, racial, and sexual minority status, one which is a professional relationships (Cole); the other, a friendship (Firestein). Firestein focuses on shared “pride in our differences” whereas Cole focuses on a shared vulnerability – a “recognition that a threat or slur or some kind of tension might be right around the corner” – as well as shared social justice values; “We seem to have an innate desire to champion the underdog.” Three others focus on similarities in experiences of Jewish-related and other forms of struggle and/or oppression (Ancis, Dworkin, Kaschak).

Ancis’s narrative is unique in that it focuses on both the parallels between anti-Semitism and other forms of oppression, as well as suggests “caution around making interpretations about parallels between various oppressions”; she writes:

While Jews are certainly not unique in their experience of oppression and discrimination, each group’s oppression is unique to their own history. To proclaim to understand someone’s experience because one has had similar challenges in some way is presumptuous.

For Ancis, a focus on similarity between oppressions must be balanced with an honoring of difference.

Distance/disconnection/points of divergence from other Jews. Half of the narrators disclose ways in which they felt separated from other Jews, whether because of their political, ideological, or cultural values or experiences (Dworkin, Mirkin, Stepakoff, Ancis, Holtzman) or

their relative lack of Jewish religious or cultural education (Holtzman, Bergman). Regarding the former category, out of these four narrators, two of their ideological differences from other Jews involve critique of the Israeli government (Dworkin, Stepakoff); Stepakoff writes:

...my opposition to circumcision, a practice that many Jews mistakenly view as a defining characteristic of Jewishness, means that a large majority of Jews would consider me not to be truly Jewish and, if made aware of my views, would not include or welcome me... my feminism, political views, criticism of Israeli governmental policies, and opposition to circumcision sometimes cause me to feel separate from other Jews.

For Stepakoff, it appears that her expected exclusion from mainstream Jewry relates directly to her experience of separateness from other Jews. Dworkin helps to illustrate Stepakoff's belief; she writes:

My sympathies with the Palestinians and outrage at the Israeli government sometimes met with criticism from other Jewish faculty ...

In critiquing Israeli policies, Dworkin is criticized by other Jews. It appears that Dworkin experiences a sense of separation from Jewish faculty who find fault with her passionately held position.

Insider/outsider in Israel. Two narrators discuss ways in which they "belong" (Bergman) and are "other" (Brown) in Israel. For Bergman, there is a familiarity in this pattern; she writes:

My head was now swimming with identities: American, Jew, Israeli, Kibbutznik! In the end, I wore my dress and, if my father had been there, he would have sighed in relief that I had chosen my American identity. Once again, I would belong but yet not belong.

Her words evoke a feeling of overwhelm, of the complexity of simultaneously holding or connecting with multiple, difficult to integrate, identities. Bergman connects a sense of not belonging with the notion that she must choose between her various identities.

Jewish Identity Conflicts and Negotiation

Narrators relay the conflicts they experience or have experienced related to Jewish identity, as well as detail the ways in which they negotiate said conflicts in order to move toward Jewish identity integration.

Conflicts related to Jewish identity. Seven narrators (58%) describe conflicts they experience related to Jewish identity. Of these, the majority take the form of internal conflict between Jewish identity and values and other identities or values (Brown, Cole, Richman, Firestein), although one consists of values conflict between a narrator (Dworkin) and her mother, and two consist of conflicting values between self and other Jews (Mirkin, Stepakoff). Both Mirkin and Brown recount conflict between their Jewish identities and forms of oppression imbedded within Judaism, whether in the religion itself (Brown) or among certain religious sub-groups (Mirkin). Brown writes:

... I struggled for a few years after my initial feminist awakening with the whole problem of Judaism as a patriarchal religion ...

Brown uses humor here (“the whole problem”) – perhaps to minimize the pain imbedded within the notion that her Judaism and feminism were – temporarily – at odds.

Differently, Dworkin depicts her values conflict as external – i.e. between her own position and her mother’s. Dworkin expresses her mother’s fears for Jewish safety and associates this with her mother’s conviction that “Jews should never emphasize their Jewishness or any difference. Jews should avoid being too Jewish and too much in the public eye.” Rooted in fears

of anti-Semitism, a theme which will be discussed in detail below, Dworkin's mother's teachings conflict with her own desire to be seen as a Jew; she describes this via the following:

... my struggle between my desire to be visible as a Jew and my mother's desire for me to be invisible as a Jew, an activist, and a lesbian.

Dworkin's desire to be visibly different clashes with her mother's desire for her to blend in.

Firestein writes about the relationship between conflict surrounding her Jewish identity and denial of its importance; she writes:

I had always felt a need to choose between being Jewish and being myself... The most accurate measure of my conflict about my Jewish identity has been the degree of my denial of the impact and importance of Judaism on my life and my identity

For Firestein, her past denial of the significance of her Jewish identity signifies that she has felt conflicted about it, and, for a time, copes by avoiding an awareness of the conflict altogether.

Negotiation of conflicts/integration of Jewish identity. Five narrators detail the process by which they negotiate conflicts related to Jewish identity. For three, this involves an integration of Judaism and progressive values (Mirkin, Holtzman, Brown). Both Mirkin and Brown emphasize the notion that one is rooted in the other; Brown identifies the "Jewish roots of [her] feminist identity," whereas Mirkin "recognize[s] ... progressive ideas" in Judaism. Mirkin writes:

In the struggle, I would also come to recognize some remarkably progressive ideas in Torah and Jewish tradition about women, people from communities who are not Jewish, and responsibility to humanity.

By the power of interpretation, Mirkin uses her progressive worldview to understand traditional

text in a way that is both new and not new. By doing so, she is able to work through values-based conflict.

Firestein's approach to working through Jewish identity conflict and denial of the "importance of Judaism on my life and my identity" appears to be becoming visible as a Jew – "to allow the fact that I am Jewish to be a visible, acknowledged aspect of my identity." This visibility supports her in moving from the position of needing to "choose between being Jewish and being myself" to the belief that she can be both; she writes:

I used to believe that there was not enough room for me in Judaism, that it would always be a choice between my Judaism and my commitment to the authentic flowering of myself. I no longer believe this. I now believe that there is room within Judaism for all of me, and I believe that there is now room within me for Judaism as well.

The process of being seen as a Jew appears to be supportive in helping her move away from her denial and furthermore, to experience herself as both authentic and Jewish.

For Richman, negotiating conflict surrounding identity integration relates directly to her personal healing work surrounding collective trauma, a theme that will be discussed in depth below. She writes of how she came to "own" her Jewish identity in the context of identity confusion surrounding a Catholic childhood as a hidden Jew during the Holocaust; she writes:

... it was a gradual process. For me it was part of accepting my past, facing the Holocaust and acknowledging its impact on my life... Only when I faced how I had been uprooted from my Jewish roots could I own them as a part of me...

For Richman, processing her experience of Holocaust trauma allows her to recognize that her identity confusion surrounding Jewish identity was a direct result of collective trauma. This supports her in reclaiming her Jewish identity.

Anti-Semitism

Thirteen sub-themes emerged surrounding anti-Semitism, which is more than the number of themes surrounding the super-ordinate theme of Jewish identity. This points to the weightiness of the discussion of anti-Semitism within narratives and suggests that anti-Semitism is critical for narrators in communicating their experiences. Subthemes include a history of anti-Semitism, family experience of anti-Semitism, and narrators' own experiences of anti-Semitism – both during childhood and as adults. Narrators also discuss anti-Semitism surrounding Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers, Jewish stereotypes, and other forms of contemporary anti-Semitism. Finally, themes emerged surrounding Jewish invisibility and making Jewish identity visible, Jewish assimilation, Jewish resistance/resilience, fears surrounding anti-Semitism, and internalized anti-Semitism.

History of anti-Semitism. Two narrators provide the reader with information regarding the history of anti-Semitism. Mirkin lists various major historical persecutions of Jews since antiquity, whereas Heffer provides the reader with a more theoretical understanding of the process of anti-Semitism. She writes:

Keeping records for the landholders, collecting taxes, and lending money were the jobs that Jews were permitted to hold. We did the dirty work of the owning class such that they could maintain greater distance between themselves and the people they exploited ... Although we were not landowners or part of the ruling elite, as we were usually not permitted to own land, we became the face of the landowner and the target of resentment of working people that the landowners were exploiting. This has been the underlying impetus that drives anti-Semitism ... Because Jews were targets of resentment we were

often scapegoated and made targets of violence in most of the countries we inhabited.

Hence, Jews were often forced to flee their homes with little notice to find safety...

Heffer explains how the elite maintained Jewish relative privilege compared with the working class in order to use the Jews as a scapegoat for the outrage of the masses at their exploitation. Accordingly, anti-Semitism has historically operated according to the principle that Jews have just enough power so as to be a viable target for scapegoating. Heffer provides an important theoretical explanation of an oppression that, as will be detailed below, narrators experience as a significant component of their Jewish identity.

Family's experience of anti-Semitism. Seven narrators discuss their family's history of anti-Semitism. Five include a discussion of pogroms (organized massacres) and other forms of violent anti-Semitism in eastern Europe (Holtzman, Dworkin, Heffer, Ancis). Three include a discussion of the Nazi Holocaust (Mirkin, Kaschak, Ancis). Two describe anti-Semitism that their parents experienced in the U.S. – both violence (Holtzman) and legalized anti-Jewish discrimination (Kaschak). In discussing her family's emigration from Tsarist Russia, Ancis succinctly writes:

Any family that remained behind and did not emigrate was killed either during the time of the Tsar or in the Holocaust.

Her matter-of-fact, even flippant phrasing suggests that this fact is almost self-evident; it is as if she is saying – 'obviously this is so.'

Experience of anti-Semitism during childhood. Four narrators discuss their personal experiences of anti-Semitism during childhood. Perhaps most awful is Richman's experience in the Nazi Holocaust as a hidden child. As mentioned above, she hides with her mother and father via assuming a Catholic identity, bolstered by her ability to "pass for a Polish child" via her "fair

skin, blonde hair, and blue/green eyes.” Richman writes of her experience as a very young child of such a trauma:

As a toddler during the years in hiding, I of course had no idea about the fact that I was a Jewish child whose life was in constant danger, but nevertheless I expect that I had some awareness of the terror around me. It was in the air that I breathed during my waking moments, and it was reflected in the vigilant terrified faces and the hushed tones of my parents.

The impact on her development was no-doubt profound.

The remaining three narrators discuss their experiences of anti-Semitism as children in the U.S. – as perpetrated by a teacher (Kaschak) and peers (Holtzman, Heffer). Kaschak recalls receiving the message from her music teacher that she is *not* “an American”; she writes:

At the beginning of each assembly in P.S. 180, all of the students recited the Lord’s Prayer. I did not really know what it was, but was told with the other Jewish students not to recite it, to stand silent. This was a lot like music class, where the teacher went around listening to each voice and then told me and some others not to sing again but to “mouth” the words. Yet I did not think I was “mouthing the words” to “I am an American.”

The messaging is clear: ‘You don’t belong here’.

Experience of anti-Semitism as an adult. Three narrators express their experience of anti-Semitism as adults. While two discuss this more generically (Ancis, Firestein), Holtzman describes a specific encounter with a co-worker surrounding the anti-Semitic stereotype of ‘the rich Jew’:

A co-worker shared with me his alleged observation that whenever a Jew and a non-Jew owned competing stores in the same neighborhood, the Jew always prospered and the non-Jew went broke.

As understood from the lens of the theoretical mechanisms of anti-Semitism as expressed by Heffer, this “observation” is in line with the false assumption that Jews are “the elite.”

Experience of anti-Semitism surrounding Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers. Two narrators outline forms of nonverbal communication (Stepakoff) and behaviors (Dworkin) which they experience as distinct to Ashkenazi Jews in North America (See above discussion surrounding the theme entitled ‘Jewish/Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers.’). Both mention that they experience these cultural markers as “disdained” by non-Jews, specifically by White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Stepakoff writes:

Occasionally I find that colleagues see me as “pushy,” particularly people from White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant backgrounds, who tend to be more comfortable with women who embody discreetness, moderation, and restraint... The norms for nonverbal communication that are common in the mainstream North American Jewish community ... include gesturing with one’s hands while talking, a fairly rapid rate of speech, a fairly loud volume, using a questioning tone even when uttering statements that are not questions, and a quality of emotional expressiveness that manifests facially, vocally, and gesturally. In my personal and professional experience, I have found that these nonverbal behaviors tend to be explicitly or covertly disdained among White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (as well as some other white non-Jewish ethnic groups).

Jewish stereotypes. Three narrators delineate stereotypes of Jews, one more generally (Holtzman), one which they experience in Southern U.S. (Bergman) and another unique to

Jewish women (Ancis). Bergman reports that in the South, she was assumed to be religiously observant because of her Jewish identity; she writes, “I felt awkward being lumped into a category that I did not fit into.” Others’ assumptions create a reality in which she is not accurately seen by others.

Perhaps more pernicious are the stereotypes that Ancis sees as “unique to Jewish women”; she writes:

...the prejudicial experiences they encounter are specific to their identities as Jewish women. That is, they have a particular flavor. The stereotypes of the overbearing, nagging, uncouth, in your face, obsessed about appearance and material goods Jewish woman is in many ways unique to Jewish women. Contending with these stereotypes and emotions they elicit in others is different from the stereotypes associated with other identities.

In discussing the “particular flavor” of stereotypes against Jewish women, Ancis, as others have, makes a case for the unique nature of anti-Semitism.

Contemporary anti-Semitism. Four narrators illustrate different ways in which anti-Semitism manifests in contemporary U.S. society. Two mention the present-day existence of White supremacist organizations (Holtzman, Bergman), and two discuss anti-Semitism in progressive settings – and in doing so, mention Israel (Holtzman, Dworkin). On the later topic, Dworkin writes:

I quickly learned that the “left,” while heavily populated with people of Jewish extraction, was not a place where the visibility of Jewish issues or where the push to recognize anti-Semitism was welcomed. The Israeli/Palestinian conflict was viewed only through the eyes of the oppression of the Palestinian people. My problem with that was

not over supporting the Palestinian people but over the lack of understanding that Israelis also have a need for security, and given the history of the Jewish people, Israel must survive.

Dworkin experiences Jewish oppression as invisible on the “left.” Relatedly, but differently, Holtzman reports having “witnessed Jews ... being interrogated about their views”; she writes:

I have witnessed Jews in progressive and/or feminist settings being interrogated about their views with regard to the State of Israel in order to establish their credibility and right to be heard on issues of racism and anti-Semitism. Members of other racial/ethnic groups were not subjected to this litmus test.

Holtzman experiences Jews as essentially suspect in progressive settings due to their (assumed) association with the State of Israel. Given the previously discussed Jewish commitment to social justice (*tikkun olam*) and the way in which some narrators indeed discuss a connection to Israel as part of their experience of their Jewish identity, this anti-Semitic dynamic within progressive settings would indeed create conflict for some Jewish women. Accordingly, Dworkin writes:

Israel became and continues to be one of the difficult issues for my activism. The conflict in Israel also added to my struggle between my desire to be visible as a Jew and my mother’s desire for me to be invisible as a Jew, an activist, and a lesbian.

For Dworkin, the invisibility of Jewish oppression on the left is interconnected with conflict surrounding visibility as a Jew.

Jewish invisibility. Four narrators express their experience of Jewish invisibility. Two point to a mainstream lack of education and understanding of Jewish historical persecution and (Ancis, Mirkin) and Jewish identity (Stepakoff, Heffer). Heffer also writes specifically about the “underrepresentation” of Jewish experience in “the multicultural discourse”; she writes:

I believe Judaism is underrepresented in the broader considerations of cultural diversity and in the multicultural discourse. It is sometimes difficult for non-Jews to appreciate how profound the effect of being Jewish can be. It is hard for some to see Jews as a minority, a group of approximately 14 million people, because of our powerful and enduring impact on our communities, society and the world.

Heffer understands Jewish invisibility as based on a widespread lack of nuanced understanding of Jewish identity as well as what she sees as Jewish strength/influence/resilience.

Making Jewish identity visible. Perhaps in response to “non-Jewish... difficulty...to see Jews as a minority” (Heffer), two narrators wrote about their intentional efforts to make their Jewish identity visible – one in the context of “White, Christian, Southern neighbors” (Dworkin) and the other “within... relationships with non-Jews” (Firestein). Interestingly, Dworkin uses religious ritual as a tool for “affirming [her] Jewishness” (Firestein); Dworkin writes:

Those were the only two years in my adult life when I lit a menorah during Chanukah and put it in the window. I did so in a spirit of defiance toward my White, Christian, Southern neighbors. My intended message was, “Whether you like it or not, I’m here and I’m not going to be invisible.”

Using Jewish religious practice to identify her as a Jew, Dworkin protests Jewish invisibility.

Jewish assimilation. Four narrators discuss Jewish assimilation as related to Jewish oppression. Mirkin and Richman discuss the loss of Jewish identity as the price of hiding Jewish children in the Holocaust. Richman writes about her own experience:

When we went into hiding I was about a year old. Mother arranged to have me baptized. Because my name Zofia or Zosia (as I was called) was a common Polish name it did not have to be changed. Mother considered herself lucky to have a baby who did not

yet talk and who did not look Jewish. With my fair skin, blonde hair, and blue/green eyes I could easily pass for a Polish child.

By her mother's assigning her a Catholic, Polish identity, Richman is able to survive the war – at the cost of being “out of touch with [her] Jewish identity” (Mirkin).

Two different narrators recount their family's loss of the Yiddish language; Heffer reports an intentional process whereby her ancestors intentionally “gave up speaking Yiddish” – “a language that they were forced to use by their oppressors.” For them, not speaking Yiddish is a tool to distance themselves from Jewish persecutors. Dworkin's mother also intentionally distances from Yiddish – but for her, the goal is to distance herself and her family from “the language of the lower classes, of poor Jews.” In a different way, she too aims to distance herself from Jewish oppression.

In writing about Jewish assimilations, Heffer asks the following:

Can one assimilate? Is assimilation possible? Is it desirable? What are the psychic costs of *not* assimilating?

Contrastingly, Dworkin expresses the “psychic cost” of assimilating; she writes:

I have a sense of loss about this and am very sentimental when I listen to Yiddish music, as I often do.

Whether in an effort to physically survive Jewish oppression or an effort to distance themselves from it, assimilation appears to come at a cost.

Jewish resistance/resilience. Four narrators discuss Jewish resistance to oppression (Heffer, Brown, Mirkin) and/or Jewish resiliency in the face of oppression (Heffer, Cole). Brown depicts her resistance against Jewish “annihilation” by way of her “stubborn streak,” which she describes as a “family personality trait”; she writes:

I sense that a part of my continuing connection to and identification with being a Jew has something to do with that stubborn streak. I will not give up on my culture, no matter how much it angers me ... Loyal, stubborn, two aspects of the same attachment strategy ... Jews have persisted through all kinds of creative attempts to kill us for two millennia and more. I will not cooperate with annihilation.

Brown holds on tightly, “stubbornly”, “loyally” – to her Jewish identity – for if she forsakes it, she views herself as “cooperating” with historical attempts to “annihilate” Jews. She does not allow her own anger at Jewishness to get in the way of her commitment to resisting Jewish oppression.

Where Brown focuses on her personality traits as fostering Jewish resistance, Heffer points to Jewish knowledge as fostering Jewish historical survival. She characterizes Jewish possession of the tools of knowledge as inherently tied to Judaism; she writes:

Reading and writing were and are essential to religious study and participation in the world, and it has historically led to a higher level of literacy among poor and peasant classes of Jews than their non-Jewish counterparts ... Jews were often forced to flee their homes with little notice to find safety, even when it was only temporary. Having to flee with little notice usually meant that there was no time to gather possessions. You had to leave taking only what you could carry. You could always carry your knowledge to some other place and start over again. Knowledge was one of our most important survival tools.

In the face of Jewish oppression, Jews were able to rely on their unique strengths – which – according to Heffer – are intrinsic to Judaism and Jewish identity.

Worry/anxiety/fear of anti-Semitism. Three narrators disclose their worries or anxieties related to fears of their own encounter with anti-Semitism (Holtzman, Ancis), or worries for the safety of Jews around the world (Mirkin). When teaching psychology in the South, Ancis describes feeling “scared of being ‘found out’” as a Jew; she writes:

Identifying overtly as a Jew in class is still something that does not come naturally ... There remains that anxiety associated with others knowing, others with limited experiences, others with stereotypes, others who harbor their own and their families’ prejudices ... Even talking about the Holocaust, indicating that a particular theoretician was Jewish or discussing Judaism feels like I am outing myself ... Relatedly, I sometimes feel that for those resistant to multicultural material, my identity will serve as an additional excuse to dismiss the material. “Oh, what do you expect,” they will say, “She is a liberal Jew from New York.” Beyond outing myself publicly as a Jew, I often feel that if I “let myself go” by expressing myself authentically via verbal and nonverbal behavior, along with talking about one or all of the aforementioned areas, students will pick up that I am a Jew.

Ancis relates her discomfort with being visible as a Jew to her worries that she will invoke anti-Jewish stereotypes and be dismissed.

Internalized anti-Semitism. Four narrators discuss the topic of internalized anti-Semitism. Three narrators detail the process of internalized anti-Semitism being transmitted from parents to child – the message being “not to advertise” being a “Jew” (Bergman) and to “avoid being too Jewish and too much in the public eye.” For Dworkin, the cause of such messages is “her [mother’s] fears for the safety of the Jewish people.” She then adds:

For me hair straightening was an attempt to look White and WASP. Often my mother would comment that I was lucky not to have a Jewish nose and therefore did not need to experience the pain of a nose job.

Her mother's "comments" have become internalized and have shaped her behavior – in working to be invisible as a Jew.

Using different words, both Ancis and Holtzman reflect upon how anti-Semitism has indeed become a "part of my psyche" (Ancis). Holtzman portrays internalized anti-Semitism as composing both conscious and unconscious parts of her psyche; she writes:

Something inside tells me not to make myself conspicuous, not to talk too much or too loudly in public settings, not to express my opinions too forcefully, not to be too quick to step into a leadership role. If I do any of these things, I experience a wave of anxiety afterward. This response is partly the result of gender and class socialization. But it also reflects an unconscious conviction that someone, somewhere, is thinking, "That pushy Jew needs to be taken down a peg" and is getting ready to do the job.

Internalized anti-Semitism is both the part of her mind that silences her, that stimulates her anxiety when she disobeys, and that keeps her unconsciously alert to threat.

