VOICES OF SURVIVORS:
POST-HOLOCAUST DIALOGUE AS A PATH TO RECONCILIATION

by

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ABSTRACT

Voices of Survivors: Post-Holocaust Dialogue as a Path to Reconciliation

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This practical theological study on intercultural reconciliation investigates peacebuilding as a community practice of Jewish-Christian engagement. With exilic meaning-making that signaled the inner wounding of Holocaust survivors, spiritual mutism became an entry point to dialogue and reconciliation in Canada. For a broad perspective on the victim-centric phenomenon, a lens of cultural trauma was used in analysis of empirical and historical data for locating the empathy and inner exilic workings of child survivors in their practice with diverse people of faith. Characterized as "shared space," intercultural reconciliation emerged from trauma-informed religion.

The Holocaust marked a pivotal period in world history and a turning point in Christian-Jewish relations. Starting in 1960, child survivors participated in the first ecumenical community organization after the Holocaust. Within two years of its civil rights initiative, Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto (CJDT) was incorporated by the Anglican Church of Canada. Contributions to greater belonging with support for survivor agency facilitated their healing from cultural trauma. In bearing "witness" to the Holocaust, CJDT participants saw lives transformed with the post-traumatic growth and a legacy of embodied mercy, truth and reconciliation in the voices of survivors.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was the product of a promise made to survivors. As children, they had witnessed genocidal campaigns that did not end with the Holocaust. Thanks to their encouragement, my research study on reconciliation captured the voices of survivors.

I was shown hospitality by many who opened their homes (more than a dozen), their lives, memoirs, personal collections, or artifacts. “Hidden children” from Central Asian and Russian Far East regions, such as Joseph Klinger and Aaron Yermus, welcomed me in conversations with Holocaust survivors or partners in Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto. By an invitation, fifteen years ago, Esther Bem and Ada Wynston delivered a final wish: that I should never forget nor let the flame of “peace” die out.

Words cannot express my gratitude to the various people who lent their support, time, and wisdom. My supervisor, Dr. Gordon Heath, modelled an inclusive style of servant leadership that was essential to dialogue as to life in community. Dr. Cynthia Westfall reminded me that true engagement was like partnering in a dance, whether in the academy or in social justice. Dr. Phil Zylla and external examiner Dr. Leanna Fuller gave their resources in the use of social psychology within practical theology. Dr. Mark Boda shared his writing and his roots (in Saskatchewan), where my first foray toward mutual respect began with residential school survivors at Muskoday Baptist Church.

I owe a debt of thanks to family. My parents and my husband were a rock in the pandemic. Our children were also sources of strength and joy, which grew from seeing them live out the grace and values that offer beautiful meaning to my life and to others.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Adverse Childhood Experiences
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
CJDT	Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto
GT	Grounded Theory
HEW	Holocaust Education Week (Holocaust Remembrance)
HTR	Historical Trauma Response
ICEJ	International Christian Embassy Jerusalem
PT	Practical Theology
PTG	Post-traumatic growth
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (of Canada)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Where was God?" asked Ada. Inside her humble apartment, heaven's cry hid behind the face of a survivor of the Holocaust. Like other survivors with the impacts of genocide from childhood, the signs were evident decades later. Ada expressed her loss of trust and of *home*, left behind in war-torn Europe.

The events of the Holocaust led to overwhelming stress, particularly for overlooked victims of trauma: children of Jewish victims of the Nazis. To be a child survivor was not only to have witnessed unspeakable horrors; underlying this was a personal knowledge of absolute evil. Trauma from childhood haunted the memories of survivors like Elie Wiesel, whose autobiographical *Night* detailed his ordeals in Auschwitz concentration camp. He described the effect of seeing the bodies of children alit on fire in a ditch. Reflecting on 1944, he wrote, "Never shall I forget those moments that murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to ashes."[1]

Since the death of the cosmic sacred, genocidal risks spread globally. With each armed conflict, absolutism and religious or exclusive ideologies grew, thus contributing to factors that accounted for three dozen more mass atrocities or genocides with their impacts upon children. As understood from the systematic murder of nearly six million Jews during the Holocaust, each eruption of violence on a scale of extreme ethnocentrism resulted in acts of violence against

[1] Wiesel, *Night*, 34.

cultural communities. These memories of collective trauma were carried *en masse* to Canadian shores, immediately after the Second World War (1939–1945) in Europe.

Community continuity was ensured through intergenerational transmission and social practices in time and space. Despite postwar legal changes, such as the United Nations' Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), systematic purges and ethnic cleansing led to scalable effects that ranged from forced removals to serious mental or bodily injuries against adults and children. Churches across Canada recognized the value of Christian-Jewish dialogue by 1992, three decades after Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto initiated Holocaust Remembrance Week. Reaffirmed "in the shadow of the Holocaust," religious reflection with a spirit of contrition fuelled acknowledgements of deaths in Europe in the range of ninety percent or more of Jewish children (1.5 million). After Holocaust Education Week had spread globally from Toronto, Protestant churches admitted a prayer for mercy (June 30, 2023) and eight decades following the Holocaust, "For Reconciliation with the Jews" entered the Anglican Church of Canada's *Book of Common Prayer*.[2]

However, child survivors continued to bear the physical, emotional, and spiritual marks of past pain. With ongoing antisemitism, their fear of returning to former homes in Europe endured after the Holocaust. Reconciliation needed defining through greater cultural and psychological awareness.[3] Despite seeking enhanced and inclusive approaches to heal divides, generally work toward reconciliation "has not taken the historical context and the consequences

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[2] Through Nate Leipciger, co-founder of Toronto's Holocaust Museum and CJDT leader, Holocaust Remembrance Week (CJDT) assumed the name Holocaust Education Week, later adopted by Toronto's new Museum unveiled by Leipciger. Soon afterward, the Anglican Church's General Synod formally apologized for historical (in)action alongside its communion partner, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, with the 1992 vote, First Reading in 2019, and their 2023 Synod. Resolution A051 was ratified: "For Reconciliation with the Jews" replaced "For the Conversion of Jews."

[3] The BBC ran a programme called, "God on Trial." Jewish inmates demanded to know the nature of a God that allowed suffering in Auschwitz, where God was treated as a covenant-breaking enemy in the fictional trial (September 2008).

of different historical accounts into consideration."[4] An understudied subject was the role of minority networks in reconciliation, which warranted evaluating or reimagining reconciliation with survivors. By using different empirical methods in a constructivist grounded theory study, theorizing involved engaging with survivors and systematic analysis to contextualize and explain their practice. Since simple observation of the intercultural phenomenon could not fully capture the developing process over time and space, a conceptual framework needed to be built with critical evaluations of "mixed methods," using a broad basis of research findings: collected *empirical* data; *biblical* evidence for a theological dimension; and contextualized *historical* correlations to test conclusions on the local significance of survivor actions to identity transformation. In the voices of survivors, post-traumatic growth was located with social and religious conditions for continuously engaging cultural memories of trauma within Christian–Jewish Dialogue of Toronto (1960–2020). The research study presents the findings on the mutual interactions between twenty-one Jews or survivors of the Holocaust and twenty multicultural faith leaders involved in CJDT.[5] A legacy of peacemaking was examined through their developing dialogic practice with community, survivor agency, and cultural navigation.

Despite attaining recognition, child survivors struggled with inner wounds and with losses in childhoods that were stolen. Without a sense of *home*, their deep need for repair was warranted yet went unacknowledged until later in Canadian life. According to a biblical model of empathic growth, a hospitable context of reception was created with mentoring or cultural capital—marking a collective "boundary spanning" practice that warranted authentic

[4] In 1937, as a national body of the Anglican Church in Canada, the Council for Social Service issued a proclamation, denouncing: "un-Christian" antisemitic propaganda like the Canadian Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship's anti-Nazi resolution (November 1937). By the early sixties, forty Toronto parishes representing thousands of Anglican families and Baptists in Christian-Jewish Dialogue.

[5] Upon extending open invitations to numerous Catholics, Protestant and Jewish clergy for constructive grounded theorizing, twenty CJDT leaders were selected for the sample from the only faith leaders who responded: a rabbi and Protestant/evangelicals. Historically, most CJDT congregations were Protestant with female lay leaders.

intercultural/religious networking. Over half a century, this social process connected spiritual and emotional aspects of healing to a developing relational practice; "witnesses" engaged in Holocaust Remembrance and dialogue with multicultural faith partners, who shared in their cultural trauma. Recovering survivors with their sense of agency distinguished a CJDT practice of reconciliation from other models, based on prior service/provider or cross-cultural missional frameworks.

The intercultural aim of this research study was to investigate the meaning of reconciliation between Jews and Christians, who practically related cultural trauma with post-Holocaust dialogue in their minority religious field. Capturing the voices of survivors involved interviewing, surveying, and observing participants of Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto (CJDT). Diverse faith leaders, both men and women, explored reconciliation to make visible the unique categories of the survivor-led practice that developed from 1960 without interruption, until the outbreak of the global COVID-19 pandemic. Nearly two years before survivors' public testimonies led to the conviction of "Holocaust mastermind" Adolf Eichmann and around a decade before the model of survivor "witness" was spread by CJDT founders to other nations, CJDT incorporation and survivor testimonies uniquely began to transform Canadian society.[6] With robust social ties, Christians and Jews constituted a practice that provided the focus of this study for a glimpse into intercultural reconciliation, as an outcome of their shared legacy with lasting effects to this day.

[6] The eventual conviction of Eichmann and his execution in Israel (June 1,1962) was due to his "crimes against the Jewish people." With donations by Jews and CJDT congregations, a new Toronto Holocaust Museum was built (2020–2023).

Importance of the Research

In the twenty-first century, a greater awareness of child survivors emerged; and it helped to account for their collective victimhood and cultural trauma.[7] Fresh discoveries of unmarked graves triggered renewed attention on Indian residential schools after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). This resulted in the "pilgrimage of penance" by Pope Francis, who met Indigenous representatives and "Sixties Scoop" survivors of the child welfare system (July 24–30, 2022). Historical examples that warranted trauma studies and dialogue with child survivors were not limited to the Canadian context. However, with post-genocidal searches for narratives in Rwanda or in the former Yugoslavia, critics questioned the "either-or" nature of Truth and Reconciliation or its working definition. Genocidal risks continued unabated around the world with lasting effects on the trajectories of child survivors, whose lives had been impacted by complex trauma or by Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).[8] With globalization, mass migration and the displacement of over 90 million people since the 1990s revealed the need for ongoing cooperation and for peacebuilding to help "bind anew"—especially after global crises related to violent religious "awakening," to capitalist forms of modern imperialism, climate catastrophe, and political instability.[9]

Half of all refugees are estimated to be children. Today, after the deaths of many Holocaust survivors, the world is confronting a new era. Before the post-survivor reality, Christian professionals and advocates for the work of the Truth and Reconciliation recognized

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[7] The targeting of Jews as a cultural group and the multigenerational impacts included collective changes in victims; each of the study's child survivors experienced more than 4 adverse childhood events (ACE). These included displacement from forced removal and the loss of one or more family members.

[8] Trauma broadly refers to "the violation of human connection." This psychologically includes moral distress and the risk of PTSD "when the survivor has been not merely a passive witness but also an active participant in violent death or atrocity" (Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 54, 87).

[9] Pui-Lan, *Globalization, Gender, and Peacebuilding*, 5–9, 14.

that more could be learned from genocide and child survivors. The Holocaust represented not only a conscious dislocation, but also, a genocide that collectively disrupted a sense of *home* for adults and children with "every kind of estrangement or displacement, from the physical to the geographical to the spiritual."[10] Hence, Holocaust research could offer perspectives on trauma discourse; because without accounting sufficiently for cultural and faith formation in trauma-exposed children, theories can become formulated on dominant Western ideas with traditional (one-on-one) mental health therapy, such as scientific and organizational interventions with veterans or adult survivors of trauma. A greater focus on victimized children was needed to problematize survivor unburdening and integration, cultural alienation, and paths to post-trauma growth or resilience. For many child survivors, whether they themselves identified as religious or not, this process began with an understanding of the unexamined role of faith communities engaged in peacebuilding.

With the lasting impacts of trauma (emotional, psychosocial, or spiritual), a victim-centric approach to reconciliation intentionally regarded a Christian sense or social degree of moral responsibility. Barriers to meaningful relations had historically affected Jews and Christians of different backgrounds, in which growth could be stimulated with a desire for increased agency, belonging, and hospitable reception. Not only was the affective and dialogical embodiment of a "gift of mercy" extended to child survivors, but CJDT facilitated their full cultural participation. Alongside diverse communities of faith, this involved honouring ancestral culture: including overlooked matriarchs and children, the Bible referred to the "fatherless" orphan, the widow, and "exile" (e.g., Esther or Naomi). Often relating to women, the death of a parent or young family member could socially interrupt communication and spiritual fellowship

[10] Suleiman, *Exile & Creativity*, 2.

for the bereaved. This warranted attention to trauma survivors, who may display a temporary or selective "mutism" from unresolved grief and terror with the cession of victim agency and life assumptions.[11] As this research study proposes, when further accompanied by perceived or real moral transgressions for prolonged impairment, spiritual mutism can be defined as a condition marked by an inhibited capacity to cultivate and express trust in the divine or human "Other." However, in CJDT response, "inner exiles" enjoined Holocaust survivors in co-creating hospitable contexts of reception. Reconciling therein with themselves and with others shaped the liminal CJDT space that each could call *home*.

Spiritual Mutism and "Inner Exiles"

New discovery of a phenomenon of *spiritual mutism* occurred over years of studying and socially engaging with the inner life of child survivors. Many saw the possibility of a role for an intercultural practice of reconciliation after life events surrounding cultural trauma. Reflective of a hope of the forebear, intentionally cultivating their cultural knowledge of *soul* consciousness was connected to communal continuity and survival. Through signs of mutual respect, boundary-spanning support was shown to survivors on their paths toward purpose-filled lives. The fabric of collective and individual identity, as traditionally expressed through religion and culture, had been shattered with a totality that resulted in the cultural trauma of child survivors, for whom an internalized view of *repair* was "not good enough."[12] While tracing collective and spiritual trauma back to cultural communities of origin, a paradigmatic shift in acknowledging an exilic psychospiritual need for security helped to address multiple dimensions of child survivors, half

[11] Janoff-Bulman, *Shattered Assumptions*, 1.
[12] Lieberman, *Psychotherapy with Infants and Young Children*, 35, 83, 138.

of whom were diasporic women in this study. As seen, reconciliation indicated positive transformation with quality of experience (QoE).[13]

Ethnoreligious discrimination had produced shared understandings from diasporic memories of past lifeworlds. Lasting impacts from colonial conflicts could impact multiple generations within a family unit, as my immigrant parents, adoptive or biological grandparents and sibling(s), including First Nation "sisters" knew in our shared household. Different representative ethnicities, including Indigenous and Dutch Mennonite or Asian internees, identified with cultural loss and a search for protective factors after the threats posed to members of distinct groupings. Among hybrid or hyphenated ethnic identities, survivors were often minorities who faced exposure to trauma from unintended family separation, ethnic persecution, social exclusion, and involuntary migration. Hence, the need in postwar societies to narratively process or reframe life stories outside of a traumatic context was neither unusual nor unique in ways to Holocaust survivors. In *No Country for Old Men*, Sheriff Ed Bell reflected beside a veteran cousin with disabilities about spiritual loss in pursuing a career in law enforcement from his youth after his father, a former sheriff like himself in Texas. Looking back on decades of the murderous evil he had witnessed with Indigenous People and that took the life of his father, Ed Bell said, "I always figured when I got older God would come into my life somehow. And He didn't."[14]

Child survivors who experienced chronic exposure to multiple traumas could sometimes identify with the disconnection of exiles. From an early stage in life, they were neither free to act

[13] QoE provides a blueprint of human objective and subjective quality needs or experiences from fundamental relationships—a measurement that comprises part of this dual-purpose study on Survivors and faith leaders.

[14] Joel and Ethan Coen, *No Country for Old Men* (film), 2007.

nor to decide where to safely move or stay.[15] The human capacity to build emotional or spiritual connections could be impacted by cumulative harms from cultural erasure, historically perpetuated at mostly Catholic-run residential schools that operated in North America (as oftentimes in colonial Korea) throughout the early and mid-twentieth century. Returning from Cold War battlegrounds such as Vietnam, combat veterans and also nurses frequently reported deep damage from stressful exposures to violence. After being forced to prematurely forgive or "reconcile" with abusers during show trials, approximately one-third of South Africans who testified before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission promptly admitted themselves into mental institutions.[16] Like Indigenous officers who served the Police Services where my mother worked, many struggled with moral injury from witnessing levels of force disproportionately inflicted on their own group of people. In a postcolonial period, my father had struggled to aid war victims in Korea, where 100,000 unidentified orphans made "crazed" mothers bereft through bombings and successive wars. Later, while working at a women's emergency shelter and serving on the board of Global House for refugees, I saw a lack of coordinated response to assist marginalized children, who endured war crimes or abuses that compounded family tragedy. As different child survivors often said, "God didn't show up" in times of crisis.

Child survivors keenly understood the unwanted precarity of *internal exile* that globally confronted cultural groups relating to incidences of trauma through World War, as in biblical times. Therefore, "inner exile" was a helpful metaphor for comparing to a complex psychological condition: describing persons of transnational or multiple identity who had lost a physical *home* or community of belonging—to which "return" appeared impossible or unfeasible

[15] Besides leading Holocaust Remembrance, I witnessed stolen identities and psychological fallouts during my decades of personal involvement with organizations for direct support of refugees and the unhoused, including North Koreans, First Nations, and peoples of the global South.

[16] Kim, "Black Nursing."

even in peacetime. “Inner exile” could be used to refer to intersectional identities among Jewish diasporas following the Holocaust, as to refugees who faced expulsion or remained permanently unsettled. With an interiority likening child survivors to exiles of the past (Neh 9:36–37), “in our own times the examples of the inner exile, of being an outcast within one’s own country, have depressingly multiplied.”[17] Exilic figures like Jesus or the patriarchs were commonly read and found in the Bible. Furthermore, in the cycle of the Hebrew calendar, the feast of Esther was celebrated annually at Purim, just before the Passover feast of exiles (Ezra 6:19).

Contextualized Reflective Practice

Beyond mere co-existence, empathy could be cultivated through contextualized practice. One problem with traumatized communities constituted their burden of self-healing with the onus of educating that was normally placed on victim identities. Their labour and profound wounds were rarely seen. Therefore, being blessed with intercultural relationships over a decade—while leading Holocaust Education Week in Toronto,[18] I was touched by CJDT networks, wherein persistent utterances of “empathy” and “comfort” spurred my study with a deeper investigation into reconciliatory practice. An added source of awareness about the impacts of soul wounds ostensibly grew over the many years of my relating to Jewish and Christian CJDT members. After CJDT was founded by the Anglican minister, Roland de Corneille,[19] CJDT’s unburying of cultural memories of trauma was initially opposed and then loudly supported by survivors such as Rabbi Erwin Schild, who had conversations with me as CJDT liaison on numerous occasions.

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[17] Expellees/refugees constituted categories of inner exiles with no mention of the cultural displacement included among “hidden children” and orphans in this dissertation. Tabori, *Anatomy of Exile*, 23, 32.

[18] In 2008, I was invited to be “Interfaith” Liaison for both Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto (Holocaust Remembrance) and Toronto’s Holocaust Museum, and eventually, co-chair of Holocaust Education Week by sitting on its Advisory Committee (UJA Federation of Greater Toronto).

[19] As the son of a French father who had died after rescuing Jews in the Holocaust and of a Swiss-Canadian single mother, Roland de Corneille immigrated and founded the Martin Luther King Fund and CJDT in 1960.

Connecting the horrific past to a hopeful future became an intercultural venture after the United Nations' Convention on Genocide in 1948 and transnational celebrations of Emancipation Day in Canada.[20] CJDT diasporic communities of faith partnered with Jews in Toronto to *never forget* their "joint" history.[21] Between mobilizing in 1960 and formally incorporating in 1962, CJDT shifted the focus away from proselytizing and toward ecumenical dialogue "like it has never been tried before."[22] While participating in CJDT events I promoted the work of activists like Patrick Desbois (*Holocaust by Bullets*).[23] As CJDT churches broadcasted speeches delivered by Reverend Martin Luther King, through the civil rights work of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto's Edith Land and Roland de Corneille, child survivors gained greater ecumenical support from Toronto's churches and synagogues (e.g., Har Zion, Holy Blossom). Hence, a network of intercultural reconciliation contributed to spoken words and acts imprinted on the "map" of Jewish immigrant neighbourhoods, where survivors once lived beside CJDT leaders such as Edith Land. Amid racial segregation being lifted in schools, they collectively represented a force for change and countered a fear of reprisals, as antisemitic or racist tropes in the *Defender* and Conservative press in the United States perpetuated harmful messaging and pain.

Into this milieu came the first wave of Jewish survivors from Europe. A decade later, the CJDT innovation of the week for Holocaust Remembrance uniquely developed annual

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[20] From 1954, Ontario's Windsor or Toronto faith groups annually hosted Civil Rights leaders Mary McLeod Bethune with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, followed by Dr. and Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1956–66).

[21] CJDT's Rev. Glen Nelson reiterated this message in his poem, "Holocaust Education Week."

[22] CJDT predated the interfaith *Nostra Aetate* ("In Our Time," 1965) document of the Second Vatican Council, and the 50th anniversary of this Catholic resolution in *Nostra Aetate* (Dec. 2015), which affirmed Judaism's uniqueness and denied any meaning of its guilt over the Crucifixion of Christ in Rom 9–11. Corneille, *Christians and Jews*, 93; cf. Pontifical Council, *Nostra Aetate* (No. 4).

[23] The author promoted the CJDT event to church leaders and drove or accompanied Holocaust Survivor Felicia Carmelly to Beth Tzedec synagogue (Oct. 4, 2010), where Desbois shared his discoveries from ground penetrating radar to unearth mass/unmarked graves in Europe.

Kristallnacht ("Night of Broken Glass") into an early ingathering of Holocaust survivors. Dozens confided about tactics of mimicry, as child survivors struggled to adapt to life in Canada as exiles—not knowing Hebrew or many aspects of their religious and cultural heritage from the earliest point of Jewish displacement until their immigration to Canada.[24] Before being asked to chair Holocaust Education Week in Toronto, I felt comfortable in relating to child survivors. In a sense, I shared their multidimensional social position "in-between" worlds.[25] Several such Jewish exiles were refugees from Siberia or the offspring of Nazi-experimented victims (e.g., Ada Wynston) who identified with the Dutch Mennonite pacifists or Asian-looking "Russian" liberators that made up recognizable identities among deportees of survivors and of my own mixed family. As ethnoreligious identities targeted by imperial invading armies, in the first half of the twentieth-century, Jews and Korean exiles including my great-grandparents had fled and inhabited cities such as Harbin, Shanghai, or ports in the Far Eastern seaboard of Russia.[26] Like other Jewish and mixed families excommunicated after the Nazis' introduction of Aryan laws (e.g., Croatia, July 1941), the Catholic Church excommunicated Asian independence fighters who struggled against tyranny for nationhood. Although Korean ancestral writers such as An Jung-Geun had pleaded for Christian reconciliation, relatives would reject faith after the moment of betrayal by Catholic church authorities hampered reconciliation at the Japanese sites of

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[24] Kim, "Access or Liberation? COVID-19 Intersections of Public Health, Gender, and Cultural Trauma," 482.

[25] Since 1999, social psychologists and ethnomusicologists recognized a sense of place(lessness) that characterizes minority exclusion from support networks and shapes empathic views or behaviour in physical, socio-emotional, spiritual, and cultural/cognitive aspects. Galtung, *Multidimensional Social Science*, 43.