Negotiating Ashkenazi Jewish privilege and oppression

Four themes emerge pertaining to Ashkenazi privilege and oppression. Narrators reflect upon issues of Ashkenazi/Jewish privilege. They also examine the subject of "Whiteness." Next, there is a discussion of how narrators negotiate Jewish oppression and privilege – from the perspective of race and more generally. Finally, narrators relay how they negotiate their privilege and oppression in the context of therapeutic practice.

Ashkenazi privilege. Four narrators discuss Ashkenazi privilege from a number of perspectives. There is a discussion of more tangible privileges (Mirkin) – particularly educational and race-based privilege as specifically compared with “black kids” (Cole). Cole writes:

In 1958 I graduated from New York City’s Jamaica High School, where the majority of students seemed ... to be either Jewish or Black. The Black kids were in the technical track and the Jewish kids were college prep, de facto segregation, really. We didn’t share classes.

There is also a reflection upon the privilege of Jewish culture being “accepted and/or understood” in New York (Ancis), such that New York is described as “home ground” (Holtzman). Finally, two narrators identify as having White-skin privilege; namely the ability to “hide my Jewishness” (Ancis) and “not having to think about my race very often.” (Holtzman).

Ashkenazi Jews and Whiteness. Two narrators discuss their own/others’ experiences of them as White (Holtzman, Dworkin), and two discuss others’/their own experiences of themselves as non-White (Dworkin, Holtzman). When describing her students’ experiences, Dworkin writes, “I look and act (at least according to them) very White and very mainstream...” Contrastingly, Holtzman receives the message from her mother that “Jews were not White, and it was dangerous to delude themselves that they were.” She adds her own experience living in a “White Christian neighborhood” and experiencing her own “darkness”; she writes:

Everyone seemed to have blond hair and blue eyes. This was the only time in my life when I was self-conscious about my “darkness” (black hair, brown eyes).

In discussing her experience of herself as “dark”, Holtzman references the notion that this is a very unique and very contextual experience – and implies that she does *not* usually experience

herself as “dark.”

Somewhat tangentially to the present theme, but also on the subject of race, Heffer expresses her strong negative emotion when “discussing Judaism as a race”; she writes:

Discussing Judaism as a race is always disturbing to me, as it was used as a rationale for the extermination of Jews during the Holocaust.

While the above discussion is not conceiving of “Jewish” as a race per say, Heffer’s writing suggests that for her, there may still be a layer of discomfort in an analysis of which racial category (Ashkenazi) Jews fit into.

Negotiating Ashkenazi Jewish privilege and oppression. Three narrators discuss how they negotiate the notion that Ashkenazi Jews live with both privilege and oppression – both regarding race (Holtzman) as well as more generally (Cole, Mirkin). Regarding Ashkenazi Jews and race, Holtzman makes the following conclusions:

Today if I’m asked if I think Jews are White, I respond with another question (also a Jewish cultural characteristic): Compared to who? I think Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz (1992) got it right when she wrote that Jews are either “the closest of the coloreds to White or the closest of the Whites to colored” (p. 145) ... What differentiated me from the other White people was my Jewishness. In Cincinnati, the marginality of my Whiteness was more salient.

Holtzman’s narrative suggests a willingness to expand contemporary racial categorizations for Jews and suggests that Jews may exist somewhere in a liminal space between Black and White – even despite most Ashkenazi Jews’ light skin color.

For Mirkin, a way to integrate the dilemma of historical oppression and areas of privilege has been available to her since “age... four”; she discusses a way to integrate Jewish privilege

and oppression using Judaism. Mirkin experiences (Ashkenazi) Jews as holding “privilege” in present-day United States, and – using Jewish biblical texts – links this with (Ashkenazi) Jews as “being responsible for... acting for social justice”; she writes:

From the time I started Jewish day school at the age of four, I learned the Biblical passages stating that we are all made in God’s image and commanding Jews to love the stranger, because we were once strangers in the land of Egypt. What an idea! Although we have a history of oppression, the Hebrew Bible also assumes that there will be times when we experience privilege, and during those times, we must remember what it was like to be brutalized and marginalized and we must resist making the unfamiliar person into “other.” Perhaps now is one of those times for the Jewish communities in the United States, a time of experiencing privilege and being responsible for recognizing it and acting for social justice.

Mirkin looks at Jewish oppression and privilege from the inside – inside a Jewish lens, rather than viewing this complex reality of present-day Ashkenazi Jewish experience in the U.S. exclusively from the lens of contemporary racial categories.

Negotiating Ashkenazi Jewish privilege and oppression as psychotherapist. Three narrators (Dworkin, Mirkin, Holtzman) discuss ways in which the above discussed negotiations enter their clinical work. Dworkin writes about how she is reminded by a client of Jewish oppression and discusses the “delicate balance” of Ashkenazi Jewish identity regarding “white privilege” and “discrimination as Jews”; she writes:

One of my clients was a Japanese American lesbian woman ... I asked her how it felt to be working with a White therapist. She said, “You’re not White, you’re Jewish, and that’s why I chose you.” ... Upon further exploration my client pointed out the

similarities between the oppression that she and her family often experienced and the oppression that my ancestors faced. This client–therapist relationship brought me to a deeper understanding of the delicate balance Jewish Americans face between having White privilege (for those Jews who are White) and yet still facing discrimination as Jews.

Dworkin intentionally identifies the client as a woman of multiple minority identities, perhaps to lend credibility to this client’s assertion that “You’re not White.” Here again is the dialectic between Ashkenazi Jews as “not White” *and* “having White privilege.”

Uniquely, Holtzman discusses negotiating her own countertransference surrounding client anti-Semitism. She describes balancing multiple complexities, including her own “emotional response”, discerning whether the statement “actually is... anti-Semitic”, the invisibility of Ashkenazi Jewish identity, and, of course, clients’ treatment and feelings; in her words:

Remnants of my mother’s indoctrination about the iniquitousness of anti-Semitism influence my emotional response when a non-Jewish patient expresses a stereotypical belief about Jews. There’s an internal lurch that I feel when a non-Jew says that Jews are rich, or smart, or clannish, or greedy, or that Jewish men make good husbands. (Jewish patients may also express anti-Semitism, but I am less hypervigilant in that situation.) The first challenge for me is to notice my emotional response and then set it aside for later self-exploration. I remind myself that the fact that I hear a statement as anti-Semitic does not mean it actually is, in the present context. If the comment is tangential to the issue the patient is working on, I may say nothing about it. If the time is right for exploring the basis for her beliefs about

Jews, I look for an intervention that will encourage her to do so but will not induce shame. This is particularly delicate when the patient hasn't thought about whether I'm Jewish and suddenly realizes, after the fact, that I may be.

The complexity of Holtzman's affective and cognitive processes when met with client anti-Semitism supports the notion that the complexities of therapist identity are present in the clinical encounter.

Jewish Collective Trauma

A theme that emerged in an unexpectedly robust way was narrators' experiences of Jewish collective trauma, particularly, though not exclusively, surrounding the Holocaust. There is a discussion of manifestations of Jewish collective trauma, including collective mistrust and Jewish familial focus on Jewish marriage and procreation. Relatedly, there are various discussions of family secrets and silence surrounding vulnerability – which was understood as another manifestation of collective trauma. Finally, narrators illustrate how Jewish collective trauma is transmitted across generations.

Jewish collective trauma: The Holocaust. Three narrators characterize the Holocaust as a collective trauma – one that impacted “most Jews no matter where in the world they lived.” (Dworkin). There is a discussion of the murder of extended family (Dworkin, Mirkin) as well as an association between Jewish collective trauma and Jewish peoplehood/collective identity (Mirkin, Holtzman). Mirkin associates her family and the Jewish people by juxtaposing them; she writes, “the Holocaust killed much of my extended family and so many of my people.” Relatedly, Holtzman writes of Jewish collective identity and collective self-preoccupation that may in part be understood as a manifestation of Jewish collective trauma; she writes:

Often, when my parents heard about a new development on the local, national, or international scene, they asked each other, “Is this good or bad for the Jews?” At one level, this was a metaphor for “What are the practical implications of this? Is it a good thing or a bad thing?” At another, they were quoting the punch line of an old joke about the tendency of (Jewish) human beings to evaluate all information in reference to themselves. I believe that, consciously or unconsciously, the question was an ever-present filter through which they viewed the world.

Collective trauma appears to highlight both the identity of a Jewish collective as well as Jewish collective self-preoccupation.

Manifestations of Jewish collective trauma: collective mistrust and focus on Jewish marriage and procreation. Five narrators depict manifestations of collective trauma. Of these, four portray collective mistrust as stemming from Jewish collective trauma, whether mistrust of others (Kaschak, Heffer), non-Jews (Mirkin, Cole), or even themselves (Kaschak). Cole describes this pattern of mistrust as existing even within her marriage, which points to the potency of this phenomenon; she writes:

Until my husband and I visited Israel and Palestine two years ago, we could not discuss this part of the world, or anti-Semitism for that matter, without my getting extremely emotional. At a very deep level, I didn't “trust” his responses; I felt threatened and afraid, in a way I would not have if he were Jewish.

Cole requires a trust-building experience – in this case, a visit to Israel – in order to trust her non-Jewish partner with sensitive Jewish issues.

Another manifestation of collective trauma that three narrators discuss is a familial/cultural expectation of exclusively dating Jewish (men) and raising their children

Jewish, which they explicitly or implicitly connect with Jewish collective trauma (Mirkin, Richman, Cole). Mirkin associates this with familial suspicion of non-Jews, whereas Mirkin and Cole focuses on Jewish survival and continuity. Mirkin describes her family's desire to "prove Hitler wrong by surviving and bringing a new generation of Jews into the world... marriage to a non-Jew would have been met with fear that I was contributing to the destruction of our religion and culture." Complimentarily, as quoted above (as a counterpoint to the theme of return to Judaism as a parent), Cole writes of her guilt surrounding her marriage to a non-Jew and "not providing my children with a Jewish education" – a guilt so strong that she identifies with "killing American Jewry." For Mirkin's family and for Cole, it appears that not marrying Jewish would result in their shift from 'victim' of Jewish collective trauma to 'persecutor.'

Family secrets/silence and collective trauma. Six narrators disclose family secrets, (Richman, Stepakoff, Brown, Holtzman, Bergman) and/or familial silence surrounding traumatic or difficult experience (Richman, Kaschak, Stepakoff, Brown). Interestingly, only Richman explicitly connects family secrets to Jewish collective trauma – i.e. the Holocaust – which she uniquely directly survived. She writes of learning the "secret" of her father's "hiding" in the "attic":

I have a few fragments of memory from those years in hiding. The most vivid relate to my discovery of my father as he emerged from the attic, and the injunction against revealing the secret of his existence to the outside world.

For Richman, revealing this family secret would likely have been lethal.

The remainder of narrators who discuss family secrets and/or family silence in the face of suffering do not explicitly connect this phenomenon with collective trauma. However, given the recurrence of this theme, the robust discussion of collective trauma among narrators, and the

association between family secrets and trauma more generally, family secrets/silence descriptions emerged as associated with collective trauma. Content of family secrets take a wide variety and include the details of a family member's illness (Stepakoff, Holtzman), violence by men against women (Brown), parental political affiliations and a past marriage (Holtzman), and illicit activity (Bergman).

Richman goes on to discuss the ways in which her family intentionally did not explain her traumatic experiences as a child to her, in a misguided effort to protect her from them; she writes:

Memories of a hidden childhood are fragile and easily challenged, particularly when the adults around are eager to protect these children from such memories. My parents were intent on perpetuating the myth that I would not remember what I was too young to understand, and they never attempted to explain anything to me. As a young child, surrounded by death and destruction I was left on my own to make sense of the chaos around me. The profound confusion of my childhood had long-term effects.

It appears that her parents' experience of collective trauma prevents them from effectively supporting their daughter in processing traumatic memories. In such a way, collective trauma is transmitted, a subject that will be discussed in more detail below.

In what may be a parallel process, three other narrators discuss familial silence surrounding familial trauma/suffering (Kaschak, Stepakoff, Brown). Stepakoff writes, "My father's death [by suicide] was not spoken about at all." Brown writes, "Everyone pretended that these violent men were not violent." When describing her ancestor's immigration to the U.S., Kaschak writes: "Were they eager, frightened, sick, confused? I can only guess. Mine is not a

family that talks about these things.” There is thus a recurrent familial rule of silence surrounding trauma among narrators who belong to a people who hold collective trauma.

Cross-generational transmission of Jewish collective trauma. Six narrators discuss their experience of the ways in which Jewish collective trauma is transmitted to them via parents or grandparents. Three narrators recount hearing retellings of Jewish persecution from parents, grandparents, and/or family friends (Bergman, Ancis, Mirkin). Bergman describes this with the following:

For years, my grandmother had been telling us very vivid and scary stories of the Holocaust and her many relatives in Poland, some who had perished and some that had escaped to Israel.

Perhaps in contrast to the theme above, rather than (only) silencing traumatic memories, it appears that Bergman’s grandmother vividly recounted them. For Mirkin, this retelling involved being taught as a child that she herself is a Holocaust survivor; she writes:

Grandma Ehrlich stroked my hair and one again sadly said, “You’re the only one, Marshala, the only one left.”

Accordingly, Mirkin is positioned *within* the story of the Holocaust, rather than simply receiving a story of what occurred to her ancestors.

Beyond stories, three narrators report receiving messages from family to be alert to danger (Holtzman), including via not being too “different from others or too visible” (Dworkin) or via “trust[ing] no one” (Kaschak). Holtzman recounts the ways in which her mother “prepared” her for a “hostile, dangerous world”:

From my earliest years my mother tried to prepare me for life in what she perceived as a hostile, dangerous world. She did her best to negate any notion I might have about the

United States being a place of safety for Jews. “Don’t ever get the idea that it can’t happen here,” she would tell me. “It almost did.” ... I don’t know how old I was when she first warned me to watch out for people who say, “Some of my best friends are Jews.” ... Another legacy of this transgenerational or intergenerational transmission of trauma (Root, 1992; Schlosser, 2006) was a lot of early training in being constantly on the alert, scanning the horizon for danger, anticipating everything that could possibly go wrong, and finding a way to either prevent it or fix it. I don’t think my parents had ever heard of Murphy’s Law, but their own version of it was implicit in their interactions with me: “If something can go wrong, it will, and when it does it will be your fault.”

In what may be a typical trauma response, Holtzman is taught to both be “constantly” vigilant to danger as well as take on blame for when “something go[es] wrong” – which may be a defense designed to give the traumatized self an illusion of control.

Holtzman goes on to describe her mother’s disproportionate response to her “small slipups”:

Even small slipups— an overdue library book, getting caught in the rain without an umbrella—brought stern admonitions: “How could you have allowed that to happen? You should have known better. You have to pay more attention to what’s going on around you.” No matter how trivial the real-world consequences of my lapse, it was evidence that I was being careless, and carelessness could be fatal.

Via collective trauma, seemingly insignificant mistakes are imbued with deep significance.

Comparably, Kaschak describes of her mother’s response of high anxiety when she came home late; she writes:

But if I came home even five minutes late I was met with uncontrolled screaming and arms flailing wildly, release for her own terror: “You could have been lying dead in the street.” Two lifetimes away, the Cossacks of her mother’s childhood pursued her own daughter down the streets of Brooklyn ... Repeated cultural wounds eventually turn to individual suffering, as context becomes self. I can only imagine the wounds sustained, the centuries of terror and vulnerability that finally lodge themselves in the psyche, in the hearts and in the cells of an entire group and so an individual. Turned eventually into what psychology names individual pathology, passed down from mother to child, in my family, oldest daughter to oldest daughter as part of the mamaloshen [mother tongue]. Here, Kaschak poetically provides a coherent description of her family’s transmission of Jewish collective trauma.

Therapy practice as facilitating therapist healing/repair from Jewish collective and familial/relational trauma. Whether explicitly (Richman, Holtzman, Kaschak) or implicitly (Firestein, Bergman), five narrators discuss ways in which practicing psychotherapy has promoted their healing from Jewish collective trauma. Most directly, Richman discusses psychotherapy practice as providing her with “vicarious healing”; she writes:

It is striking that so many child survivors of the Holocaust and second generation have entered the mental health field (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988); we have transferred our concern with our traumatized parents to our patients. We are programmed to be rescuers and caretakers and have found a vicarious way to heal ourselves as well... My profession has been a tremendous source of gratification and healing for me. It is immensely satisfying to feel deeply connected to others, to feel that the work that I am engaged in is meaningful as well as intellectually and emotionally fulfilling.

Richman points to her fulfilling work as related to her healing. Her use of “vicarious healing” is striking and suggests that the very process of healing others supports her own healing.

Relatedly, Holtzman discusses the ways in which psychotherapy practice supports repair of her trauma surrounding family secrets and parentification, all in the context of collective trauma; she writes:

It’s hard to imagine a career choice for which years of attempting to meet my parents’ needs could have better prepared me ... At the same time, I’m not only permitted but required to do what was once taboo: I get to ask all the forbidden questions, bring up unmentionable subjects, point out inconsistencies, and piece together the answers to the mysteries. Professional ethics mandate that I maintain the boundaries appropriate to the relationship even if the patient wants us to overstep them ... Professional ethics also require me to give a high priority to my own self-care in order to preserve my ability to be an effective therapist. This provides a dramatic and welcome contrast with the self-abnegation demanded of me by my parents.

For both Richman and Holtzman, psychotherapy practice is both connected with their role of caretaker for their parents as well as with their healing of this relational trauma, which again occurs in the context of individual and collective trauma. In Mirkin’s words from another context, “It is through these contexts that we suffer, and it is from that same well that we draw our strengths.”

Two additional narrators detail the ways in which psychotherapy practice connected them with their Jewish identity (Firestein) or with Judaism (Bergman). Given that Jewish collective trauma involves a loss of Jewish identity, as discussed above, this reconnection with Jewishness can be conceptualized as illustrative of the present theme.

Jewish Ritual Practice and Spirituality

Narrators illustrate their experiences of Jewish prayer and ritual practice, their understandings of Jewish philosophy and spirituality, their experiences of Jewish religious and spiritual exploration, and interfaith and non-Jewish spirituality. Furthermore, they reflect upon the ways in which both Jewish ritual and spirituality inform and are informed by their practice of psychotherapy.

Jewish prayer and ritual practice. Six narrators report their engagement with Jewish prayer and/or ritual practice, whether during childhood (Brown, Mirkin) or as an adult (Ancis, Holtzman, Kaschak, Stepakoff). Both Brown and Mirkin recount their experiences as children during the Passover Seder, and both use the word “joy.” As well, both use words that signify “loud” (Brown; “belted out,” Mirkin).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the discussion by narrators of their experiences with Jewish prayer and/or ritual as adults are less focused on immediate experience and more cerebral and focused on integration/negotiation. Ancis describes her attendance of “synagogues of many different denominations” and her “appreciation of Judaism in its multiple expressions”; she writes:

I have attended synagogues of many different denominations ... Orthodoxy in many ways provided me with an appreciation of Judaism for Judaism’s sake. The Conservative movement has provided me with an alternative perspective to certain laws and behaviors. I have moved from a self-imposed pressure to find a place and stick with it to one where I have developed a greater appreciation of Judaism in its multiple expressions.

Ancis appears to have arrived at a more flexible stance toward Jewish denominational belonging.

Also utilizing flexibility, Holtzman expresses her ability to practice Jewish ritual most “authentically” outside of a synagogue, within a group composed of “both Jews and non-Jews”:

... Be Present, Inc., a national, non-profit organization founded by Black women... both Jews and non-Jews ... It is in this setting, more often than in any other, that I participate in Jewish religious rituals. I am able to do so without feeling inauthentic because part of my contribution to the ritual is speaking about my relationship to it as a nonbelieving, nonpracticing Jew.

In this setting, Holtzman is able to practice Judaism while staying true to her identity as a “nonpracticing Jew.”

Jewish philosophy. Two narrators share a point of their perspectives on Jewish thought/philosophy. Holtzman shares the teaching of observance of “613 commandments” as core to Judaism – rather than “belief in God,” which she describes as not “enough to make you a good Jew.” Mirkin reports adhering to the “tradition of encouraging multiple interpretations” as well as “develop[ing] our own understanding” of Jewish religious texts; she writes:

For me, the ancient stories from Torah captured my imagination and I felt that the characters were people I knew personally. My school followed the Jewish tradition of encouraging multiple interpretations of holy texts and encouraged us to argue with and develop our own understanding of the holy words, so I was engaged from the start. Little would my teachers have predicted that their mandate to me to develop my own understanding of these stories would eventually lead me away from orthodoxy and toward more egalitarian forms of Judaism.

Here, Mirkin plays with the seemingly dialectical terms of “tradition, orthodoxy” and “egalitarian.” Her path toward “more egalitarian forms of Judaism” was a traditional one;

accordingly, she is able to locate her preferred – and in some ways, non-traditional – form of Judaism within Jewish tradition.

Jewish spirituality. Six narrators share their experience of Jewish spirituality, whether by expressing their subjective definition of spirituality (Holtzman, Bergman, Firestein), by expressing longing associated with Judaism (“longing... to connect with my religion”; Ancis), or by sharing a specific spiritual teaching (Mirkin, Heffer). For both Holtzman and Bergman, “spirituality” and “community” are associated. For both Holtzman and Firestein, spirituality is associated with “transcendence” (Holtzman) – “coming into contact with... something *greater* than one’s self.” Firestein adds to this the notion of “sacredness” as also involving “coming into contact with one’s self.”

Mirkin’s spiritual teaching focuses on gratitude, whereas Heffer focuses on shared humanity. When recounting her experiences as a child at the Passover Seder, Mirkin writes:

Later, I would enthusiastically join in on the songs as my uncle banged the table while singing aloud in his gusty voice. I could almost keep up with him as he belted out the verses of the traditional Seder song, Dayenu, which cited example after example of how we can live in the moment of the blessing without wanting more, even if there’s more to be had. Then the entire family would join in the one word chorus, “Dayenu”: it is enough for us. And it was. At those moments, I felt filled with the joy of family and ritual. It is enough. It is more than enough.

Wrapped within Mirkin’s narrative of joy, loud energy, and ritual practice with her family is her spiritual teaching, anchored in the Seder, of “how we can live in the moment of the blessing without wanting more, even if there’s more to be had.” Furthermore, she recalls being able to access this and feel “filled.”