[26] Originating in "Jerusalem North," alongside Russian Jews fleeing pogroms, my ancestors lived in cities overtaken by imperial Japan and Red Armies. Unethical human experiments on multiple identities took place in the Japanese Unit 731 (Harbin), at the same time as the Nazis' (Auschwitz). The Vatican branded my ancestor or Clan a "terrorist" entity before An Jung-Geun's public execution (1910); this inspired clan relation Dosan ("mountain"): An Chang-Ho, a leader of the Korean Provisional Government in exile with my great-grandfather Kim Bong-Jo. Dosan was exiled due to U.S. *Chinese Exclusion Act* with his family left behind in California, before his death from torture at a Japanese prison in colonial Korea (March 10, 1938). Kim Hoon's film *Harbin* (2018), like the Korean release, portrays the famed An: *Hero* (2023).

"Dosan" An Chang-Ho's incarceration or An Jung-Geun's execution (Lushun Prison, March 1910). Reminders of ancestral "martyrs" deported to Japan or of First Nations who witnessed colonial violence would bear similar features of moral wounding that remained hidden or silently unspoken within my family home in Canada. Yet, ongoing ethnocultural, emotional, and spiritual impacts still demanded an implicit understanding of cultural trauma. They included buried memories of ancestral suffering, after self-protective efforts to alter identity markers could not successfully conceal differences of ethnic or cultural origin, as Holocaust survivors shared.[27]

Eventually achieving financial stability at long last, social belonging would remain elusive for child survivors who felt that they inhabited mostly the outer margin of society. Their longing for the Old World never ceased; and yet, knowing that *home* no longer existed made any "return" seem unattainable. Therefore, escaping genocide did not beget thriving for individuals with collective reservoirs of memories or exilic hauntings.[28] Diasporic witnessing alongside diverse Survivors helped to inform exilic identities with deepening understandings of ethnocultural and religious persecution, after the most massive atrocity in modern history: the Holocaust of the 1930s and 1940s. Child Survivors rebuilt their lives in Canada after disruptions such as mass immigration. Their experience of aging featured neither counselling nor timely care after the Holocaust (Hebrew *Shoah*); and journeying from Displaced Persons camps, most had no knowledge of place or of languages on arriving at the final port of call (i.e., Halifax, Canada).

After a few dozen Holocaust survivors enjoined me on their path to gaining awareness of cultural and intergenerational trauma, they spoke for more than 200,000 child survivors who had

[27] Of 70,000 Korean bomb victims from Japanese factories (Nagasaki and Hiroshima, 1945), survivor Lee Jong-Keun exposed his real name to work for healing and peace at Auschwitz (Park, *Wounded Heart of God*, 26).

[28] Kim, "Access or Liberation? COVID-19 Intersections of Public Health, Gender, and Cultural Trauma," 485.

been carried abroad from German camps as Displaced Persons.[29] For these child survivors, their struggle to exist had depended on cultivating the ability to hide from fascist enemies over years, by surviving in disguise like many did in Canada. As forced labourers among the underaged in concentration camps or as War Orphans, the border-crossers did not celebrate long after World War or liberation. The Holocaust extinguished everything that the child survivor had known: parents or family, the security invested in a community, personal dreams, and a tender faith once held dear, until genocide destroyed this too. Inherently, at its root was the rejection of a culture (including religious worldview) that remained "unerasable," and in some respects, impossible to reconcile.

Christian minorities as well as those who escaped genocide could often relate to this state of inner exile. Before gaining global recognition in the twenty-first century, child survivors of the Holocaust constituted a category unto themselves. As a relatively unacknowledged yet populous group that had survived or witnessed the Holocaust (1939–1945), Jewish youth had borne cultural memories of systematic exterminations and constituted the (self) described *living dead*: those whose struggles were compounded by the inability to find any narrative or way of integrating experiences of egregious trauma.[30] As social or psychological distress added to their profound wounds, a persistent imprint conceived as *spiritual mutism* selectively added to the involuntary silence of child survivors.[31] For victims, complex trauma became a reported outcome from the prolonged stress faced by vulnerable identities, who were disproportionately exposed to traumatic impacts of ethnic or cultural targeting (e.g., forced labour battalions). Adverse childhood events (ACE) further contributed to the trauma, as child survivors were often exposed

[29] Mohatt et al., "Historical Trauma as Public Narrative,"128.
[30] Hamber and Wilson, "Symbolic Closure through Memory, Reparation and Revenge," 35, 36.
[31] With individual variations in conditions and signs, this dimension of trauma or the wounding process should neither be confused nor conflated with ambivalent or passive responses to human suffering.

to deportation or detentions, separation of family units, forced migration or disruptions. The helpless suffering of victimized people in places of incarceration or in concentration camps also left a profound impression on child survivors with PTSD.[32] Even if devastating loss seemed reversible, the memory imprint or an incapacity to hold onto faith could apprehend a survivor from overcoming their desire to seek revenge with the complex trauma that carried a stigma—historically likened to disability, to a sense of fear, or to moral betrayal often compounded by shame. As inner exiles, their moral belief system became broken by the lack of divine or human rescue. At a formative time without direction in human development, youth whose worldview or lifeworld was shattered could lose the capacity to maintain a spiritual sense of self. Lacking hope and harmony, the loss threatened a comprehensive conception of the world that had extended from family to include a sense of identity, culture, and intact community, until its utter erasure.

Year after year, over six decades of CJDT participation, child survivors discovered a cohesive form of reconciliation with their focus on more than just education or positive feelings alone. In creating an environment or habitus with new conditions for growth, their dialogical contributions to peacebuilding created an ongoing pattern of survivor-centric "repair" (*tikkun olam*) for another nation (*ethnos*).[33] Over several years of participant observation and with CJDT inclusion of Indigenous and Holocaust survivors,[34] diverse clergy, lay leaders, and survivors in Toronto regularly engaged with ethnic and not just with politically defined understandings of social identity in cultural recovery, embodied empathy, and peacemaking. Therefore, this

[32] Being of an ethnicity that was mistaken and colonized, captured Korean child soldiers in WWII Asia and my adopted Dutch Mennonite grandfather were deported to internment camps in North America; and likewise in Germany, his Hooge cousins from Holland were taken by Nazis to work camps. Most did not return home intact.

[33] The Hebrew (Talmudic) word *tikkun olam*, often translated with social connotation to generally mean "repair of the world," could be interpreted as spiritual and cultural (Greek *ethnos*), Corneille believed.

[34] Throughout over three years of COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, I spent each week in daily conversations or regular check-ins with Holocaust Survivors or the Jewish widows (e.g., hosting Survivors' weekly virtual gatherings).

dissertation examines the central role of ethnic or cultural origins of trauma in local communal responses to child survivors of the Holocaust, in seeking to answer the question: "What does CJDT peacebuilding/community look like to survivors of the Holocaust and to diverse Christians, who participated in intercultural dialogue and reconciliation?"

In post-conflict analysis, reconciliation was not just the absence of disagreement or of conflict but could entail mercy. Likened to a harmony or trust, as "the foundation of faith," the developing CJDT practice thus spurred transformation in child survivors.[35] Intergroup awareness was associated with a global rise in and heightened calls for honouring human rights after the Holocaust. The post-traumatic growth (PTG) of survivors was difficult to measure in the past. However, self-reported PTG by survivors could accompany recognition of not only human reconciliation but also its relation to spiritual reconciliation. Collectively connecting post-traumatic resilience to cultural and spiritual resources gained importance for enhancing personal healing or group reconciliation. Emerging intercultural avenues for public lament encouraged Canadians to make "space" for repentance, not only in private, but also through corporate remembrance within ecclesial bodies and Christian denominations. This coincided with the period of racial segregation in schools, which was still prevalent throughout North America on CJDT's inception in 1960.[36]

Over two centuries of growing cross-cultural support for social justice or reconciliation, mercy prepared the way to freedom in the church, which was defined in Canada by its practices during the mid-twentieth century. The move toward community "witnessing" had been

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[35] Herman credited Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) for coining PTG to indicate positive personality change, atoning for wrongs, or consciousness-raising acts (political or not). Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 54, 238, 242.

[36] After the sit-ins by the Chinese students denied public schooling in Victoria (1921), Anglicans or Methodists in Alberta applied pressure on the government over the Indian residential school system and also opposed wartime internment of Japanese-Canadians. The last segregated school for Blacks in Ontario closed its doors in the 1960s near Sandwich (Windsor), just before Mohawk Institute and Mt. Elgin Indian School closed.

historically enacted by minorities and Peace Churches. From the Underground Railroad of enslaved fugitives, who escaped with the help of the Niagara Movement's Canadian abolitionists, to Quakers' or Moravians' support for Jewish victims in Nazi Germany as in Suchdol, Christians of the Commonwealth interculturally influenced changes across the social landscape. In Canada, the cause of anti-slavery had already initiated more than a century of opposition to state-approved violence. Moravian Delaware Nation of the Thames (*Naahii*), together with the "upstream" Munsee-Delaware Nation (*Nalahii*) in Muncey near St. Thomas, helped pave the way through community truth-telling and "honourable dance." With Moravian-rescuers, they had evaded being massacred in Revolutionary America.[37] Known as Moravian Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), or "Church of Mercy," their ties had traced to Herrnhut (Ochranov), where the persecuted minority worked to save the Jews of Ostrava or their synagogue in the Germanic Empire; as in Canada, Moravian exiles also assisted fugitives from the U.S. and First Nations with the aid of "Sandwich Quakers."[38] Thereafter, together with Baptists and Methodists, church connections to Mary Bethune and Ida B. Wells developed into a strong base of abolitionist support and "witness" in Canada. Before it became a basis for the work of Raphael Lemkin, Canadian churches responded in kind to the Armenian Genocide;[39] and after Mary Ann Shadd and Rev. William P. Newman's Underground Railroad raised support to aid enslaved African-Americans, Armenian orphans also resettled around Southwest Ontario (1923–1930). Christian transnational mobilization eventually went "underground" around the

[37] Black migration and abolitionism coincided with the mass migration of a hundred displaced First Nations—forced to surrender tribal lands until the U.S. Removal Era ended. Sultana Films' *Manhattan Connection* captured the Moravians representing the refugee Delaware tribe of Pennsylvania and New York that sought asylum in Canada at their meeting with Lieutenant-Governor John Simcoe before the tragic U.S. *Treaty of Greenville* and his emancipation decree in Canada: Simcoe Day, 1793.

[38] Interviewee Vera Schiff was age sixteen when she credited Moravian "Righteous Gentile," Josef Bleha, with her Holocaust survival. "He kindled a flicker of faith" (May 12, 1942). Schiff, *Surviving Theresienstadt*, 49.

[39] Heath, "The Armenian Genocide and its Implications for the Teaching of Global Christianity," 177; cf. Ontario Heritage Trust Plaque: Armenian "Georgetown Boys" (Cedarvale School for Girls), dated 2011.

time of the assassination of Baptist pastor Martin Luther King Jr. (Memphis, April 4, 1968).[40] By then, "post-traumatic" impacts added to the grievous system of government-owned Indian Residential Schools. Collective disruption and "soul wounds" began generating *cultural trauma* known to genocide survivors.[41] Despite the multiethnic abolitionism and intercultural Peace Church practice, the historical pattern of liberation through minority collaboration slowed or was interrupted.

The historical test of community practice saw a resurgence of reconciliation once CJDT was founded. Rev. Roland de Corneille's manual on *Christian-Jewish Dialogue* was first published in 1960.[42] In the book, he started by relaying that reconciliation was not simply a sacrament or object of the church, but rather, a process of truth-bearing with the "good news" of peace and mercy—freely expressed toward people of different cultures, inside and outside the walls of the church. The book stirred a movement that spread across Canada and the United States, Britain, and Europe; Christians of different cultures were galvanized toward further dialogue and study of Jewish culture due to its novel dialogical aim of inclusive reconciliation. Before child survivors would first gain acceptance in the latter part of the 1990s as a subject of research (by fellow survivors), in bearing a communal ethic of trust, CJDT's victim-centric and context-driven approach uniquely incorporated child survivors in post-Holocaust dialogue: "knowing *with* them" and not just knowing *of* the "Other."[43]

Employing Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT), this study on agential mercy in CJDT practice commenced empirical research into intercultural hybrid practitioners from the

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[40] By the time of King's broadcasted visit to Toronto, in 1959, Canada had celebrated (as it did each August 1st) a century of Emancipation Day parades in Canada.

[41] Mohatt et al., "Historical Trauma as Public Narrative: A Conceptual Review," 129–30.

[42] As an immigrant to Canada, exiled from Vichy France, his influence in the U.S. extended from de Corneille's friendships with Rabbi Joshua Heschel and Martin Luther King Jr.

[43] Research with Child Survivors began in 1985 (e.g., Dr. Robert Krell at University of British Columbia), unlike cultural memory (museums) "knowing *from* them." Greenspan, "On Listening to Holocaust Survivors," 10.

ground up, so that stages were identified in reconciliation: *initiation* of Remembrance in demonstrating mutual respect to honour victims; *communication* of continuity through compassionate care with deep listening; and finally, *permeation* with solidarity to signal commitments to inclusive covenant-making for "the least of these." Since "how to" strategies for addressing historic enmity or anti-Jewish bias were helpful after the Holocaust, the principles, values, and outcomes of reconciliation emerged from data that generated insights into social repair. CGT was beneficial for its mixed methods approach to the quantitative and qualitative research study with (subjective) construct and data collection—confidentially gathered using an online survey or in person. Further explanations detail important terms used in an overview of the methodological considerations of the research, which warranted my increasing the digital literacy of Holocaust survivors.

An initial background is provided for the research, followed by key definitions. As restoring trust and friendship were goals of the researcher-practitioner, studying the practice of reconciliation mostly involved conducting research within different CJDT ecclesial settings. Prior to the Second Vatican Council, the legal incorporation of Anglican-led CJDT officially recognized a narrative role in dialoguing with Jews. Before 1962, this prototypical practice was already replicating across America and Europe, as CJDT leaders like Nate Leipciger promoted the dialogical model with First Nation survivors of residential schools.[44] A sort of symbiosis thus came to characterize the CJDT practice of finding "conversation partners" in survivors—not just as objects of charity or proselytizing, but as equal partners outside the church.

[44] Before co-founding Toronto's Holocaust Museum in 1985, Nate Leipciger was first invited by Protestant clergy to chair CJDT Holocaust Remembrance. He later served on the board of Facing History and Ourselves.

What is a Survivor?

To define some key terms, survivors of the Holocaust must be understood. In Europe, they were targeted by oppressive policies that predetermined or impinged upon ways of life and outcomes, primarily on a biological basis (i.e., Roma and mostly Jews). Ethnocultural/religious inheritance was marked as well—besides political, gender and sex distinctions. Consequently, unless specified otherwise (in this study), "survivor" represented someone of Jewish descent and/or religiously affiliated to Judaism in Europe, prior to discriminatory Nazi policies contributing to the systematic or mass extermination of Jews. Their survival involved fighting, escaping, or usually hiding to avoid Nazi concentration camps. Jewish girls, as well as the boys who would come of age around the time of a bar mitzvah, experienced silencing and moral distress. For all targets (notably in antisemitic Europe), survival involved bodily and psychological dimensions, which had complex bearing on narrative processes such as witnessing or living "to tell the story."[45]

The identity-related challenges that Displaced Persons and other marginalized identities faced were often complex. Particularly in urban centres, constructs in social economies such as ghettoes posed as barriers to proximity for Jews. More often than economic scarcity, social factors accounted for their mistreatment as minorities. Christian Confessing and minority churches perished in Nazi death camps, too, yet Eliezer Berkovits (*With God in Hell*) singularly addressed Jews' physical survival and not bishops or exceptional Reformed Protestant pastors, since Christians' apparent complicity until 1963 over this crime of the Holocaust had "bankrupted the Church," morally and spiritually.[46] Though some did survive genocides, instead

[45] Tipton, "On Agency, Witnessing and Surviving," 538.

[46] First used by missionaries at the turn of the century in Armenia, "Holocaust" was later popularized by Jews after 1948. World Jewry including Berkovits originally referred to their genocide as *Shoah* or *Churban*

of "survivor," Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) is intended for references specifically made to mainly ethnic Christians. These BME groups were primarily (but not all) constitutive of Chinese/Filipino or Asian Canadian churches with CJDT representatives of Afro-Caribbean heritage, besides Rwandan Tutsis.

Second, "identity" plays a social role in dialogue. Without disregarding cultural belonging, "ethnic identity" could be related to concepts of national, immigrant, race, and gender, in translating to self, groups, and cultures. Increasingly, identity has centered on culture, race, gender binaries, and a socio-economic role in the experiences of everyday life from the 1970's, beginning with critical theories in legal studies. From the perspective of Social Emotional Learning, racial/cultural identities were viewed separately: race ideas reinforced social hierarchies; culture absorbed the values, norms, beliefs and behavioural styles of groups and ethnicities. Although aspects of identity could be politicized and instrumentalized with racial/cultural bifurcations, the value of lived experience carried the potential for qualifying or cumulative advantages. Therefore, rather than a hierarchical understanding of principal animators with a sole focus on identity, the qualifying notion of *formation* or "reception" could provide a basis for responsible discourse around child survivors, who were too young to acquire or claim any identity except what was given them by enemies.

Third, "Post-Holocaust Dialogue" came later. Until the discovery of seminal interwar writers (e.g., Franz Rosenzweig, Martin Buber, Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Levinas), the integrity of the "Other" was not well recognized by Jews and Christians. Rather, each related in terms of catalogue or "double monologue." What Christians historically considered dialogue displayed an underlying agenda of proselytization and not an open stance of listening, as shared

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("Destruction"). However, CJDT Survivors like the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance refer to "Holocaust," and so this is used instead. Wigoder, *Jewish-Christian Relations*, 62, 71.

by BME Christians and Jews. After the Holocaust, hope for a "phoenix of reconciliation to rise from the ashes of the Holocaust" was challenged by Eliezer Berkovits due to Christians' complicity in the historical guilt of the Holocaust. Aside from Greek Orthodox bishops, Quakers, and exceptional Protestants such as Pastor Martin Niemöller in 1963, the response of Christians had generally been marked by silence until the Second Vatican Council in the mid-1960s. In the Canadian context, Christians' return to history shifted the focus—less on antisemitism in a guise of anti-Zionism, and more on favouring the conditions for peace.

The fourth is "reconciliation." Reconciliation in the Church was regarded as a "religious issue," originally based on the Catholic sacrament that prioritized guilt or confessions of sin. TRC provided a legal definition of reconciliation as restorative justice through redress—with punishment or compensation to address inequalities that resulted from state violations of human rights, deprivations, and dispossession of members of particular ethnocultural groups.[47] Local practices conjoined this notion of reconciliation and action in the Canadian TRC's "94 Calls to Action" (2015), whereby churches were directed to remember those on the margins: First Nations, Métis, and Inuit, whose official existence lay largely outside of church/state charity from the nineteenth century until around the time that the last Indian residential school closed in 1997. To break cycles of hostility or hatred, public memory with justice or preventive capacities constituted ways to legally introduce a norm of reconciliation in contemporary practice.

The fifth term, "trauma," can have an injurious and time-bound sense of meaning, not necessarily characterized by physical harm. Trauma describes the distress of an emotional event, as socially experienced by victims with the associated impacts.[48] Psychological or emotional

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[47] Amstutz, *Healing of Nations*, 194, 97, 99.

[48] Trauma broadly refers to "the violation of human connection" and moral distress. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 54, 87.

pain may persist due to memories, even if these were hidden or downplayed. Traumatic events that included identity-unifying memory can profoundly affect people or subsets of a population, whose collective shift in symptomatic sentiment or psychological reaction to life-altering tragedy may be summed up in the social identity of the trauma survivor. Trauma narratives help make sense of the fact that the psychological faculty can be attributed to a social group in instrumentally defining social identity. When ethnoreligious targeting subjected a cultural collectivity to horrific trauma with deliberate perceptions, actions, or structures, then cultural trauma can leave "indelible marks upon group consciousness, marking memories forever and changing future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" from disruptions like the Holocaust.[49] As a social framework, then, collective memory related to trauma as it could be remembered by groups (e.g., nation/families), especially where imperialism and oppression gave rise to situations that warranted repair. A historical basis for sociopolitical conflict engendered distrust or biases. "As a consequence, these (collective narratives) are involved in intergroup relations, particularly in intergroup conflict and reconciliation processes."[50]

Participants and Research Study

An empirical focus that approached dialogue as a diasporic aspect of Toronto's faith communities centred or theorized on the influence of CJDT practice on their relations or self/world understandings, to address healing from the Holocaust. Situational analysis was conducted on an equivalent number of diverse Christians and Jews with equal gender representation reflected in a preliminary survey of fourteen (14) CJDT partners. This was

[49] Alexander, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma," 2.
[50] Witnesses are at risk of public (vicarious) trauma. Mercy, "Collective Memory," 194.

followed by a separate study phase with the different voices of twenty-seven interviewees (27): equivalent numbers of Christians and Jews (with an extra CJDT Jewish participant). Including the interviewees, the sum of mature CJDT partners surveyed or interviewed exceeded the goal of forty different study participants: CJDT partners who consented to inclusion in one or both study phases in Canada constituted twenty-one Jewish participants (20 Holocaust survivors and 1 rabbi);[51] next were twenty CJDT Christian partners (20 mostly Protestant congregational leaders; including 2 parachurch leaders, 2 Protestant school chaplains/staff, and a few church elders self-identifying as Asians or Africans who had survived genocide).

Constructivist Grounded Theory is a conceptual model that relies on a systematic procedure of collecting quantitative and qualitative data. Unlike most qualitative research that does not address *why* questions, Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) allows research to bring *what* and *how* as well as *why* questions into qualitative research by using a reflexive method through value-free inquiry of socially constructed action.[52] Therefore, my hypothesis from study findings could be tested in a foreign setting: participant observation ensued abroad during the "Bless Israel" tour (January 2018). This proved useful for an "insider" perspective in distinguishing how tasks considered "service" or "education" impacted social learning. This was approved by the principal CJDT partner, or co-sponsoring Canadian aid organization: the Canadian branch of International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ). The service-oriented tour was advertised for anyone who was interested in delivering support to Holocaust survivors, Jewish and Arab children with disabilities, and diverse orphans and refugees in Israel.

[51] The survey was offered anonymously online during the last week of Aug. 2017. Among interviewees, the median age of Jewish survivors was 87 years, and one uncounted survivor only completed half her survey.

[52] Charmaz, "Constructionism and the Grounded Theory Method," 397, 400–401.

The research study focused on CJDT practice, including the annual Holocaust Education Week (HEW) program for Holocaust Remembrance, which I had led as Co-Chair or Liaison of both HEW and CJDT committees (after survivors Ada Wynston, Elly Gotz, and Nate Leipciger). Initially established as a corporate ecumenical ministry of the Anglican Church, CJDT developed in Canada not only in liturgical fellowship with the Church of England. CJDT practice came to include other mainline Protestant/Reform, charismatic, Catholic, and cultural congregations—as seen listed in directories of Catholic and Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

From collected information after the interviews, survey, and sustained focus groups for enhanced validity, the in-depth picture that emerged from different sources or methods revealed "truth-telling" with spiritual mutism. It warranted interrogating intercultural approaches to repair psychological wounding from complex trauma exposure in childhood among CJDT participants. Using a sociological and CGT methodological point of view, triangulation could ideally include four basic types of perspectives for causal explanations: multiple points of investigation (in this case, primarily CJDT founders and "dialogue" partners); more than one theoretical scheme (e.g., theological and psychological); historical time and space (e.g., Toronto and Israel over several years); and as for phenomenon, data gathered by using multiple methods (qualitative/quantitative).[53] The child survivors had joined Christian faith leaders after CJDT founder Rev. de Corneille, who traced a history of Christians engaging Jews through church networks to his family of origin in Europe: Quakers, American and Canadian Peace Church activism, as his father's Holocaust rescue efforts in France cooperatively ensured Jewish security and survival—as far as Cuba and the Philippines. This occurred before 1950 when stateless Jews could obtain sanctuary and citizenship in Canada (as Asian-Canadians entered a state of

[53] Denzin and Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2.

mobilization with outbreak of the Korean War). Of this postwar period in North America, Franklin Bialystok wrote that Jewish "Holocaust consciousness" was generally delayed; not until after the Yom Kippur War in the mid-1970s did "grassroots" Jewish leaders also begin playing a more active role in promoting Holocaust education.[54]

Beyond a theoretical sampling of relevant relational "units," by analyzing data from surveys and interviews, causal explanations or beliefs were formulated to better understand Jewish inner exiles. The present research study was divided into three distinct phases of quantitative and qualitative research methods, designed to relate to individuals on their personal or cultural terms. First, an online survey was conducted with CJDT participants (14). The investigative questionnaire was anonymously returned by CJDT participants and useful—with approximately thirteen different written comments voluntarily adding qualitative to (14) surveys' quantitative data—for triangulating the research ("Analysis"). Second, the psychological method of qualitative research naturally grew into narrative-style (27) in-depth interviews was helpful in exploring the in-process nature of interpretive meaning-making for comparison with the survey findings. Third, participant observation of approximately a hundred Christian CJDT participants from Canada (100) captured the intercultural engagement with Holocaust survivors—by Jews and a diverse group of Canadian and Arab Christians in Israel. Through the voices of Canadian CJDT participants, the hypothesis could be validated with data collected on Christian-Jewish engagement in local and overseas contexts (i.e., "Bless Israel"). Through historical and biblical cases, various exilic strands identified emergent theory and recorded intercultural reconciliation.

[54] Bialystok, *Delayed Impact*, 3, 6.

Dissertation Chapter Outline

After the introduction, the Literature Overview in Chapter 2 presents an interdisciplinary approach to appreciating key themes related to the research topic of intercultural reconciliation. Practical theological insights supported CGT, which could apply this knowledge with survivor feedback on the practice of reconciliation with PTG and resilience. The methodological interest in uncovering spiritual healing and the social value of repair was warranted by the dearth in trauma theory of a focus on the spiritual concerns of child survivors after genocide. As a basis for practical theological inquiry, a theory was generated to guide understanding of survivors or why they met goals and values aside from post-trauma therapy (mental health) or the medical model of PTSD.

Making the distinction from a psychiatric significance of PTSD is helpful. *Spiritual mutism* rather recognizes the compounding spiritual disruption or disconnecting effect, which atrocity can produce from adversity that acutely contributed to profound injury—especially in child survivors, who lacked the ability or knowledge to "process" trauma. Prolonged exposure to complex trauma and/or moral injury could prevent witnesses from integrating the whole psychological self for secure attachments to reconcile relations such as a human or divine Other. As understood from collective responses to existential or cultural threats in Esther ("Biblical Reflection" in Chapter 5), in comparison with contemporary child survivors (Chapter 3), compound impacts from a loss of sustaining faith and of meaning attended grievous and critical effects to culture or identity. For a recovery of a sense of self to occur, child survivors could practise belonging with narration of life events. People of faith also played a role in reconnecting child survivors to receptive community after psychospiritual wounding. Hence, *spiritual mutism*

may offer insights into reconciliatory praxis with child survivors who desired regaining the capacity for trust and an image of the divine after disruption from discontinuous stress processes.

Chapter 3 offers a presentation of methodology and research data for the findings that uniquely described Christian-Jewish Dialogue. As a topic of empirical research, this practical theological study integrated CGT methodology with multi-situational analysis to facilitate a deinstitutionalized understanding of reconciliation. Through more than a half-century of practice, the complex social process featured group bonding as well as restored trust between cultural identities or communities of faith characterized by lamentation and hospitable dialogue over a "core conflict issue" (hate or antisemitism). Thematic analysis of shared or culturally distinct goals of reconciliatory practice followed a longitudal timeframe—applied qualitatively over several years with more than two dozen interviews from the exploratory survey. These clarified participatory meaning-making: moral obligations based on mutual responsibility (i.e., reciprocity being an indicator of social acceptance); the hope of exilic restoration (i.e., spiritual versus physical "return"); and a desire that survivors directed toward *belonging* to something bigger than oneself (i.e., reconstructing *home* after loss). Christian CJDT participants shared aspects of identifying with the bereaved: common experiences of transnational migration, internal displacement, or historical trauma as reason to evaluate cultural healing.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of findings from the research data on the CJDT practice of reconciliation, which made visible (embodied mercy) the "invisible" (spiritual mutism). Discussing data in the light of relevant theories on reconciling after psychological wounding yielded complementary findings; these connected a convergence of values that associated repairing human dignity with "life together." Mentoring for resiliency aided PTG. Based on the multidisciplinary approach to studying the substantive field, quantitative methods demonstrated

the scale of what was achievable in a victim-centric practice. Gathering of research data in Canada and in Israel was counterbalanced by reflection and practical theological interpretation of the qualitative data. Methods of enquiry depend on observation, but the collection of reliable and hidden sources for new (emergent) categories could generate a theory of practice in "exilic" community. As inner exiles in search of truth, witnesses in minority networks of hospitable contexts could engage a navigator or mentor to interculturally work toward covenant-making peace. "The particular" findings could be used to construct a grounded theory, as stories from the narrative structure of interviews were validated with historical and biblical comparisons. Real world data thus provided psychospiritual insights where there was no grounded theory.[55] Multidimensional factors for participation in the CJDT practice of reconciliation were seen in further analysis of archival material and "Bless Israel" observation. The theme of a "cultural navigator" also highlighted the boundary-spanning connectors in communities that situated a practice of reconciliation.

Chapter 5 is entitled, "Biblical Reflection on Spiritual Mutism and Agency." From the perspective of theory of practice, the need for a different framework followed the affective turn in biblical studies. At the command of Esther, communal memory and habitual acts of sharing food and gifts with the poor provided a model of *tikkun olam* with mentoring "from sorrow into gladness and from mourning into a holiday" (Esth 9:22). Therefore, while interrogating exilic suffering, the model of post-traumatic growth and distributive agency in Esther could offer paths to healing with the removal of barriers to reconciliation. This practical theological study explored power asymmetries and tacit meaning in performative aspects of post-traumatic recovery that became key to understanding a burgeoning culture of trauma. The latter contrasted with the

[55] Denzin and Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 274, 281.

boundary-spanning mercy in Esther, which helped make reconciliation possible through the restoration of victims or kin as cultural mentoring had facilitated. As such, "inner exiles" could identify with multidimensional comparisons of complex victimhood in the Bible and trauma narratives as performative spiritual-ethical impulse, while viewing the *Megillah* through a trauma-centred frame of spiritual mutism.

Chapter 6 concludes the research by summarizing findings that can be useful to Christian dialogue with child survivors, and more broadly within the community. A lens of cultural trauma reframed diasporic texts: conceived as *Shalom* (peace) with the reparative value of *tikkun olam* for making "amends." In seeking to address and restore what was lost due to complex trauma or mutism after the Holocaust and mimetic examples of violent scapegoating, CJDT participants engaged in a reflexive process of truth-telling and agency exercised through embodied mercy and hospitality, in keeping with the model in Esther. For a multidimensional understanding of the exilic "text," narrating or reframing the experience of trauma among "inner exiles" connected the post-traumatic growth or resiliency in child survivors to repair for *Shalom*. In search of liminal spaces and greater interconnected belonging, CJDT practice constructed hospitable contexts of reception where reconciling *counter-narratives* and peace-building habitus could thrive. As diverse members and child survivors joined in "repair of the world," *home* was restored among inner exiles.

For reimagined survivor-led reconciliation, this dissertation has included an Appendix with photos of CJDT partners. After CJDT was founded by Roland de Corneille and Edith Land, child survivors and Christians were provided with the tools to equip and support a network that facilitated the conception of dialogue as "shared space."[56] Examples of CJDT partners are

[56] Kim, "Social Disablism and Shared Space."

included to illustrate their practice of reconciliation in a minority religious network that each equally inhabited, interculturally, in constituting a *communitas* of belonging and peace.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Disruptive influences of the destructive Third Reich were consciously or unconsciously impressed upon youth with biased perceptions of community, culture, God, and identity. Jewish children in different contexts were also subjected to totalizing Nazi ideology, and many lacked the timely help needed to interpret individual experiences of the Holocaust. Although acquiring a positive identity is the main defining task for adolescent development, in seeking a better future after the Holocaust, Christians struggled to find answers for their "death within" based on the cross or the Trinity, as "there is no logical doctrine about it."[1]

More than a half century later, researchers were still seeking answers for intergenerational effects of the unresolved grief common to child survivors. Despite the silence of survivor lived experience, after the Holocaust, a practical application of theological ethics remained underutilized for promoting "full cultural and individual diversity."[2] Moral repair was needed for survivors' "voice" and increase in post-traumatic growth. Awareness of collective trauma guided an understanding of spiritual mutism as the unseen wounds and yearning for exilic "return" through the phenomenon of embodied mercy. Connecting *lived religio* and divine Mercy would be key to unlocking the spiritual mutism of inner exiles, which demanded a

[1] This was true of Lutheran and Catholic doctrine in the European context where Jews were murdered. Two decades after the word "genocide" was adopted internationally, Erik H. Erikson wrote of unfathomable conflict in cultural consciousness and of a pervasive confusion that could lead to neurosis (*Identity: Youth and Crisis*). Walls, "Distress among Indigenous North Americans," 124; cf. Jones, *Trauma+Grace*, 185.

[2] Wall, "Childhood Studies, Hermeneutics, and Theological Ethics," 538–39, 543.

community approach of embodiment, of cultural navigation to correct for normate biases, and of survivor agency to build bridges of hope. Peace and grace were connected to identity and purpose.

First, the role of community would need defining for a recovery of identity for the child survivors, who were actively engaged in a practice of reconciliation. In confronting unethical cultures and acts of violence against humanity and promoting empathy in dialogue, exiles such as Abraham Heschel after Edith Stein acknowledged the limitation of a pure "ethics of agency" by addressing foundations of normativity and theorizing about responsibility for the "Other." Sang Hyun Lee (*From a Liminal Place*) and Walter Brueggemann in America addressed the whole person, like practical theologian John Swinton in Scotland, by recognizing the nature of relationships as a basis of authentic fellowship in community. On the value of a victim-centric and embodied practice, the significance of memories was explored by both trauma theologian (Serene Jones) and Indigenous leader (Randy Woodley), in recognizing the moral and social or political causes of (structural) sin that Andrew Sung Park's *Wounded Heart* says Christian doctrine "misses" by overlooking cultural trauma. While reading the silence of the persecuted Other into biblical texts, the need for remedial action could also be spiritually and socially identified by the total, spiritual "rupture" that trauma often brings.

Mercy, Peace, and Grace in Context

In North American context, reconciliation presented an area of contestation. "Dialogue" entered common parlance without a general agreement of defined aims or of connection to life purpose. Instead of appealing to the Catholic Church, evolving Indigenous cultural practice centred on identity concerns that featured family separation, experienced by "Sixties Scoop" victims of the

child welfare system; and this symbolic structuring named the source of trauma memory—connected from the start to the "cultural genocide" of Jews during the Holocaust.[3] "Dialogue" was distinguished from the sacramentalism of the Catholic Church in culturally orienting victims toward listening, drawing instead on values such as humility or empathy.

Practice theory recognized a shift from the Church's traditions that had spiritualized reconciliation, as also, the "acts of mercy"— distinctively linked to core Christian values, such as justice, dignity, hospitality, and stewardship. Instead of an initiation of communion for healing, reconciliation was mostly interpreted as penance or the confession of sin, whereby mercy could be dispensed.[4] However, the doctrinal definition of the Catholic Church limited grace made effectual through reconciliation into the absolution that directed people to priests; participatory models were missed, along with internalized structures of thought, values, and emotional depositions. These converged in religious habitus, as seen more clearly through the lens of social capital—including cultural sets of "actually usable resources and powers."[5] Just as feelings of affinity could deceive, racial biases and traumas historically visited on survivors of genocide further discredited the moral authority of the purveyors of traditional doctrine. Therefore, despite an organizational perspective that precluded priestly privilege in actualizing grace, religious social networks maintained the "capital" for transcending or unifying beyond political differences. Expressed through informal ministry practice, mercy had the face-to-face power to unconditionally reconcile; not due to but in spite of Christians, it also appeared in formal institutions such as hospitals, poor houses, and orphanages (where nuns sheltered Jews).

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[3] CJDT survivors and TRC "honourary witness" of the Holocaust Robbie Waisman received invitations to publicly speak on surviving Nazi camps in comparing to Indigenous historical trauma from Indian residential schools: more than 60 percent that were operated by the Catholic Church. Niezen, *Truth & Indignation*, 9, 129.

[4] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 1131; cf. *Catechism*, 1084.

[5] Bourdieu's "Forms of Capital" (126–31) could be symbolic as well as cultural participation or subjective dispositions. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 86.

Mercy could be identified in the aesthetic culture and philosophical theory of the century before explorations of the idea of empathy became "feeling into" (Titchener); and through intercultural exploration and the arts, this gave rise in the past two decades of emotions to social interactions that involved "innate, automatic and cognitively impenetrable mechanisms" (Adolphs) with embodied "mimicry" (Singer and Lamm) and a reflexive "ability to align one's emotions with and understanding another's feelings."[6]

Mercy was susceptible to being stretched beyond recognition in harmful religious habitus or dispositions (related to prestige or social class). Instead of "valourized" forms, a reconciliation of desired social or cultural worlds demanded the appropriate capital. Hence, into post-Holocaust dialogue entered a reconceptualization of Christian modes of inculcating core values through a *minority religion* geared toward embodied empathy as habitus. With consciousness-raising imagination, Jewish graduate student and teacher Edith Stein connected empathy to a felt knowledge of the suffering love of God for the human Other that she observed being enhanced experientially. Her "staged process" of practical perception entered others' experiences, as described in her unpublished dissertation, *On the Problem of Empathy*.[7] After her deportation to and death at Auschwitz-Birkenau, the nun remained virtually unknown until beatified (1989).[8] Later, her empathic strengthening of nonhierarchical intersubjectivity contributed to developments in feminist trauma theory and social behavioural frameworks for the study of education and orchestral performance, besides the mimicry that predisposed others toward the prosocial behaviours conducive to reconciliation.[9] Listening to the other with

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[6] Cross, "Empathy and Creativity in Group Musical Practices," 341

[7] Cross, "Empathy and Creativity in Group Musical Practices," 342.

[8] The historical drama film *A Rose in Winter* (2019) depicted her Echt convent in Holland, where 70 percent of Jews were killed. Stein was reported and died at Auschwitz (Aug. 9, 1942).

[9] Stein's phenomenology of empathy is relevant to the experience of peace through bonding or support.

creativity/narrativity would be a way of escaping narrow understandings of empathy that would reduce compassion to a mere "feeling" of different viewpoints with the ambivalent position of non-committal memory, to which identity politics was reduced.

On the other hand, from the end of the Second World War and the Holocaust, an appreciation of liminality for "sacred" journeys of transformation through the psychological process of becoming was used to describe change or human integration into everyday life. Life-threatening experiences, such as violent attacks or rape, had produced post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) with the reported "numbing" that occurred after events of the Holocaust. This was noticed more so after the 1960s, when a notion developed from the interstitial space-time continuum of change enacted in cultural performance (Victor Turner) to a transitory stage in the therapeutic process for veterans diagnosed or recovering from PTSD. Although it was not well described until decades later, solidarity or the role of community was acknowledged as a felt need in both survivors of ethnic cleansing and morally injured veterans, whose transitioning across boundaries and borders included the traumatic loss of integrity or faith in the goodness, nation, and life purpose, especially through decades of Korea, Vietnam, and both World Wars.[10]

Trauma was sometimes relevant as it occurred in both combat veterans and victims who had witnessed morally injurious situations. Thence, located socially "at the edge or periphery" of two worlds, theologian Sang Hyun Lee described the "existential *communitas*" of Asian-American faith communities. In referring both to situations of war and to intersubjective dynamics surrounding relations "around a moment of betrayal," the spiritual and social pain especially felt by marginalized people highlighted experiences of isolation from trusted persons and crises of faith in youth. Although rejected by the dominant society, the Asian-American (like

[10] Traumatized "patients complained, 'I am now a different person', the most severely harmed stated simply, 'I am not a person.' " Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 55, 94

Canadian BME) churches tended to spontaneously differ from a hierarchically oriented "ideological *communitas*" of dominant norm-governing structures. As with Survivors, social exclusion for young newcomers was often experienced as racial or gender violence with the incapacity to nostalgically return to a former sense of belonging and agency, due to limited powers to make decisions for oneself or to reach one's full potential in community. Yet, "out of liminality emerges *communitas* . . . an authentic communal fellowship," which can appear as interstitial safe space(s): emerging from displacement as "refuge and liminal space" and comfort for victims; "so just as women experience a double marginalization, they also experience a double liminality/*communitas*" with collective prophetic critique through nonviolent resistance.[11] Survivors could thereby attain a shared space between two cultural "*homes*," where solidarity could grow "between the previous order that victims rejected and the new order of relationships that they seek."[12]

Transforming Trauma from Moral Injury after Genocide

Deep-rooted conflicts turned intractable after the cataclysmic event of the Holocaust, but identifying cultural convergence could help rectify attitudes and wounding in social contexts. Instead of recognizing harms associated with survivor exposures to injurious experiences, cultural amnesia often led to the collapse of social will to the imperialist or mob mentality that exerted control over ethnic minorities: using hard (e.g., economic) or soft (e.g., cultural) power. After the religious capital and deeper socialization into habitus underlying the *Modern Social*

[11] Peter C. Phan described "The Christian God as the Migrant." Instead of an individualistic or utopian blueprint, around 1970, Toronto's Rev. Shim, Sang-Dae (born 1936 in Korea) followed a female biblical model and "resisted the oppression of women" as the first woman of Korean descent ordained in Canada. Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 124, 127–28, 134.

[12] Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 139.

Imaginaries, espoused by Canadian Charles Taylor, Anabaptist theorist John Paul Lederach wrote that restorative processes were essential for groups in conflict to be transformed toward a shared "horizon of the future."[13] Dialogue around cultural notions of covenanting for justice would add necessary time, Kerri Malloy wrote: "Two integral aspects of the reconciliatory justice mechanism are recognizing the harm and suffering that victims experienced either directly or indirectly; and individually or communally compensating victims (and their families)."[14] However, including the biblical perspective, reconciliation still remained a social and spiritual process: deeply connected to trust for restorative approaches to peace, which was "more than just the absence of war," said Zachary Kaufman.[15] Since the approach of justice alone could not address inner wounding, Post-Holocaust dialogue as well as Truth and Reconciliation were reframed with a cultural focus in Canada, and then in the U.S. in 2022.

Cultural memory thus became tied to collective remembrances of soul-memory, as also, to injurious events in conflicts that were the sources of trauma. "Moral injury" had been used to describe the effective violation or betrayal of profound values from experiences that caused psychological distress or an inability to control distressing variables. Moral injury was present in "high stakes" situations when a betrayal of "what's right," either witnessed or committed, harms an individual or "impair(s) the capacity for trust and elevates despair, suicidality, and interpersonal violence."[16] Without good choices or supports, victimized youth tended to assume responsibility so that they were prone to survivor guilt or remorse. Child witnesses could be left feeling angry, bitter, and "unforgivable" for crimes that were committed by perpetrators or that they unintentionally inflicted on another victim—even at impressionable ages when the injury

[13] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72; cf. Lederach, *Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, 5.
[14] Malloy, "Renewing the World," 348.
[15] Kaufman, *After Genocide*, 147.
[16] Shay, "Moral Injury," 182.

occurred. This risk of exposure to ACE and the emotional distress or injury to one's moral conscience could be induced by simply surviving genocide when family members had not.

Holocaust experiences were shaped by gender and culture. "Un-silencing" the deadening effect of "silence as the voice of trauma" seemed impossible for different female patients, whose wartime trauma was often passed on to daughters; and sometimes in recovering from a crisis, the paths to ancestral knowledge were not available to guide youth through confused states and distress.[17] From the resulting perceived or real powerlessness, profound moral injury could occur as people on both sides of a conflict were confronted with ethical violations upon the betrayed or bystander/participant witness, especially as their moral "compass" of values was gravely transgressed. Specifically for ethnic populations struggling with social vulnerability, Kearney highlighted the importance of moral stressors (*Emerging Ethnicities*). "Knowledge can express itself through ancestral narratives and social memory . . . Healing actions gain in strength and momentum when there is consensus and agreement as to their motivation and subsequent value in addressing the impact of cultural wounding."[18]

Since 1992, those who developed contemporary trauma theory in social work began looking to Judith Herman's *Trauma and Recovery* to understand the factor of trust that was often broken in relationships from a young age. Carried over into the language of moral injury was the issue of trust broken with one's moral compass violated, as "the damage to the survivor's faith and sense of community is particularly severe when the traumatic events themselves involve the betrayal of important relationships."[19] Observations on the "rape trauma syndrome" would not

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[17] Chapalo et al., "Development and Validation of the Moral Injury Scales for Youth," 448–58; cf. Ritter, "Silence as the voice of Trauma," 176.

[18] Kearney, *Cultural Wounding, Healing, and Emerging Ethnicities*, 17; cf. Shay, "Moral Injury," 183.

[19] Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 55.

appear until much later after the Holocaust.[20] However, awareness grew on the importance of admitting moral guilt for past crimes against humanity. With "Silence broken" in 1976, around the time of the Vietnam War and the first International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in Brussels for people subjected to military sexual slavery, psychologists noted the practice of victim-led mutual support groups using "methods of consciousness-raising analogous to those of psychotherapy, their purpose to effect social rather than individual change."[21] Thereafter, community practice was promoted for addressing both cultural trauma and gender-based violence. For CJDT Holocaust Remembrance, Rabbi Erwin Schild wrote of his faith as a survivor in the human "memory guides," including rare Christians like CJDT Coordinator Edith Land, who did not restrain individuality but biblically modelled righteousness, love, and comfort to survivors after crisis.[22]

The critical role of communities in Survivor resilience was further supported by transnational perspectives on important issues of soft (cultural) power. As seen in health care settings, knowledge of historical trauma was developing and yet rarely communicated to the victims of state-perpetrated violence. Hence, psychologists stressed the need to build not just interpersonal but also intercultural empathy for breaking unending "cycles of hatred." Indigenous theologians and cultural psychiatry concurred with psychodynamic theories on the "scaled up anger" (from individuals to groups).[23] Particularly in Indigenous contexts of the twenty-first century, called the "century of dialogue," reconciliation would acknowledge pre-religion or the

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[20] Judy W. Cohen created an online resource on sexual violence against women in Nazi brothels: "Women and the Holocaust" (U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum). Nate Leipciger was raped by guards in camps, and Jewish women were routinely raped during the Holocaust. Leipciger, *The Weight of Freedom*, 9, 75.

[21] Dutch and Korean Christian groups engaged in advocacy, before Holocaust survivor Judy Cohen participated in the first international conference on rape warfare in London in 1985. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 29, 31; cf. Sil Kim-Gibson, *Silence Broken: Korean Comfort Women* (film), 2014.

[22] Schild, *World Through my Window*, 68, 72, 81, 92–3, 137.

[23] Kirmayer, "Peace, Conflict, and Reconciliation," 7–8; cf. Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 75.

cultural/spiritual needs of Survivors embedded in community. Needs were composed of three elements: besides biological reactions to stress, cultural histories affected relationships and collective identities; "cultural variations" left impacts of conflict on self and "sacred" values; and "culturally mediated forms" of resolution for life purpose achieved the psychic and social conditions needed for peace.[24] With the growing interest in ways of addressing cultural memories and disinhibited mourning, following hospitalizations of child survivors in Israel and in North America, trauma researchers like Irit Felsen reported studies in the mid-1990s that led to emerging psychoanalytic perspectives on Holocaust testimony after displacement and losing a trusted parent.[25]

Cultural awareness warranted community approaches to PTG in survivor-carers. At McGill University, Johan Galtung recommended transdisciplinary bridges for transformation of opposing identities to transcend social sources of structural violence in conflict; and cultural psychiatrist Laurence Kirmayer agreed that "empathy alone is not enough" to break "unending cycles of hatred," based on a "psychology of demonization" in religious or "evolutionary" trajectory.[26] Therefore, to create an openness to reconciliation, Canadian cultural psychologist Frederick Hickling creatively supported a group approach of "psychic centrality" for conflicting identities that located themselves in a shared historical framework. "Family" roles would be identified alongside betrayals of perceived moral norms.