Jewish religious/spiritual exploration. Two narrators reflect upon their Jewish religious or spiritual exploration; Ancis describes her exploration within Judaism, whereas Firestein's extends beyond Judaism. Ancis worries about "critiquing any one denomination as the more I learn, the more I realize how much I do not know" whereas Firestein "simply disengaged from [her] identity as a Jew and went about ... finding spiritual fulfillment through quasi-Jewish, quasi-Buddhist, and nature-based approaches to spirituality." Interestingly, in her quest for spirituality that involves "disengaging" from her Jewish identity, Firestein lands upon approaches that appear to contain elements of Judaism, however surface.

Interfaith/non-Jewish spirituality. Two narrators share interfaith sentiments (Mirkin, Firestein) and an overlapping three (Firestein, Brown, Kaschak) discuss their engagement with non-Jewish spirituality. In a tone that echoes messianic visions of Jewish prophets, Firestein writes:

In the dream I worshipped across the wall from non-Jewish worshippers, yet when I looked to the front of the sanctuary, I saw that we were all worshipping at the same sacred altar.

She expresses a vision of universalism, of shared humanity manifesting through worship.

Differently, Kaschak shares her "serious spiritual practice" that is "based... in" Buddhism, and connects it with Jewish collective trauma; she writes:

I do, however, finally have a serious spiritual practice. It is fairly eclectic, but based mainly in Buddhism. This is so for many Jews of my generation. I see Buddhism as an antidote, as soothing, quiet, a way to reduce our inherited terror and sorrow.

She notes a Jewish draw toward Buddhism; indeed, Firestein as well mentions her engagement with “quasi-Buddhism.” Notably, Kaschak maintains her Jewish identity in the form of identification with Jewish collective trauma while practicing another religion.

Jewish ritual practice/spirituality and psychotherapeutic practice. Half of the narrators examine the influence of Jewish ritual practice (Dworkin) and Jewish spirituality (Bergman, Heffer, Firestein, Brown, Stepakoff) on their psychotherapeutic practice. Uniquely, Dworkin discusses integrating Jewish ritual practices surrounding death and grief with her work with clients surrounding grief; she writes:

In spite of the fact that few of my clients are Jewish the beliefs and rituals I practice sometimes are helpful to clients. I have often explained the shivah practice where Jews grieve deeply for a loss for seven days. (Actually, the grief process covers a year with increasing movement from self-absorbed grief to once again being part of the world at large.) Clients experiencing loss welcome hearing about the Jewish practice that truly recognizes how grief impacts one’s daily functioning. Sometimes my clients and I can develop a meaningful ritual emphasizing their beliefs while incorporating portions of the Jewish shivah process.

In this way, Jewish ritual practice directly shapes Dworkin’s healing work.

Narrators also characterize Jewish spirituality as shaping their practice, either via connecting psychotherapy practice with specific Jewish spiritual teachings (Heffer, Brown, Stepakoff) or via portraying the role of psychotherapist as a parallel to that of Rabbi, with parallel tasks of “service” and “counsel”, and parallel experiences of being “called” (Firestein). Both Heffer and Stepakoff focus on Jewish spirituality and a therapist lens of shared humanity.

Brown integrates Jewish spiritual ideas surrounding exile, as well as the transformation of pain into joy; she writes:

As a Jew, I know that getting what you want takes time; exile can be long, return is never simple. The process of psychotherapy with the people I work with, survivors in many instances of long-term, chronic trauma, is a long exile from self and safety, and I know that time must be taken for the healing process, the process of return to self, to occur. I know that asking difficult questions is necessary and that life contains pain and loss but that pain and loss can be transformed through connection into joy.

In discussing the notion that healing from trauma “takes time”, Brown integrates a Jewish spirituality informed by Jewish history. Her notion of the transformation of pain into joy is deeply rooted in Jewish tradition and suggests a process of supporting clients to find meaning or possibility in their pain.

Bergman’s experience is in some ways the inverse of this theme in that she describes the impact of psychotherapy practice on her experience of Jewish spirituality. She writes:

Unexpectedly, there is also something that my experiences as a therapist have contributed to the development of my relationship with Judaism, and that is faith. I have learned the necessity of faith in every aspect of life through the privilege of having access to the intimate details of the most painful sorrows and joyful triumphs of people’s lives. I know that sometimes there are forces operating beyond explanation, beyond science, and certainly beyond my comprehension, and I have come to appreciate that force. As a psychologist, I have a yearning to quantify, measure, and analyze everything, but I am also learning that there might be some elements to the healing process that we will never uncover, and that this just might not be a bad thing.

For Bergman, the experience of working as a therapist have increased her experience of “faith” in a “force” beyond her understanding, which in turn shapes her lens as a therapist – seemingly incorporating a sense of mystery, and a willingness to not know.

Jewish Identity and Psychotherapy practice

In what is for most the heart of the narratives, narrators discuss how their subjective experiences of their Jewish identity shape and are shaped by their psychotherapeutic practice. Ten sub-themes emerged on this topic. Narrators explore the impact of their Jewish identity on their career choice as psychotherapist. They link Jewish collective trauma with their motivation to practice therapy. They also conceive of therapy practice as *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). They connect Jewish minority identity to their sensitivities to sociocultural factors in clinical practice and discuss how their Jewish identity shapes their countertransference and relationships with clients. They reflect on how their families’ immigration histories connect them with immigrant clients. The theme of working with Jewish clients also emerged, and relatedly, how they negotiate coming out themselves as Jewish to clients. Finally, they describe how their Jewish identities impact the therapeutic modalities they gravitate toward.

Jewish identity and career choice as therapist. Five narrators discuss the impact of their Jewishness on their choice to practice psychotherapy. Whether explicitly (Richman) or implicitly (Holtzman, Mirkin), three discuss the impact of Jewish collective trauma on this choice. These three connect – again, whether explicitly or implicitly – their wish to heal their parent(s) with their career choice; in the context of her experience as a child survivor of the Holocaust, Richman writes:

The profound confusion of my childhood [as a? Holocaust survivor] had long-term effects. The need to understand turned out to be a pervasive theme in my life. I believe

that it was one of the main reasons that I chose my profession. I am committed to understanding human behavior and motivation; it is my job to help people make sense of what is puzzling in them and in their interpersonal relationships. Also, I am certain that it is not an accident that I have chosen to dedicate myself to a healing profession. It is striking that so many child survivors of the Holocaust and second generation have entered the mental health field (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988); we have transferred our concern with our traumatized parents to our patients. We are programmed to be rescuers and caretakers and have found a vicarious way to heal ourselves as well. Our dedication to a healing profession is also an opportunity to give back because we feel grateful to have been spared.

One of the multiple explanations Richman articulately expresses for her career choice is her “transfer” of “concern with our traumatized parents to our patients.” Similarly, Holtzman and Mirkin disclose their concern for their parents’ needs, which Holtzman relates directly to her career choice as therapist; she writes; “It’s hard to imagine a career choice for which years of attempting to meet my parents’ needs [in the context of Jewish collective trauma] could have better prepared me.” Comparable is Mirkin’s disclosure of her wish for her mother’s healing in the context of Jewish collective trauma; she writes, “I knew my mother as a victim of her history and her gender role, and I wish there had been a therapist in her young life who could have helped her...” For these three, the choice to practice psychotherapy is very much linked to attunement to “traumatized parents”, which, again, occurs in the context of Jewish collective trauma.

Differently, Heffer discusses the impact of “being the outsider” on her “curiosity” about “the lives of other people.” Dworkin examines the impact of Jewish ritual practice surrounding *Tzedakah* (Jewish obligation of charity) on her career choice; she writes:

Also on Friday night, the beginning of the Shabbat, not only did we light candles (which I loved and still love) but each member of the family put a little bit of money into the Tzadaka box, a box for money for charity. My donation came from my allowance. This is where I learned that it is required of us to give to those who are less fortunate ... Perhaps this practice began my desire for a career that improves the lives of others.

Her use of “required” fits with sense of Jewish charity as obligatory; interesting is the juxtaposition of “required” and “desire.” For Dworkin, a Jewish obligation is transformed into a personal desire toward “improving the lives of others.”

Jewish identity, collective trauma, and motivation to practice therapy. Two narrators examine the impact of their trauma – whether experienced by themselves (Stepakoff) or by their mother (Mirkin) – on their motivations to practice psychotherapy. Although not explicitly stated, both of their “traumas” occur in the context of Jewish collective trauma. Stepakoff references her family’s silence surrounding her father’s suicide as supporting her motivation to support clients in “speaking” and “telling”; she writes:

In particular, with my firsthand awareness of the psychological harm caused by silences about traumatic events, I have consistently tried to support clients in finding the words to speak about their feelings and experiences. I have tried my best to offer them my empathy and emotional presence so that they will feel able to connect with their truths and tell their stories.

Her “firsthand” experience supports her “empathy.” Similarly, when recounting her mother’s suffering in the context of Jewish collective trauma, Mirkin writes:

I’ve seen what can happen when trauma interacts with restrictions on ways of successfully channeling one’s responses to trauma. I knew my mother as a victim of her history and her gender role and I wish there had been a therapist in her young life who could have helped her develop her alternative stories, a therapist who saw herself or himself as a healer.

Both Mirkin and Stepakoff highlight the desire to support others in “telling” or “developing” their “stories” as healing in the context of collective trauma.

Therapy practice and *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). Two narrators connect their experience of practicing psychotherapy – whether implicitly or explicitly – to Jewish values of *tikkun olam*. Firestein clearly expresses her understanding that “there is the Jewish value of *tikkun olam*, the Judaic concept of “repair of the world” that we can participate in through our work as therapists.” Similarly, Stepakoff details social-justice/advocacy-oriented values which she roots in Jewish identity and connects with the ways she finds “professional fulfillment” as a therapist; she writes:

I have become more keenly aware that to feel professionally fulfilled I need to devote significant time and energy to disempowered populations. By doing so, I am giving expression to values that originate in both my family history and larger ethnic identity ... I have often found it helpful to bring to bear the chutzpah of my ancestors so as to better serve my clients... In the United States, this sometimes took the form of having to battle managed care companies and Medicaid so that clients could obtain the mental health services to which they were legally entitled. In Guinea and Sierra Leone, this often took

the form of helping clients access food, shelter, protection, and medical care through advocating with nongovernmental organizations or the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees).

Interestingly, Stepakoff connects her value toward serving others with her self-care. By caring for others in these ways, she is in a sense caring for herself via “giving expression” to deep-rooted familial and ethnic values.

Jewish minority identity and sensitivity to sociocultural factors in clinical practice.

Three narrators discuss the impact of their minority identity on their attunement to issues of sociocultural identity in psychotherapy. In recounting her mother’s experience of Jewish collective trauma and depression, Mirkin writes:

I also know that it was my mother’s firm rootedness in the Jewish community and her community action projects and not just the love and devotion my father and I felt for her that helped her through her lifelong battle with depression. I therefore always understand mental health using an ecological framework. I cannot look at the individual without understanding the family, community, society, and contexts of race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and more. It is through these contexts that we suffer, and it is from that same well that we draw our strengths.

Mirkin learns, from her own family narrative, of the centrality of sociocultural factors in shaping both suffering and healing.

Relatedly, Ancis reports her “personal” familiarity with the “importance of understanding cultural background and its connections to verbal and nonverbal behavior in a clinical setting.” She discloses having “been the recipient of misinterpretations due to my cultural expressions.”

Here again, personal is associated with cultural, both of which is described as shaping a focus on culture and communication in psychotherapy.

Stepakoff focuses on her own Jewish ethnoreligious identity and how that shapes her attendance to “religious and ethnocultural” forms of “expression” and her efforts to integrate them with “Western approaches to healing.” She writes:

As a small minority in the United States and worldwide, Jews are very familiar with the feelings of discomfort, invisibility and alienation that arise when persons in positions of authority mistakenly assume that everyone is of the same religious or ethnocultural background, or engage in any form of proselytizing. In my work with clients from a wide variety of backgrounds, and particularly in the support groups I have led, I have tried hard to ensure that there is space for diverse forms of religious and ethnocultural expression. In Africa, I have facilitated counseling groups in which singing, drumming, rituals, and Christian and Muslim prayers were combined with Western approaches to healing. In the Middle East, I have worked with Iraqi clients who have chosen to utilize Koranic verses and traditional Arab proverbs as part of their recovery from war trauma. Stepakoff links her experience of Jewish invisibility with an effort to make “space” for other ethnoreligious within healing. For these narrators, healing work is intrinsically tied to culture.

Jewish identity and countertransference. Four narrators discuss countertransference surrounding their Jewish identity, two specifically related to issues of trust (Mirkin, Heffer), and two related to religion (Richman, Holtzman). Mirkin discusses her sensitivity to issues of trust as supporting her learning to “give [her] clients time” to build trust, whereas Heffer discusses countertransference around trust as something she has to “pay special attention to”; she writes:

These stories [of my ancestors] reverberated in my mind and have left an imprint of fear, worry, and suspicion. The question that arises from this is who can be trusted, for what, and for how long. When will they turn? Even now, when I meet new people, these are questions that flash through my mind. Clearly issues of trust come up in my work with clients, and knowing my sensitivity to issues around trust, I have to pay special attention to my countertransference in this area.

For Heffer, it seems, trust issues surrounding Jewish collective trauma are more of a hindrance than a help regarding psychotherapy and alliance building.

Countertransference surrounding religion is also discussed. Richman reports “worrying” about her own anti-religious beliefs, as impacted by the Holocaust, and their potentially causing her to “miss some significant aspects of an individual’s values and belief system.” Differently, Holtzman discloses feeling “not Jewish enough” at times when working specifically with Jewish clients; she writes:

When I’m working with a Jewish patient who is religiously observant, has had an extensive secular Jewish education, or is an ardent Zionist, I am vulnerable to feeling that she perceives me as not enough of a Jew or the wrong kind of Jew. There is a temptation, which I try to resist, to display what knowledge I have acquired about things Jewish in a fruitless effort to win the approval I longed for as a child.

For Holtzman as well, the action impulse stemming from her countertransference is something she is “trying to resist.” Three out of these four narrators indeed view their countertransference associated with their Jewish identity in a negative light; this may say more about their views toward countertransference – as something that threatens to impinge upon the work - than their Jewish identity.

Jewish identity, status as outsider/other, and relationships with clients. Six narrators report their experience of themselves as outsider/insiders and how this impacts their therapeutic alliances and client relationships. Four narrators portray their “outsider” status as Jews as supporting the development of therapeutic alliances with clients (Bergman, Brown, Heffer, Ancis). Ancis relates this specifically as supporting her ability to “empathize with clients”; she writes:

... the apprehension, the discomfort, the fear associated with the potentially negative sentiments of others around my identity is something I have felt in my guts. I understand what it feels like to be “the other” in terms of one’s cultural identity, to not feel completely comfortable being oneself in public. This understanding allows me to empathize with clients who are or have been “the other.”

Relatedly, and yet differently, Brown describes her ability to use her experience as “outsider” to both “value” the “outsider position” as well as to “create” a therapeutic “inside”; she writes:

My family has taught me the value of standing in the outsider position, to prize that place in the social ecology and to know that anyone can become an Other. As a therapist I seem constitutionally unable to otherize my clients, rather I see us standing together in alliance, both of us on the outside looking in. By doing so, we create an inside in which therapy can happen.

Brown metaphorically and playfully uses the recurrent theme of outsider/insider in communicating the impact of her Jewish identity on her ability to form a therapeutic alliance.

Families’ immigration histories and connection with immigrant/refugee clients.

Three narrators discuss the connection between their family’s histories of immigration and their connection with immigrant and refugee clients (Stepakoff, Heffer, Mirkin). Two portray this

connection as intimate, using metaphors to describe clients and their stories as connected with their experience of self (Mirkin) or with a close relative (Stepakoff). Mirkin writes:

I remember that my mom was an immigrant and my dad the eldest son of poor immigrants. Their fears as well as their hopes are part of me. Their need to establish a familiar community in a strange and at times unaccepting land is both understandable and moving to me. So now, as a therapist, I love working with and consulting and teaching about immigrant families. I am curious about and interested in the beliefs that fuel their resilience as they struggle in their new and strange home.

In describing her ancestor's immigrant experiences as "part of me," she positions herself as closer to the immigrant experience. Similarly, in describing her work with refugee clients, Stepakoff writes:

... often I looked into the eyes of the man, woman, or child in need and truly had the feeling that I was seeing one of my own relatives, even if the skin color and features and accent and dress were unlike those of anyone in my family ... the face that I saw was that of my grandmother, Gittel, who came on a ship, across the Atlantic ocean, to Ellis Island, when she was 12 years old.

Stepakoff projects her grandmother's immigrant experiences onto her clients, and in doing so, positions herself as closer to their experience. The above discussion may be best understood in light of an above-mentioned theme of connection with ancestors as part of Jewish identity, which helps to contextualize the ways in which narrators identify with their ancestors' immigrant experiences.

Psychotherapy practice with Jewish clients. Three narrators discuss working with Jewish clients therapeutically (Stepakoff, Holtzman, Cole). All three express either ways in they

are drawn to working with Jewish clients (Stepakoff, Cole) or ways in which they imagine their matching identity might at times support their ability to “understand” their client (Holtzman). Two give explicit or implicit advice to other therapists working with Jewish clients. Stepakoff suggests that therapists become “familiar and comfortable with Jewish cultural and ethnic norms.” After describing conflict surrounding Jewish identity as, at times, subconscious, Cole writes:

I would feel fortunate to be able to explore any of the previously mentioned issues in therapy. They all relate to my being Jewish. They are all important to me. And yet none would have brought me to a therapist’s door ... This narrative is a call to therapists to be proactive in eliciting deeper truths from Jewish clients than those that may appear on the surface, particularly for Jews who do not realize the depth of their Jewish identity. They may not be observant. They may have few Jewish friends and a non-Jewish partner and appear to be fine about this. They may live in a community with a very small Jewish population. But they may, even unwittingly, be scanning the room.

Cole passionately asks therapists working with Jews to probe beyond what is known to the client surrounding her Jewish identity. (This may be best understood in the context of Jewish collective trauma, which for some resulted in the loss of Jewish identity, as discussed above).

Negotiating coming out as Jewish to clients. Three narrators discuss how they think about revealing their Jewish identity to clients (Holtzman, Firestein, Dworkin). Two discuss frankly revealing their Jewish identity surrounding needing to reschedule appointment times because of Jewish holidays (Holtzman, Dworkin). All associate revealing their Jewish identity with client religious/spiritual exploration; Firestein and Holtzman do so in the case of a client’s

religious/spiritual identity or exploration, whereas in Dworkin's 'coming out' as Jewish provides clients with "the freedom to discuss the place religion and spirituality has in their lives."

That said, Holtzman expresses her belief that her Jewish identity may not in fact be invisible; she writes:

Even if the question doesn't come up in the initial interview, I think most Jewish patients quickly recognize that I'm Jewish, whether from my last name, from how I talk, or from my familiarity with aspects of Jewish culture or religious practices. Non-Jewish patients may pick up the same cues.

This theme of being recognized as Jewish and anxieties surrounding this has been discussed above; (see e.g. Cole). The tension between the visibility and invisibility of Jewish identity arises once again on the subject of self-disclosure surrounding Jewish identity.

Jewish identity as associated with therapeutic orientation. Four narrators examine the association between their identity as Jewish and their theoretical orientations to psychotherapy (Bergman, Holtzman, Stepakoff, Brown). Of these, two connect the Jewishness of psychodynamic approaches with its influence on their practice (Holtzman, Stepakoff). Holtzman writes of "the parallels between Freudian psychoanalysis and the Jewish mystical tradition":

Both regard the surface of what is communicated as concealing a deeper, hidden meaning that must be painstakingly unearthed in order to release its power. Both regard multiple, even contradictory interpretations of a single text or behavior as the norm. The Jewishness of psychoanalytic thinking may have contributed to my receptiveness to it ... I remain fascinated by the process of collaborating with my patients to unravel the meanings implicit in the stories they tell about their lives.

The search for deeper meanings is echoed in Stepakoff's reference to "looking inward" and "soul-searching." She goes on to assert that "in several countries, Jews tend to be more comfortable with... psychodynamic psychotherapy than are many other ethnocultural groups." In grounded psychodynamic approaches in its Jewish roots, Holtzman and Stepakoff gain insight to their own draw to it.

Differently, Bergman connects her "comfort" with affiliating with multiple theoretical orientations with "outsider" experience as a Jew; she writes:

I have always identified myself as eclectic, being trained in both cognitive-behavioral and psychodynamic approaches. Now I find myself feeling like an outsider in both "circles" because I do not affiliate exclusively with one or the other. Luckily, I am comfortable in this position given the practice that I have had throughout my life. This dual identity allows me access to the benefits of both approaches, where I can pick and choose that which makes sense for me and for my patients/clients.

Her longstanding experience navigating feelings of being an "outsider" has supported her in maintaining a broad-minded approach to psychotherapy. In her "comfort" with not fully belonging, she is able to belong to multiple schools of thought, "taking what she likes, and leaving the rest."

Summary

In summary, narrators portray their Jewish identities as complex, multifaceted, and dynamic. They articulate values they view as fundamental to their Jewish identities – most notably, *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). They explore the impact of their families on their own non-static Jewish identities. They disclose their experience of themselves as outsiders – and at times as insider/outside – both when among groups of Jews as well as non-Jews. They report

conflicts which are rooted in their Jewish identities – and ways in which they negotiate these conflicts and move toward a more integrated experience of Jewish identity. There is a robust discussion of how anti-Semitism has impacted their families, themselves, and their psyches. Narrators then reflect on their complex sociocultural position – of both holding privilege, in passing as “White,” and vulnerability, in the context of Jewish oppression. Jewish collective trauma emerged as a particularly robust theme – the ways in which it impacts Jewish culture, families, and psyches – and how it is transmitted across generations. Interestingly, psychotherapeutic practice is described as facilitating narrators’ healing from collective trauma. Narrators also share their practice of Jewish ritual and their experience of spirituality – and how this lends meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice. Finally, in what may be the core of their accounts, narrators richly describe the ways in which their Jewish identity shapes their psychotherapeutic practice – including their career choices, their motivations to sustain their practice, the relationships they forge with clients, and the therapeutic orientations they choose. In the following section, the most interesting aspects of these results will be discussed in depth.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter consists of a dialogue between key findings and the small body of related existing literature. It begins with a summary of key findings which are discussed in depth in the previous chapter. There is then a comparison between findings and the literature, followed by research strengths and limitations. The chapter ends with implications for future research and clinical social work practice and theory.