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[24] Kirmayer, "Peace, Conflict, and Reconciliation," 1, 6.

[25] "Defying Evil" social identity is wrapped up in the herd: "evil aris(ing) from within communities."

[26] Kirmayer, "Peace, Conflict, and Reconciliation," 7–11; cf. Galtung, *Multidimensional Social Position*, 161.

The Dark Night of the Soul

In Elie Wiesel's autobiographical *Night*, a radical portrayal of the Holocaust presented the sanctioned orbit of human victimhood with the removal of God. "Han" is a Korean word that similarly means "wounded" suffering: the loss of power and control associated with resentful participation or subjection to exploitive hate or abandonment, which can produce animus within victims (like the agential and receptive injury of child survivors). At United Theological Seminary, Park was the orphaned son of an enslaved Korean pastor and a refugee, who called this physical or emotional pain arising from histories of prejudice or bitterness, *han*: " 'the dark night of the soul' . . . trauma engraved in culture and tradition."[27] Eastern Christianity never separated individual sin and guilt from collective evil (i.e., patriarchy, racism, and cultural discrimination), which had spiritual repercussions as apathy or sin led to the persistent pain of exiles.

After the Holocaust, Christians' theology and definition of sin needed to evolve with abuse(s) of relational power: "repairing the wounds of relational injury with *or without* restoring the relational connection between perpetrators and victim/survivors;" for, "Jesus never ab/used his relational power," but rather, modelled a commitment "to promoting multidimensional well-being and justice."[28] Therefore, unlike Miroslav Volf's marital metaphor of spousal union to create meaning in reconciliation as "co-option" (*Exclusion and Embrace*),[29] Jennifer Baldwin stressed instead the rectification of power imbalances for a fulsome image of reconciliation. Her *Trauma-Sensitive Theology* pointed to gender-based legitimations. On the one hand, there were

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[27] During WWII, Korean youth like Rev. Park's father were conscripted into Japan's imperial Army; thousands of these POWs were imprisoned in the U.S. or repatriated to Japan. Park wrote that not only individuals but groups and militarized cultures can be unconsciously characterized by "biased personality, structural factors, and cultures" of sin and antisemitism, except for collectively repenting. Park, *Wounded Heart of God*, 16, 19, 27, 64–65, 174.

[28] Baldwin, *Trauma-Sensitive Theology*, 117, 119.

[29] Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, 9, 16.

those with the ability to violate boundaries and abuse power; and on the other hand, "protection" or embodiments of fear burdened the capacity of victims to sustain internal or social as well as divine connections.[30] Trauma's disruptive force would be felt with social and spiritual effects.

Trauma persisted with soul wounds after racial violence or cultural betrayal.[31] Therefore, the practice of reconciliation would involve embodying mercy in the place of racism. Individual lament could instead be transformed into prosocial acts through "suffering with" others. In her message on Heb 10:19–22, Cynthia Westfall preached that when people connect mercy to grace, it helps them to cope and enter into invisible realities of hope: grace is not just abstract but is "utterly concrete" with the acts that "directly flow out of the unseen reality of grace." In a time of crisis, occupying this transcendent place demands the spiritual and pragmatic help of mercy.[32] Serene Jones also reframed human agency in terms of salvation from suffering: rooted in the individual "body's grace;" and Jennifer Baldwin's critical perspective of traditional doctrines identified the primary problem of disunified dominant views of sin and violence in human suffering, which was previously overlooked by doctrines of atonement.[33] Otherwise, without cultivating trust in anticipation of "outside intervention," the traumatized could expect to find little more than momentary escape from a "messy pile of conflicted feelings."[34]

Whereas mutuality and lament might be combined in the existential *communitas*, anxiety and fear remained products of the "sin" of (self) preference. Because the root of sorrow was loneliness, as "belonging is especially important for those who are experiencing affliction" or disability, Phil Zylla wrote that a community of grace could fulfill an important role to

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[30] Baldwin, *Trauma-Sensitive Theology*, 127, 133, 135, 140.
[31] In cultural betrayal trauma theory, without/within group violence confers (high) betrayal trauma.
[32] Westfall, "Living Life with Christ in the Heavenly Realms."
[33] Baldwin, *Trauma-Sensitive Theology*, 127, 129–30.
[34] Jones, *Trauma+Grace*, 156–57.

understand and "describe the inner torment" of physical and psychological suffering in the "spiritual agony of the 'dark night of the soul.' "[35] An antidote was the act of speaking out in a situated practice. Serene Jones suggested a (feminist) relational ethic alone could not comprise the sole goal for overcoming fear. Like Volf, Jones stated that once intergenerational memories of offenses become memorialized, social consciousness is created for ethnic groupings to bond around hate and fear of the Other. Since an "exclusionary compassion" could be unconsciously passed down to the young, as seen throughout church history with exclusive promulgations, the insidiousness of racism was one way of keeping out the Other: "walls around compassion are walls that we've built" which produce a complicit "entitlement of silence."[36] With this "moral and spiritual mental split," Survivors of trauma were condemned to silence due to a cultural preference that conditioned people to gravitate toward their own kind or kin. A way of breaking this human cycle of sin and self-love was through public lament. Similarly, "to mourn and to wonder" would involve the prophetic role of Sang Hyun Lee's comforting "existential *communitas*."[37]

An apt response to the "dark night" would involve communal discernment in merciful response to the different voices that were neither heard nor socially incorporated into the whole of creation. Restoring child survivors who wished to be viewed apart from suspicion and a lens of transgression warranted making space for trauma narratives. For, the spiritual mutism of troubled souls in regard to horrific events did not separate divine from ecclesial implication or mitigation of immoral and "cultural conditioning" of evil.[38] Expressions of anger at both the church and her "abusing God" arose with unanswered cries, once "Holocaust consciousness" and

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[35] Zylla, *The Roots of Sorrow*, 114–15, 121, 124–25.
[36] Jones, *Trauma + Grace*, 176, 182.
[37] Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 149–51.
[38] Southgate, "In Spite of all this, we will tear for you," 106, 108, 111, 117.

denials of the divine moral nature emerged out of the 1970's "rights revolution."[39] Indigenous theologian Randy Woodley highlighted an impetus for dialogue in rebuilding the "broken circle" of universal *Shalom* in creation, as a way of countering cultural "pathologies" in colonial oppression, psychological wounding, and genocide.[40] Language as well as emotions ushered in a shift from the ethnic "problem" of disability to restoring survivors in their world.

Theological Perspectives on Intercultural Reconciliation

Following the Holocaust, the image of God became inextricably tied to the Other. Human rights, more than Personalism or theological discourse, seemed to address the existential realities of child survivors. Public denunciation of historical vilifications of Jews sprang from leaders of Canadian Churches, which condemned antisemitism (December 8, 2003); then Ontario and half of U.S. states followed suit with redress: mandating Holocaust education in schools, two decades later. Gregory Baum's promotion of an "act of reparation" by Christians attempted to counter paralysis from the remorse seen in interfaith dialogue. Fulfilling the Abrahamic principle of faith with "compassion, generosity and sensitivity" would turn people back after the Holocaust to the Creation story: "humankind is created in God's image and is an active partner with God in perfecting the world (Shabbat 10a, 119b; Pirkei Avot 3:18)."[41]

However, dialogue and narrating trauma or redemption stories were not one and the same. In the aftermath of genocide, simply speaking of divine love and healing would not facilitate repair, until the very people or groups that were victimized could contribute and be

[39] The Jewish community of North America slowly began taking an interest in the Holocaust, after threats to statehood were settled with the 1967 Arab-Israeli War or specifically the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Bialystok, *Delayed Impact*, 3, 6.

[40] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 19, 39, 65, 75.

[41] Baum, "Jewish-Christian Dialogue under the Shadow," 214.

invited into actualizing their own healing and reconciliation. Besides society's need for change, the Church needed to confront a convicting question: not only which practice had constructive ritual and prophetic dimensions; but more importantly, which identity was oftentimes or unintentionally excluded and thus came "last to the table." While many practices of faith "enable living well and promoting healing and virtue," in dealing with (re)victimized and commodified bodies, Elaine Graham ("After the Fire, the Voice of God") recognized a role of the laity in helping to shine a light on complex moral questions.[42] Popular, triumphal "forms of cheap grace" (Bonhoeffer) in renditions of atonement had left once-Christian institutions powerless toward evil and collapse.[43] Moreover, in most cultural representations of tragedy and trauma, "testimony to the middle" failed to capture embodied realities and pain. Barbara Blodgett thus posited beyond propositional beliefs and simplistic representations, dialogue was missing the wisdom of reflection and the "discursive and material" practice of listening to a silent third "voice,"[44] in which collective experience could speak to moral wounding. Otherwise lacking support, and subjected in many cases to identity conflict (gender, ethnic, religious), exilic women consistently bore the greatest cost of blame, as well as the disproportionate onus of social/moral disrepair after conflict.

Christian-Jewish reconciliation was not limited to theological reflection and confession without identity/place-making any longer. Honouring the victims who had suffered and considering the barriers to survivor agency would become critical to meaningful dialogue. Engaging methodology from the hermeneutical lens of social domination was one model in which "Educating for Life" satisfied the needs of identity development and not just status quo.

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[42] Graham, "After the Fire," 26.

[43] Kim, "Speaking Up: Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Identification with the Jews," 92; Bonhoeffer, *Cost of Discipleship*, 51.

[44] Blodgett, *Lives Entrusted*, 58; cf. Graham, "After the Fire," 26.

Nicholas Wolterstorff proposed Christians should foster a worldview in education that includes both development and "healing," by listening to those who could "own their own histories" for correcting the value judgments and normate bias of "the tyranny of normalcy."[45] The task of transforming normalization of cultural violence must start with conversation: interrelational *un*learning of ideas that perpetuated conflict or hierarchies stemming from colonial guilt.[46] John Swinton called not just for education but "raging with compassion," by identifying knowledge that "focusses on a particular individual or group and explores in-depth the ways in which they view and interact with the world," as a locus for revelation over "hostility and disharmony" in cultural history.[47] Only this could serve to equitably create "tolerable" conditions for all. CJDT partners like Rev. Glen Nelson, who was not German but served two decades on the CJDT board as the minister of St. Ansgar Evangelical Lutheran Church, thus embarked on dialogue to change *adversos Judaeos* attitudes "in love and full respect for the Jewish people."[48]

Thereafter, a subtle departure occurred from the movement for Christian-Jewish dialogue that had focussed on guilt for the Holocaust in Europe. Clark M. Williamson had co-developed interfaith curriculum (initially with Rabbis S. Steiman or M. Saltzman) to promote Christian-Jewish understanding due to Protestants' troubling inheritance of anti-Judaic ideology. Erik Carter wrote and brought key thinking on the historical relationship to light, as "scholars such as Robert Eaglestone (2004) have written persuasively about the Shoah as a turning point in Western culture."[49] In 1993, Williamson wrote, *A Guest in the House of Israel,* a decade after the publication of his remorseful reflection, *Has God Rejected His People?* And that year, Catholic

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[45] Wolterstorff, *Until Justice and Peace Embrace*, 69; cf. Macedo, et al. *Mentoring the Mentor: A Critical Dialogue with Paulo Freire*, 1.

[46] Abidi, *Building Cultures of Peace*, 114–15; cf. Pohl, *Making Room*, 32.

[47] Swinton and Mowat, *Practical Theology and Qualitative Research*, 31, 33; cf. Swinton, *Raging with Compassion*, 35.

[48] Nelson, "Facing Antisemitism and Anti-Judaism Today: Canada," 125–8.

[49] Carter, "Finding the Voice of Judaism within Practical Theological Research," 69.

scholars like David Tracy and Johan Metz had developed theology through a post-Holocaust lens. As for ministers' handing over microphones to child survivors and inviting them to lead, CJDT partners facilitated a new way for Jews' "owning their stories" through a "power under" mode of love through a esocial practice of jointly repairing the world.[50]

Earlier cross-cultural ties had demonstrated Christians' "simple means of speaking up within the Church *on behalf* of those who have no voice" and maintaining an "indispensable" conversation that "resist(s) powerful social prejudices in the name of justice."[51] However, given the alien identities that were central to the command for "love of stranger" (referenced at least 36 times in the Hebrew Bible), a two-way path of *crossing ethnic boundaries* recognized a different ethic of care. The exilic and intercultural nature of human agency in mercy was central to reconciliation. Instead of essentializing self-other binaries or even speaking overtop of the Other, extending one's interrelated "human living web" of care was more than an option; revitalizing circles of mercy could become "the central pillar" in communities of practice for "recognizing the equal value and dignity of persons."[52]

Finding "New Mercy" in the *Communitas* of Creation

A relation between peace and mercy would arise with cultural coherence and solidarity found in the Way of "Harmony." As Randy Woodley's *Shalom and the Community of Creation* explained, "return" was complicated for displaced Indigenous peoples because of their collective loss of language and of children, who were disproportionately taken into the foster care system during the "Sixties Scoop" and residential school systems. Coinciding with the postwar boom

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[50] Kim, "Power Under: Christian-Jewish Dialogue for a Model of Reconciliation."
[51] Williamson, *A Guest in the House*, 7, 9, 14.
[52] Miller-McLemore, "The Living Human Web," 305; cf. Pope Francis, *Misericordiae Vultus* ("The Face of Mercy").

and passage of the *Immigration Act* in the mid-1960s, their relationship to "tribe" or land was altered (as in the orphaned exile Esther of the Bible). Therefore, after cultural trauma, child survivors incorporated or began identifying with non-normative paradigms of cultural healing. Hereafter called a "navigator," a non-injurious third party could be helpful as a sort of intermediary. The navigator could enhance social and spiritual practices to be "less individualist, more about restoring the community."[53] Where harmony was needed to overcome a sin of "inhospitality," *Shalom* (peace) stood in for reconciliation with its concern for "the marginalized and disempowered parts of creation that do not have the voice or power to speak for themselves."[54]

Randy Woodley called for "new mercy" as a kind of rebirth for the broken. This drew on implicit knowledge from practical experience that could "transcend the conflictive situation" of a victim-offender binary, not only through forgiveness processes; tacitly embodying "ways of learning taught on a different basis … aligned with the principles of *Shalom.*"[55] Walter Brueggemann defined *Shalom* (*Peace*) as an integrated life in a "community of coherence" that if threatened could face identity crisis.[56] Woodley's Harmony Way to holistic restoration of relationships thus integrated a trauma-aware cultural lens that was inclusive of Indigenous and biblical values of hospitality and creation. Like Lee's spatial metaphor of a "liminal place" and Park's spiritual "interconnectedness," reconciliation was based on creating social awareness for "corrective redemption."[57] With the security of different child survivors in question due to Eurocentric myths of purity and nationhood; besides losses of *home* and of family, social

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[53] Panikkar, *Cultural Disarmament*, 99; cf. Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 24.
[54] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 69–70, 73.
[55] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 97.
[56] Woodley, *Shalom and the Community of Creation*, 163–65.
[57] Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 2–3; cf. Park, *Wounded Heart of God*, 151.

changes shook the core of survivor identities: as daughter/son, sister/brother, or grandchild; and as cultural, generational or spiritual heirs. After past erasure of the cultural *home* with millions of victims due to "socially engineered" *culturecide*, social scientific approaches were needed to gain insights into the "in-between" predicament and vulnerability of Child Survivors.[58]

Reconciliation as Tacit Skill and Cultural Knowledge

Meaningful gift-giving was a traditional and intentional act that could be incorporated into intercultural relationship and trust building. Until CJDT, religious acts (of hospitality) had typically led to material signs of charity; but the individual or spiritual gift could be immaterial. Moreover, a temporal structure of cultural gift exchanges was valuable for representing mutuality in communal cultures. Pierre Bourdieu based his research on the principle of reciprocity: the objective gift seen from outside (obligation to give), and the gift "meant to be experienced" (obligation to receive or give in return). As a metapractical theory, what individuals might derive from praxis (reconciliation) was the differentiated appeal of groups oriented toward a single "horizon." With a reduced focus on progress, the liminal concept of "shared space" is used, heretofore acknowledging that a convergence of values can be corporately held in common, even by different cultural groups.

As will be seen, cultural knowledge or even spiritual remedying could be read into historical as well as biblically inspired events, such as Esther's Purim. This could serve as a source of cultural memories to foster group bonding. Assmann compared it to the depth of "soul-memory," after the culturally specific or traumatic neuroses related to memory in his reference to

[58] The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) made "cultural genocide" a legal term in 2007. Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 24, 44.

psychologist Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* (1939);[59] Serene Jones further spiritualized this dynamism into a "poetic, prophetic" confession of *naming* "sin perpetrated against us," whereas Cathy Caruth resituated this racial trauma in historical narratives in "Unclaimed Experience" (1991).[60] In Jan Assmann's *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, culture revolved around obligations and naming, a reminder of wife Aleida Assmann's psychological understanding of Holocaust victim Maurice Halbwach's idea: survivor identity construction is essentially social or "transactive memory systems" (*Shadows of Trauma*).[61] Through a human "vertical anchor" from the distant past, trauma could psycho-socially serve a mediatory role with the use of language "subjecting the individual by the natural desire to belong and to develop a social identity. However, the bonding memory has its roots in man's desire to belong . . ."[62] An intermediary "value-laden" realm between groups was the life-world of the survivor, whose "bonding memory" has a crucial role when wounding emotions are shared (e.g., inner exiles). This fit with the "lived myth" *religio* of Serene Jones ("Trauma and Creativity"), which in its "unboundedness," could open individuals to cultural trauma. Hence, Jones introduced massacre to the Bible, by reading trauma into King Herod's Slaughter of the Innocents in colonial Judah. In post-genocidal contexts, facilitating spiritual and social access through historical or human "texts" presented ways to fulfill a need for belonging and repair.

[59] Assmann, *Religion & Cultural Memory*, 165–69, 176.
[60] Jones, *Trauma+Grace*, 118–19.
[61] Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 15, 111.
[62] Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 3, 5, 6.

Cultural Perspectives of Exile and Post-Holocaust Reconciliation

"Inner exile" was identified by Jewish scholars as a term inherently associated with Jewish identity.[63] Diasporic themes including exile were a prominent feature of Hebrew biblical texts since the Holiness Code written from at least the Persian period in Jewish history.[64] They addressed the identity crisis and need for spiritual reconciliation by the Jewish community that was subjugated to foreign control after the destruction of their Temple in Jerusalem, which had previously emulated Abraham's substitutionary and evocative acts for divine mercy.[65] Besides Leviticus and prophetic complaints in books such as Jeremiah, diasporic books like Esther (and Ruth) highlighted the situation of exiles and returnees to the land of Israel. The narrative of the book of Esther was suppressed and effectively erased by German Christians in the Third Reich. Rabbi Abraham Heschel, who took part in the Civil Rights Movement (Selma, Alabama, 1965), spoke of "acts of wonder" with Divine Mercy needed in situations of "spiritual homelessness" while opposing "the conversion of the Jews" during his meeting with Pope Paul VI.[66]

Kirmayer's proposal of pursuing cultural values, histories, and purpose (peace-building) for reconciliation was a way "forward" that had scholarly support. In 1975, Rabbi Heschel's *Disputation & Dialogue* recalled the Holocaust when he proposed welcome for "nonentities," as a way of reflecting God's "willingness to become intimately involved in the history of man." Instead of a culture of "forgetting" to guarantee a greater distance from it, Robert Schreiter wrote (*Ministry of Reconciliation*) that Christian ways of conceiving hospitality often resulted from "privileging" theological knowledge over the practical; Divine "willingness to become intimately

[63] Gaber, "The Psychological Phenomenology of Exile," 32.
[64] Harrington, "Holiness and Purity in Ezra-Nehemiah," 116.
[65] Astell, *Sacrifice, Scripture, & Substitution*, 46.
[66] Heschel, *Disputation & Dialogue*, 359; cf. Heschel, *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity*, 94, 98, 110.

involved in history" was only reflected in a mission of mercy.[67] What that meant was the focus, according to Stephen D. Smith (University of Southern California's Shoah Foundation), should prioritize the victims' "scale of injury" over any demand by Christians for forgiveness and culturally conditioned acceptance of the guilty abuser.[68] Therefore, the current balance of violence demonstrated a shift: from political battles in nation-to-nation spaces—between "embodiments of difference in civil society" at continual war—to finding resolution "inside."[69] Understanding "how (to) interact with the work of God and become instruments" by humanely reinstating memory should be the primary goal.[70] According to Schreiter's conceptualization, by restoring peace along the "human" level forgiveness was postponed; only once a shift in the balance of power accounted for past injustices could people forgive those who caused trauma.[71]

On the human level, this "face-to-face" reconciliation bore similarities to minority positions, such as Anabaptist and Asian American theological conceptualizations of peace. Just as Lee connected patriarchal and racial oppression as spatial and social sin-constructs, "the cultures and histories of the people of all the different ancestral backgrounds cannot be, in a mechanical way, the material content . . . identity must be permanently open."[72] Stanley Hauerwas' role of memory in preserving "virtue" for rectifying ingroup character also treated forgetfulness as "sin."[73] This relation between reckoning with collective memories of a demoralizing force for cultivating the moral character of a community demands further investigation to put responsible practice into memory and action.

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[67] Heschel, *Disputation & Dialogue*, 209; cf. pp. 212, 221, 225.

[68] Islam does not have a tenet of forgiveness (or self-healing); and in Judaism, it is "enshrined" promise (*Yom Kippur*). Smith, "Personal Philosophies of Forgiveness after Genocide," 359, 363, 367.

[69] Rudolph, *Transnational Religion & Fading States,* 4.

[70] Schreiter, *Reconciliation,* 58, 64.

[71] In Asian shame cultures, forgiveness is symptomatic of "female" weakness. It is not an outgrowth of love as in Christian ideation. Schreiter, *Reconciliation*, 11, 15, 60.

[72] Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 107, 113.

[73] Hauerwas, *Truthfulness & Tragedy*, 104–5.

Constructivist Approach to a Grounded Theory of Liminal Space

Culture comprises a source of individual integration into social networks, where liminality is expressed when the past is not fully left behind. This is the ground for reconciliation. It is also where Child Survivors are more prone to dissociate with "a minimal sense of personal voice," and their tendency to "become numb and often lose a sense of the boundaries that mark the edge of self" needs consideration in group dynamics.[74] Identifying the psychological needs and the silent wounds of an ethnocultural identity could explain a non-normative paradigm of reconciling inner exiles, whose search for peace was inherently tied to their traumatic loss of family or cultural belonging and of agency with displacement. Theory development was possible by providing an explanatory scheme of relationships through qualitative research with "interpretations made from given perspectives."[75] Connections between categorical concepts were linkages from the data, formed by axial coding for capturing complex relationships.

Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) "mixed methods" were needed to integrate the findings and categories of a multidimensional nature—e.g., "fictive kinship" identified by survivors of cultural trauma for "*home*" bore virtually no resemblance nor historical trace to diverse exiles.[76] CGT allowed for theories "embedded in history" and culture, because of its context-dependence.[77] By inductively "grounding" theory in the collected data, theorizing expanded through numerous stages of data collection and modification through comparative analysis, synthesis, and linking sets of information that could reveal social and latent patterns of "repetitive data-groups (Swanson & Holton, 2005)."[78]

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[74] Jones, *Trauma+Grace*, 108–109, 112, 113.

[75] Denzin and Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 274, 281; cf. Strauss and Corbin, "Grounded Theory Methodology," 279.

[76] "Fictive kinship" like "chosen family" is an ethnographic term used to describe non-biological bonds shared by labour teams and infantry squads.

[77] Strauss and Corbin, "Grounded Theory Methodology," 280.

[78] Glaser and Strauss, *Discovery of Grounded Theory*, 43–6, 161.