Summary of Key Findings

The present study aimed to explore Jewish women psychotherapists' subjective experiences of their Jewish identities and how these identities shape their experiences as therapists. Four research questions, which are described in detail in the methods section, were proposed. They pertain to four broad areas: Jewish identity, anti-Semitism, Jewish spirituality, and psychotherapy practice.

Jewish identity. Regarding the first research question surrounding Jewish identity, results revealed that Jewish women psychotherapists view their Jewish identity as core, and as impacting all other facets of their identities and experience. They describe Jewish identity as diverse and as dynamic – changing throughout the lifespan. They link Jewish culture and Judaism, as well as insist that Jewish identity can be separated out from Judaism. Interestingly, the latter point is particularly made by narrators who identify as not religious and who associate their Jewishness exclusively with their cultural identity. Narrators also associate Jewish identity with Jewish peoplehood, specific (Ashkenazi) forms of verbal and nonverbal communication, Jewish ancestry and cross-generational connection, and a connection to Israel. They detail Jewish

values, the most robust of which being the value of *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). Narrators also point to Jewish values of learning, introspection, and *chutzpah* (gall, brazenness).

They also discuss the impact of familial relationships upon their Jewish identity, including ways in which their own identities both converge and diverge from that of their parents. They point to the transmission of ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity across generations. Contrastingly, some discuss returning to Judaism as a parent. They express their experiences of themselves as outsiders among non-Jews, as well as their connections with people of other minority identities. They also discuss points of disconnection from other Jews, as well as feeling like both an insider and an outsider in Israel.

In addition, they report experiencing – or having experienced – conflicts related to Jewish identity, such as conflict between feminism and Judaism (Brown), and conflict between visibility and invisibility of Jewish identity (Dworkin). They also detail how they negotiate such conflicts and move toward identity integration – a process which for many appears to be ongoing. For three, this involves integrating Judaism and progressive values (Mirkin, Holtzman, Brown). Firestein works to make her Jewish identity visible. Differently, Richman reports identity confusion surrounding her Jewish and Catholic identities – the latter of which she obtained via hiding as a Catholic child during the Holocaust. Processing the profound impact of her childhood Holocaust trauma allows her to recognize that her conflict surrounding Jewish identity is a direct result of this collective trauma – and in turn, is able to reclaim her Jewish identity.

Anti-Semitism. The second research question centered on historical and current experiences of anti-Semitism and Holocaust trauma, and their influences on psychotherapy practice. Narrators provide a lengthy and comprehensive account of anti-Semitism and its psychological impact on them. Some provide a history and theoretical description of anti-

Semitism. Many recount their families' experiences of anti-Semitism, and then go on to report their own lived experiences of anti-Semitism – both during childhood and as adults. They specify their experiences of anti-Semitism centering on dominant disdain for (Ashkenazi) Jewish patterns of verbal and nonverbal communication and behavior. They list Jewish stereotypes and characterize contemporary anti-Semitism more broadly as centering on the continued existence of White supremacist organizations and the invisibility of Jewish issues on the political “left.” They reflect upon Jewish invisibility and their own efforts to make their Jewish identities visible. They discuss Jewish assimilation – which they connect to Jewish invisibility – as well as Jewish resistance and resilience. Finally, they illuminate the psychological impact of anti-Semitism – including anxiety surrounding anti-Semitism, as well as internalized anti-Semitism.

Relatedly, narrators explore the seeming dialectic between Ashkenazi Jewish privilege – including privilege in passing as White – and Jewish historical and contemporary oppression. Two different ways of integrating such tension were noted. One was by attempting to classify Ashkenazi Jews within modern racial categories – and concluding that Jews are “marginalized Whites” – or somewhere between Black and White (Holtzman). Another strategy to integrate Jewish privilege and oppression utilized Jewish religious thought; Jewish oppression provides empathy for the oppression of others, and privilege provides both a capacity and (religious) obligation to respond to it (Mirkin). Narrators reveal implications of this tension and negotiation on their clinical work; Dworkin recounts being reminded of Jewish oppression by a client, which serves to balance her recognition of her “White privilege”, while Holtzman describes negotiating her countertransference surrounding anti-Semitism.

Jewish collective trauma emerged as a particularly robust theme. Narrators elucidate manifestations of Jewish collective trauma, including tendencies toward mistrust – whether

mistrust of non-Jews, others more generally, or even themselves – and familial expectations of Jewish marriage and procreation. Relatedly, they recount family secrets and silence surrounding vulnerability – which was understood as another manifestation of collective trauma. Finally, narrators explain how Jewish collective trauma is transmitted across generations. Processes include familial retellings of Jewish persecution – particularly those that locate the child self as survivor – as well as messages from parents to be less visibly Jewish and to be alert to danger. For instance, Kaschak recounts her mother’s response of high anxiety when she would come home late – which she connects to her mother’s “terror” surrounding her own childhood experiences witnessing violent anti-Semitism. Holtzman is similarly taught to be “constantly” vigilant to danger. In addition, she describes being blamed for things “going wrong” – even “small slipups” – which may be a cross-generational defense designed to give the traumatized (collective) self an illusion of control.

Profoundly, narrators characterize therapeutic practice as facilitating their healing from collective trauma. They heal via connecting deeply with clients and via professional gratification (Richman). As well, the strong interpersonal boundaries that the psychotherapy profession demands are experienced as healing in the context of a history of intertwined relational and collective trauma (Holtzman). Psychotherapy practice and associated professional organizations reconnect narrators with their Jewish identities (Firestein, Bergman), which was also understood as part of healing from collective trauma. Perhaps most strikingly, Richman portrays psychotherapy practice as providing her with “vicarious healing” from her trauma as a child survivor of the Holocaust.

Jewish spirituality. The third research question asked about narrators’ experiences of Jewish ritual practice and spirituality. Narrators relay their experiences of Jewish prayer and

ritual practice and their understandings of Jewish philosophy and spirituality. They also describe their experiences of Jewish religious and spiritual exploration, and of interfaith and non-Jewish spirituality. Furthermore, they discuss the ways in which both Jewish ritual and spirituality inform – and are informed – by their practice of psychotherapy. Uniquely, Dworkin discusses integrating Jewish ritual practices surrounding death and grief with her work with clients surrounding loss.

Psychotherapy practice. Finally, the fourth research question asked more generally about the impact of Jewish identity on narrators’ psychotherapy practice. They explore the impact of their Jewish identity on their career choice as psychotherapist. Three link the choice to practice psychotherapy to childhood attunement to “traumatized parents,” which occurs in the context of Jewish collective trauma (Mirkin, Holtzman, Richman). They also link Jewish collective trauma with their ongoing motivation to practice therapy; both Mirkin and Stepakoff highlight their desire to support others in “telling” or “developing” their “stories” – an approach they view as healing in the context of their own experiences of family secrets and silence surrounding vulnerability. Many narrators conceive of therapy practice as *tikkun olam* (repairing the world). They connect Jewish minority identity with their sensitivities to sociocultural factors in clinical practice. They discuss how their Jewish identity shapes their countertransference and their experiences of themselves as outsider/other, which in turn impacts their relationships with clients. Many describe the ways in which this outsider status supports their therapeutic alliances with clients as well as specify how their families’ immigration histories connect them with immigrant clients.

The theme of working with Jewish clients also emerged; narrators advise therapists working with Jewish clients to become “comfortable with Jewish cultural and ethnic norms”

(Stepakoff) and to attune to subconscious issues surrounding Jewish identity (Cole). Narrators also detail how they negotiate coming out as Jewish to clients; they specifically associate revealing their Jewish identity with clients' religious/spiritual exploration. Holtzman expresses her belief that her Jewish identity may in fact be visible, at least to some clients. Finally, they describe how their Jewish identities impact the therapeutic modalities they gravitate toward. Most notable is their association between Jewishness and psychodynamic orientations – which informs their “receptivity” and “comfort” with the approach (Holtzman; Stepakoff).

Discussion

Results surrounding narrator's subjective experiences of their Jewish identity are most comparable to exploratory qualitative findings by Ginsberg and Sinacore (2013) surrounding Ashkenazi non-Orthodox women and their understandings of their Jewish identity. Women in both studies identified with the value of *tikkun olam* – which aims to establish social justice in the world (Hyers, 2007, as cited in Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013). As well, women in both studies highlighted the centrality of Jewish family and how their Jewish identity is shaped by cross-generational transmission of Jewish religion and culture.

Relatedly, women in both studies expressed a sense of belonging to the Jewish people. In contrast, the present study also provided accounts of disconnection from other Jews, whether because of differing political, ideological, or cultural values or differences regarding Jewish education. When taken together, this points to the notion that Jewish peoplehood encompasses a good deal of diversity; as Brown says, in the name of “various Jews”: “Two Jews, three schuls.”

Cultural values conflict and negotiation. The present study also adds a layer of nuance to Ginsberg and Sinacore's finding that Jewish women are expected to “maintain a Jewish home, raise Jewish children, and preserve Jewish culture.” (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013, p.137). While

Jewish women psychotherapists in the present study certainly described such traditional gender role expectations, they unanimously identified Jewish collective trauma as their context. That said, this burden of Jewish continuity – pressure to marry a Jew and raise a Jewish family – has been found to be carried by Jewish women more strongly than Jewish men (Gold, 1997), which is consistent with Ginsberg and Sinacore’s findings and more implicitly with present findings. This may be related to findings of other ethnic minority women who disproportionately carry the burden of cultural continuity (see e.g., Inman, 2006).

Other kinds of conflict related to Jewish identity were reported by the present narrators, as well as a description of how they negotiate them. In doing so, narrators created forms of “cultural hybridity” – such that different identities were integrated to produce a “new form of cultural identity” (Tummala-Narra, 2016, p.186). Additionally, they created “set(s) of new meanings and a sense of cultural newness” (Bhabha, 1994; Davis 2010, p. 661, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). An example of the latter, and connected with the above topic of the disproportionate burden on Jewish women to raise Jewish children in the context of collective trauma, is Brown’s creation of new meanings. She views her feminist scholarship and practice as the way that she has passed on her Jewishness to the next generation; she writes, “I believe that my strong, visible presence as a Jew in the world of feminist psychology has been of value, not in passing along the biological material of Jewishness but in passing along the intellectual genetics of Jewishness in the DNA of feminist practice.” Brown is able to view her scholarly work as her contribution to Jewish continuity – thus fulfilling this cultural expectation on Jewish women in a nontraditional manner.

Relatedly, in negotiating cultural values conflict between feminism/progressive values and Judaism, both Brown and Mirkin are able to interpret Jewish traditional texts using

progressive values and ideas – that they root back in these texts. Mirkin characterizes this process as within the framework of traditional Jewish learning, such that new meanings are created within a traditional framework. That said, this process can also be viewed as creating “cultural hybridities” – namely, identities that encompass “progressive...tradition” (Mirkin).

Anti-Semitism. Less novel perhaps is the finding that narrators’ lives are strongly impacted by anti-Semitism. Direct experiences of anti-Semitism were reported by women in the present study as well as in prior research (Ginsberg & Sinacore, 2013; Gold, 1997). Regarding the psychological impact of anti-Semitism, narrators pointed to their experiences of both internalized anti-Semitism and Jewish collective trauma. Internalized anti-Semitism – also called ‘Jewish Self-Hatred’ – has been discussed from a psychodynamic perspective and defined as when “persons of Jewish ancestry... feel hatred or shame toward their Jewish identities, toward other Jews, or toward the Jewish religion in particular” (Alperin, 2016, p.221). This construct allows for an understanding of the internalization of anti-Semitism via psychodynamic processes such as trauma survivors’ identification with the oppressor as well as via splitting – whereby the majority culture is idealized and one’s own culture is devalued. This may also manifest via the denial of the impact of the Holocaust on the present Jewish psyche, as well as via the fear of drawing attention to one’s Jewish identity (Alperin, 2016; Gold, 1996).

Indeed, this theme of fears surrounding their Jewish identities being visible was centered when narrators discussed internalized anti-Semitism. Three narrators discussed receiving the message from parents “not to advertise” being a “Jew” (Bergman) and to “avoid being too Jewish and too much in the public eye” (Dworkin). Ancis reported feeling “scared of being found out” as a Jew in Southern U.S. – and then described the ways in which “Jew hatred remain a part of my psyche.” Relatedly, Holtzman described an “unconscious conviction” that if she

“make[s her]self conspicuous...talk[s] too much...express[es her] opinions too forcefully,” someone will respond with the thought of “That Pushy Jew needs to be taken down a peg.”

Elsewhere in her narrative, Holtzman expressed her belief that many others can identify her as a Jew, and so her internalized anti-Semitism manifests as impulse to self-silence. As such, the relationship between internalized anti-Semitism and the impulse to hide one’s Jewish identity – and accordingly, parts of the self – is supported by present findings.

Jewish collective trauma and its transmission. An unanticipated theme – in part given that it did not explicitly emerge as a theme in Ginsberg and Sinacore’s (2013) study of Jewish women – and one that presented across themes, was that of Jewish collective trauma. In addition to impacting their Jewish identities and psychologies, Jewish collective trauma shaped narrators’ choice and motivation to practice psychotherapy; to use Kaschak’s words (regarding another topic), collective trauma was *mitten drinnen* – in the middle of everything. Narrators discussed their experiences of the ways that Jewish collective trauma is transmitted from parent to child in a manner consistent with recent theoretical literature on the transmission of Holocaust trauma. Holocaust survivor parents have been theorized to possess “exaggerated worries” that leave their children with a sense of “impending danger” – including overt messages such as “Be careful” and “Don’t trust anybody!” (Kellermann, 2001, p.261). Two narrators discussed receiving these kinds of messages from parents (Kaschak, Holtzman). While Kellerman’s research pertained specifically to the transmission of Holocaust trauma, it seems that there are overlapping processes by which Jewish collective trauma – that is inclusive of anti-Semitism distinct from the Holocaust – is transmitted.

Jewish collective trauma and parentification. Another finding across studies of Jewish collective trauma is parentification of children, whereby parental boundaries are blurred and

children become over-concerned with their parents' pain – in other words, a “role-reversal with the traumatized parent” (Bar-On et al., 1998; Berger, 2014; Kellermann, 2001, p.263). When discussing their decisions to become psychotherapists, three narrators described their attunement to “traumatized parents”, which occurs in the context of Jewish collective trauma (Mirkin, Holtzman, Richman). Again, there is an overlap between narrators' experiences and research surrounding Jewish collective trauma.

Jewish collective trauma and family secrets/silence. Another recurrent theme in literature surrounding Jewish collective trauma – specifically Holocaust trauma – is the “conspiracy of silence”, that is, Holocaust survivors not talking about their traumatic experiences with their children – which has been understood as stemming from survivor's need to forget and adapt (Bar-On et al., 1998; Danieli, 1998, as cited in Kellermann, 2001). As a counterpoint to this notion, three narrators in the present study discussed hearing “vivid and scary” retellings of Jewish persecution – two of whom identified a grandparent as the storyteller (Bergman, Ancis, Mirkin). This may suggest that whereas Holocaust survivors used a defense of denial/silence with their own children, they used a defense of over-sharing with their grandchildren. This invokes the following insight from Richman, herself a child survivor of the Holocaust:

In our relations with others a ... dilemma exists, namely the need to be known and the desire to remain private. These conflicting needs are universal. But in the case of survivors of trauma, the dialectic between the wish to be known and the wish to remain hidden is heightened and complicated. Elsewhere, I have written, “Typically survivors face the past with great ambivalence. The responsibility to preserve the memories coexists with the impulse to forget; we are perpetually suspended between concealment and disclosure”

Present study findings also reveal secrets and silence within narrators' families surrounding vulnerability – whether related to Holocaust trauma, anti-Semitism, immigration, or vulnerability more generally – which can be understood as relating back in some way to this “conspiracy of silence.” As well, two narrators (Mirkin and Stepakoff) highlighted their desire to support their clients in “telling” or “developing” their “stories.” This desire to facilitate open communication and coherent narrative may stem in part from a desire to repair what may be a collective defense of silence surrounding vulnerability within Jewish families.

Collective trauma and therapist vicarious healing. Pleasantly surprising was the finding that narrators portray therapeutic practice as facilitating their healing from collective trauma. For them, healing is facilitated by connecting deeply with clients, by feeling gratified professionally (Richman), via the reinstatement of interpersonal boundaries that psychotherapy demands – given a history of parent-child boundary violations described above (Holtzman) – and via reconnecting with Jewish identity through psychotherapy practice and professional organizations (Firestein, Bergman; given that findings reveal that Jewish collective trauma involved a loss of Jewish identity, as discussed above, this reconnection with Jewishness is conceptualized as healing).

Richman's notion of “vicarious healing” provides a counterpoint to the construct of vicarious trauma, which has been discussed in the context of Holocaust trauma transmission (Kellermann, 2001). Additionally, this finding adds layer to the notion that therapists who are impacted by collective trauma may have these traumas evoked while listening to a client's trauma narrative (Tummala-Narra, 2016). Present findings allow for the possibility that this evoking ultimately results in a mutually healing outcome for both client and therapist.

Therapist empathy and sensitivity to sociocultural identity. Findings surrounding the impact of narrators' Jewishness on their psychotherapy practice in some ways mirrors the minimal literature which exists on the ways in which ethnic minority therapists' identities impact their practice. Present narrators connected Jewish minority identity to their sensitivities to sociocultural factors in clinical practice, which is consistent with the finding that ethnic minority therapists are more likely to "attend to issues of culture and race in psychotherapy" (Berger, Zane, & Hwang, 2014; Sadowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, & Corey, 1998, as cited in Tummala-Narra, 2016). That said, narrators generally focused more on culture/ethnicity and religion than race, which perhaps mirrors the most salient aspects of their own identities – although they do grapple with Ashkenazi Jewish racial identity.

Another idea that exists within the literature is that therapists who have experienced marginalization of any kind may be more empathically attuned to clients' experiences of marginalization (Tummala-Narra, 2016). This is also consistent with the present accounts; narrators discussed how their status as "outsider/other" has supported their therapeutic alliance with clients. They particularly reflected on how their families' immigration histories connect them with immigrant clients. This last point suggests that there may be a more specific relationship between therapist marginalization, client marginalization, and therapist empathy – such that therapists may be more attuned to the specific kinds of marginalization that more closely match their own experiences.

Therapist religious identity and psychotherapy practice. Another interesting finding is the ways in which Jewish ritual and spirituality inform and are informed by narrators' practice of psychotherapy. Notably, Dworkin discussed how her religious identity supports her work with clients surrounding their losses. She recounted having at times offered Jewish practices

surrounding grief as a starting point for the development of new rituals with clients that can incorporate their own beliefs and provide a helpful way for clients to mourn. Pratyusha Tummala-Narra (2016) – who possesses a “Hindu, Indian identity” – also described the impact of her religious identity on her psychotherapeutic practice surrounding mourning – however in a very different way. A disclosure of her connection with Hinduism in her work with a White/European woman became a starting point for this client to explore her own contrasting sense of emptiness, which ultimately allowed her to mourn her losses. In a distinct and intersecting fashion, religious identity directly shapes Dworkin and Tummala-Narra’s healing work.

Strengths and Limitations

The present study was the first empirical study to explore Jewish women psychotherapists’ identities. It occurs in an understudied area – namely, the impact of ethnic minority therapists’ identities on their psychotherapeutic practice – and centers on an understudied population – Jewish women. Another strength is its rigorous methodology – that a specific type of phenomenological method was identified and employed (IPA). As well, the chosen methodology – and its philosophical underpinnings – was connected to the researcher’s stance and the study’s conceptual underpinnings, as well as the research purpose and questions. Limitations include the use of narratives collected by other scholars for a non-empirical purpose. This in turn reduced my ability to make explicit the ways in which data collection – and in turn, study conclusions – were shaped by the original scholars. As well, the study focused on a specific Jewish ethnicity – Ashkenazi Jews – and as such, the findings are not generalizable to the whole of the multiethnic and multiracial Jewish population. In addition, narrators who participated hold mature positions in their fields; although they did not explicitly state their ages,

this implies that results may not be transferable to a younger generation. Finally, as mentioned above, the narratives used in the present study were not written by clinical social workers, which is the discipline of the present project, but rather by clinicians of other disciplines, the vast majority being clinical or counselling psychologists.

Researcher's Subjectivity

As is consistent with both my epistemological stance (an interplay between intersubjective theory and Jewish feminism) and methodology, my subjectivity – particularly my own Jewish identity – no doubt shaped the ways in which I interpreted the data. My research questions were in part inspired by the complexity of my own Jewish journey as well as my current status as a clinical social work student – and accordingly, my desire to better understand how my Jewish identity impacts my own clinical practice, as part of my overall effort toward self-reflective practice. Overall, I would characterize my own Jewish identity as “strong” and “core” (as corroborated by the findings). I have an Orthodox Jewish upbringing and education and currently affiliate as something like – “egalitarian observant” with a bend toward Jewish renewal and neo-Hassidism, affiliations laden with hybridity and new/old meanings. I have negotiated and continue to negotiate conflicts related to my Jewish identity – and, to paraphrase Brown, remain “stubbornly loyal.”

As I read these narratives, I unwittingly searched for areas of similarity and difference between narrators' and my own experiences. I lavished in their richness, and struggled to eliminate or reduce data when it was not directly related to my research questions. I was particularly emotionally moved during my initial readings, even finding myself brought to tears when reading accounts of violent anti-Semitism and Holocaust stories. Furthermore, I identified with study findings surrounding Jewish collective trauma, even as I do not directly descend from

Holocaust survivors. This suggests my personal investment in the topic of Jewish collective trauma. I was also aware of my desire for narrators to be connected with their Jewish identities; I was very excited when narrators expressed integrating their Jewish identities and loving Judaism. Perhaps this stems in part from my own strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people – and my subconscious adoption of a collective Jewish self. This suggests that I may have been more attuned to descriptions of connection to Jewishness and Judaism than disconnections.