Because of the paucity of qualitative research on the topic, a constructivist theorizing or Grounded Theory (GT) of intercultural reconciliation would offer new insights into a relational model of reconciliation. Constructivist GT has been criticized for its "lack of 'road maps'."[79] However, an emergent phenomenon that cannot otherwise be explained by existing research could be explored in a multi-method strategy to acquire greater knowledge of the phenomenon, by means of quantitative and qualitative research design. This would be facilitated by the input of multiple identities inhabited by agents of peace: CJDT participants (both Jewish and Christian), whose hybridity reflected the fusion of two or more types of identity, specifically religious and cultural. Reflexive knowing of self and others facilitated the process of identifying points of meaning from thematic interests gained through qualitative or one-on-one interview data, while reducing the potential of a biased "reading" of them in order to understand their life-world through the research study.

"Multiple identities" can describe a plurality of social identities embodied in the individual, such as child survivors who might belong to more than one nation or those who constituted ethnic/religious minorities in a particular state. Like CJDT and survivor-led networks, the Relational Peacebuilding Initiative as a communal "third track" has been understudied; and also, very little has been theorized or investigated on the intersections of multiple identities.[80] To "open inquiry widely," coding/analysis at the initial stage(s) continued through the process of in-depth interviews to reach saturation so that a nexus of events was confirmed—indicating how hybrid storied selves made sense of traumatic events with migration. In particular, the preference for a sociocultural, reflexive stance would reveal ethnic/immigrant tensions in the religious social field of CJDT.

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[79] Nagel et al., "When Novice Researchers Adopt Constructivist Grounded Theory," 374.
[80] Lederach, *Building Peace*, 38–55.

Summary

Decades after the Holocaust, a CGT research method of inductive analysis explored the hidden areas of need and wounding to warrant a desire for reconciliation among inner exiles. This was methodologically necessary for incorporating the voices of survivors, as never before attempted in the underrepresented religious field of Christian-Jewish dialogue. The phenomenon of spiritual mutism emerged from the gathered data. With limited capacities for "return" to divine or culturally bound places of belonging, the reconciliation that began in spiritual or religious discourse migrated with child survivors. The effect of ethnocultural conflict or persecution culminating in the Holocaust could be seen in education, intergroup relations related to collective memory, social practice, and psychodynamic or trauma theories. These would centre on survivor guilt after their trauma had been reinforced from childhood with shame from violation or loss of integrity and elusive reconciliation. Further investigation was needed with the paucity of relational research in peacebuilding and ethics—still "relatively undeveloped" in contemporary scholarship.[81]

From the multidisciplinary overview of literature and considering injurious impacts of the Holocaust on child survivors, qualitative data aided exploring the conjecture that key to intergroup reconciliation was the moral development of trust relations through truth-telling habits (Hauerwas); social identity restoration (Swinton), trauma narratives (Caruth), and moral wounding post-migration (Park). For child survivors (Felsen), recognizing a shared future without normate biases but with an understanding of the bonding potential of cultural memory (Assmann) became key to authentic humility as a neglected moral aspect of listening (Woodley).

[81] Kelly and Stanton, "Exploring Barriers to Constructing Locally-Based Theory," 33.

As ancestral knowledge inculcated (Kirmayer), cultural values, life purpose, and histories were essential to the resiliency of communities.

While situating the research and grounding it in a practical theological exploration of child survivor narratives, a minority religious networking view of liminality could advance a theory of intercultural practice for reconciling identities, oriented toward embodying mercy as this was linked to core values. A cultural convergence of these values in spiritual tie formation fuelled moral repair by extending, in place of imperialist control or disruption, *tikkun olam* with the hope of a permeating peace. Ancestral "anchoring" and intercultural bonding of exilic identities became a psycho-spiritual "matter of consciousness," through reparative responses to the survivor need for cultural identity and belonging. The possibility for this spiritual and anchoring process to nurture reconciliation will be explored in Chapters 4 and 5 with further examination of the intermediatory role played by cultural navigators in CJDT practice as seen in the Bible (e.g., Esther and Edith Land).

However, as with soul-wounding and cultural trauma, the path to intercultural know-how is not always explicit. To achieve enduring stability (and avoid regression or inertia), parameters for a research study on reconciliation needed to factor both explicit and tacit knowledge: implicitly formed shared beliefs that frequently occur due to cultural influences. These demanded contextual consideration of at least three effects: (1) diversity of actors impacting the angle of approach at a typical moment in time; (2) meaningful contact between distinct human points of reference; and (3) purposeful actions in different places by actors with distributed agency in shared situations. The initial parameter of quantitative analysis in the first phase of the research study will introduce both practical and qualitative components in the field of inquiry. The next chapter will be helpful for theorizing intergroup reconciliation and grounding the

categories. Afterwards, findings of research data from CJDT partners in Toronto and in Israel will be discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

PRESENTATION OF METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DATA

This chapter focusses on the research methodology and the data collected on CJDT participants in intercultural reconciliation. Forty-one practitioners (41) who were initially consulted comprised the CJDT research subject in the process of inquiry.[1] Based on a broad query of conceptual framework (quantitative-qualitative), the quantitative phase preceded the qualitative research methods with comparable techniques of similar strategic inquiry. Through observation of Canadian CJDT participants in Israel (100), validation immediately guided interpretation of preliminary survey data in Canada that preceded more than five years of interviewing and of focus groups with child survivors.

Research Data Collection

For categorical development from empirical data analysis, no *a priori* literature review ensured limited theoretical exposure before legitimate data collection began from forty-one participants, which totalled double the "legitimate sample size" and initial goal of interviewees among consenting participants.[2] Informal "expert" conversations in Israel guided themes in evaluating the survey to refine the topic of intercultural reconciliation raised with fourteen CJDT survey respondents (14) in Canada. To enrich the knowledge base, twenty-seven more CJDT interviewees (27) were added for their experience in participatory dialogue; the number of Jews

[1] After survivor Ada Wynston, Joan Shapero chaired CJDT Holocaust Remembrance and was invited as later CJDT practitioner/HEW liaison to join the researcher's focus group during the years after survivor interviews.

[2] Nagel, "When Novice Researchers Adopt Constructivist Grounded Theory," 372, 375.

was roughly equivalent to the number of Christians, except for one additional female Jewish survivor, who accounted for historically underrepresented "voice" among child survivors.

Leaning toward qualitative research "thickened" the data on diverse Christian and Jewish identities. This was afforded by exploring their behaviours, attitudes, and experiences. The preliminary survey provided quantitative support to the task of authentication. Data from the in-depth interviews was coded and analysed to generate theory from the acquired qualitative data, while reflexively documenting and comparing analytic memos, phases of mixed methods in multiple locations, and journaling to incorporate narrative dissonances. For a greater appreciation of psychodynamics in social networks, Constructivist Grounded Theory provided the ideal methodical process to interrogate the variation, difference, and emerging issues, considering the paucity of contemporary sources in peacebuilding to describe child survivors and to guide a theory for reformulating practice that could address a phenomenon of the spiritual mutism that precluded their reconciliation.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

With the "live" data that was historically unavailable on child survivors of genocide, the constructivist approach to interactively study the lived experience of survivors in the community of practice was helpful for identifying explanatory conditions for categories due to factors within culture, which is never static. In writing and reflecting on categories of the data—drawn from "thick" descriptions, the use of CGT allowed multiple meanings to emerge from the diverse and multiple data sources to be elicited with data coded according to *three Cs* (causes, consequences, conditions).[3] Breadth and depth could be better accommodated in ensuring a value-free

[3] Charmaz, "Grounded Theory," 526.

framework for the suspension of assumptions. Instead of relying on any pre-existing theoretical framework, "grounding" for theory from co-constructed data analysis in the social context was appropriate for a diffused theory with themes that related to firsthand empirical knowledge of subjects' worlds. This was due to CGT's context-dependency and the emphasis on recognizing theories "embedded in history."[4]

Reflexivity

To faithfully describe study participants' experiences and avoid biases, a daily practice of developing journaling and reflective writing of memos was used. To account for influence of the research on subjects, my role as investigator was shaped by explicitly valuing trust relationships. Growing up, I empathized with my auntie, who was traumatized from postwar loss. She rocked a plastic doll in her arms each day, and I sat in silence as she spoke to the baby of which she had been robbed. With survivors of the Holocaust, I also sat in a posture of deep listening. I cradled their wounds, which were not my own but were presently shared to be held tenderly a while. I could not bring a "baby" back to life; but a procedural priority was my decision of living out care in research as in life.

Research Design

By engaging, exploring, explaining or elaborating and evaluating, subjective perceptions informed a theory of practice from constant comparative analysis and associating narrative material in a systematic framework of research analysis.[5] Research on CJDT practice was designed to make explicit the goal of generating theory and theological ideas through reflexive

[4] Strauss and Corbin, "Grounded Theory Methodology," 280.
[5] Wrogemann, *Intercultural Theology,* 1:60–3, 112–34.

engagement with the conceptual, spiritual, and psycho-social aspects of the mixed methods design. This included individual depth interviews after theoretical sampling for multiple perspectives and appropriate questions. Journaling or memoing helped to bracket any potentially distortive value assumptions, and care was taken to explain and obtain the informed consent before collecting the data of individual participants. Qualitative research was thus designed with a human-centred approach and understanding of the vulnerability of consenting participants, who were mostly elderly. As attributed by participants to the reconciliatory process, categorical samplings from codes were incorporated into a configuration of interrelating data that revealed a conceptual theory of spiritual mutism that emerged during the reconciliatory process.

Phase 1: Survey to Locate Subjects (2017)

The process of inquiry commenced with anonymous completed surveys of CJDT leaders (14): half of these were faith group leaders or educators (Protestant-evangelicals and one Jewish rabbi), who had been mostly initiated into CJDT practice with the help of the researcher-practitioner except one Christian; the other half were Jewish representatives or survivors (six Holocaust survivors and one CJDT leader). The sample selection of Protestants (clergy, one parachurch ICEJ young adult leader, school chaplain/Christian educators), rabbi, and survivor representatives were recruited in August 2017. Of sixteen invited, fourteen completed the online survey. Identified content units guided interviews.

Phase 2: In-Depth Interviews (2018–2020)

A substantial interview pool (27 interviewees) exceeded the typical number needed for explaining a phenomenon. Because of their potential for fatigue (and thus to offer the survivors shorter/repeat visits), I interviewed the first half of CJDT participants who represented Holocaust

survivors, followed by interviews conducted on CJDT faith leaders. After surveying different participants, by Fall 2019, twenty-six interviews of the twenty-seven commenced interviews were completed. Sadly, two survivors unexpectedly died mid-phase; and owing to one partially incomplete interview, another in-depth interview was conducted on a "substitute" survivor.

Phase 3: Participant Observation (January 2018)

Upon a revision of the McMaster Research Ethics Board study (MREB approval 2017 080), I joined a Christian team of travelling volunteers from Canada, for participant-observation of Christian-Jewish engagement in Israel—continuing in Canada with interviewees. The "Bless Israel" tour was comprised of 95 diverse Christians and several Canadian leaders who were members of CJDT congregations or of CJDT partner, ICEJ. As social action conveys subjective meaning, qualitative research approaches (e.g., participant observation) allowed a causal process of dialogical practice to freely emerge from field study, since no public records existed in natural contexts.

Defining the Research Field/Subjects

Evidence of a CJDT practice of reconciliation was gathered over a five-year period, followed by triangulating of data with group work or emails over the pandemic. CJDT participants were selectively recruited for an equal number of identities (multicultural Christians and Jews): the number of females would at least equal the number of male participants. Exactly half of the preliminary CJDT survey respondents were Jewish survivor representatives (7); the other half of faith leaders was comprised of faith leaders (7), mostly Protestant-evangelical hosts and one rabbi-chaplain, who responded to help account for the religious and cultural diversity reflected

among CJDT participants.[6] Each of the child survivor respondents remained active in Holocaust Remembrance, despite being advanced in age (from close to eighty years to ninety-two years); the Christian faith or CJDT congregational leaders ranged in age from thirty years to mid-nineties.

Each of the participants in the research study were volunteers for CJDT Holocaust Remembrance, and from 1985 onwards, also for Toronto's Holocaust Education Week at the Museum (HEW). As Christian hosts or Jewish guest speakers, the overlapping networks were HEW (started by CJDT survivor/leaders) and multicultural/multidenominational CJDT Christian schools or faith congregations. The median age of Jewish participants (survivors and rabbi) was eighty-four years during the survey phase. The median age of Christian CJDT faith leaders (Protestant-evangelicals) was sixty-six years. The survivors had generally become actively involved in CJDT practice nearly two to five decades prior; with a few exceptions, Christian partners had a history of dialogical involvement with CJDT Holocaust Remembrance for the greater part of a decade or more. Christians and survivors hearkened to different and yet sometimes similar origins or languages (e.g., Czech, Dutch, Hungarian). Most were not well acquainted with each other; not until meeting weekly during online research focus groups did survivors become closely connected and extrapolated on empathy together.

Theoretical Sampling: Limiting and Ethical Factors

Though worldview perspective involving spiritual change and empathy was a factor for relationships with others, as examples of post-traumatic growth are difficult to measure, in the grounded theory study one or two core categories came to represent the relationships between

[6] Except for 1 non-practising and 3 Conservative Jews (a rabbi and 2 survivors), most Jewish participants were religiously moderate or Reform Jews.

multiple categories—not necessarily causal in association. For envisaging the process(es) connected to concepts defined by the qualitative data, patterns had to be observed through a sample selection limited to open appreciative or narrative inquiry for developing a hypothesis that could narrow a substantive theory, including stories as "the secret reservoir of values," where facts and their meanings could be placed in the context of relationships.[7] The "mixed method" strategy for preliminary quantitative inputs in a qualitative framework reflected well on survivors' lived experience, social relations, language or source community (12). Besides enduring forced labour and extermination camps, survivor interview analysis was helpful for explaining how factors like religion and gender cut across interplaying levels: individual, communities, and family.[8]

Prior relationships with respondents and their organizations proved to be very advantageous. I did not hold a privileged position and was familiar as a "friend." (Early in the research process, I recused myself from official roles on relevant committees.) Participants were interviewed in the security of their everyday spaces, so seniors might rest easy in their own home or office. CJDT participants recruited for the study felt their experiences could provide insights, while reporting a feeling of less value and "voice" on nearing age ninety ("retirement"). The quantitative data (survey results), unsolicited responses and comments by CJDT interviewees, survey, and tour participants were added to the research pool for incorporation in the analysis of the mutual interactions, ends or goals.

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[7] Jefferess, *Postcolonial Resistance*, 3, 157.

[8] Gender relations and norms were limited by the Holocaust: unlike Christian participants, most survivors did not have extended family due to extermination; most girls had married older male partners from camps and were widows. Four Jewish women spoke of marriage as a "necessity" to survive, and a child survivor was married "only for a day" to ensure cross-border travel before nullifying the marriage.

Despite the broad application of recruitment criteria (based on years of CJDT experience), stakeholders were a limiting factor to broader theoretical sampling. A lack of response from invitations to Catholic parishes (60) in the Toronto area suggested a reasonably certain degree of disparity between institutional thought and action after Vatican II. In spite of my past years of attempting to engage Catholics in support of ecumenical ties, the diminishing interest of priests in interreligious dialogue presented as a self-limiting factor for future dialogue.[9] The McMaster Research and Ethics Board (and MREB revisions) was therefore as approved the ensuing empirical research study involving multicultural Protestants and Canadian Jews.

Output of Research Material

"To open inquiry widely," initial narrative style interviews were gathered for more reconstructive critical inquiry, analysis, and distilled insights through key-word notes to validate a theoretic model of reconciliation. Appreciative Inquiry was applied to a research process that engaged minority participant stakeholders to affirm centric principles: (CGT) constructionism, (complementary) simultaneity, poetic (existential) discourse, (futuristic) anticipation, or (quantitative) positivism.[10] After semi-structured interview questions were tested in the survey below, qualitative methods were used to locate experiences in a moral framework.[11]

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[9] "We (CJDT) had . . . mostly Protestants," survivor Elly Gotz reported, as past Chair of CJDT Holocaust Remembrance.

[10] Paloutzian, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, 52.

[11] Qualitative methods were useful to identify values and relational processes. Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, 12; cf. Cromby, *Social Constructionist Psychology*, 17.

Phase One: Survey

Fourteen participants (7 faith leaders; 7 survivor representatives) participated in the preliminary investigative phase of the research study. Ten questions in all constituted the two-part survey: the first half binary with one of two choices (basic yes/no); subsequently, the second half scale (likert) questions helped define intercultural conditions and consequences of CJDT from both educational or contextual perspectives. Respondent had the option of identifying gender, ethnicity, and religion with a final "Comments" box.

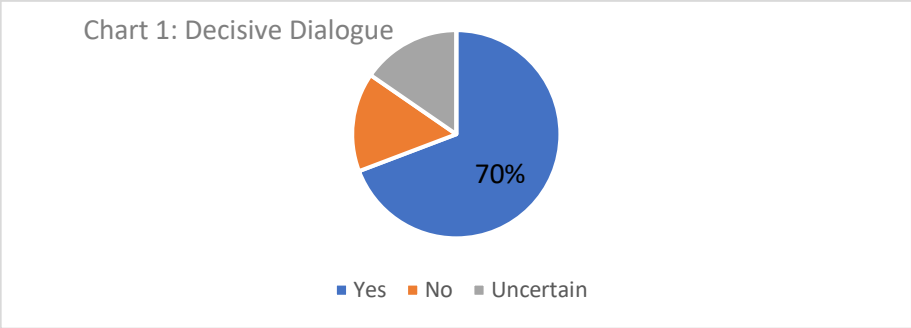
Yes/No Questions

The first part of the questionnaire appreciatively inquired about the cause, consequence or conditions for Christian-Jewish dialogue. Combined responses to the simple (Yes/No) questions were as follows.

1. Not by chance, but decisively, was there a point in time when you became interested in intercultural dialogue through Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto (CJDT)?
2. Have you noticed a positive or meaningful difference in your life or others from the Christian-Jewish encounters?
3. Since your CJDT involvement, did you see a growing phenomenon of ethnic minorities/women primarily leading and interculturally active in Holocaust Remembrance?
4. From your observation of CJDT, do Christian groups that interculturally engage in Holocaust events with Jews appear to promote peace?
5. Have you observed the necessary conditions or personality traits for intercultural reconciliation in CJDT, including liaisons (i.e., Lily and faith leaders)?

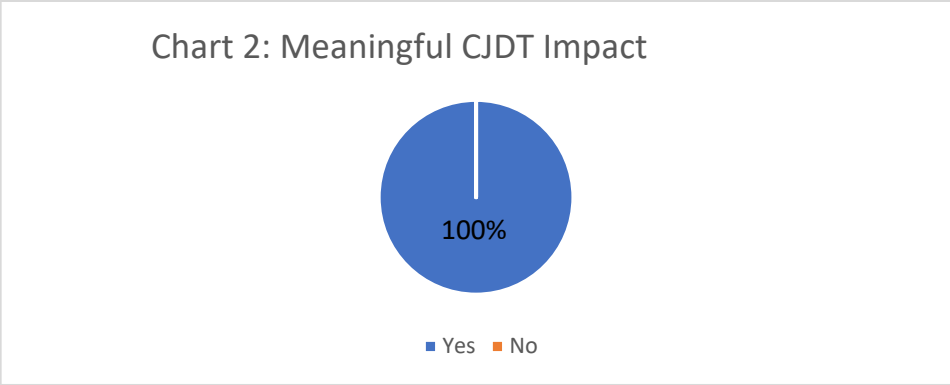
Answer Charts

Figure 1. Decisive Dialogue



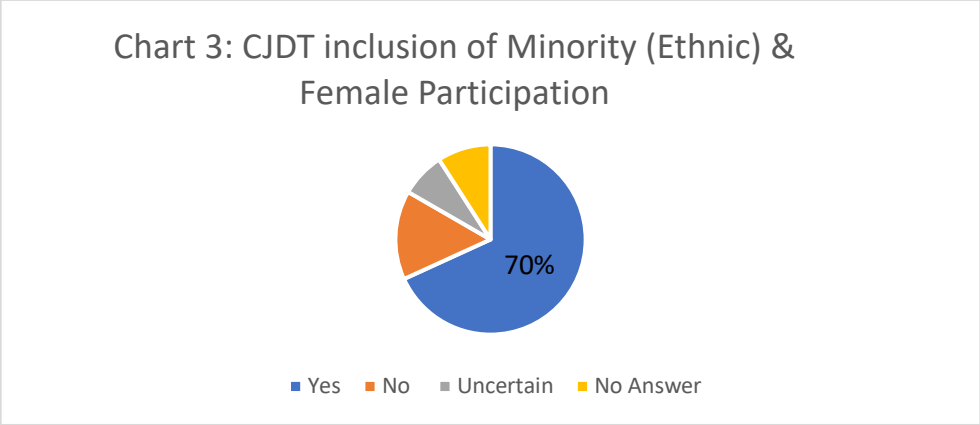
Of fourteen survey participants, the majority of respondents (70 percent) answered "yes," as they each had a decisive moment when they embarked on intercultural reconciliation; the remainder were split on beginnings: "no" (2) or "uncertain" (2).

Figure 2. Meaningful CJDT Impact



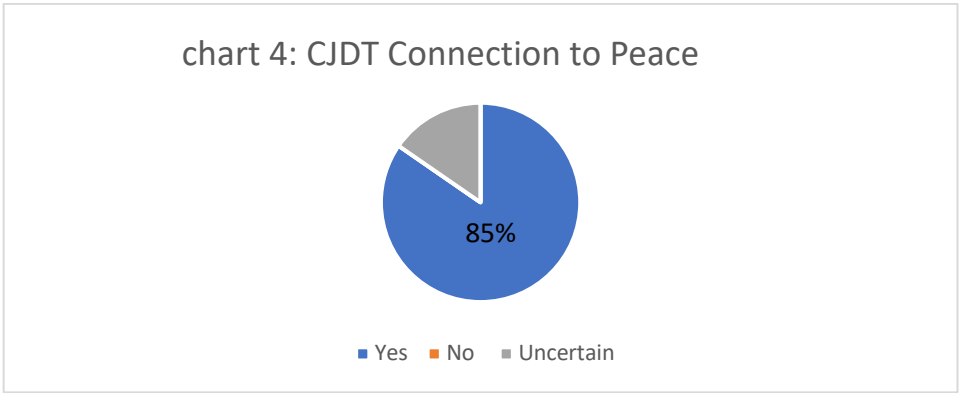
Respondents unanimously (100 percent) agreed CJDT made a meaningful difference in lives.

Figure 3. CJDT Inclusion of Minority & Female Participation



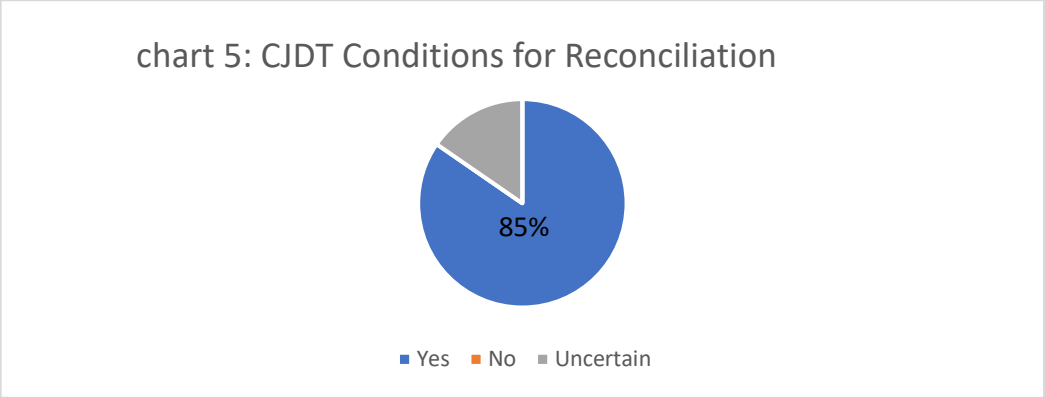
Of fourteen survey respondents, the majority (70 percent) said "yes" they had witnessed the growth of minority (ethnic) and/or female participation in CJDT; the remainder disagreed (2) "no" or were undecided ("uncertain" 1 or "prefer not to answer" 1).

Figure 4. Connection of CJDT Holocaust Remembrance to Peace



Of fourteen survey respondents, the overwhelming majority (85 percent) answered "yes:" CJDT was connected to intercultural/interreligious peace; none disagreed, though 2 replied "uncertain."

Figure 5. CJDT Conditions for Intercultural Reconciliation



Of fourteen respondents, the overwhelming majority (85 percent) answered "yes:" CJDT had the necessary conditions of personal traits in order for reconciliation to occur; and none disagreed, although 2 replied "uncertain."

Likert Questions

The remaining questions provided respondents the opportunity to skip questions if they did not feel prepared to answer them, or else, they could respond numerically with the option of typing a comment at the end. The 10-scale questions offered the possibility of answers that ranged from low 1 ("not at all") to high 10 ("absolutely" above "very much") so that participants could give very different ratings.

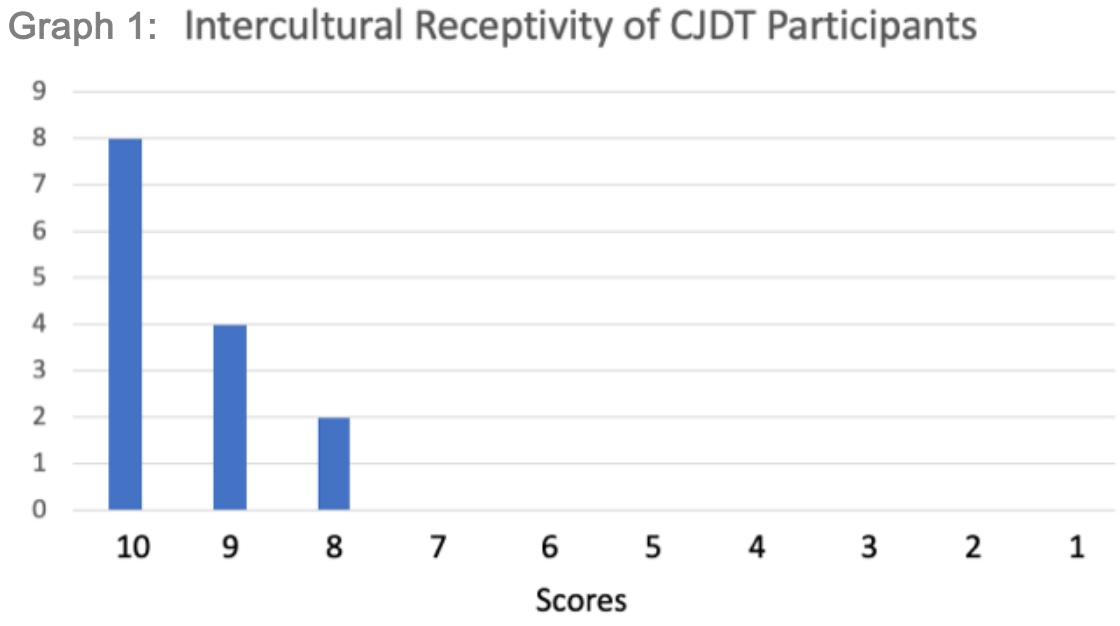
1. How positive or welcoming was the receptivity/response in CJDT settings?
2. How well did CJDT audiences show appreciation for speakers' experiences relating to the Holocaust, including their lives and cultural loss?
3. How much did the audiences appear to improve in their understanding of antisemitism and favourably grow to show respect toward Jews in general?
4. To the best of your knowledge and observation, how good or beneficial was the CJDT model of dialogue and Holocaust Remembrance to intercultural reconciliation?

5. How beneficial are CJDT engagements with survivors (in-person or recordings) for awareness of cultural trauma and empathy toward Jews for intercultural reconciliation?

Answers

1. Intercultural Receptivity of CJDT Participants

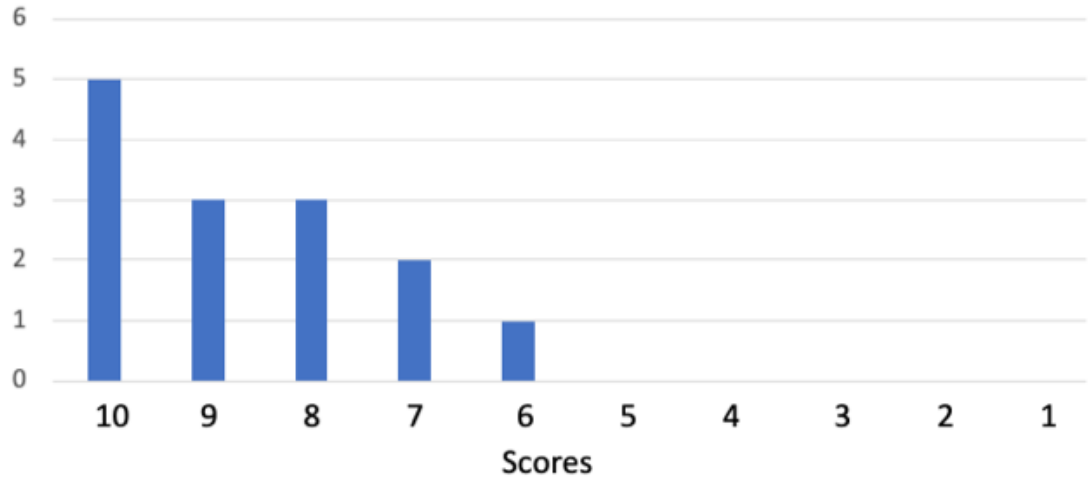
Of fourteen survey respondents, the overwhelmingly majority (86 percent) answered that CJDT communities of practice were without a doubt "welcoming" in reception. (Even as an outsider, from his CJDT involvement over four decades, survivor Elly Gotz added: "I never once had a negative reaction, in fact, the opposite!") The majority of respondents (8) answered that CJDT environments were absolutely welcoming (10/10); nearly one-third (4) agreed CJDT communities were very welcoming (9/10). The remainder agreed that CJDT settings were receptive: 2 reported much in agreement (8/10) with none disagreeing or neutral. Therefore, all 14 of the survey respondents (100 percent) strongly agreed that CJDT was positive for intercultural receptivity.



2. CJDT Outcome of Jewish Holocaust & Cultural Awareness

Of the fourteen respondents, the majority (57 percent) believed that CJDT audiences displayed a very strong appreciation of Holocaust awareness with a very high understanding of the lived experience and culture of Holocaust survivors. More than one-third (5) of the respondents believed CJDT audiences absolutely appreciated (10/10) the survivors' lived experience, and (3) highly understood (9/10) their personal accounts of their lives and culture threatened during the Holocaust. The remainder agreed their experiences were appreciated: 3 responded that their experiences were understood very well (8/10); and the remainder (2) responded that audiences understood their lived experiences well (7/10), or 1 said above average (6/10). Therefore, all 14 respondents (100 percent) believed in general that CJDT audiences showed appreciation for Survivors' culture and lived experience of the Holocaust.

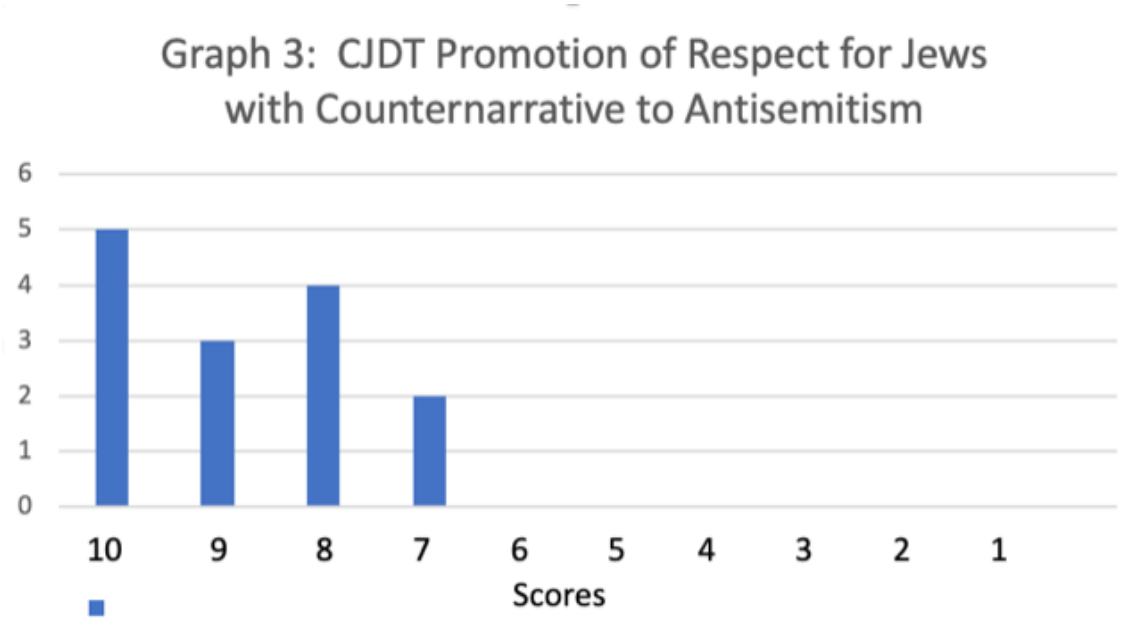
Graph 2: CJDT Outcome of Promoting Jewish Holocaust & Cultural Awareness



3. CJDT Promotion of Respect for Jews to counter Antisemitism

Of fourteen respondents, the majority (57 percent) responded that CJDT audiences improved very much in their understanding of antisemitism and favourably grew highly in their respect for

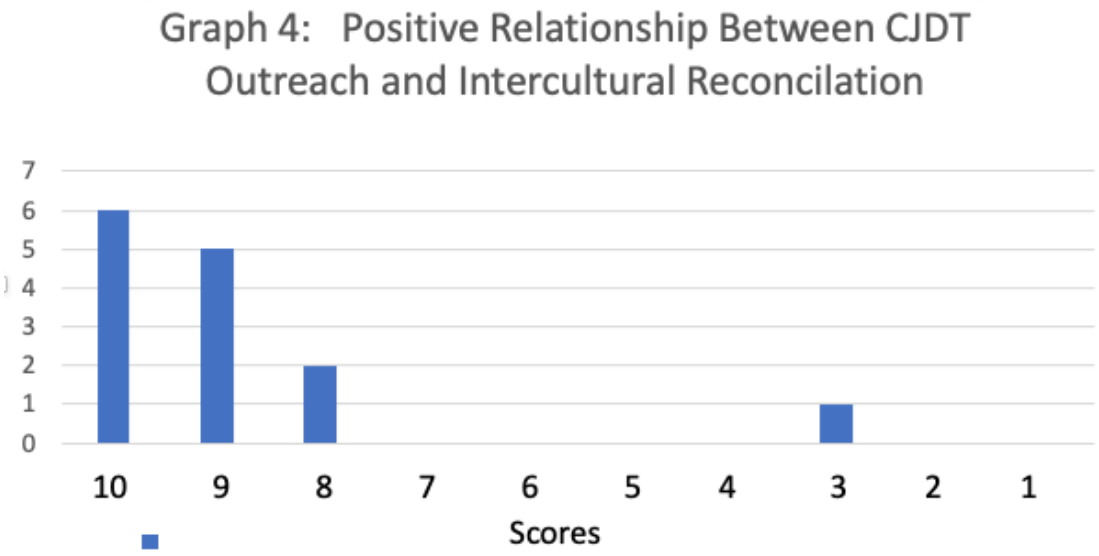
Jews in general. More than one-third (5) of CJDT respondents reported audiences absolutely improved in their understanding of antisemitism with a higher respect for Jews (10/10), and a few (3) reported that CJDT audiences' understanding and respect improved very much (9/10). The remainder agreed on CJDT understanding of respect for Jews: some (4) responded that audiences improved a lot in their cultural understanding and respect (8/10); an additional couple (2) said that audiences' understanding and respect grew well above average (7/10). Therefore, all 14 respondents (100 percent) positively agreed that respect for Jews accompanied audiences' improved understanding of the issue of antisemitism.



4. Positive Relationship between CJDT Outreach and Intercultural Reconciliation

Of fourteen surveyed, the majority (71.5 percent) believed very much that the CJDT model of Holocaust Remembrance and dialogue was good or beneficial for intercultural reconciliation. Over one-third (6) of thirteen respondents who answered this question absolutely believed (10/10) that CJDT Holocaust remembrance and dialogue was beneficial for intercultural reconciliation. A single (1) respondent did not answer the question; another single respondent (1)

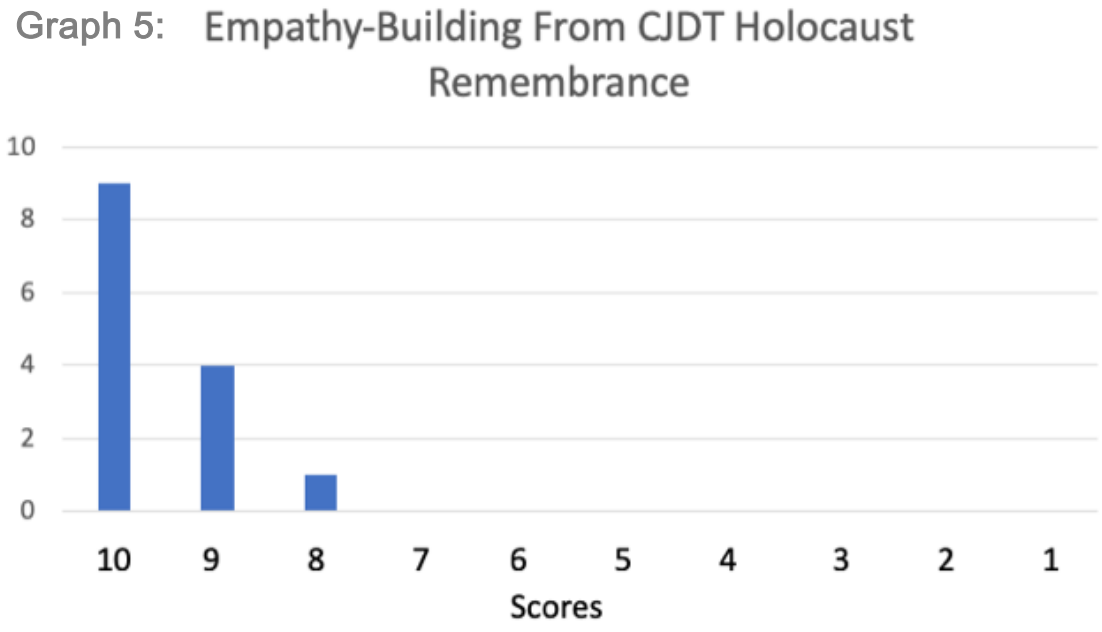
was not sure about the benefits (3/10) but wrote a comment that it "might be possible but did not see it." Many respondents saw a positive relationship of the CJDT model to intercultural reconciliation: some (4) said that the CJDT model benefited reconciliation very much (9/10); a couple (2) said that CJDT benefited reconciliation a lot (8/10). Therefore, despite mixed results, the majority (12) of respondents (86 percent) believed and saw that CJDT Holocaust Remembrance was good for intercultural reconciliation.



5. Empathy-Building from CJDT Holocaust Remembrance

Of fourteen respondents, by far the highest number of respondents (93 percent) felt that CJDT engagements with survivors were very beneficial for fostering empathy after the Holocaust and for promoting intercultural reconciliation. The great majority (9) answered that survivor testimonies were absolutely beneficial (10/10) for fostering empathy toward reconciliation. Several respondents felt strongly about the survivors' role in promoting empathy and reconciliation: some (4) answered that empathy toward reconciliation improved very much (9/10); a single (1) respondent answered that empathy was shown a lot toward reconciliation

(8/10). Therefore, all 14 respondents (100 percent) overwhelmingly held a very positive view of the survivors' role in promoting empathy toward a greater understanding of reconciliation.



Summary of Survey Responses

The binary survey responses revealed that over the course of time, CJDT members observed a substantial increase in minorities and female leadership who were involved in Holocaust Remembrance events. Whether or not this growth was associated, CJDT members responded that they initially somewhat committed and decided to join intercultural encounters. However, the overwhelming majority concluded that the CJDT model of Holocaust Remembrance and dialogue was meaningful for inner or interpersonal peace and promoted reconciliation between people groups. It recognized peaceful action post-conflict as a reason to examine the possible relationship between reconciliation and nonviolent social repair: demonstrations of communal resilience, as well as alternative acts of resistance.

Rating the meaning attached to aspects of intercultural encounters provided a nuanced perspective of the CJDT model. Respondents unanimously agreed that in all respectfulness,

CJDT audiences were receptive to intercultural engagement and to learning about issues of marginality or antisemitism raised by survivors. However, there was room for improvement, as receptivity or openness often led to but did not necessarily demonstrate intercultural reconciliation every single time. Therefore, compared to "one-off" events, the results suggest that ongoing dialogical engagement would be needed to positively shift from simply appreciating cultural trauma to active displays of reconciliation. Respondents recognized survivors and promoted mutual empathy.

Phase Two: Interviews

Towards a multidimensional understanding, the data from narrative accounts was organized into nine interrelated sections. These accounted for phenomena by exploring various causes, consequences and conditions of the context with the connecting ethical categories: Points of Meaning; Narrative Model; Implicit Assumptions; Perspectives on Reconciliation; Tone; Complementary Role Assignment; Relational Positioning; Justification of Normative Stories; and Emplotment (Trajectory of Hope). In considering the ways by which ideas became communally embedded in history, morally explaining or reconciling with "the way things are" (i.e., justifying conditions normally taken for granted) should relate cultural knowledge and life stories to points of meaning in survivor narratives.

Points of Meaning

Jewish and Christian CJDT participants used religious language to describe existential loss. Instead of trying to evoke pity, this method effectively described "hidden" spiritual pain. "Hell," "pit of despair," and "slaves in Egypt" all conjured biblical images of exile and of hopelessness

before the journey or Exodus to freedom.[12] Later recollecting a time when "peace was mixed," Helen Yermus recalled the pain of a broken promise to her mother to be her "brother's keeper:"

> After my little brother was killed, I could not see his face, except his eyes. Yet he comes back to me, more and more each day, as time goes by. I do find comfort—in Old Time Religion. Faith was important (or *what you did* with it).
> The soul goes up to heaven.

In response, Christian leaders of congregations recited psalms or songs of lament. Poems were composed and read by choir members of youth groups in churches like St. Timothy Presbyterian and at multicultural schools, such as Peoples Christian Academy.

Suffering as well as resilience could be seen through the lens of trauma. In the words of Shary Fine: the "reconcili-*actions*" of "the little people" count most and became a common point of solidarity shared by Christians and Jews—as several survivors nodded in agreement. In Auschwitz and the forced labour camp in Germany, where Judy Cohen worked at a factory, Jewish women struggled to hide and carry their unborn babies to full term in resistance to Nazi regulations, even at the cost of their lives.[13] In sad reflection, Shary shared, "If people would cherish and count blessings in the *little* things, there would be less bitterness." CJDT host Rev. Andy Comar responded with comments from the youth at his church:

> Young people say, "I don't think I could have survived." We talk about what they mean—being fortunate to live in Canada, these (youth) know it. Now, they have friends from war-torn places like Syria and Iraq. They can compare . . . It's important for the youth to talk through suffering. It's important they hear the story and say, "How is this going to be a part of our life, and how do I stand up to terrible things?'

For most respondents, survivors and Christians alike, "standing up" and "speaking up" were synonymous: multiple quotes by seventeen different individuals with interchangeable meanings. survivors Faigie Libman and Max Eisen said that reflecting on the actions of the true "heroes"

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[12] The Holocaust diary of Jewish Mrs. K. W. Fejer also used Christian terms of martyrdom ("going to Calvary," "taking up the cross") to describe her family's deportation to "Golgotha."

[13] Katz, *The Holocaust and New World Slavery*, 507.

(Jews and non-Jews) help inspire ordinary people to consider "standing up to evil." So "each of us must help by making the decision every day to fight discrimination and manifestations of hatred, and above all to remember that bad things happen when good people keep quiet," A Christian school teacher, Eunice Torres, said that dialogue partners "can help survivors to speak up," and perhaps, bring "shape" to their narratives. Also, "how people approach the past and symbols matter. Their use shows how they think about norms at a different level . . . [for] thinking (and awareness) about biases." Nate Leipciger said, "We cannot choose who we are born to or our circumstances. But . . . we can speak up." These "little" acts of "little people" were perceptibly understood as the basis for perseverance.

A connection between shame and trauma was identified as a point of meaning held in common by survivors and Christians. One Asian clergywoman specifically identified the key commonality of her own background, being from "an honour-shame culture," similar to her Caribbean congregants' heritage. Survivors also identified shame associated with symbols. Regarding those who turned a blind eye to prejudices (with an analogy to unreported intimate partner violence), a survivor said due to being targeted for circumcision and then for a religious symbol on his head he "could not wear a *kipa* in Berlin, Brussels, Paris or in Amsterdam," the place of his birth. Trauma was personalized and related to experiences of antisemitism: first Nazis and then Muslims "go(ing) after me."[14] Leonard Vis concluded that his own identity came "under pressure" as the "unwanted" product of racial ideologies, which he connected to wider areas of conflict in history.

> You hate what you are because of lack of pride, based on ignorance—though not usually in Jewish circles. It's called "Jewish self-Hatred" (*Jüdische Selbsthass*). If you don't do anything and condone whatever happens, you're a bystander. I found a 1946

[14] In a neighbourhood like Leonard's childhood home, he compared how he and his father were targeted to a news report about a thirteen-year old Jewish boy and his father, similarly attacked by an Arab assailant in Antwerp (Jan 28, 2021).

> *Reader's Digest*, "Our Most Dangerous Frontier: Korea." It was festering from before the Second World War. The Japanese moved into Manchuria (September 1931). Everybody forgets that. But everything goes back to history.[15]

Where insecurity grew, the silent mark of shame was difficult to retrieve beneath an archaeology of trauma from imperial contexts.

However, social processes of exclusion had also made this difficult with worsening discrimination, which contributed to guilt over unforgettable trauma. Theresienstadt camp survivor Vera Schiff explained the "complexities." Of "wounds that never heal," she said, honest appraisals of the trauma remained amiss.

> Soon after the tragedies occurred, to be a Survivor was a derogatory term, and others were not open to us and what we struggled through. It didn't do us any good to be called a Survivor; in fact, it was a bad thing to be associated with Survivors after the war. Antisemitic attitudes were there, but always buried or latent; they had long-lasting effects. This need for further study applies to Missing & Murdered Indigenous Women. There's a level of comfort all humans find in sticking to their own kind. They don't want to entertain and get close to strangers. Like I say about the Roma: it's not the people but the prejudices that are stupid. An apology alone doesn't cut it. How could it take away the guilt of the Holocaust?

Jews referenced this with the sense of a duty to "seek peace among all creatures and to avoid hatred and to avoid disgrace" by overcoming "emotional baggage from the past."[16]

Jewish and Rwandan elders spoke about struggling against fear or guilt in structural or social terms. "Struggle" related to overcoming psychological and systemic barriers in the present and future. Like others who dreamt horrors in the native language that was familiar to them from infancy, Holocaust survivors were haunted by persecution in Nazi-occupied territories. Destined to be alive yet like the "living dead," as Elly Gotz noted from the age of seven, "I imagined how I will die." Helen was wracked with survivor guilt when she dreamt

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[15] This East-West connection was also in oral histories at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Leonard Vis, "Interview" (transcript RG-50.030), Oct. 29, 2009; cf. Ho-Keun Choi, "Interview" (podcast), Jan. 2, 2014.