Implications for Future Research

Future research might involve a sample that is more representative of the entire Jewish people – i.e., including Jewish people of all gender identities, ages, and diverse racial identities and within-Jewish ethnicities. It may also attend to more diversity in Jewish denominational affiliation and psychotherapist field. As Ginsberg and Sinacore (2013) note, a study of Jews outside of the U.S. – in other areas of the Jewish diaspora – would also allow for comparison. A future study might include Jews in the role of client in order to explore the impact of Jewish identity on clients' experiences in psychotherapy. Present findings also suggest that future research attend to Jewish identity development across the lifespan, including identity-based conflicts, negotiation, and the creation of hybrid identities/new meaning (Tummala-Narra, 2016). Finally, researchers might lend clarity to the construct of Jewish collective trauma – including teasing it apart from Jewish familial and relational trauma.

Implications for Psychotherapy and Clinical Social Work

As consistent with Ginsberg and Sinacore's (2013) study conclusions, present findings suggest that Ashkenazi Jewish identity may be misunderstood in the context of an exclusive focus on racial category; more helpful sociocultural categories for understanding this identity may be ethnicity, culture, and religion. Relatedly, despite the important contemporary emphasis

on racism and racial identity within the progressive zeitgeist, and increasingly, in the field of social work, results suggest that the field continue to also attend to other aspects of sociocultural identity – as is consistent with an intersectional lens. As well, given the field’s emphasis on combating oppression, clinical social work education should incorporate study of anti-Semitism, which has been almost completely absent from North American social work curriculum (Gold, 1996).

Results also point to the importance of attuning to Jewish collective trauma in clinical social work practice – regarding Jewish women in the role of both clinician and client. They suggest that clinicians consider the impact of collective trauma on Ashkenazi Jewish women’s expectations toward cultural continuity – and the resulting complexity involved in women’s negotiations between heading this call and deviating from expectations. They also suggest that Jewish women clinicians attune to the possible ways that Jewish collective trauma may be evoked in their clinical practice – including via motivating their practice, as well as creating a dynamic of empathy and “vicarious healing” (Richman) – in addition to a possible vulnerability to vicarious trauma. Study findings point to the impact of the Holocaust specifically, and past and present anti-Semitism more generally, on the Jewish psyche – which should be considered in social work practice and education. Relatedly, results suggest that Ashkenazi Jewish women clinicians view themselves as “outsiders” or as “other” – which appears to shape the ways in which they experience trust in relationships with non-Jews on the one hand and a sense of empathy for others with minority experiences on the other. Finally, findings surrounding internalized anti-Semitism and (subconscious) fears surrounding the visibility of Jewish identity may be important considerations for Ashkenazi Jewish women psychotherapists regarding self-disclosures of their Jewish identity in the context of their clinical work.

Implications for Theory

Study findings provide an in-depth illustration of the intersubjective view of the therapeutic encounter – such that the subjectivity of the clinician co-shapes the healing process. More specifically, they point to the relevance of sociocultural identity – in this case, ethnicity, culture, and religion – in shaping the clinician’s subjectivity. Unexpected study findings surrounding therapy practice as facilitating clinicians’ healing from Jewish collective trauma similarly support an intersubjective view, as well as are in line with Jungian ideas surrounding the “wounded healer;” as Annie Rogers wrote in the name of her psychoanalyst, Dr. Sam Blumenfeld: “Healing is always two-sided, isn’t it?” (Rogers, 1995, p.143).

Conclusion

In line with an intersubjective understanding of the clinical encounter, as well as the field of clinical social work’s attendance to sociocultural context, the present study aimed to explore the subjective identity experiences of Jewish women psychotherapists, and in turn, how their Jewish identity shapes their psychotherapeutic practice. By engaging in a secondary data analysis of twelve narratives, a rich array of results around Jewish identity, anti-Semitism, spirituality, and practice were discovered. It is my hope that this work influences a more nuanced understanding of Jewish identity in mental health related fields as well as supports greater levels of self-understanding and healing in Jewish women therapists and clients alike.

References

- Alperin, R. M. (2016). Jewish self-hatred: The internalization of prejudice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 44(3), 221–230. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-016-0577-2>
- Altman, A. N., Inman, A. G., Fine, S. G., Ritter, H. A., & Howard, E. E. (2010). Exploration of Jewish ethnic identity. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 88(2), 163–173. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2010.tb00005.x>
- Annells, M. (1996). Hermeneutic phenomenology: Philosophical perspectives and current use in nursing research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23(4), 705–713. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.1996.tb00041.x>
- Bar-On, D., Eland, J., Kleber, R. J., Krell, R., Moore, Y., Sagi, A., ... Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1998). Multigenerational perspectives on coping with the Holocaust experience: An attachment perspective for understanding the developmental sequelae of trauma across generations. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 22(2), 315–338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/016502598384397>
- Berger, S. S. (2014). Whose trauma is it anyway? Furthering our understanding of its intergenerational transmission. *Journal of Infant, Child, and Adolescent Psychotherapy*, 13(3), 169–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15289168.2014.937975>
- Bergman, A. J. (2010). From the Outside, Looking In. *Women & Therapy*, 33(3–4), 281–285. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2010.480912>
- Berzoff, J., Flanagan, L. M., & Hertz, P. (2011). *Inside out and outside in: Psychodynamic clinical theory and psychopathology in contemporary multicultural contexts* (3rd ed.).

Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Brauner, T. (2015). Contemporary clinical practice: A private practitioner's perspective. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 43(3), 294–303. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-015-0538-1>

Brodin Sacks, K. (1999). How did Jews become White folks? In M. Adams & J. Bracey (Eds.), *Strangers & Neighbors: Relations Between Blacks & Jews in the United States - 1999* (pp. 500–519). Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Friedman, M. L., Friedlander, M. L., & Blustein, D. L. (2005). Toward an understanding of Jewish identity: A phenomenological study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(1), 77–83. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.77>

Ginsberg, F. (2002). *Jewish women in the United States: A qualitative study of their Ashkenazi secular identity and experiences of anti-Semitism*. Michigan State University.

Ginsberg, F., & Sinacore, A. (2013). Counseling Jewish women: A phenomenological study. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 91(2), 131–139. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6676.2013.00081.x>

Glassgold, J. M. (2010). A process without end: Seeking the unrealized yet irrepressible aspects of self. *Women & Therapy*, 33(3–4), 246–263. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2010.480896>

Gold, N. (1996). Putting anti-Semitism on the anti-racism agenda in North American schools of social work. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 32(1), 77–89. Retrieved from https://scholar-google-com.libproxy.smith.edu/scholar?cluster=13294674796582291293&hl=en&as_sdt=0,22

- Gold, N. (1997). Canadian Jewish women and their experiences of antisemitism and sexism. *Women in Judaism*, 1(1), 1. Retrieved from https://scholar-google-com.libproxy.smith.edu/scholar?cluster=5208111677044472322&hl=en&as_sdt=0,22
- Goldberg, J. L., Brien, K. M. O., Hoffman, M. A., Kim, S. H., & Petersen, D. A. (2005). Jewish women's psychological well-being: The role of attachment, separation, and Jewish identity, 29, 197–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00182.x>
- Goldstein, E. (2005). Contesting the categories: Jews and government racial classification in the United States. *Jewish History*, 19(1), 79–107. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10835-005-4359-6>
- Goldstein, E. (2009). The relationship between social work and psychoanalysis: The future impact of social workers. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 37(1), 7–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-007-0090-8>
- Greene, B. (2010). Intersectionality and the complexity of identities: How the personal shapes the professional psychotherapist. *Women & Therapy*. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02703141003757547>
- Greene, B., & Brodbar, D. (Eds.). (2011). *A minyan of women: Family dynamics, Jewish identity and psychotherapy practice*. New York, NY: Routledge. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703141003766282>
- Hays, P. (2001). *Addressing cultural complexities in practice: A framework for clinicians and counselors*. Retrieved from <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2001-01080-000/>
- Holzman, C. G. (2010). I've Always Known I'm Jewish, but How Am I Jewish? *Women & Therapy*, 33(3–4), 315–331. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2010.485956>

- Inman, A. G. (2006). South Asian women: identities and conflicts. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 12*(2), 306–319. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.12.2.306>
- Kaschak, E. (2011). Foreword. In B. Greene & D. Brodbar (Eds.), *A minyan of women: Family dynamics, Jewish identity and psychotherapy practice*. (pp. 3–6). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kaye-Kantrowitz, M. (1992). *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*. San Fransisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books.
- Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1991). The issue is power: Some notes on Jewish women and therapy. *Women & Therapy, 10*(4), 7–18. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1300/J015V10N04_03
- Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The colors of Jews: Racial politics and radical diasporism*. Bloomington, US: Indiana University Press.
- Kellermann, N. P. F. (2001). Transmission of Holocaust trauma - An integrative view. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes, 64*(3), 256–267. <https://doi.org/10.1521/psyc.64.3.256.18464>
- Kirmayer, L., Rousseau, C., Jarvis, G., & Guzder, J. (2008). The cultural context of clinical assessment. In A. Tasman, J. Kay, J. Lieberman, L. Kolb, M. First, & M. Maj (Eds.), *Psychiatry, Third Edition* (pp. 54–66). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Laurence_Kirmayer/publication/229914990_The_Cultural_Context_of_Clinical_Assessment/links/0912f50e350340da6b000000.pdf
- Lerman, H. (2010). Being Jewish and being a psychotherapist. *Women & Therapy, 33*(3–4),

177–182. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703141003766415>

Lerner, M. (1993, May 18). Jews are not White. *The Village Voice*, pp. 33–34.

Long-Sutehall, T., Sque, M., & Addington-Hall, J. (2011). Secondary analysis of qualitative data: a valuable method for exploring sensitive issues with an elusive population? *Journal of Research in Nursing*, *16*(4), 335–344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987110381553>

Lopez, K. A., & Willis, D. G. (2004). Descriptive versus interpretive phenomenology: their contributions to nursing knowledge. *Qualitative Health Research*, *14*(5), 726–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732304263638>

McDermott, M., & Samson, F. (2005). White racial and ethnic identity in the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *31*(1), 245–261. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.31.041304.122322>

Meyer, W. S. (2000). The psychoanalytic social worker/the social work psychoanalyst: What shall be our message? *Clinical Social Work Journal*, *28*(4), 355–367. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1005163721648>

Mirkin, M. P. (2010). Elijah's ghost: A female Jewish therapist explores the legacy of love, fear, social action and faith. *Women & Therapy*, *33*(3–4), 264–274. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2010.480903>

Naumburg, C. (2007). Judaism: A hidden diversity. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1300/J497v77n02_06

Rogers, A. G. (1995). *Rogers: A shining affliction: A story of harm and healing in psychotherapy*. New York, New York: Penguin Group. Retrieved from <https://scholar->

google-

com.libproxy.smith.edu/scholar?cluster=16905706572479174559&hl=en&as_sdt=0,22

Schlosser, L. (2005). Affirmative psychotherapy for American Jews. *Psychotherapy (Chicago, Ill.)*. Retrieved from <http://europepmc.org/abstract/med/22122134>

Siegel, R. (1991). Jewish women in therapy: Seen but not heard. *Women & Therapy, 10*(4), 1–4. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1300/J015V10N04_01

Sinacore, A., Mikhail, A. M., Kassan, A., & Lerner, A. (2009). Cultural transitioning of Jewish immigrants: Education, employment and integration. *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance, 9*(3), 157–176. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10775-009-9166-z>

Smith, J., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method, and research*. SAGE Publications.

Stepakoff, S. (2010). Journey to the start of day: Ancestry, ethnicity, and my work as a clinical psychologist. *Women & Therapy, 33*(3–4), 348–364. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02703149.2010.480923>

Tenenbaum, S., & Davidman, L. (2007). It's in my genes: Biological discourse and essentialist views of identity among contemporary American Jews. *The Sociological Quarterly, 48*(3), 435–450. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2007.00084.x>

Tummala-Narra, P. (2016). *Psychoanalytic theory and cultural competence in psychotherapy*. Washington: American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14800-000>

Weiner, K. (1991). Anti-Semitism in the therapy room. *Women & Therapy, 10*(4), 119–126. Retrieved from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1300/J015V10N04_15

Worthington, M. (2013). Differences between phenomenological research and a basic qualitative research design. Retrieved November 4, 2016, from <http://a1149861.sites.myregisteredsite.com/DifferencesBetweenPhenomenologicalResearchAndBasicQualitativeResearchDesign.pdf>

Appendix A

Human Subjects Review Committee Exemption Letter



School for Social Work

Smith College

Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

November 1, 2016

Aviva Bellman

Dear Aviva,

The Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee approves your request for exemption from SSW HSC review based on the study's use of secondary data. We wish you the best with your research.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Elaine Kersten'.

Elaine Kersten, Ed.D.
Co-Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Carolyn Mak, Research Advisor

Appendix B

Letter to Narrators

Dear Narrator,

I am a clinical social work student at Smith College in Northampton, MA. For my master's thesis, I am planning to conduct a qualitative study on Jewish women therapists and how their identities shape therapeutic practice. I realize that you have authored a narrative on this very subject, which was both published in a special addition of the journal "Women & Therapy", as well as in Beverly Greene and Dorith Brodbar's (2010) book "A Minyan of Women: Family Dynamics, Jewish Identity, and Psychotherapy Practice."

The purpose of my study – which mirrors that of your narrative – is to identify how Jewish women psychotherapists experience their Jewish identity, as well as how Jewish women psychotherapists give meaning to their psychotherapeutic practice. I am struck - as you have been - by the relative absence of empirical literature related to psychotherapy centering Jewish women, despite their sizable presence in related fields. Additionally, I am very interested in the more general pursuit of increasing knowledge about the ways in which psychotherapists' cultural and ethnic identities – as well as other sociocultural variables such as gender - work to shape their practice with clients.

My plan is to conduct an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis of the narratives in Greene and Brodbar's book for which I received consent. I have already received general consent from Drs. Greene and Brodbar to embark on the project. Would you be willing to permit me to use your narrative as a form of secondary data for my study? You may decide to withdraw your consent up until April 1, 2016. Please let me know if you would like more information from me.

Thank you very much for your consideration,

Sincerely,

Aviva Bellman
MSW Candidate
Smith College School for Social Work

Appendix C

Narrator Demographic Information and Narrative Summaries

Name	Title	Field	Jewish denomination	Jewish upbringing	Sexual orientation	Immigration status	Therapist identity/theoretical orientation	Narrative summary
Julie R. Ancis	PhD	counseling psychology	"appreciation of Judaism in its multiple expressions"	grew up surrounded by Jews; mom strong Jewish identity, dad "atheist"	unknown	three grandparents born in eastern Europe	teaches multicultural counseling	narrative surrounding longing and exploration of Judaism and Jewish identity in the South
Andrea J. Bergman	PhD	clinical psychology	Conservative (synagogue)	parents "ambivalent about organized religion"; no membership in synagogue; celebrated Jewish holidays with family dinner	unknown; married to a man	4th generation immigrant, mother's side, Poland	"eclectic... trained in both cognitive-behavioral and psychodynamic approaches"	narrative surrounding themes of being an insider and outsider surrounding both Jewish identity and clinical role
Laura S. Brown	PhD	clinical psychology	("drawn to") Jewish renewal; does not belong to an "organized synagogue"	Conservative (synagogue); Hebrew school through high school	lesbian	unknown; parents moved to Israel during her adulthood	lesbian feminist therapist	narrative surrounding Jewish/family/personal traits of loyalty and stubbornness; integration of Judaism and feminist psychology

Ellen Cole	PhD	counseling psychology	secular	Secular; parents atheists	Unknown; married men	unknown; born in NY	feminist	focus on Jewish cultural/ethnic identity and the impact of the size of the Jewish population in her locale on her Jewish identity
Sari Dworkin	PhD	counseling psychology	Jewish secular humanist	dad traditional, mom not	bisexual	2nd generation immigrant (dad's side; Russia); 3rd generation (mom's side)	feminist therapist	narrative around assimilation and internalized anti-Semitism
Beth A. Firestein	PhD	counseling psychology	spiritually oriented, cultural Jew	rabbi's daughter; reform temple; dad rabbi, mom less connected	bisexual	unknown	feminist psychologist (attendance at National Association for Women in Psychology (AWP) conferences)	narrative around development of spirituality and impact of being a Rabbi's daughter
Carol R. Heffer	MA	counseling	unknown	conservative shul with orthodox families	unknown	maternal great-grandparents from Russia - 4th generation; grandfather Ukraine -3rd generation father's side	(from bio:) "advanced training in... dissociative disorders and trauma... combined her interests in arts and counseling"	narrative has particular richness in the areas anti-Semitism as well as in Jewish culture

Clare G. Holtzman	PhD	clinical psychology	"nonpracticing Jew"	culturally Jewish; mother atheist, father agnostic; did not attend synagogue on high holidays	unknown; married a man	mother born in Shtetl in Ukraine; father born in NYC	psychodynamic? "influenced by psychoanalytic thinking"... has moved away from some of "classical psychoanalytic theory"	transgenerational transmission of trauma; exploration of Jews and whiteness.
Ellyn Kaschak	PhD	clinical psychology	secular/ethnic/cultural Jew; not religiously practicing	grandfather went to Orthodox shul and then Conservative temple	unknown	3rd generation; maternal grandmother from Russia; maternal grandfather from Poland; paternal grandparents also immigrants	feminist therapist	narrative surrounding feminism and gender; distance from Judaism due to her experience of it as "belonging to men"; Buddhist spirituality
Marsha Pravder Mirkin	PhD	clinical psychology	"deeply committed to progressive Judaism"; move "away from orthodoxy and toward more egalitarian forms of Judaism"	Orthodox day school	unknown; married to a man	2nd generation immigrant (mom) and 3rd generation (dad); both Eastern Europe	feminist and multicultural therapist	the only narrator with an Orthodox background; integration between Judaism, social justice, psychotherapy, and academic writing

Sophia Richman	PhD	psychology	secular, atheist, "Godless Jew"	Secular; parents atheists	unknown; married men	child survivor of Holocaust. Born in Poland, moved to France after war, then immigrated to US	psychoanalyst	child survivor of the Holocaust; narrative focus on Jewish collective trauma and impact on self as therapist
Shanee Stepakoff	PhD	clinical-community psychology	unknown	Conservative	unknown	paternal grandmother born in the Ukraine, paternal great-grandparents born in Russia; maternal great-grandparents born in Poland, Latvia	informed by psychoanalytic theory; training as biblio/poetry therapist	worked for Center for Victims of Torture in Africa; focused on social justice and voicing traumas that were silenced. Extensive description of how Jewishness informs clinical work

Note. Demographic information was obtained exclusively from narratives. Narrators' ages are generally not directly specified. However, the fact that all narrators held mature positions in their field suggest that the majority are middle-aged to older adults.

Appendix D

Master Table of Group-Level Themes

Note. *** = counterpoint to the given theme.

Theme
A. Jewish identity
<i>Jewish identity as core</i>
Brown: I am a Jew to the bone, to the marrow, to the mitochondria of my cells. Deeply, in other words ... How I am a Jew distinctly influences ... just about everything...
Dworkin: Now I recognize that my Jewish identity is central to all I am and all I do. All other parts of my identity flow from that solid Jewish trunk.
Cole: It's the bedrock of who I am.
***Kaschak: Being Jewish was centrally located on my grandparents' maps and even on those of my parents, albeit in a different way. But on the map of my own generation and particularly on my own individual mattering map, this was not the case.
<i>Jewish identity as strong</i>
Ancis: I always felt grounded in my strong Jewish identity. This remained solid...
Stepakoff: I consider myself to have a strong Jewish identity...
<i>Love of Jewishness</i>
Ancis: I celebrate my love for the richness of Judaism.
Brown: I am a Jew ... I feel I can also be honest in my critiques, knowing that they stem from love...
<i>Jewish diversity</i>
Ancis: I have developed a greater appreciation of Judaism in its multiple expressions.
Brown: Two Jews, three schuls. — various Jews.
Holtzman: There's an old maxim that says that there are as many definitions of a Jew as there are Jews Of course ... there are many different ways of being a Jew, and being Jewish has different meanings and different consequences for different people.
<i>Dynamic nature of Jewish identity [i.e. Jewish identity development as ongoing]</i>
Dworkin: It's been a difficult and yet exciting journey exploring my Judaism from childhood to the present moment.
Firestein: My journey is not over. Far from it. In fact, my journey has only begun.
Holtzman: My own experience tells me that even one Jew may have many different definitions of herself as a Jew over the course of a lifetime ... My relationship with my Jewishness has not remained static over the past decade.
Richman: As I entered middle age, I too experienced a shift in my sense of myself as a Jew.
Cole: As I moved further away from Jewish population centers I have identified myself more and more as Jewish.
Ancis: The longing for a more grounded understanding of Judaism has taken different forms as I have gained more life experience, sought related learning opportunities, and settle into myself as a more mature adult.
<i>Link between Jewish culture/ethnicity and Judaism</i>
Heffer: For me, Judaism has always been both a culture and religion.
Ancis: The culture and related behaviors are intrinsically tied to religious practices...
Holtzman: Currently I regard the holidays as part of my cultural heritage.

Dworkin: The ethnic and religious traditions...
<i>***Jewish identity as cultural and independent from Judaism</i>
Kaschak: I consider being Jewish my ethnicity, my culture. I do not practice the religion, at least in a systematic way.
Richman: ... not as a religious but as a cultural identity.
Bergman: I was beginning to understand how I could be a Jew without believing in God.
Holtzman: I participate in Jewish religious rituals...as a nonbelieving, nonpracticing Jew.
Cole: I do not relate to Judaism through religious observance. I relate to it through culture.
Firestein: ...this might be different if I were a more observant and religiously active Jew rather than a spiritually oriented, cultural Jew.
<i>Jewish identity as ethnic</i>
Richman: ...my ethnic identity...
Holtzman: Jewishness as ethnicity [subtitle]
Dworkin: The ethnic and religious traditions...
Kaschak: I consider being Jewish my ethnicity, my culture.
<i>Jewish peoplehood</i>
Brown: ... K'lal Yisrael, the community of the Jewish people.
Holtzman: We were proud when a Jew made the news because of a special achievement, and cringed when a Jew disgraced himself or herself publicly.
Mirkin: ...the mythical Elijah carries with him the hopes of our people...
<i>North American Jewish/Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers</i>
Dworkin: ...I still occasionally throw in a Yiddish word or phrase, speak with a New York accent that grew out of Jewish immigrants speaking English with a Yiddish accent, and behave in a manner considered rude and vulgar by many a WASP friend.
Holtzman: My mother... her first language was Yiddish, and her English was sprinkled with Yiddish words and phrases. We often ate traditional Jewish foods... There were folk tales, and jokes...
Cole: We spoke rapidly, loudly, waving around our hands. We didn't mind talking at the same time, interrupting one another.
Stepakoff: The norms for nonverbal communication that are common in the mainstream North American Jewish community are different from those found among many non-Jews. The former include gesturing with one's hands while talking, a fairly rapid rate of speech, a fairly loud volume, using a questioning tone even when uttering statements that are not questions, and a quality of emotional expressiveness that manifests facially, vocally, and gesturally.
Ancis: The resultant behaviors could be characterized as expressive, direct, relatively unrestrained, speaking with a singsongy intonation, in contrast to that of someone from a White Anglo- Saxon Protestant background which, from a Jewish perspective, could be seen as repressed or restricted.
<i>Jewish identity and Jewish ancestry</i>
Cole: ... the Lubovitch rabbi ... said, most kindly, "Are your parents Jewish? Were your grandparents Jewish? Of course you're Jewish ...". And he was right.
Holtzman: ... my mother... would have said... that the descendants of Jews remained Jews ... At an intuitive level, I agree with her.
Heffer: Judaism...affected by the way our ancestors saw the world
Kashack: ... they [my ancestors] are not just secreted back in my early memories, but, at the very same time, here, there, and everywhere. Mitten drinnen.
Firestein: ... there was a sense of celebration and inclusion, of joining a long line of

my maternal Jewish relatives
Stepakoff: My grandmother...was my most direct link to the land of my foremothers and forefathers, my closest connection to the Yiddish-speaking, Eastern European shtetl communities ...
<i>Jewish identity and connection to Israel</i>
Brown: I feel completely comfortable in this place of contradiction. I know, here, precisely how I am a Jew ...
Heffer: I always felt a kinship to Israel.
Kaschak: ...I found myself in Israel on Christmas day and was amazed at how moved I was by the fact that it was just another day...
Ancis: [at the Western Wall] Feeling a mixture of longing, loss, joy, and reconnection, I started to cry.
Bergman: This trip was instrumental in connecting me to both my family history and my Jewish identity. Throughout our stay in Israel, we were treated like royalty. This family that I had never met embraced me with such warmth and hospitality that I was astonished.
***Cole: I'm Jewish, but I don't really know much about...Zionism and the Promised Land.
B. Jewish values
<i>Jewish value of tikkun olam</i>
Ancis: I now have a greater understanding of the connection between practice of the religion, social justice...
Stepakoff: Jewish religion and culture are characterized by a belief in the importance of resisting tyranny and pursuing justice.
Heffer: We were learning about our connection to G-d and our responsibility to that connection and our connections to our society and the world.
Mirkin: A famous quote from "Pirkei Avot" ("Ethics of the Fathers" or "Ethics of the Parents") saying that "it is not our responsibility to complete the task, nor are we permitted to desist from starting it" would lead me to fight what I understood as sexism, heterosexism, and ethnocentrism practiced in some branches of Judaism and would fuel my dedication to social justice.
Brown: Jews run after justice, here in Vayikra (Leviticus), and oh, yes, check out those prophets while you're at it preaching against the rich and powerful and calling for more of that justice for the poor and oppressed. Jews were slaves and the stranger, the "other," in the land of Egypt, so we have a obligation to be the friend and ally of the stranger among us.
Dworkin: Judaism ... is a part of my political activism, academic activism, and my activism in professional organizations.
Cole: We had known since birth that we were on this earth to make it a better place, to live true to the spirit of tikkun olam. We were Jewish, and we were social activists; there was never a doubt about this.
<i>Jewish value of learning</i>
Mirkin: Traditionally, when a Jewish child begins school for the first time or starts to learn the alef-bet (alphabet), he ... dips his finger in honey, writes with that finger, and licks it off. Learning is sweet. Writing is sweet. More than that, it is enticing.
Holtzman: I learned from my parents ... a reverence for books as physical objects. It was so ingrained in me that it was a long time before I could underline or make marginal notes in my college textbooks. I realized later that the origin of this reverence was probably reverence for the sacred scrolls of the Torah, which are so precious that the text is never touched.
<i>Jewish value of introspection</i>
Mirkin: ...our texts allow for argument and self-criticism; our prophets and sages call us on our actions if we are not making efforts to heal the world.

Stepakoff: Jewish religion and culture place a high value on honest self-examination. The holiest day of the Jewish calendar (Yom Kippur) is a day during which every Jew is expected to search his or her soul...
<i>Jewish value of chutzpah</i>
Stepakoff: Chutzpah is a Yiddish word with nuances of meaning that render it difficult to translate into English. Some synonyms include audacity, cheekiness, daring, nerve, effrontery, pushiness, arrogance, gall, presumption, ballsiness, brazenness, impudence, and guts. It is traditionally used as an insult (as in “what chutzpah!”), namely, when a person disregards social expectations or behaves offensively. In contemporary American society, however, chutzpah can also refer positively to behavior that is nonconformist and gutsy. In fact, chutzpah is a characteristic that is widely respected and admired by many North American Jews. It is also a characteristic that I proudly claim as part of my legacy...
Holtzman: ... celebrated Jewish chutzpah (gall, brazenness, impudence)...
C. Impact of familial relationships on Jewish identity
<i>Points of convergence between parents’ and own Jewish identities</i>
Richman: For all the years of my childhood, both parents seemed to share a strong conviction that religion was a divisive force in society and God was a construction ... I was coming to believe that religions divided people and created conflict among them ... Freud’s formulation ... made sense to me ... of God as a projection of the powerful parent.
Holtzman: She called it tikkun olam, the mending of the world. For me, it resonated with my parents’ teachings about social justice.
Cole: My father, brother, and I did not want any kind of religious service.
Mirkin: I do believe that my parents, however, culled from Judaism many of its most progressive and humanistic values, and I’m grateful for that.
Dworkin: From my father I learned the love of God and the religious tenets to care for those less fortunate, to pursue justice, and to mend or repair the world (tikkun o’lam).
Ancis: It was my mother who passed down the traditions associated with so-called major Jewish holidays. From her, I inherited an appreciation of these holidays and related rituals.
<i>Points of divergence between own and parents’ Jewish identities</i>
Brown: My parents have also assisted me to pursue my Jewishness more by attempting to lead the family flock in a direction in which I clearly did not wish to go. As they edged further into strict Orthodox observance during the 1970s, becoming Baal’ei Tshuvah (Jews who return to strict observance), I became more interested in how Judaism could integrate with feminism and with other, heart-opening forms of spiritual practice.
Mirkin: While over the years my parents came to embrace my Christian friends, they could not imagine why I would be interested in living in a predominantly Christian community and marveled that I could feel secure in that situation.
Richman: Their years of exposure to anti-Semitism made them readily suspicious. Whenever I met a new guy, their first question was always, “Is he Jewish?” I found myself irritated by that question because it was not my criterion for a relationship.
<i>Cross generational transmission of conflict/ambivalence surrounding Jewish identity</i>
Dworkin: This conflict between my mother and father about how my brother and I were to be raised was a source of confusion for me as I struggled to define my own identity.
Firestein: My mother never felt she fit in, and she really never did. She was the rabbi’s wife, and she struggled with the conflict I was to inherit from her: that disturbing tension between shame and pride in having a status that was esteemed yet alienating ... I came to feel conflicted about my mother’s conflict.

Bergman: Growing up, my mother and father were clearly ambivalent about any affiliation with institutional religion ... They both came from a long line of ambivalent Jews, including my maternal grandmother ...
Richman: My personal struggle to reconcile these mutually exclusive identifications in order to have a coherent sense of identity was also probably complicated by my parents' ambivalence about their own Jewish identities.
Richman: I wondered if this artwork symbolically expressed her [my daughter's] ambivalence about her Jewish side. And did her ambivalence reflect my own confusion about my Jewish identity?
***Heffer: There was no ambivalence in my grandparents as with many Jews, regarding being Jewish. They often talked about how disturbing it was to them that many Jews changed their names or felt compelled to hide their identity out of fears for their safety.
<i>Return to Judaism as parent</i>
Holtzman: ... my son, unwittingly following in his grandfather's footsteps, decided that he wanted to have a bar mitzvah. We accompanied him to services every Friday night and drove him to Sunday school every Sunday morning for three years.
Bergman: I feel a sense of community in my shul and I am proud that I am providing my daughters with the sense of spiritual community that I did not have as a child.
***Richman: I wondered if this artwork symbolically expressed her [my daughter's] ambivalence about her Jewish side. And did her ambivalence reflect my own confusion about my Jewish identity?
***Cole: ... guilt about being married to a non-Jew and not providing my children with a Jewish education ... I know that this last issue is a huge problem for many, many of us... I have four grown children, not one has married a Jew, not one will raise my grandchildren as Jewish, and it's my fault. I have single-handedly killed American Jewry.
D. Jewish identity and insider/outsider status
<i>Jewish identity and self as outsider among non-Jews during childhood</i>
Richman: By the age of eight or nine my little schoolmates were preparing for their First Communion and they were all excited about the big event. When I spoke to my parents about it, they simply said that we were Jewish, and that we did not celebrate this event. I was deeply disappointed. I think it was the first time that I realized that we were different from others and that difference was called "Jewish." I determined to convert as soon as I would be old enough to do so.
Brown: As a Jew, I was deeply other ... Being a Jew was at first another way to be different from the other kids at my mostly Protestant elementary school: get on the Hebrew school bus, skip after-school athletic events and social get-togethers, go study for another two hours.
Heffer: Steeped in Jewish culture, my family was part of a small enclave of Jews who had chosen to leave the safety of a larger Jewish community and make their homes in a Catholic neighborhood. I believe this was the beginning of my understanding of feeling like an outsider ... I was frequently reminded that I was different. I was the "Jewish" friend when introduced to friend's families, or when I went to friend's country clubs and told not to let anyone know that I was Jewish.
<i>Jewish identity highlighted when among non-Jews</i>
Brown: In a neighborhood where we were the first Jewish family and few other Jews ever lived, Jewishness was my foreground identity among my peers.
Bergman: When I lived in the South, being from New York was synonymous with being Jewish. I felt awkward being lumped into a category that I did not fit into. How could I explain that, while I was Jewish, I did not observe religious holidays or attend synagogue? Ironically, after moving to Alabama I decided that, for the first time in my life, I wanted to attend services for the high holidays. I felt a need to affiliate with other Jews and explore further what my Jewish identity meant.

Cole: I think this was really the first time that I realized—really realized—that I was Jewish and not everyone else was ... I tended to gravitate toward the other Jews in my small town ... Over the years it has become clear to me that as I moved further away from Jewish population centers I have identified myself more and more as Jewish ... I believe, based on my personal experience, that wherever there is a very small Jewish population, a Jewish identity will become much more important than it might otherwise be.

Connection/identification with people of other minority identifications

Cole: I find myself, and this has been true for a long time, gravitating toward my ethnic minority colleagues, toward the lesbians and gays on my campus, the international students (one of whom is a young Palestinian male). We have a usually unspoken common denominator. We're not really outsiders, and I wouldn't use words like "oppressed" or "nondominant," but we share a recognition that a threat or a slur or some kind of tension may be right around the next corner. We seem to have an innate desire to champion the underdog.

Firestein: I came to believe deeply that being different can be a good thing and that it is possible to take pride in our differences rather than feeling ashamed of them ... it is perhaps not a surprise that one of my closest friendships originating in the SMU days turned out to be with an African-American man involved in a polyamorous relationship ...

Dworkin: My childhood was similar to that of many first and second-generation children of immigrants. My parents struggled between wanting me to keep some of the old cultural traditions and wanting me to fully assimilate into the mainstream culture.

Heffer: Grandpa John came to the United States at the age of 11 ... Looking at the photographs on display at Ellis Island, I was struck with their rich ethnicity, with faces alive with hope, joy, pain, and mischief. These stories encouraged my adventurous spirit. They opened my eyes to the struggles people have taken on to find safety in their worlds and peace in their hearts.

Kaschak: But if I came home even five minutes late I was met with uncontrolled screaming and arms flailing wildly, release for her own terror: "You could have been lying dead in the street." Two lifetimes away, the Cossacks of her mother's childhood pursued her own daughter down the streets of Brooklyn ... Be careful. Trust no one, especially yourself. Like so many African-American mothers who have had to warn their children and who wait anxiously every time they go out to see whether they arrive home that day intact.

Ancis: My Jewish identity, related messages received, and readings by authors like Angela Davis and bell hooks have enabled me to see parallels in experiences of racism, sexism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, and other social ills.

***Ancis: At the same time, my experience as a Jewish woman allows me to be cautious around making interpretations about parallels between various oppressions ... While Jews are certainly not unique in their experience of oppression and discrimination, each group's oppression is unique to their own history. To proclaim to understand someone's experience because one has had similar challenges in some way is presumptuous.

Distance/disconnection/points of divergence from other Jews

Holtzman: For most of my life I have perceived myself as marginal to whatever group I found myself in, including groups of Jews ... being a secular Jew is an active process. Secular Jews value the culture and work to preserve it and pass it on to the next generation ... Thus many of the things that were culturally Jewish about us remained unlabeled fragments with no organizing framework to hold them together... Culturally, I don't feel qualified to claim the title "secular Jew," but I do feel Jewish enough to reject the pejorative label "bagel and lox Jew,"...

Bergman: Since I had never participated in religious school, I was not quite prepared for the indoctrination into the religion that they are now experiencing ... my outsider status in my current nuclear family.

Dworkin: My sympathies with the Palestinians and outrage at the Israeli government sometimes met with criticism from other Jewish faculty ...
Mirkin: ... while I have chosen this tradition, I do not think it is any better than religions chosen by others ... I know that Judaism has birthed some individuals who interpret the religion in ways that devalue others.
Stepakoff: ...my opposition to circumcision, a practice that many Jews mistakenly view as a defining characteristic of Jewishness, means that a large majority of Jews would consider me not to be truly Jewish and, if made aware of my views, would not include or welcome me... my feminism, political views, criticism of Israeli governmental policies, and opposition to circumcision sometimes cause me to feel separate from other Jews
Ancis: In some ways, synagogue attendance and participation in Jewish related events in the south has required a certain amount of conforming, something I was not used to... So in some ways I felt part of and connected to this Jewish life in the south, and in other ways I felt like an outsider.
***Cole: ... the comfort that comes from the familiar, of feeling safe among “my own kind,” and feeling just a tiny bit on edge when that’s not the case.
<i>Insider/outsider in Israel</i>
Bergman: My head was now swimming with identities: American, Jew, Israeli, Kibbutznik! In the end, I wore my dress and, if my father had been there, he would have sighed in relief that I had chosen my American identity. Once again, I would belong but yet not belong.
Brown: Here in Israel, where I am surrounded by people who talk as I do, eat as I do, move through the world in familiar patterns, I am at home and still the other, a visiting American with rusty and inadequate Hebrew.
E. Jewish identity conflicts and negotiation
<i>Conflicts related to Jewish identity</i>
Mirkin: ... what I understood as sexism, heterosexism, and ethnocentrism practiced in some branches of Judaism
Stepakoff: Often I am troubled by and critical of many aspects of the mainstream American Jewish community.
Dworkin: ... my struggle between my desire to be visible as a Jew and my mother’s desire for me to be invisible as a Jew, an activist, and a lesbian.
Brown: ... I struggled for a few years after my initial feminist awakening with the whole problem of Judaism as a patriarchal religion ...
Cole: ... guilt about being married to a non-Jew and not providing my children with a Jewish education ... I know that this last issue is a huge problem for many, many of us... I have four grown children, not one has married a Jew, not one will raise my grandchildren as Jewish, and it’s my fault. I have single-handedly killed American Jewry.
Richman: ... Jewish children raised as Catholics during the Second World War... Catholic experiences caused identity confusion and necessitated a continuing effort to find a way to integrate the Jewish and Catholic aspects of their identities. My personal struggle to reconcile these mutually exclusive identifications in order to have a coherent sense of identity...
Firestein: I had always felt a need to choose between being Jewish and being myself... The most accurate measure of my conflict about my Jewish identity has been the degree of my denial of the impact and importance of Judaism on my life and my identity
<i>Negotiation of conflicts/integration of Jewish identity</i>
Mirkin: I would also come to recognize some remarkably progressive ideas in Torah and Jewish tradition about women, people from communities who are not Jewish, and responsibility to humanity.

Holtzman: It helped that the rabbi was one of the first women to have full charge of a congregation. She was gradually introducing nonhierarchical and gender-neutral elements into the service, and her sermons emphasized ethical and humanistic interpretations of the Scriptures and the Law... For me, it resonated...
Brown: My initial critiques of patriarchy in Judaism... took me further into being a Jew my way... Although my parents fault me bitterly for not birthing children, seeing that choice as “as bad as Hitler” to quote my mother, I believe that my strong, visible presence as a Jew in the world of feminist psychology has been of value, not in passing along the biological material of Jewishness but in passing along the intellectual genetics of Jewishness in the DNA of feminist practice. I ask questions, think critically, engage in the Jewish practice of pilpul (argument about scholarship), except that rather than doing it at Torah study I do it with feminist scholarship. My writing about feminist psychology has been replete with references to Jewish constructs as I make transparent the Jewish roots of my feminist identity.
Richman: ... it was a gradual process. For me it was part of accepting my past, facing the Holocaust and acknowledging its impact on my life... Only when I faced how I had been uprooted from my Jewish roots could I own them as a part of me...
Firestein: ... to allow the fact that I am Jewish to be a visible, acknowledged aspect of my identity... I now believe that there is room within Judaism for all of me, and I believe that there is now room within me for Judaism as well.
*** Dworkin: Israel became and continues to be one of the difficult issues for my activism. (unresolved conflict)
F. Anti-Semitism
<i>History of anti-Semitism</i>
Mirkin: ... the United States turned away boats of desperate Jews whose only alternative was to return to concentration camps. ... history of massacres of Ukrainian and Russian Jews, the murders and expulsions from Spain and England and later from Middle Eastern countries, the torture and killings of the Inquisition, the razing of Jerusalem and murder, enslavement, and expulsion of the Jewish population by the Romans who formally changed the name of Judea to Palaestina. And, of course, there is the more familiar, perhaps mythical but definitely central story of our people, the enslavement of the Hebrews in Egypt.
Heffer: Keeping records for the landholders, collecting taxes, and lending money were the jobs that Jews were permitted to hold. We did the dirty work of the owning class such that they could maintain greater distance between themselves and the people they exploited ... Although we were not landowners or part of the ruling elite, as we were usually not permitted to own land, we became the face of the landowner and the target of resentment of working people that the landowners were exploiting. This has been the underlying impetus that drives anti-Semitism ... Because Jews were targets of resentment we were often scapegoated and made targets of violence in most of the countries we inhabited. Hence, Jews were often forced to flee their homes with little notice to find safety...
<i>Family's experience of Anti-Semitism</i>
Mirkin: ... the Holocaust killed much of my extended family and so many of my people
Holtzman: The anti-Semitic violence he [my father] had encountered as a boy in the streets of Washington Heights was far less lethal than the anti-Semitic violence my mother had witnessed in Chudnov.
Kaschak: ...Sonia had held her baby brother David in her arms, silently hiding in a cellar as a drunken group of men burned and pillaged their home and the homes of all of the other Jews in the vicinity. It was a simple, but satisfying, Saturday night sport to them. To David, it was the end of his short life, as he suffocated and died in her arms... My grandfather's story ... he was to find work and save enough money to bring his mother and sisters out of the danger of the Polish streets. He did so, but he was not

able to get them all out before the Nazis ... were able to develop a smoothly running assembly line for the purpose of exterminating Jews in larger numbers ... My own parents ... were able to find work in the offices of Manhattan and not on the assembly line. These were the offices of small firms, as the large corporations all had formal policies against hiring Jews.
Dworkin: They lived in a small shtetel that was often subject to pogroms. The family, along with many other families, decided to emigrate to the United States to escape persecution and to be able to freely practice their religion ... When my mother recounted to me that she failed the teacher's exam the first time she took it because she pronounced a hard "g" in the word long, I saw anti-Semitism. (This pronunciation stemmed from speaking Yiddish, her first language.)
Heffer: On Christian holidays, as well as at other times, the soldiers and people from the surrounding towns would ride their horses through the shtetl murdering Jews and wreaking havoc. I am told that they once pitchforked my great-granduncle. The story was that my great-grandmother could only watch breathlessly as her brother was suspended in the air.
Stepakoff: As a result of the massive wave of pogroms that swept Byelorussia during that era, Yasef emigrated to the United States in the 1890s.
Ancis: Any family that remained behind and did not emigrate was killed either during the time of the Tsar or in the Holocaust.
<i>Experience of anti-Semitism during childhood</i>
Richman: With a combination of ingenuity and good fortune, my parents and I survived the Holocaust, all three of us in hiding ... As a toddler during the years in hiding, I of course had no idea about the fact that I was a Jewish child whose life was in constant danger, but nevertheless I expect that I had some awareness of the terror around me. It was in the air that I breathed during my waking moments, and it was reflected in the vigilant terrified faces and the hushed tones of my parents.
Kaschak: ... music class, where the teacher went around listening to each voice and then told me and some others not to sing again but to "mouth" the words ... to "I am an American."
Holtzman: My first direct encounter with anti-Semitism occurred in the playground when I was seven. A group of children trapped me on the monkey bars and told me that I was going to go to hell because I had killed Christ ... A girl in my class in high school, who was of German descent, told me with utter conviction that Hitler had done a lot of good things in Germany and that it was a myth that he had murdered six million Jews.
Heffer: A classmate commented about my praying differently than the others and suggested that I was not holding my hands in the "right" way during school prayer. At the time I was not putting my hands together in the way that people of some faiths do when praying. I asked my mother why we did this "wrong."
<i>Experience of anti-Semitism as an adult</i>
Ancis: There was the anti-Semitic director of a substance abuse clinic where I conducted another practicum ... The messages I received growing up about past and present Jew hatred ... I have actually been privy to such sentiments and behavior, many times without the person's knowledge that I was Jewish.
Holtzman: A coworker shared with me his alleged observation that whenever a Jew and a non-Jew owned competing stores in the same neighborhood, the Jew always prospered and the non-Jew went broke.
Firestein: ...my years of experience in transforming the injury of stigma related to being Jewish in a predominantly Christian, Southern culture
<i>Experience of anti-Semitism surrounding Ashkenazi ethnic/cultural markers</i>
Stepakoff: Occasionally I find that colleagues see me as "pushy," particularly people from White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant backgrounds, who tend to be more comfortable with women who embody

discreetness, moderation, and restraint... The norms for nonverbal communication that are common in the mainstream North American Jewish community ... include gesturing with one's hands while talking, a fairly rapid rate of speech, a fairly loud volume, using a questioning tone even when uttering statements that are not questions, and a quality of emotional expressiveness that manifests facially, vocally, and gesturally. In my personal and professional experience, I have found that these nonverbal behaviors tend to be explicitly or covertly disdained among White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (as well as some other white non-Jewish ethnic groups).
Dworkin: ... I still occasionally throw in a Yiddish word or phrase, speak with a New York accent that grew out of Jewish immigrants speaking English with a Yiddish accent, and behave in a manner considered rude and vulgar by many a WASP friend.
<i>Jewish stereotypes</i>
Bergman: When I lived in the South, being from New York was synonymous with being Jewish. Both patients and other (non-Jewish) professionals made certain assumptions about me based on the way I talked and dressed, since these factors usually gave away my Yankee background. I felt awkward being lumped into a category that I did not fit into. How could I explain that, while I was Jewish, I did not observe religious holidays or attend synagogue?
Ancis: The stereotypes of the overbearing, nagging, uncouth, in your face, obsessed about appearance and material goods Jewish woman is in many ways unique to Jewish women.
Holtzman: There's an internal lurch that I feel when a non-Jew says that Jews are rich, or smart, or clannish, or greedy, or that Jewish men make good husbands.
<i>Contemporary anti-Semitism</i>
Holtzman: ... there are some highly organized and vocal groups, such as neo-Nazis and White militia organizations, who still disseminate the old rhetoric.
Bergman: Could I be accepted in a city where the Klan was marching just outside the city limits?
Holtzman: I have witnessed Jews in progressive and/or feminist settings being interrogated about their views with regard to the State of Israel in order to establish their credibility and right to be heard on issues of racism and anti-Semitism. Members of other racial/ethnic groups were not subjected to this litmus test.
Dworkin: I quickly learned that the "left," while heavily populated with people of Jewish extraction, was not a place where the visibility of Jewish issues or where the push to recognize anti-Semitism was welcomed. The Israeli/Palestinian conflict was viewed only through the eyes of the oppression of the Palestinian people. My problem with that was not over supporting the Palestinian people but over the lack of understanding that Israelis also have a need for security, and given the history of the Jewish people, Israel must survive.
<i>Jewish invisibility</i>
Stepakoff: As a small minority in the United States and worldwide, Jews are very familiar with the feelings of discomfort, invisibility and alienation that arise when persons in positions of authority mistakenly assume that everyone is of the same religious or ethnocultural background, or engage in any form of proselytizing.
Heffer: I believe Judaism is underrepresented in the broader considerations of cultural diversity and in the multicultural discourse. It is sometimes difficult for non-Jews to appreciate how profound the effect of being Jewish can be. It is hard for some to see Jews as a minority, a group of approximately 14 million people, because of our powerful and enduring impact on our communities, society and the world.
Ancis: The pain associated with others not understanding the historical persecution of a group to which one belongs is something I can relate to.
Mirkin: ... my people's history was largely ignored in public school textbooks...