[16] Rabbinical Assembly, *Resolution on Interfaith Relations* (2005).

of girlfriends who were enslaved as herself. She especially identified with twelve-year old Riva Rubin at Stutthof: “The girl died beside me, a girl like me from Lithuania.” Survivors were forced to battle the memories that unconsciously surfaced of real villains. For Rwandan Tutsis, in the Holocaust and other genocides was the “constant”—that “in the long-run, systematic propaganda, enforced by law=indoctrination, in any given situation, can sway people in any planned direction and create acquiescing civil societies with matching culture.” Similarly, a Dutch Jew reported she was confronted or attacked in a café “just for being a survivor” by Holocaust denier David Irving during his visit to Toronto. Moreover, to Canadian Jews at the time, as Felicia Carmelly said (echoing Gerda and Judy), a woman survivor was typically viewed as a daring “troublemaker” or “rabble rouser” for “speaking her mind” openly. Felicia’s learning disorder or dyslexia added to her struggling. Therefore, prior to Holocaust educational events, female survivors said that they learned to prepare themselves “for battle” days in advance: each donning the usual “body *armour*” of a structured jacket (oftentimes purple or red in colour) to mask any feelings of fear.

Child survivors often delivered testimonies as witnesses in environments marked by “openness.” Years before many Jewish congregations began hosting child survivors to speak, half (7) of Jewish interviewees, such as children who were hidden in various ways during the Holocaust, were accustomed to Christians and speaking at CJDT churches. A child survivor said he was “welcomed there first, only after being the last to be invited (by Jews). Except there *nobody* thought I was a survivor because I didn’t go through the camps.” Another survivor (Elly) said that without funding, in the first fifteen or so years of his own active involvement, CJDT “reached over 20,000 at the very least from 25 denominations” (before 2001) of CJDT Protestant venues.

> They were welcoming . . . the ministers were wonderful—absolutely superb. This is the history . . . the Holocaust wasn't being taught in the schools. It made a deep impression . . . [and] acted as a springboard for Holocaust Education Week, which came long after CJDT started. This was the beginning of Holocaust Education for the city and for the country.[17]

Along with a female pastor, who felt compelled to start "paying forward," Pastor Teck Uy spoke about the sacrificial desire to bless the "Hebrew brethren" he regularly invited:

> If you *bless the root*, everything up from the root will be blessed. It's not an easy way. It takes a lot of patience, because we have to deal with people, and we have to serve a lot. There's a lot to consider if you want to serve the Lord: strength, time, and resources (Prov 12:12; Rom 11:16).

In unexpected reversal of this blessing, Pastor Paul Kang qualified the blessing that "is not about hosting someone or providing drinks and getting the favour paid back or returned." Instead, by creating welcoming spaces "without an agenda" for persons with disabilities and child survivors, the end result of blessing was personally transforming: "They blessed me in opening my eyes to see the world differently."

Narrative Model

One Black CJDT leader commented on reconciliation from the perspective of recovering fragments of memory. "Change comes by personal revelation" that seemed unattainable after threats to intended life-purpose.

> I believe there are people who are impacted. Comfort is coming alongside God's people. That's what we are supposed to do: listen to them, weep with them, and comfort them. Tell them there is a future and a hope. God allowed them to survive to tell their story, so people would not forget. A lot feel guilty . . . They live with *guilt*, but we need to help them rise from the ashes and build back their lives and see there is a purpose to life.

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[17] Elly Gotz turned 17 years in Dachau concentration camp before liberation (April 1945). He said: "Only 3 percent of Lithuanian Jews survived the Holocaust; and then I came to Canada in 1964." By then, Corneille had spread the CJDT model to Montreal, then to the U.S. (Princeton Scholars), to the Netherlands &/or France.

Prompting reconciliation addressed not only repentance, but also, inner release from "survivor guilt" and the distress of "powerlessness."

The path toward reconciling different storied lives could be "messy." Over more than a decade, one Canadian Jewish survivor spoke daily with me about trauma and a burden of grief. On the morning of each CJDT speaking engagement, the survivor from Transnistria awoke to find that unknowingly through the night, she had physically attacked, "scratched," and bitten her husband during her dreams filled with "vicious Nazis." Another Ashkenazi (Jewish) survivor did not have a positive view of Christians or of religion after being sent by Germans to Auschwitz-Birkenau. To her, it was "the root of all evil;" and betrayed by neighbours, the Nazis murdered six of her family members. She also reported her suspicion of the opposite gender—in particular, "machos" represented a threat and the type who typically "oppressed others."

A painful memory seared in the mind, decades earlier, occurred the night before deportation when a pious Jewish father had slapped his daughter across the cheek. Although he permitted her sisters to attend Catholic high school like many Jewish girls in their city, the possibility of an altered religious identity was "falsely the biggest threat." The child survivor said: "Father forbade her leaving our place (for sanctuary), because my sister declared her decision to 'pass' as a Christian. With false identity papers, she could have left and escaped death, if it were not for my father. I cannot forgive him."

Years later, when innocently my words on her ninety-fourth birthday included the mention of "playing dolls," for the first time, she recalled a memory or example of lovingkindness. Before the Holocaust tore apart her family, she had been given a doll. Her "treasure had curly hair in braids," just like her own. She ripped or cut off the doll's hair; and even though the family struggled to find food to eat in Hungary, her parents had paid to restore

the doll's fine hair. In her anger at God, she rejected and "forgot the doll" until old age just as others had treated her. Like two others, the child survivor said her recollections late in life turned to the cherished doll that became a lasting symbol of her gift in childhood: two braids or an object to represent the purity of a parent's love for an ungrateful "broken thing" as herself.

Narrative models did not necessarily follow a linear manner. Family origins could often be described in greater detail dedicated to the home environment: a favourite room, childhood dress, or toy given in memory, instead of setting "normal" scenes. A Lithuanian Jew described the layout of her parents' apartment that was covered in gleaming tile. She was proud of her father's work in manual trades, laying tiles and ritual "mikvah" baths her mother visited; but "mother's side in Canada looked down on her and me." After being deported at age eleven by Nazis to concentration camps, from the ages of fifteen to seventeen on liberation, she grieved being fatherless and a Displaced Person near the border of Poland in Austria or Italy.

Max Eisen and Elly Gotz referred instead to hatred as a "poison" that "ate" them inside, until they learned to focus—"not on forgiveness," but on a "more constructive" message. Christian audience members, unlike CJDT clergy, sometimes made references to their need for forgiveness in prayers; Jewish guests concurred on corporate acknowledgement of a world that "needs *Shalom*." In private, several survivors denied any need to forgive the Nazis. "I'm not interested in revenge" for peace, explained one survivor. "Children should not be on edge for the sins of their grandparents." Elly stated, "I stopped hating and taking the poison."

Implicit Normative Assumptions

Overcoming "darkness" was a common theme for Christians and Jews. The meaning of "light" in connection to reconciliation instead of destiny or hope was favoured by Survivors, who used it

to refer to a "sacred duty." For Jews, "light" illumined truths "buried in darkness." Half of respondents alluded to a light that delivers "truth" in situations of social disrepair comparable to the Holocaust. Challenging the singular image of Auschwitz, child survivors who had converted in monasteries or were hidden in Dutch Reformed homes said that other "Jews could never really understand" or accept their experiences. Some survivors carried the shame of dehumanization where "we were naked all the time," in holding places or "open fields before being transported to Auschwitz."

Vera acknowledged unexplored exilic impacts of trauma, as well as lasting effects on victim populations across cultures.

> A whole field of Holocaust/analysis hasn't been studied. What was the effect of all the trauma on Survivors? What prompted all of it? We need to try innovative approaches to understanding the traumatizing as well as the *conditioning* of people.

Another survivor from Poland called the Holocaust a "schizophrenic hell" that was so "apocalyptic," its imprint never went away. He stressed about shattered lives: "not enough attention was paid to what happened to survivors *after* the war."

Like Edith Land, Protestant leaders talked about the challenges or loneliness of bearing the burden of the pursuit of truth through dialogue; but not everyone was an exile. Of four Lutheran pastors, half (two non-German evangelicals) remained committed to engaging with Holocaust survivors. The two other Lutheran pastors reportedly retracted their requests to embark on intercultural dialogue, due to fears that members of their community might "turn" on them. They had ventured to differ in opinion from older German congregants, who were "not ready to deal with (their own) trauma." However, when another Christian lay leader, the son of a Baptist pastor, was asked to explain the reason for pursuing "light," he defined it as "not a Christian duty," but the privilege of acknowledging people's worth conferred by "the God of

second and third chances"—as "for the woman at the well or Prodigal Son who felt like the trash heap of society." He thus affectively identified a "higher" light that transforms alienation through a spiritual vocation or purpose:

> Typically, there's management or daily 'maintenance'—keeping things relatively the same—without too much emotion. Then, there's the kind of leadership or 'social entrepreneurship', which is open to new directions. It requires a higher level of pastoring and community-building: creating a place where all people can feel safe, especially the marginalized person, who was often excluded and denied opportunities. Giving alienated people *voice* and *changing culture* is part of a collaborative calling to reach out with compassion. Otherwise, like all organizations, churches might replace ministry with prestige or influence. Without trust, the primacy of the gospel as "Good News" becomes minimized. And so, we keep focussing on love, hope, charity; and communicating *light* is key!

Both Jewish and Christian CJDT participants spoke with a tacit understanding of the discrimination faced by young newcomers. Survivors apologized for their "difficult accent." A female minister defended the survivor and said, "You miss something without first-hand experiences. That's not [possibly the same] from online experiences." For survivors, not computers but antisemitism was the source of a "virus" with infectious power, as witnessed in the Holocaust. Christians named stereotyping as the sin of "being of the world." A Korean Baptist related it to ways she was "mistreated" as a visible minority:

> In the 1970s there was so much discrimination toward minorities. We couldn't find places to rent; we were mistreated at work by supervisors. Nothing ever seemed to work out, no matter how hard you tried, this and that. It can get you really down. Every day I would tell myself, "I am a child of God with worth and value with respectability. I will not stoop to others' level." You need to have power for a greater blessing to the next generation. In the end that's how you win, if not gain respect. And so you persevere. You can't be swayed by the world.

Struggle was necessary to biblically "persevere" and develop nonviolent power or agency, since the world was imperfect as fallen. Asian leaders said reconciliation was necessary as a socio-spiritual process: "what's better is *healing*, over simply a shift of powers, which reacts

in a way that replaces one system in the world with another that leads to more degeneration" and crookedness.

Most Jewish survivors agreed with this meaning of "straightening," as the collective vision of exiles in need of "repair" in the world. Pinchas Gutter said: "A little kindness can make a world of difference. It is the task of *tikkun olam,* through all God's children beyond Noah, made in *Tzelem Elohim* (the 'image of God')." Other respondents called this a vision for exiles to "heal" the world. Many CJDT participants, including all survivors, quoted their cultural learning from Judaism: "Whoever saves a single life it is as though (s)he saved the entire world."[18]

Reconciliation in Perspective

Both Christians and Jews acknowledged the stresses in contexts of migration and genocide, a family experience unknown to most ordinary people. After her dialogue with Black Christians or comparison of the racism faced by migrants and her Holocaust experiences, Hedy reported positively, "God gave me strength." Like other BME leaders, a way out of isolation came from finding something "new" for healing. Seminega couched genocide in terms of "walking" out trauma and "healing." First, "after genocide: sitting as a family, we had flashbacks. We started talking about it, months later. One child might say what happened to her; another says what he was feeling then. That was the first stage. It was talking *inside* the family . . . We took one step after another; we talked, step by step."

After gradual inner reconciliation, then the steps of open dialogue (in response to "outside invitations") healing could develop "step by step." A Black CJDT faith leader said: "In

[18] This teaching in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 37a) is often conceptualized as a message of social justice known as *tikkun olam. Sanhedrin* 4:5.

later years, I came to know Gen 12:3, 'Those who bless you Israel I will bless'. That became more confirming to me of what's in the Bible, although in my Anglican church, people weren't aware of Israel." The meaning of blessing and "healing" were taken from the Bible. Pastor Teck Uy reflected on Gen 12 in the Bible:

> The command is to bless. In the past we never prayed for Jews. Now it's like a brother(hood) to us. Personally, we believe also in Genesis 2 and 3. If you bless *they will be blessed* [so] we go up to Jerusalem every year.

Therefore, CJDT faith leaders distinguished themselves from some other Christian leaders by referring to Jewish survivors as "brethren." Certain CJDT leaders and two survivors reminded people of the "Jewish Jesus," which was common parlance among congregational gatekeepers. They openly criticized anti-Judaic teachings as "wrong." Instead, CJDT Christian leaders sought to "unconditionally love" Holocaust survivors with "promises" of sacrifices of time or financial gifts donated to Jewish organizations for the express purpose of raising Holocaust awareness. Pastors did not espouse a theological view of dual covenant; neither did many preach political views such as Zionism. CJDT faith leaders instead referred to an identification of Israel as "a remnant chosen by grace . . . the reconciliation of the world," or as "descendants of Abraham," the model of faith (Rom 4:9; 11; Ps 94:14). Christian members of CJDT groups openly spoke as non-Jews of being "grafted in" and made holy "shoots," by virtue of faith in Jesus. The "Hebrew root" of one Jewish-Gentile tree was tied to the irrevocable "call of God" (Rom 11:16–29).

Tone: An Element for Assessing levels of Hope and Commitment

Many CJDT survivors expressed a belief in their ability to influence and restore community relations. Like Nate Leipciger, Faigie Libman repeated about dialogue, "I am an eternal optimist!" A core or central category that emerged from dialogue was the value of *mutuality*.

Rev. Janet Ryu said, “out of love for God,” she encouraged congregants to be humble: “sit in the uncomfortable place” of listening and mutually call on each other—neither individually “holding onto all the pain,” nor clinging to “any sense of entitlement.” Rather, the profound release from sharing pain sometimes allowed a “soul peace” to permeate trust relationships:

> Jesus didn’t abandon the ninety-nine; Jesus went and searched for the one. That’s the blessing of being in community: in your joy you have someone to celebrate with; in your sorrow you have someone who will find and give you comfort. That can only happen if you’re in relationship. She didn’t tell me I was wrong or judge me. She just shared another perspective. If it weren’t for her, I would never have learned that lesson.

Kitty empathetically concurred by using the example of marriage: “Mutual respect is more important than love.”

Metaphorically recalling the Eucharist and Passover rehearsal of sacred memories with vicarious suffering, congregational identity-forming support for trauma narratives grew with empathic hospitality to retell “sacred” memory. While culturally navigating an intercultural context of learning, the researcher-Liaison accompanied survivors like Leslie Meisels to CJDT events or Christian campuses. The students (30 percent) volunteered they had been compelled to participate in Holocaust Remembrance, due to a family member or grandparent who was a veteran. They offered the support of a chair or drink to survivors on campus, where annual Passover dinners were held at Tyndale campus. After the CJDT event, a survivor expressed appreciation for the Asian researcher-Liaison: “You were a neutral entity in the context [that was] multi-religious, multi-tribal and national identity-ridden . . . It was easy to see you are ‘safe’.”

The meanings that people ascribed to reconciliation were widened owing to life experiences. Kitty Salsberg invited two Muslim women from Tunisia to live in her home so they could attend university in Toronto. She also lived with Black family members and advocated for

marginalized identities: “You need to have empathy” (Canadian Jewish CJDT liaisons had personally taken an interest in participation since the time spent “on the streets” in Civil Rights peace marches of the U.S.). Several survivors marched in Toronto “in imitation of the biblical Jericho” to show support for Roma refugees. In addition, Vera spoke for seven Holocaust survivors in publicly advocating for Syrian or Yezidi refugees through the Canadian press, alongside CJDT clergy such as Rev. Comar, who invited a Palestinian couple to sit and learn from a Holocaust survivor at his United Church.

Inclusive acceptance was important to survivors, especially (mostly) women who were morally injured from abuse or betrayals of trust by religious authorities during the Holocaust. Like a female camp survivor from Czechoslovakia, another survivor of Auschwitz from Hungary decried the unjust mistreatment that she and a group of Jewish school girls had experienced at the hands of Jewish seminarians before deportations. The male students “viciously beat the girls” using sticks, “simply for trying to keep warm by the fire.” Name-calling also served as a reminder that increasingly, “girls were seen as inferior,” not just for being female; “we were targeted for wearing the school uniforms” of Catholic-run schools that Jewish girls often had no option but to attend in places across the eastern half of Hungary, Transylvania or Galicia, and Czech towns. “In Jewish people’s eyes, we belonged to the country where we lived. We were not a people. My father was a proud Hungarian and did not understand why the government checked and recorded his religion.” Yet, although most Jewish communities boasted their ability of financially sustaining a religious *yeshiva* for boys, Jewish girls (and sometimes boys like Martin Maxwell born to impoverished Jewish migrants) attended local schools, which typically operated under the auspices of church leadership. “The priests said antisemitic things—that we Jews had killed Christ; and the kids picked on us.” Survivors such as Kitty spoke of the teacher at her

school in Budapest, who singled her out as the only Jewish student with "a false accusation of stealing, and you could not defend yourself. You were alone." In enforcement of genocidal policies, Nazi-allied nations had formed their own fascist parties or affiliations, such as the militant Arrow Cross in Hungary. Even when child survivors did not convert (as many Jews did), Jewish girls and especially "hidden children" needed to live and process their experiences within a Christian worldview, "warming the pew." In-between worlds, survivors in Canada would face different levels of exclusion by Jews and Christians alike. "Everyone (especially Jews) said she talked funny or was strange," one Jew reflected.

Religious identities came into question. After liberation, instead of religious labelling, an Auschwitz survivor said that widespread discrimination was "rampant" in Displaced Persons camps for "dominated Hungarian Jews"—"small in number," yet who "knew no Yiddish," although her sisters knew several different languages.[19] "Those Jews thought we didn't know anything—that we had not suffered like they had." (Child survivors from Holland expressed similar attitudes in western Europe or after the war in Israel, where they faced "more struggles" than most.) A CJDT pastor was compelled instead to accept the Other according to Jesus' model: "for the least of these," as members of the family of God (Matt 25:40). Vicarious suffering was not viewed differently by many Jewish survivors. Nate Leipciger met Indigenous proponents of reconciliation, calling them "brothers in the cause." He spoke about "taking under his wing" a First Nation elder named Theodore Fontaine, who was emboldened to share of similar abuses he endured in Catholic-run residential schools. Nate continued speaking of accepting others:

> Stay positive. The most important thing is we have to eliminate tolerance and substitute it with acceptance. It's only human beings who will help our situation and destroy or save our planet. We can't depend on anything else. The important thing is

[19] Eighty percent of Jews from Alsace to the Ural Mountains spoke Yiddish, a linguistic feature of pre-Holocaust Jewish (Ashkenazi) culture derived from High German, besides elements of Hebrew and Aramaic.

> mutual acceptance. Then, you can have dialogue and not try convincing the other that only your narrative is right.

Acceptance of others started with accepting oneself. The general "need for empathy" was understood by people who had suffered losses in different situations of conflict. Like Holocaust survivors, Seminega and family said they barely escaped death but not the trauma of the genocide in Rwanda. Later, reflecting on unseen scars from different genocidal experiences shared by Rwandans and Jews, Seminega acknowledged an attitude of openness allowed divine inspiration to engage with even an unrepentant perpetrator, whose rights and "life should be spared *as yours*," in taking not an individualistic but rather "God's view of the matter." Faith removed the pressure away from individuals, as only then, "they'll change their way of seeing people."

Unrepentance was an obstacle as well as a condition of the heart and mind—i.e., *wrong* "way(s) of seeing people." The way in which Christians could deal with enmity was through "help" (human and divine), advancing welcome and transformation. Kitty also spoke about this importance of "becoming more aware" of others:

> People who are damaged don't want to remain invisible. They need to be noticed positively—give them credit. When trauma hits, the different effects are many. Breaking the cycle is not easy. Catch them at being good, and it helps if you have someone else to watch over other than yourself. That creates *empathy* . . . It's something that is important: A final opportunity for justice.

A hopeful tone was not automatic, but rather, could develop by exercising empathy as an approach to countering harms and injustices done. For some, this was seen as a possibility by completely relying on God. For others, "righting a wrong" was possible through commitments to positive face-to-face encounters. Elly Gotz reported, after he and survivors had spoken to over 20,000 CJDT audience members by 2001, that "learning not to hate" required empathy.

> Dozens in churches after my talks would say, 'I never heard or knew a little but didn't know what it was like. Now I understand. I feel bad about it.' If you plant seeds, something happens. Empathy can develop—not everybody, but there's a percentage who feel others' pain.

Complementary Assignment: Attributing Role Identity

Christians' desire to acknowledge victims of the Holocaust facilitated CJDT assignments. Recognizing survivors was seen as a way of countering antisemitism. Rev. Andy Comar viewed the relationship cultivated between Survivors and his church as a critical part of congregants' development in an otherwise "barren" place: "North of highway 401." In the barrenness was a lack of love: "There's antisemitism on the rise. It's important for Christians to know what Christ called us to do: love Christ and neighbour. Hopefully, we don't repeat the suffering."

Although youth learned about the Holocaust in middle schools, Andy Comar said, "meeting a survivor takes it a step further." Therefore, "simply knowing about the victim is not enough." Even after a stumble, Andy Comar continued:

> We need to know our neighbours because we need to understand in order to live together . . . You talked to me about this, and I thought it would be good for the teens to hear. Sometimes when we host, things go badly, but that doesn't mean we stop (dialogue). Having the education/video is important as well (to introduce Holocaust survivors who speak).

The theme of *neighbour* took on a familial sort of connotation, only within CJDT situations of dialogue. One participant at a CJDT church event expressed her desire to engage and care for the families of survivors: "These Jews are our spiritual cousins." Another CJDT church, Friends of Jesus Christ, hosted Holocaust survivors a few times every year. Pastor Teck Uy expressed the members' affinity to the survivors after a few years, and he described their outreach as a ministry of "presence."

> In our vision, we have Psalm 122:6 ("Pray for the peace of Jerusalem"); we believe the *process* of love is there. We do this as an act of comfort; after they speak and see people understand what they've gone through, they are comforted . . . It's good to educate the congregation through Holocaust education. They have biases; they hear another side. They don't know other than what they hear; they don't have compassion or know the spiritual side. If you are a believer, you believe in the Bible. Then, you need to see them as *brothers* and *sisters*.

Most survivors relayed that if it were not for "a true Christian neighbour" who delivered help—rescuing or informing Jews of imminent danger with deportation or death—none would have survived the Holocaust. After Auschwitz, Max Eisen reflected: "Every survivor had at least one person on the 'outside' (like a POW or guard) who offered help." Two Christian neighbours gave Jewish women ransom money to "win Jewish husbands out of the concentration camp." Nate's aunts married Christian men who sheltered Jews. Judy Cohen said Baptists or Adventists "knocked and secretly brought food" to Jews in hiding until they were found. Vera added, "a Christian neighbour had tried intervening and even moved his home closer to the concentration camp to offer aid," until Moravian Brethren (Josef Bleha), too, came under arrest and murder by the Nazis.

Not treated as a "one-off" event, Holocaust Remembrance allowed people to reflect on metaphorically reaching "the other side" or "bridging" a crisis together. They described not only the cognitive, but also, emotive value-assessments for historicizing personal narratives. The role of lay practitioners or CJDT liaisons was stressed by Rev. Comar in "balancing the relationships" of groups participating in dialogue. The intercultural "buffer" could facilitate "the most grace-filled moments" in ministering care to child survivors:

> Sometimes the person at the front won't be the best person to moderate. Then, you as the liaison play a key role . . . It always surprises me there aren't more churches involved when it's the natural thing to do: dialoguing . . . It's important to know something about who your Jewish neighbour is, and their faith and relationship with God, which informed their lives.

Struggle was viewed as not only the "social justice" aspect of reclaiming identity, but also, as the lived experience of migrants. Asian leaders at a multiethnic Baptist church spoke of dialogue in this way:

> People came to this country and struggled. That's when they need someone . . . We don't need more of the same (old) for change. That's losing the essence of people's source of hope. There has to be empathy and care, more working together to create a better society. . . There is much work to do at the bottom, not at the top of the mountain. This world has so many problems. Jesus wanted the disciples to go down; that's where the people (Survivors) are and need ministry.