<i>Making Jewish identity visible</i>
Dworkin: Those were the only two years in my adult life when I lit a menorah during Chanukah and put it in the window. I did so in a spirit of defiance toward my White, Christian, Southern neighbors. My intended message was, “Whether you like it or not, I’m here and I’m not going to be invisible.”
Firestein: I have found that it matters to me on some primal level to affirm my Jewishness, perhaps especially within my relationships with non-Jews.
<i>Jewish assimilation</i>
Heffer: They [great-grandparents] gave up speaking Yiddish ... For them, Yiddish was the language of their oppression and they spoke it only to keep secrets from their Americanized children. They did not want to use a language that they were forced to use by their oppressor ... Can one assimilate? Is assimilation possible? Is it desirable? What are the psychic costs of not assimilating?
Dworkin: Both my parents and my mother’s mother... spoke Yiddish fluently. My father wanted the children to also speak Yiddish, but my mother perceived this language as the language of the lower classes, of poor Jews. My mother won ... and Yiddish was used only when the adults didn’t want the children to understand what they were saying. I have a sense of loss about this and am very sentimental when I listen to Yiddish music, as I often do.
Mirkin: During her time in Europe, my mother also told about being assigned to go to a French convent and orphanage where young Jewish children were hidden during the war. Years had passed since those children were secretly sent to the convents, and in the interim, many of the nuns who knew their identity were purposely transferred in an effort to protect the children and clergy. These young children survived the war out of touch with the Jewish identity that nobody could dare risk nurturing even if somebody wanted to.
Richman: When we went into hiding I was about a year old. Mother arranged to have me baptized. Because my name Zofia or Zosia (as I was called) was a common Polish name it did not have to be changed. Mother considered herself lucky to have a baby who did not yet talk and who did not look Jewish. With my fair skin, blonde hair, and blue/green eyes I could easily pass for a Polish child.
<i>Jewish resistance/resilience</i>
Heffer: On Christian holidays, as well as at other times, the soldiers and people from the surrounding towns would ride their horses through the shtetl murdering Jews and wreaking havoc. I am told that they once pitchforked my great-granduncle. The story was that my great-grandmother could only watch breathlessly as her brother was suspended in the air. However, despite the danger involved, my great-great-grandmother, Chavah, took action. She called to the soldier by name. Through his drunken frenzy, he recognized her and he released my great-granduncle alive.
Heffer: Reading and writing were and are essential to religious study and participation in the world, and it has historically led to a higher level of literacy among poor and peasant classes of Jews than their non-Jewish counterparts ... Jews were often forced to flee their homes with little notice to find safety, even when it was only temporary. Having to flee with little notice usually meant that there was no time to gather possessions. You had to leave taking only what you could carry. You could always carry your knowledge to some other place and start over again. Knowledge was one of our most important survival tools.
Brown: I sense that a part of my continuing connection to and identification with being a Jew has something to do with that stubborn streak. I will not give up on my culture, no matter how much it angers me ... Jews have persisted through all kinds of creative attempts to kill us for two millennia and more. I will not cooperate with annihilation.
Cole: We share a certain zest for life that may come from being that underdog.

Mirkin: ... I learned Hebrew at any early age. As much as my parents and grandparents loved the Hebrew language, I'm sure they also saw my knowledge of that tongue as a further rebellion against Hitler.

Worry/anxiety/fear of anti-Semitism

Mirkin: ... I do recognize the frightening growth of anti-Semitism and worry about the future security of the world's Jews.

Holtzman: Something inside tells me not to make myself conspicuous, not to talk too much or too loudly in public settings, not to express my opinions too forcefully, not to be too quick to step into a leadership role. If I do any of these things, I experience a wave of anxiety afterward. This response is partly the result of gender and class socialization. But it also reflects an unconscious conviction that someone, somewhere, is thinking, "That pushy Jew needs to be taken down a peg" and is getting ready to do the job.

Ancis: I remember being very cognizant that when I talked that I did not sound like a Jew, Yankee. I was scared of being "found out"... Identifying overtly as a Jew in class is still something that does not come naturally ... There remains that anxiety associated with others knowing, others with limited experiences, others with stereotypes, others who harbor their own and their families' prejudices ... Even talking about the Holocaust, indicating that a particular theoretician was Jewish or discussing Judaism feels like I am outing myself ... Relatedly, I sometimes feel that for those resistant to multicultural material, my identity will serve as an additional excuse to dismiss the material. "Oh, what do you expect," they will say, "She is a liberal Jew from New York." Beyond outing myself publicly as a Jew, I often feel that if I "let myself go" by expressing myself authentically via verbal and nonverbal behavior, along with talking about one or all of the aforementioned areas, students will pick up that I am a Jew.

Internalized anti-Semitism

Dworkin: Her [mother] fears for the safety of the Jewish people manifested in a strong belief that Jews should never emphasize their Jewishness or any difference. Jews should avoid being too Jewish and too much in the public eye.

Bergman: ... I learned not to advertise that I was a Jew.

Ancis: The messages I received growing up about past and present Jew hatred remain a part of my psyche ... Witnessing internalized anti-Semitism among other Jews is another clue to its existence.

Holtzman: Something inside tells me not to make myself conspicuous, not to talk too much or too loudly in public settings, not to express my opinions too forcefully, not to be too quick to step into a leadership role. If I do any of these things, I experience a wave of anxiety afterward. This response ... also reflects an unconscious conviction that someone, somewhere, is thinking, "That pushy Jew needs to be taken down a peg" and is getting ready to do the job.

Dworkin: For me hair straightening was an attempt to look White and WASP. Often my mother would comment that I was lucky not to have a Jewish nose and therefore did not need to experience the pain of a nose job.

G. Negotiating Jewish privilege and oppression

Ashkenazi privilege

Mirkin: The privileges denied my parents are not denied to me (at least not at the moment...)

Cole: In 1958 I graduated from New York City's Jamaica High School, where the majority of students seemed ... to be either Jewish or Black. The Black kids were in the technical track and the Jewish kids were college prep, de facto segregation, really. We didn't share classes.

Ancis: New York has a history, a particular flavor, that makes being Jewish perfectly fine and in fact is often celebrated ... I felt surrounded by people who accepted and/or "understood" Jews. They understood Jewish cultural expressions and Yiddish words; they knew the major holidays, history,

<p>experiences, and perspectives of Jews. Being Jewish is not some unknown, foreign experience to most non-Jews who grew up or spent significant time in New York City ... One privilege I hold is that I can “hide” my Jewishness if need be, particularly since my last name does not reveal it.</p>
<p>Holtzman: In New York City I move through my days as a White person with the White person’s privilege of not having to think about my race very often. Although only about 25% of New Yorkers are Jewish, Jewish culture is very much a part of the cultural fabric of the city, so I feel that I’m on home ground.</p>
<p><i>Ashkenazi Jews as White</i></p>
<p>Holtzman: Acknowledging and taking responsibility for my Whiteness was a painful process ...</p>
<p>Dworkin: I look and act (at least according to them) very White and very mainstream...</p>
<p><i>Ashkenazi Jews as non-White</i></p>
<p>Dworkin: One of my clients was a Japanese American lesbian woman ... I asked her how it felt to be working with a White therapist. She said, “You’re not White, you’re Jewish, and that’s why I chose you.”</p>
<p>Holtzman: In my mother’s classification system, Jews were not White, and it was dangerous to delude themselves that they were ... We lived near the campus in a very White, Christian neighborhood. Everyone seemed to have blond hair and blue eyes. This was the only time in my life when I was self-conscious about my “darkness” (black hair, brown eyes).</p>
<p>*** Discussing Judaism as a race is always disturbing to me, as it was used as a rationale for the extermination of Jews during the Holocaust.</p>
<p><i>Negotiating Jewish privilege and oppression</i></p>
<p>Holtzman: Today if I’m asked if I think Jews are White, I respond with another question (also a Jewish cultural characteristic): Compared to who? I think Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz (1992) got it right when she wrote that Jews are either “the closest of the coloreds to White or the closest of the Whites to colored” (p. 145) ... What differentiated me from the other White people was my Jewishness. In Cincinnati, the marginality of my Whiteness was more salient.</p>
<p>Cole: We’re not really outsiders, and I wouldn’t use words like “oppressed” or “nondominant,” but we share a recognition that a threat or a slur or some kind of tension may be right around the next corner. We seem to have an innate desire to champion the underdog. We share a certain zest for life that may come from being that underdog.</p>
<p>Mirkin: From the time I started Jewish day school at the age of four, I learned the Biblical passages stating that we are all made in God’s image and commanding Jews to love the stranger, because we were once strangers in the land of Egypt. What an idea! Although we have a history of oppression, the Hebrew Bible also assumes that there will be times when we experience privilege, and during those times, we must remember what it was like to be brutalized and marginalized and we must resist making the unfamiliar person into “other.” Perhaps now is one of those times for the Jewish communities in the United States, a time of experiencing privilege and being responsible for recognizing it and acting for social justice.</p>
<p><i>Negotiating Jewish privilege and oppression as psychotherapist</i></p>
<p>Dworkin: One of my clients was a Japanese American lesbian woman ... I asked her how it felt to be working with a White therapist. She said, “You’re not White, you’re Jewish, and that’s why I chose you.” ... Upon further exploration my client pointed out the similarities between the oppression that she and her family often experienced and the oppression that my ancestors faced. This client–therapist relationship brought me to a deeper understanding of the delicate balance Jewish Americans face between having White privilege (for those Jews who are White) and yet still facing discrimination as Jews.</p>

Mirkin: After all, why should they trust me? Trust shouldn't be handed to me based on my past oppression, certainly not based on my current privilege, or on my belief in myself as a good person or even as a competent therapist ... the privilege of accompanying our clients on their journeys.
Holtzman: ... my emotional response when a non-Jewish patient expresses a stereotypical belief about Jews. There's an internal lurch that I feel when a non-Jew says that Jews are rich, or smart, or clannish, or greedy, or that Jewish men make good husbands. (Jewish patients may also express anti-Semitism, but I am less hypervigilant in that situation.) The first challenge for me is to notice my emotional response and then set it aside for later self-exploration. I remind myself that the fact that I hear a statement as anti-Semitic does not mean it actually is, in the present context. If the comment is tangential to the issue the patient is working on, I may say nothing about it. If the time is right for exploring the basis for her beliefs about Jews, I look for an intervention that will encourage her to do so but will not induce shame. This is particularly delicate when the patient hasn't thought about whether I'm Jewish and suddenly realizes, after the fact, that I may be.
H. Jewish collective trauma
<i>Jewish collective trauma: The Holocaust</i>
Dworkin: The Holocaust, a defining period in history for most Jews no matter where in the world they lived, claimed the lives of some of my mother's extended family...
Mirkin: ... the Holocaust killed much of my extended family and so many of my people
Holtzman: The stories I was told at home, the books I found on our bookshelves, the movies I saw had a lasting impact. I still have nightmares about being hunted by Nazis ... Often, when my parents heard about a new development on the local, national, or international scene, they asked each other, "Is this good or bad for the Jews?" ... I believe that, consciously or unconsciously, the question was an ever-present filter through which they viewed the world.
<i>Manifestations of Jewish collective trauma: collective mistrust and focus on Jewish marriage and procreation.</i>
Kaschak: Be careful. Trust no one, especially yourself.
Heffer: These stories reverberated in my mind and have left an imprint of fear, worry, and suspicion. The question that arises from this is who can be trusted, for what, and for how long. When will they turn? Even now, when I meet new people, these are questions that flash through my mind.
Cole: ... and guilt about being married to a non-Jew and not providing my children with a Jewish education. From my readings and conversations with friends, I know that this last issue is a huge problem for many, many of us. When I read Alan Dershowitz's (1997) <i>The Vanishing American Jew</i> , I thought, Guilty as charged. I have four grown children, not one has married a Jew, not one will raise my grandchildren as Jewish, and it's my fault. I have single-handedly killed American Jewry. Dershowitz has my number...Until my husband and I visited Israel and Palestine two years ago, we could not discuss this part of the world, or anti-Semitism for that matter, without my getting extremely emotional. At a very deep level, I didn't "trust" his responses; I felt threatened and afraid, in a way I would not have if he were Jewish.
Mirkin: "Whom should we trust?" was the mantra that surrounded me in my childhood. People had to earn trust. It wasn't taken for granted ... I still remember childhood neighbors saying, "Why would you have Christian friends? Would those so called friends have hidden you in the Holocaust?" It is no wonder that after these experiences, my parents would have chosen to settle in a Jewish community and raise among Jews their only child, the one who would prove Hitler wrong by surviving and bringing a new generation of Jews into the world ... I was not supposed to date non-Jewish boys, and marriage to a non-Jew would have been met with fear that I was contributing to the destruction of our religion and culture.

Richman: When it came to dating, my parents were insistent on my dating Jewish boys. Deep down I think they had a mistrust of those who were not Jewish. Their years of exposure to anti-Semitism made them readily suspicious. Whenever I met a new guy, their first question was always, “Is he Jewish?”
Brown: ... my parents fault me bitterly for not birthing children, seeing that choice as “as bad as Hitler” to quote my mother...
<i>Family secrets/silence/denial and collective trauma</i>
Richman: I have a few fragments of memory from those years in hiding. The most vivid relate to my discovery of my father as he emerged from the attic, and the injunction against revealing the secret of his existence to the outside world ... Memories of a hidden childhood are fragile and easily challenged, particularly when the adults around are eager to protect these children from such memories. My parents were intent on perpetuating the myth that I would not remember what I was too young to understand, and they never attempted to explain anything to me. As a young child, surrounded by death and destruction I was left on my own to make sense of the chaos around me. The profound confusion of my childhood had long-term effects.
Kaschak: I know nothing of the trip in steerage across the Atlantic except what I can imagine, having read numerous such accounts. Were they eager, frightened, sick, confused? I can only guess. Mine is not a family that talks about these things.
Stepakoff: When he was about 50 years old, Jacob was diagnosed with syphilis. In those days, there were no antibiotics, and he developed general paresis, which was then a common complication of syphilis. The general paresis manifested as severe and progressive dementia. The fact that his dementia was caused by general paresis was a strictly held secret ... My father’s death was not spoken about at all.
Brown: Violence, physical and emotional, marked my family. My mother’s father drank, beat her mother, and beat her. My father was an angry man who emotionally terrorized his three children while never laying a hand on me, although one of my brothers was not so lucky. Everyone pretended that these violent men were not violent. In fact, each spoke the cliché about how wonderful Jewish husbands were because they would never beat their wives. So I also grew up in a family full of secrets.
Holtzman: ... family secrets I was forbidden to inquire about or figure out for myself, even when numerous clues were lying around in plain sight. I was not to know what my parents’ political affiliations had been in the 1930s. I was not to know that my mother was seven years older than my father and had been married to someone else for 11 years. I was not to know that the breast surgery she had undergone when I was seven was a radical mastectomy, not the removal of a benign cyst. I was not to see anything unusual or inappropriate in her intrusiveness, her need to control every aspect of my life, her intolerance of any expression of anger or even difference of opinion.
Bergman: There were other secrets as well, including those that I didn’t even consciously understand. It seems that my parents were growing marijuana in our backyard, which they were keeping secret from everyone, including my sister and me.
<i>Cross-generational transmission of Jewish collective trauma</i>
Bergman: For years, my grandmother had been telling us very vivid and scary stories of the Holocaust and her many relatives in Poland, some who had perished and some that had escaped to Israel.
Kaschak: But if I came home even five minutes late I was met with uncontrolled screaming and arms flailing wildly, release for her own terror: “You could have been lying dead in the street.” Two lifetimes away, the Cossacks of her mother’s childhood pursued her own daughter down the streets of Brooklyn ... Repeated cultural wounds eventually turn to individual suffering, as context becomes self. I can only imagine the wounds sustained, the centuries of terror and vulnerability that finally lodge themselves in the psyche, in the hearts and in the cells of an entire group and so an individual. Turned

eventually into what psychology names individual pathology, passed down from mother to child, in my family, oldest daughter to oldest daughter as part of the mamaloshen. Be careful. Trust no one, especially yourself. Like so many African-American mothers who have had to warn their children and who wait anxiously every time they go out to see whether they arrive home that day intact.

Dworkin: From my mother I learned ... to not be too different from others or too visible.

Ancis: Another message revolved around being part of a people who experienced a history of persecution and Jew hating. My father said something to the effect that if 6 million dogs had been murdered versus Jews, in reference to the Holocaust, that there would have been more of a public outcry ... These events have only served to validate the messages I grew up with: Be aware, it could happen again.

Mirkin: "They died, Marshala, my wife and my children, everyone, they were killed in the camps." I didn't know what he meant. But I did know not to ask. Several months later, my mother showed me brochures for the summer camp she thought I should attend ... I protested. I told her I wasn't going to any camp because children were killed there. And that's when I first was told the story of the Holocaust. And that's when it started to make sense to me when several months later, Grandma Ehrlich stroked my hair and once again sadly said, "You're the only one, Marshala, the only one left."

Holtzman: From my earliest years my mother tried to prepare me for life in what she perceived as a hostile, dangerous world. She did her best to negate any notion I might have about the United States being a place of safety for Jews. "Don't ever get the idea that it can't happen here," she would tell me. "It almost did." ... I don't know how old I was when she first warned me to watch out for people who say, "Some of my best friends are Jews." ... Another legacy of this transgenerational or intergenerational transmission of trauma (Root, 1992; Schlosser, 2006) was a lot of early training in being constantly on the alert, scanning the horizon for danger, anticipating everything that could possibly go wrong, and finding a way to either prevent it or fix it. I don't think my parents had ever heard of Murphy's Law, but their own version of it was implicit in their interactions with me: "If something can go wrong, it will, and when it does it will be your fault." Even small slipups— an overdue library book, getting caught in the rain without an umbrella—brought stern admonitions: "How could you have allowed that to happen? You should have known better. You have to pay more attention to what's going on around you." No matter how trivial the real-world consequences of my lapse, it was evidence that I was being careless, and carelessness could be fatal.

Therapy practice as facilitating therapist healing/repair from Jewish collective and familial/relational trauma

Richman: It is striking that so many child survivors of the Holocaust and second generation have entered the mental health field (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988); we have transferred our concern with our traumatized parents to our patients. We are programmed to be rescuers and caretakers and have found a vicarious way to heal ourselves as well... My profession has been a tremendous source of gratification and healing for me. It is immensely satisfying to feel deeply connected to others, to feel that the work that I am engaged in is meaningful as well as intellectually and emotionally fulfilling.

Holtzman: ... I'm not only permitted but required to do what was once taboo: I get to ask all the forbidden questions, bring up unmentionable subjects, point out inconsistencies, and piece together the answers to the mysteries. Professional ethics mandate that I maintain the boundaries appropriate to the relationship even if the patient wants us to overstep them ... Professional ethics also require me to give a high priority to my own self-care in order to preserve my ability to be an effective therapist. This provides a dramatic and welcome contrast with the self-abnegation demanded of me by my parents.

Kaschak: As a therapist, I was finally in a position to insist on hearing the real story ... It was a lot better than secrets or no story at all. I was captivated by the questions and the sense, at last, that I had not only the right, but the obligation to ask and to keep asking questions until I got some answers that felt true and that proved true.

Firestein: The Jewish Women’s Caucus of the Association for Women in Psychology certainly provided the most stimulating call to re-approach and explore my Jewish identity.
Bergman: Unexpectedly, there is also something that my experiences as a therapist have contributed to the development of my relationship with Judaism, and that is faith. I have learned the necessity of faith in every aspect of life through the privilege of having access to the intimate details of the most painful sorrows and joyful triumphs of people’s lives.
I. Jewish ritual practice and spirituality
<i>Jewish prayer and ritual practice</i>
Brown: We were raised joyously celebrating the Jewish holidays, no Chanukah bushes in our household, but long, loud seders presided over by my Zeide (the one who did the cutoffs).
Mirkin: Later, I would enthusiastically join in on the songs as my uncle banged the table while singing aloud in his gusty voice. I could almost keep up with him as he belted out the verses of the traditional seder song, Dayenu ... Then the entire family would join in the one word chorus, “Dayenu”: it is enough for us. And it was. At those moments, I felt filled with the joy of family and ritual.
Ancis: I have attended synagogues of many different denominations ... Orthodoxy in many ways provided me with an appreciation of Judaism for Judaism’s sake. The Conservative movement has provided me with an alternative perspective to certain laws and behaviors. I have moved from a self-imposed pressure to find a place and stick with it to one where I have developed a greater appreciation of Judaism in its multiple expressions.
Holtzman: ... Be Present, Inc., a national, nonprofit organization founded by Black women... both Jews and non-Jews ... It is in this setting, more often than in any other, that I participate in Jewish religious rituals. I am able to do so without feeling inauthentic because part of my contribution to the ritual is speaking about my relationship to it as a nonbelieving, nonpracticing Jew.
Kaschak: Once in a while, I might light a candle or attend a service, particularly those focused on social justice.
Stepakoff: May her spirit continue to inform my work. And may her memory be for a blessing.
<i>Jewish philosophy</i>
Holtzman: Then I learned from my Jewish peers that believing in God might help you to be a good person, but it wasn’t enough to make you a good Jew. There were 613 commandments you were supposed to obey.
Mirkin: For me, the ancient stories from Torah captured my imagination and I felt that the characters were people I knew personally. My school followed the Jewish tradition of encouraging multiple interpretations of holy texts and encouraged us to argue with and develop our own understanding of the holy words, so I was engaged from the start. Little would my teachers have predicted that their mandate to me to develop my own understanding of these stories would eventually lead me away from orthodoxy and toward more egalitarian forms of Judaism.
<i>Jewish spirituality</i>
Mirkin: I could almost keep up with him as he belted out the verses of the traditional seder song, Dayenu, which cited example after example of how we can live in the moment of the blessing without wanting more, even if there’s more to be had... At those moments, I felt filled with the joy of family and ritual. It is enough. It is more than enough.
Holtzman: ...my brief stint as a Jew in the sense of “member of a Jewish Congregation ... increased my receptiveness to spirituality, which to me means experiences of transcendence and community.
Bergman: I feel a sense of community in my shul and I am proud that I am providing my daughters with the sense of spiritual community that I did not have as a child.

Firestein: ... a safe space, a sacred space, for coming into contact with one's self and with something greater than one's self.
Ancis: I have always felt a longing for a greater understanding of Judaism, a longing for a Jewish education, a longing to read Hebrew, to know the prayers, to connect with my religion.
Heffer: How does one build a bridge across difference? How do we hold on to the reality that we are different while striving for the ideal that we are all one in our humanity is the challenge? ... my spiritual understanding that we are all human beings who are learning to live together, who have more things in common than are different... I believe that life is a gift that we are given to use to the best of our ability, in balance with others.
<i>Jewish religious/spiritual exploration</i>
Ancis: I have attended synagogues of many different denominations: Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Orthodox. Aspects of each appeal to me and others do not. I still often feel apprehensive about critiquing any one denomination as the more I learn, the more I realize how much I do not know.
Firestein: I simply disengaged from my identity as a Jew and went about my life finding spiritual fulfillment through quasi-Jewish, quasi-Buddhist, and nature-based approaches to spirituality.
<i>Interfaith/non-Jewish spirituality</i>
Mirkin: I don't experience my parents' fear or sense of betrayal when I enter a church or a mosque, and I can appreciate the spiritual strengths of traditions that aren't mine.
Firestein: In the dream I worshipped across the wall from non-Jewish worshippers, yet when I looked to the front of the sanctuary, I saw that we were all worshipping at the same sacred altar.
Firestein: I simply disengaged from my identity as a Jew and went about my life finding spiritual fulfillment through quasi-Jewish, quasi-Buddhist, and nature-based approaches to spirituality.
Brown: I became more interested in how Judaism could integrate with feminism and with other, heart-opening forms of spiritual practice.
Kaschak: I do, however, finally have a serious spiritual practice. It is fairly eclectic, but based mainly in Buddhism. This is so for many Jews of my generation. I see Buddhism as an antidote, as soothing, quiet, a way to reduce our inherited terror and sorrow.
<i>Jewish ritual practice/spirituality and psychotherapeutic practice</i>
Dworkin: In spite of the fact that few of my clients are Jewish the beliefs and rituals I practice sometimes are helpful to clients. I have often explained the shivah practice where Jews grieve deeply for a loss for seven days. (Actually, the grief process covers a year with increasing movement from self-absorbed grief to once again being part of the world at large.) Clients experiencing loss welcome hearing about the Jewish practice that truly recognizes how grief impacts one's daily functioning. Sometimes my clients and I can develop a meaningful ritual emphasizing their beliefs while incorporating portions of the Jewish shivah process.
Bergman: Unexpectedly, there is also something that my experiences as a therapist have contributed to the development of my relationship with Judaism, and that is faith. I have learned the necessity of faith in every aspect of life through the privilege of having access to the intimate details of the most painful sorrows and joyful triumphs of people's lives. I know that sometimes there are forces operating beyond explanation, beyond science, and certainly beyond my comprehension, and I have come to appreciate that force. As a psychologist, I have a yearning to quantify, measure, and analyze everything, but I am also learning that there might be some elements to the healing process that we will never uncover, and that this just might not be a bad thing.
Heffer: How does one build a bridge across difference? How do we hold on to the reality that we are different while striving for the ideal that we are all one in our humanity is the challenge? ... Not only is this a continuing dialectic in my own life but also in my work as a therapist. I use my spiritual

understanding that we are all human beings who are learning to live together, who have more things in common than are different, in my work with clients. I believe that if we focus on our similarities rather than our differences it will counteract the isolation that many people experience that keeps them stuck in their pain.

Firestein: I have come to view my work as a psychologist as a secular version of my father's profession [Rabbi]. Like my father, I deal with the innermost dimensions of people's lives. The ... people who seek my counsel do so to be understood, to find a place of compassionate acceptance, to experience a sense of belonging ... My father tended to the physically ill, the spiritually ailing and ... no doubt dealt with all manner of emotional and psychological difficulties among his congregants. He provided a safe space, a sacred space, for coming into contact with one's self and with something greater than one's self. I feel my work as a psychologist to be a calling of the same depth and clarity as most clergy would assert their calling to serve God.

Brown: As a Jew I know that getting what you want takes time; exile can be long, return is never simple. The process of psychotherapy with the people I work with, survivors in many instances of long-term, chronic trauma, is a long exile from self and safety, and I know that time must be taken for the healing process, the process of return to self, to occur. I know that asking difficult questions is necessary and that life contains pain and loss but that pain and loss can be transformed through connection into joy.

Stepakoff: In the Book of Genesis—the first book in the Hebrew Bible—the idea is set forth that every human being is created in the image of God. Although I don't think of this concept in purely religious terms, I do try my best to see the humanity, worth, and spiritual core of every client.

J. Jewish identity and psychotherapy practice

Jewish identity and career choice as therapist

Dworkin: Also on Friday night, the beginning of the Shabbat, not only did we light candles (which I loved and still love) but each member of the family put a little bit of money into the Tzadaka box, a box for money for charity. My donation came from my allowance. This is where I learned that it is required of us to give to those who are less fortunate ... Perhaps this practice began my desire for a career that improves the lives of others.

Heffer: The fact, idea, or feeling of being the outsider made me endlessly curious about what the lives of other people were like. I was frequently reminded that I was different. I was the "Jewish" friend when introduced to friend's families, or when I went to friend's country clubs and told not to let anyone know that I was Jewish ... It is not surprising that I chose a career as a therapist, where my work requires—demands—that I step into the shoes of others and experience life from their vantage point. This is something I have been doing in some way or other since I was a child who felt different from others.

Richman: The profound confusion of my childhood [as Holocaust survivor] had long-term effects. The need to understand turned out to be a pervasive theme in my life. I believe that it was one of the main reasons that I chose my profession. I am committed to understanding human behavior and motivation; it is my job to help people make sense of what is puzzling in them and in their interpersonal relationships. Also, I am certain that it is not an accident that I have chosen to dedicate myself to a healing profession. It is striking that so many child survivors of the Holocaust and second generation have entered the mental health field (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988); we have transferred our concern with our traumatized parents to our patients. We are programmed to be rescuers and caretakers and have found a vicarious way to heal ourselves as well. Our dedication to a healing profession is also an opportunity to give back because we feel grateful to have been spared.

Holtzman: It's hard to imagine a career choice for which years of attempting to meet my parents' needs [in the context of Jewish collective trauma] could have better prepared me. As a therapist I'm rewarded for using the skills I learned as a child: I help people to heal emotionally by engaging with them empathically, striving to see the world from their point of view and disclosing my own thoughts and

<p>feelings only when it's in the patient's best interests. At the same time, I'm not only permitted but required to do what was once taboo [in the context of family secrets and collective trauma]: I get to ask all the forbidden questions, bring up unmentionable subjects, point out inconsistencies, and piece together the answers to the mysteries.</p>
<p>Mirkin: I knew my mother as a victim of her history and her gender role, and I wish there had been a therapist in her young life who could have helped her develop her alternative stories, a therapist who saw herself or himself as a healer.</p>
<p><i>Jewish collective trauma and motivation to practice therapy</i></p>
<p>Stepakoff: In particular, with my firsthand awareness of the psychological harm caused by silences about traumatic events, I have consistently tried to support clients in finding the words to speak about their feelings and experiences. I have tried my best to offer them my empathy and emotional presence so that they will feel able to connect with their truths and tell their stories.</p>
<p>Mirkin: I've seen what can happen when trauma interacts with restrictions on ways of successfully channeling one's responses to trauma.</p>
<p><i>Therapy practice and Tikkun Olam (repairing the world)</i></p>
<p>Firestein: ... there is the Jewish value of tikkun olam, the Judaic concept of "repair of the world" that we can participate in through our work as therapists...</p>
<p>Stepakoff: I have become more keenly aware that to feel professionally fulfilled I need to devote significant time and energy to disempowered populations. By doing so, I am giving expression to values that originate in both my family history and larger ethnic identity ... I have often found it helpful to bring to bear the chutzpah of my ancestors so as to better serve my clients... In the United States, this sometimes took the form of having to battle managed care companies and Medicaid so that clients could obtain the mental health services to which they were legally entitled. In Guinea and Sierra Leone, this often took the form of helping clients access food, shelter, protection, and medical care through advocating with nongovernmental organizations or the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees).</p>
<p><i>Jewish minority identity and sensitivity to sociocultural factors in clinical practice</i></p>
<p>Ancis: ...the concept of code switching, or adapting my speech and nonverbal gestures depending on context, is familiar to me on a personal level ... I have been the recipient of misinterpretations due to my cultural expressions. As such, I am able to communicate the importance of understanding cultural background and its connections to verbal and nonverbal behavior in a clinical setting.</p>
<p>Stepakoff: As a small minority in the United States and worldwide, Jews are very familiar with the feelings of discomfort, invisibility and alienation that arise when persons in positions of authority mistakenly assume that everyone is of the same religious or ethnocultural background, or engage in any form of proselytizing. In my work with clients from a wide variety of backgrounds, and particularly in the support groups I have led, I have tried hard to ensure that there is space for diverse forms of religious and ethnocultural expression. In Africa, I have facilitated counseling groups in which singing, drumming, rituals, and Christian and Muslim prayers were combined with Western approaches to healing. In the Middle East, I have worked with Iraqi clients who have chosen to utilize Koranic verses and traditional Arab proverbs as part of their recovery from war trauma.</p>
<p>Mirkin: I cannot look at the individual without understanding the family, community, society, and contexts of race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and more. It is through these contexts that we suffer, and it is from that same well that we draw our strengths.</p>
<p><i>Jewish identity and countertransference</i></p>
<p>Mirkin: "Whom should we trust?" was the mantra that surrounded me in my childhood. People had to earn trust. It wasn't taken for granted...Nowadays, I understand and am not thrown by clients who</p>

<p>come to me resentful and suspicious. After all, why should they trust me? ... So I've learned to be patient with myself and with others and to give my clients time to decide if I'm trustworthy given the contexts of their past experiences as well as what I bring to the therapy.</p>
<p>Heffer: These stories [of my ancestors] reverberated in my mind and have left an imprint of fear, worry, and suspicion. The question that arises from this is who can be trusted, for what, and for how long. When will they turn? Even now, when I meet new people, these are questions that flash through my mind. Clearly issues of trust come up in my work with clients, and knowing my sensitivity to issues around trust, I have to pay special attention to my countertransference in this area.</p>
<p>Richman: Nowhere is this as evident for me as when I am working with people who are highly religious, regardless of their particular religion. It is in those situations that I worry about my countertransference. My concern is that because of my personal bias [impacted by collective trauma], I may miss some significant aspects of an individual's values and belief system.</p>
<p>Holtzman: When I'm working with a Jewish patient who is religiously observant, has had an extensive secular Jewish education, or is an ardent Zionist, I am vulnerable to feeling that she perceives me as not enough of a Jew or the wrong kind of Jew. There is a temptation, which I try to resist, to display what knowledge I have acquired about things Jewish in a fruitless effort to win the approval I longed for as a child.</p>
<p><i>Jewish identity, status as outsider/other, and relationships with clients</i></p>
<p>Bergman: By beginning my professional training in a place where I continued to maintain my "outsider" status, I began to explore how these factors might affect my therapeutic work. Initially, I tended to focus on similarities rather than differences between my patients and myself. Historically, this was my way of dealing with the feeling of being an outsider, so I was pretty good at it. This skill has served me well in making connections with patients and developing a therapeutic alliance. On the other hand, I have learned that my status as an "outsider" may also facilitate the therapeutic relationship ... my status as an "outsider," may have provided some safety for the family in disclosing their secret.</p>
<p>Brown: My family has taught me the value of standing in the outsider position, to prize that place in the social ecology and to know that anyone can become an Other. As a therapist I seem constitutionally unable to otherize my clients, rather I see us standing together in alliance, both of us on the outside looking in. By doing so, we create an inside in which therapy can happen.</p>
<p>Holtzman: Jews have historically been perpetual outsiders, and this is a role I find very familiar... As a psychotherapist, I am paradoxically both inside and outside the patient's life. My patients tell me their most private thoughts and feelings, their life stories, and their hopes for the future. Over time, if the therapy goes well, we come to deeply appreciate and care about one another. On the other hand, we do not participate in each other's lives outside of my office. I hear a lot about the people in the patient's life, but I rarely meet them. Thus being a therapist allows me to experience some of the rewards of an intimate relationship while remaining within my comfort zone at the periphery.</p>
<p>Heffer: Steeped in Jewish culture, my family was part of a small enclave of Jews who had chosen to leave the safety of a larger Jewish community and make their homes in a Catholic neighborhood. I believe this was the beginning of my understanding of feeling like an outsider. That sense of outsidership was a mentality that would help me to understand the struggles of people who fall outside of the mainstream expectations and common wisdom of their communities.</p>
<p>Ancis: ... the apprehension, the discomfort, the fear associated with the potentially negative sentiments of others around my identity is something I have felt in my guts. I understand what it feels like to be "the other" in terms of one's cultural identity, to not feel completely comfortable being oneself in public. This understanding allows me to empathize with clients who are or have been "the other."</p>
<p>***Ancis: While I may have a degree of emotional insight into the lived experience of a Black woman as a function of my own challenges and struggles with stereotyping, I can never fully claim to "know" this experience in the core of my being as I have not lived it. I know how I feel when someone from a</p>

<p>different religious/ethnic identity and/or gender claims to “know” my experience. I caution students and myself about being quick to make such a claim with the intent of “connecting” with their clients. It may in fact be perceived as a therapeutic miss, one the client may never directly communicate.</p>
<p><i>Family’s immigration histories and connection with immigrant/refugee clients</i></p>
<p>Stepakoff: ... often I looked into the eyes of the man, woman, or child in need and truly had the feeling that I was seeing one of my own relatives, even if the skin color and features and accent and dress were unlike those of anyone in my family ... the face that I saw was that of my grandmother, Gittel, who came on a ship, across the Atlantic ocean, to Ellis Island, when she was 12 years old.</p>
<p>Heffer: Grandpa John came to the United States at the age of 11... Looking at the photographs on display at Ellis Island, I was struck with their rich ethnicity, with faces alive with hope, joy, pain, and mischief. These stories encouraged my adventurous spirit. They opened my eyes to the struggles people have taken on to find safety in their worlds and peace in their hearts.</p>
<p>Mirkin: I remember that my mom was an immigrant and my dad the eldest son of poor immigrants. Their fears as well as their hopes are part of me. Their need to establish a familiar community in a strange and at times unaccepting land is both understandable and moving to me. So now, as a therapist, I love working with and consulting and teaching about immigrant families. I am curious about and interested in the beliefs that fuel their resilience as they struggle in their new and strange home.</p>
<p><i>Psychotherapy practice with Jewish clients</i></p>
<p>Stepakoff: I value opportunities to work with Jewish clients, and I believe that a shared ethnocultural heritage can strengthen the therapeutic relationship... Protestants (as well as some other white non-Jewish ethnic groups) ... many Jewish clients may feel more comfortable with a Jewish (versus non-Jewish) therapist. If a non-Jewish therapist is working with a Jewish client, the possibility of a strong therapeutic relationship and a successful treatment will be enhanced if the therapist is at least familiar and comfortable with Jewish cultural and ethnic norms.</p>
<p>Holtzman: There may be things it is easier for me to understand than it would be for a non-Jewish therapist, but that may not always be the case. There may even be times when we both assume that I do understand and it may be some time before we realize that we’re talking about two different things. Furthermore, even when our experience ... Some Jewish patients may seek out a Jewish therapist in order to ensure that the therapist isn’t anti-Semitic, although I don’t remember any of my patients ever stating that explicitly. It is worth noting here that Jewish</p>
<p>Cole: I would feel fortunate to be able to explore any of the previously mentioned issues in therapy. They all relate to my being Jewish. They are all important to me. And yet none would have brought me to a therapist’s door ... This narrative is a call to therapists to be proactive in eliciting deeper truths from Jewish clients than those that may appear on the surface, particularly for Jews who do not realize the depth of their Jewish identity. They may not be observant. They may have few Jewish friends and a non-Jewish partner and appear to be fine about this. They may live in a community with a very small Jewish population. But they may, even unwittingly, be scanning the room.</p>
<p><i>Negotiating coming out as Jewish to clients</i></p>
<p>Holtzman: If an orthodox Jewish patient asks if I’m Jewish, I will volunteer the information that I’m not religious because I think that has direct and legitimate relevance to her decision whether or not to work with me. Similarly, if I know a patient was referred to me because I’m Jewish, I’ll ask if it’s important to her to work with someone who’s religious, and decide together whether to immediately refer her to another therapist or explore the issue further. Even if the question doesn’t come up in the initial interview, I think most Jewish patients quickly recognize that I’m Jewish, whether from my last name, from how I talk, or from my familiarity with aspects of Jewish culture or religious practices. Non-Jewish patients may pick up the same cues. If our usual appointment time coincides with one of the High Holy Days, I will say explicitly that I need to reschedule because of the Jewish holiday. If the</p>

<p>question is asked later in the therapy, I will answer it concisely and then explore what prompted them to ask and what it means to them that I am.</p>
<p>Firestein: In the context of a client’s exploration of their own spirituality or religious practice, I sometimes feel it is important to allow them the benefit of understanding my frame of reference and the context that influences my responses to them on religious or spiritual matters. Occasionally, I disclose my religious upbringing to very religious (usually Christian) clients so that they can make an informed decision about whether they wish to work with a non-Christian therapist.</p>
<p>Dworkin: Because I take the Jewish holidays off from work, those clients who need to be rescheduled want to know why ... so I tell my clients that it is a holiday for me. If they ask questions about my religion I will answer them, of course keeping my answers short so as not to interfere with their time. This not only satisfies their curiosity, but it gives them the freedom to discuss the place religion and spirituality has in their lives.</p>
<p><i>Jewish identity as associated with therapeutic orientation</i></p>
<p>Bergman: I have always identified myself as eclectic, being trained in both cognitive-behavioral and psychodynamic approaches. Now I find myself feeling like an outsider in both “circles” because I do not affiliate exclusively with one or the other. Luckily, I am comfortable in this position given the practice that I have had throughout my life. This dual identity allows me access to the benefits of both approaches, where I can pick and choose that which makes sense for me and for my patients/clients.</p>
<p>Holtzman: ... the parallels between Freudian psychoanalysis and the Jewish mystical tradition. Both regard the surface of what is communicated as concealing a deeper, hidden meaning that must be painstakingly unearthed in order to release its power. Both regard multiple, even contradictory interpretations of a single text or behavior as the norm. The Jewishness of psychoanalytic thinking may have contributed to my receptiveness to it ... I remain fascinated by the process of collaborating with my patients to unravel the meanings implicit in the stories they tell about their lives.</p>
<p>Stepakoff: The Jewish background of Sigmund Freud undoubtedly had some bearing on his development of a curative approach that relies on looking inward and describing one’s deepest thoughts, feelings, and memories. It is also not a coincidence that in several countries (e.g., the U.S., Argentina, South Africa), Jews tend to be more comfortable with the premises and practices of psychodynamic psychotherapy than are many other ethnocultural groups. In my clinical work, this value is expressed in the soul-searching I engage in regarding my responses to clients, and in my efforts to process my thoughts and feelings about the work via discussions with colleagues, supervision, writing, and in my own psychotherapy.</p>
<p>Brown: ... I believe that my strong, visible presence as a Jew in the world of feminist psychology has been of value, not in passing along the biological material of Jewishness but in passing along the intellectual genetics of Jewishness in the DNA of feminist practice. I ask questions, think critically, engage in the Jewish practice of pilpul (argument about scholarship)...</p>