Embedded in the language of struggle was a spirit of "gratitude" despite personal struggle. Shary Fine added, after an Iranian nurse facilitated her speaking to a thousand medical professionals:

> For some reason I am alive and have to be grateful and make up for it . . . It made a difference for people. They never met anybody like me . . . I am a human being. That's all I want to be: a person who people can talk to . . . Nothing comes easy.

Rev. Comar added to this concept of struggle the need to bravely take risks: "It's not just a negative experience about loss, tragedy and grief, but also a testimony to the power of the Spirit. It's powerful in all of these things combined. It's a risk you take, but won't know until you're on the other side." Comar continued, "People want to hear personal stories . . . for us, it's a relationship through a personal story."

Even with no personal relation, survivors of concentration camps were interested in the "Righteous Gentiles who risked their lives to save one." Vera Schiff, like "many who survived by faith," spoke of her "profound duty" to these Righteous. She shared of hope: "Survivors want to hear [of] reconciliation." Christian congregants were moved from accounts shared by Holocaust survivors about the risks assumed for the rescue of Jews by non-Jews. Faigie referred to the rescuers and sided with them as "my hero(es)," even though she was never rescued by one. Captain Martin Maxwell had escaped the Holocaust in Austria on the Kindertransport and became a highly decorated D-Day pilot in England; yet in all his speeches, he ended his talks

before thousands of military personnel on army bases as at CJDT churches. Captain Martin Maxwell clarified: it was "the Righteous who were the real heroes." Pinchas had served in the Defence Force and yet acknowledged the Righteous "models for humanity," too, and added: "If only everybody would also do their part, then the world could be a better place."

Holocaust survivors attributed to individual rescuers *pikuach nefesh* ("to save a life") in fulfilling the "highest religious significance."[20] Nate stated, "Rescuers put their lives on the line to save Jews from the Nazis. That is important for today's world to know. In spite of dangers, wonderful people dedicated their lives and time to save others . . . Each one of them is an angel." Mark Lane, Hedy Bohm, and Helen Yermus also spoke of the hope they gained from speaking about their "miracle" of life after the Holocaust. Faigie Libman reflected on surviving with "death all around" as a gift, despite the "taboo" of speaking about the Holocaust (in Montreal and in the 1970s in Toronto). "Every day of survival was a miracle [that] God was watching." More than half of respondents indicated the growth of faith and hope in God and humanity, which was further sustained as survivors discussed the meaning of rescue: "liberation beyond duty."

Hence, those who celebrated Righteous Among the Nations—including Christians—were compared to people worthy of being called "friends." In contrast, "after all we went through with the Holocaust, to arrive alone and feel so unwelcomed by fellow Canadians was hurtful." From Canadian Jews, each of them had heard names, as survivors were called "greenhorns" (a derogatory term directed at Jewish newcomers). Vera Schiff said: "Others were not open to us or what we struggled through." On their arrival in Canadian society (1947–1967), Judy concurred:

> It was not like now. When we arrived, we were either impoverished immigrants or Displaced Persons. The Canadian-born Jews clearly didn't know what to make of us,

[20] Pinchas Gutter said that for Jews, *pikuach nefesh* (פיקוח נפש or "saving life") comes from the principle of God-valued *chai* ("life") that overrides every rule in society and the Bible: Lev 18:5.

> and some even made fun of us. They didn't reach out or try and help. Not until decades later did we become somebody or something—and took on the label "Survivor." That's what happened, before the term "Holocaust survivor" actually became a thing after the 1970s.

Shary agreed and said, "It was all up to us. We had to do what we could and fend for ourselves. When somebody new came, it was I (with nothing!) who had to reach out and help, because nobody else would do it." Outside of regular classes, Faigie reported, "It was not good, and I'm sorry to say: people were not nice. They bullied us, and my friend Sylvia's fair braids got dunked in black ink." A Rwandan drew a comparison to his own experience of "man-made terror;" and Seminega added: "each stereotype was purely a human creation."[21] Alex Mak felt he could identify, too, based on the experience of being subjected to racism: "There were a lot of down times; I was the school pick-on kid in Toronto in junior high . . . They absolve themselves by scapegoating." Overcoming the trauma and stress of victimhood was repeated by Survivors. Judy Cohen surmised that survivors like herself, "being the 'outsider', the 'foreigner', 'the outcast', occasionally the 'envied' and even 'the hated' had to strive two or three times harder to develop skills, street smartness, intellect, inventiveness—that was drummed into the off-springs early on—and might have even changed their DNA."

After the war, several CJDT survivors reported "triggers" or precipitating events, such as personal encounters with Holocaust deniers. Judy said, "I am not a victim;" but when she was travelling to work, a demonstration on a major street in downtown Toronto caused her to have an unexpected confrontation with neo-Nazis. One later disavowed White supremacy and educating the public after marrying a Jew, but Judy was "shaken up and quit working." Faigie reported her shock on learning that "Albert" on her street was not the quiet "peaceful" neighbour as others

[21] Jews, Koreans, and Mayan Canadians reported similar dehumanizing names like "lice" or "flea" before imperialist inspired massacres.

had assumed. On being charged of Nazi war crimes, former SS officer Albert Helmut Rauca's imprisonment and trial shook Faigie into remembering: "it was him who spread the terror" in the country of her birth, Lithuania. Like Judy, Faigie began speaking openly on her experience of Stutthof and on being forced into the Death March by Nazi guards. Kitty Salsberg said, "Because of post-traumatic stress, survivors as a group share a lot of similarities with war veterans; and disabled people too are a part of the *triangle of suffering*."

Exclusion and poverty were tied to painful memories. The humiliation of rejection was likened to "stinging," moral betrayal. This was mixed with occasional indebtedness, as though the survivors owed their lives to those who had sponsored them to Canada from Displaced Person camps: "where we were nobody with no status and no citizenship—no country wanted us." First orphaned during the Holocaust, and then saying the Jewish foster mother in Canada was "not a nice woman," the feeling never left one survivor: "she was so cold (to me)." On the other hand, Canadian relations were not always receptive, although they offered the basic minimum to guarantee survivors' security or status. A survivor shared that the relative of her husband, who met them after they arrived in Canada as a part of the War Orphan program, charged for a meagre room "more rent to us than the going rate that was quite high at the time." This, although, "they or their parents were the lucky ones, who had gotten out of Europe before the doors were closed shut when we Jews became barred from entering North America." A Lithuanian survivor shared her feeling of shame when, upon arriving in Canada at the home of her uncle, she heard the aunt refer to her as a "distant relation" (and her mother as "just a cousin"—in reality, she being the only living sibling who had survived the war). More hurtful lies continued: "Those kids never learned that I was their first cousin, and my aunt expected me to address her solely on a first name basis—especially when we were in front of others. The only

person who was different was another uncle, living far away in another city . . . only related by marriage." Although for the most part, they may have looked rather indistinguishable later from their peers, child survivors acknowledged that they faced discrimination: they were shorter in stature with "weak teeth and bones" due to malnourishment or confinement. Hence, survivors like Kitty Salsberg or Esther Fairbloom compared these social impairments to "handicaps." Thus, "people treated us like we were different." Kitty added, "People see others physically who are different and think mentally they are inferior too. I got used to being alone . . . People only saw differences or pointed them out, such as accents."

Likewise, several Christian leaders who had been caregivers to family members with disabilities identified with the Jewish survivors. As ethnic minorities, they had often translated for family and congregation members in situations where English language proficiency proved a common barrier. In contrast to high school life, where some students reportedly complained of a survivor's accent and other teachers referred to the Holocaust as "*that* subject again," empathic listening was seen as an essential component of intercultural CJDT encounters. Here, the guest was someone "equal but different." Christian leaders facilitated an environment of public understanding or belonging. CJDT leader Alex Mak said of dialogue:

> Warts and all: It's hard to do good and go against things. I'd like to see both sides and be part of the healing process . . . For me, dialogue is an extension of God's love in our lives…how we live our lives. The theological way of saying it is, we are the *body* of Christ. It's an expression of our faith in this world. The world needs it, so pass it on. It only takes a spark. You become the spark and pass it on. Then the room is filled with God's love.

Relational Positioning

Through lived experiences, CJDT insider-outsider identities identified in *Shalom* ("peace") a deep and active tense, not a passive meaning. For War Orphans, siblings separated in different

foster homes in Canada before residing in different countries of residence, Holocaust survivors like Kitty acknowledged that, like different parts of an egg, she had grown "rich as yolk" through the difficulties she had encountered. Meanwhile, her sister "Ellen became soft and weak as white—overcome with "a deep anxiety she couldn't shake." Sometimes, the ability to recall English words was temporarily lost. Most Christian participants deliberately used the Hebrew word *Shalom* to try and distinguish this withdrawnness or anxiety from mercy, as an enlivening sense of "inner peace." One Christian (ICEJ) leader thus reported a need to channel the spiritual blessing: "When we give out mercy, we get more mercy from above" to give. "Not like the world's," it was not a separation of "mercy and truth, which go hand-in-hand." Hence, several Christian CJDT hosts spoke of standing "shoulder-to-shoulder" with these Jews—until "darkness disappears" (Ps 78:72).[22] Another congregational leader described the Christ-given calling to serve Jews that made such mercy possible. "Christ told us 'whatever you do in my name will be seen in heaven'. That means if you even give a cup of water or bread to one of them, it's as though you're doing it unto the Lord. That's how God sees it."

Contrary to the norms of justice, the child survivors were not primarily focussed on their historical persecutors. "I do not hate all Germans," was a common sentiment that was spoken as a preface to survivor testimonies. "Young Germans are different," many survivors would distinguish and say before their public audience of youth. A Dutch survivor was trenchant: "people should not look at all Muslims and assume they are terrorists; similarly, not all Germans were Nazis, and neither were all Nazis Germans." Positioning was relationally enacted—not in aversion to, but in creating space for peace with traditional "enemies." CJDT events were hosted by church leaders of Lutheran (Canadian or German-descent); and perhaps not coincidentally,

[22] ICEJ intercessory group and the Peoples Church both hosted survivor Helen Yermus.

Hungarian or Slovakian-descent pastors hosted Jewish speakers, too, not infrequently from shared or similar places of origin. Jews and Christians alike declared blessings of *Shalom* in actively seeking peace with strangers at odds (Prov 16:7). Clergy and congregants agreed: "It should not be up to the Jews alone to fight antisemitism or seek an invitation to speak." Hedy was afraid to meet a German, but "after I went, I found it was the best thing I ever did." Other survivors said: "Wherever I am invited, I will go." Therefore, survivors accepted invitations to enter and speak at CJDT venues—occasionally, for the first time ever stepping foot inside a church—trembling yet relieved for the safety of being in the company of a CJDT "navigator."

Instead of conciliatory speechmaking, CJDT participants engaged in community-building spoke of a "prototypical family." This was described by Judy: community reconciliation reflected the "mutual responsibility for creating inseparable bonds." She compared speaking out against antisemitism to the Civil Rights Movement with interracial dialogue between Blacks and Whites in America. She said: "As soon as you divide communities and put them against each other, it no longer serves a purpose. It's not healthy."

The impact of past rejection still haunted many survivors, who looked for "friends" of all ages. One survivor, whose current role as a cantor allowed him to compose music and sing in a Conservative synagogue, recalled the "disrespect" when he sat—dressed in the Jewish attire of a young Orthodox boy—atop the steps of a cathedral during its choir practice. While "captivated and listening to the choral music," his reverie was painfully interrupted by a swift kick. From behind, he heard the word, "*Rouse*!" A Catholic priest had ordered him to leave in German and struck him.[23] The memory stayed with him after surviving several concentration camps. "I

[23] The German word *rouse* ("on alert!") was a common signal used by Nazis at deadly selection calls. Hedy said that seeing it printed on signs in Germany "rattled" her, and Max responded in a newspaper to an anonymous person who spray-painted the words as graffiti overtop Max's face on a poster at a bus shelter.

wasn't doing any harm, but he didn't let me enjoy a taste of heaven, simply because he could see that I was a Jew."

Survivors observed or contended in private with a deep awareness of power asymmetries wherever they were. One female speaker, whose mother died under the cruel tortures of Dr. Josef Mengele ("Angel of Death" at Auschwitz), said for her entire life as a survivor, she could "never look at or hear the footsteps of a man in black boots without freezing." Another survivor was terrified not only by "Christians" but also by other men. She recounted, first, the "German and later Russian armed men who attempted to rape Jewish women" in the camps.[24] Another time, before the Holocaust Hasidic Jewish youth had hurled insults and stones, "for no fault at all, but simply for being a girl." She blamed a male "machismo culture" as a contributor to the evolving political atmosphere. In order to "help the bullied," two survivors (Felicia Carmelly and Kitty Salsberg) chose to further their education and respective practices by pursuing a profession in Psychology.

For many survivors, fear was countered by the intervention of a rescuer. Like Righteous Among the Nations Dutch-Canadian Victor Kugler, with the aid of the Dutch resistance and "brave young women on bicycles," young Jewish girls like Claire could escape the Nazis to find safe hiding places in rural Christian homes. However, in the Eastern part of Europe, anti-Semitic extremist groups mobilized for the annihilation of Jewry; although Jewish doctors helped to save people's lives, "most went numb from constant terror" by paramilitary *Sauliu Sajunga* in Lithuania and the "fascists of Romania or the Arrow Cross in Hungary."[25] For an only child like Faigie, she knew that she could rely on her "fearless mother" Batia, who had grown up in a rural

[24] Five other Jewish survivors (mostly women) referred in interviews to traumatic events of a sexual nature in Nazi camps. A Rwandan survivor also shared a personal encounter that traumatized her. Even the threat of rape could lead to lasting impacts, whether or not it was realized. Sexual violence was never a part of public testimonies.

[25] Lozansky, "Testimony," 39.

village (Yiddish *shtetl*) with sizable Jewish population but with no Jewish school for girls in Lithuania (as in Judy Weissenberg Cohen's bigger town of Debrecen, Hungary). "All by herself, she moved and graduated from the *gymnasium* with nurse training in the capital city, where she would slip under the barbed wire on her nightly rounds to deliver babies and barter or bring back food," inside the heavily guarded enclosure of the Kovno Ghetto for Jews. In Stutthof concentration camp, young mothers had used their bodies to shield her preteen daughter, Faigie (like underage Helen), from the "abusive guards." Later, whenever Faigie would cower due to intraethnic intimidation, her mother Batia "glared or shouted at name-callers" and demonstrated her ability to push toward acquiring a nursing certificate and financial independence. Faigie recalled that during her years at Stutthof:

> I felt secure in the camp because Jewish women (like my mother) were looking out for me. They 'had my back'. My mother was brave, and yet as a nurse, she knew when to be flexible. She would do anything to save a life; they didn't call her 'General' for no reason!

Later, memories of witnessing or burying the women's emaciated bodies would haunt her.

All CJDT participants reported feeling or identifying as the marginalized outcast. Lithuanian or Hungarian Holocaust and Rwandan survivors acknowledged the power of "within group" as well as extra-group discrimination. Seminega said, "We (Tutsis) were no different . . . we not free to speak about experiences of genocide." A Jewish survivor said that she and others too had to remain "hidden" at times as Jews, because as "class aliens," they were left utterly defenceless. Their vulnerability was compounded by "tremendous loneliness" after the Holocaust. "We had no parents; we had nobody to back us; we had nobody to rely on but ourselves. What choice did we have? Worldwide it was a new experience: not just to lose one or two parents, but to lose a whole way of life and community. Survivors were looked down upon and were not considered wholesome human beings." Jewish women were especially susceptible

to assaults in Nazi occupied territories, but "conservative values meant this was hush-hush even long after the war." Despite surviving concentration camps too, like Stutthof, the horrors they endured were frequently dismissed by former camp inmates. "It shouldn't be a comparison of suffering," Judy and Helen agreed. However, Faigie and Helen described the denigrating stereotypes their mothers as Yiddish-speakers encountered from Jews in western culture, "rather than the 'remnant' (Ezra 9:14)" that they were. Such mislabelling upset Helen. Her widowed mother Toby had begged for food from suspicious villagers to revive Helen, "lying alone after the poison injected at Stutthof camp;" yet now, in Canada, Toby begged Helen instead to "forgive them" for the words that deepened her pain. Like Helen, many survivors "did not feel the need to forgive all the Nazis;" and instead of focusing only on antisemites, they chose to "give back" to those who had helped them to survive and transition to their new lives in their new and foreign land.

Justification for using Normative Stories

Most survivors said women were forgotten after the war, though mothers "risked everything" for children—even at the expense of their own lives. Faigie added, "My mother was a nurse and saved my life. She had heard about roundups, and one day, took me with her to do slave labour. On returning home, I found all of my friends had been taken (by Nazis)." Sometimes, her heroines were "young mothers who later fell on the side of the road with nobody to pick them up. Oh, the guilt!"

Helen shared about her experience at one of many CJDT Christian schools where she spoke. One day, the school chaplain had gathered a group of young people inside Willowdale Pentecostal and asked if Helen would share her testimony to a hundred students. After Helen

shared her testimony of surviving Stutthof concentration camp, the female leader and two other women were permitted to form a circle around Helen. They asked if they could pray for her blessing. Shockingly, Helen admitted that she was liberated in that moment from a lifelong weight of guilt. For the first time, she recalled this moving encounter in the carride from church:

> In Stutthof concentration camp, we were ordered to strip and stand naked in front of the guards outside the shower rooms. I was only twelve and undeveloped; if the guards saw that I was too young to qualify as a "worker"—being just a child, they would have shot me. Other young women knew the real threat and danger to a child. They encircled and shielded me from the eyes of the guards. I am so grateful to these mothers; they could have died. I don't even know their names.

Like a ring of life-givers, sensing physical redemption in times of danger was echoed by other child survivors (Faigie and Claire). Six decades after Stutthof, Helen felt safe and secure in the circle of women, as though they provided a spiritual shield from evil.[26] They had not heard of the danger that Helen knew as a camp inmate. Because "*chaim* ('life') is strong in Judaism," Helen said, "we didn't want to be refugees and stop living;" and yet people everywhere "were ashamed of us . . . the Nazis took my six-year old brother. Until now I always felt the guilt." As powerless as she had been to stop his murder (and the threat of hers), her survivor guilt had contributed to silent depression and anxiety. After being spiritually touched at the church, Helen confessed a sense of "deep and *lasting* inner release and peace for the first time" in her life. Outside her home, Helen remarked, so "this is what it feels to be human."

Virtually all survivors referred to themselves not as victims of the Nazis, but rather, as Jewish "slaves" who struggled and reclaimed liberated identities as "fellow human beings." They testified through stories on the value of a liberating life, which became a theme or a value that emerged from the research. Kitty personalized the Exodus experience: "I realized that the

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[26] Another female survivor reported healing or release in the midst of a circle of women at CJDT partner, New Beginnings Church. Melinda read from the Bible: "For he himself is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down . . . the dividing wall of hostility" (Eph 2:14).

Exodus is about me. I was in need of liberation, *just like my ancestors* long ago." Similarly, recalling the bodily resistance of female victims (like the Jewish mothers and midwives of Exodus from Egypt), Judy stated: "Liberation is my favourite topic. It's never spoken of enough." The connections between events of the Holocaust and the Exodus were welcomed by CJDT leaders. Black Baptist congregants identified with the suffering of the Jewish survivors– not only during the Holocaust, but "throughout their history, since the time of their ancestors' enslavement in Africa." In the same way, several survivors reported the value of showing mutual support for oppressed Christians, namely the South Sudanese or Ethiopians, Tutsis and Nigerians, whose ancestors had endured persecution and enslavement like themselves. Without any competition to bear resemblance to "Suffering Olympics," Black Christians and Adventists relayed to survivors of the Holocaust: "We went through suffering too." From her personal experience, Judy spoke about the mutual help that accompanied growing up with minority neighbours. This facilitated recovering a sense of humanity in addressing the trauma that limited or threatened human life.

> My fervent hope is a serious deterrent now and in the future. I am not a vengeance seeking person. If I was, I should have strongly wished for the imminent death of many Nazi murderers . . . We had nobody to rely on but ourselves. (You become liberated, and you find you're absolutely alone; everybody in your family was killed.) Yes, we had trauma. Liberation was a phase that none of us can ever forget—to be able to function as human beings again.

People of different races also identified with survivor narratives, which included "slaves" and "liberators." At Tyndale Christian University and Seminary, Auschwitz survivors Max Eisen and Mark Lane were invited by the multicultural Black Lives Matter club to speak about the experience of being liberated during the Holocaust. The Black Panther soldiers comprised a racially segregated tank unit of the U.S. Army in the western theatre of the Second World War. Max Eisen witnessed the Black soldiers who helped liberate him and fellow Jewish inmates.

"Their Black skin glowed on top of the tanks as they rumbled along. It was a sight that I will never forget." Max deeply knew "sacrificial" kindness, and later, befriended Blacks in Canada.

Yet, liberation by soldiers did not necessarily mean that all survivors identified with people in the armed forces, as many voiced views contrary to a militarized culture. Another Auschwitz survivor, Judy, recalled moments of hopeful departure from "blood-stained Europe" on a ship with a Black Canadian nurse: "I was so sick I thought I was going to die on the voyage to Canada. Travelling to my new home, the only welcome I received was from a Black nurse who took care of me on the ship." At her factory in Montreal, instead of the Jewish workers Judy said, "I didn't want a state run by the police like during the Holocaust . . . most of my work friends later were Black" from Jamaica (Sheila) or Trinidad. A Black CJDT leader who later met Judy acknowledged "others hated Jews;" while she spiritually identified with the Jewish exiles like Judy, who had faced similar rejection to the discrimination her family experienced after immigrating from Jamaica in the 1970s. "Only Jews rented out houses to Blacks then." As "the extreme minority" whose "ethnicity was looked at," in growing up Black around Kensington (by downtown Chinatown), the CDJT leader said:

> My quest was to know these people [who] had arm tattoos from Auschwitz . . . all his fingernails were missing from being pulled out by Nazis. He reached out to console me. We need to get to know: Who are these people? The biblical connection helps us get to know Jews. [So] Blacks in high school isolated me, because I was different and was my own self. I didn't prefer one group . . . Mother always said: "Just cooperate. Comfort ye my people (Isaiah 40)". . . The first word of God is, "Let there be light." The theme of light and water: be gentle, like the Spirit is gentle.

Paradoxically, the desire to deny exclusive social scripts motivated certain individuals to move away from their own group toward like-minded people who exercised their freedom to "cooperate." In choosing spiritual kin for "friends," without preference, mutual respect was a "biblical connection" that gave care and "comfort" to inner exiles.

After CJDT events at Christian campuses or at churches during Holocaust Education Week, diverse CJDT participants identified Holocaust Remembrance as a part of "our story." Nate said, "It gave us purpose." At Tyndale University's Chapel Service for Holocaust Remembrance, CJDT participants and leaders reported a newfound identification with Jewish exile and the Exodus narrative after meeting Holocaust survivors or learning of Jewish ancestors. A Canadian university student reported that her interest in Holocaust education began, upon discovering her own "Jewish ancestry that had been hidden" from her in the Near East. She described herself as a "former antisemite bent on committing terrorism against Israel," until she unexpectedly discovered her mother was Jewish and a crypto-Christian. She compared her own migration to mistreated Jewish and Christian minorities from the country of her birth, and to the Exodus story. "God parted the way and opened eyes to see." At another campus, a Protestant Vice-Principal shared with Holocaust survivors inside the Christian high school that the meaning of forgiveness and reconciliation took on new meaning after she learned of her Jewish heritage; her father's family was murdered in Nazi concentration camps too. Two Tutsi survivors of the Rwandan Genocide shared of the welcome they had received from Christian and Jewish Canadians, in contrast to their continued attempts to engage and speak with Hutu Rwandans, who "opposed genuine Christian charity." Thwarted attempt at relationship-building "made it sad to encounter repeated rejection" in their host country, as CJDT participants previously found.

On the other hand, rescue by "Righteous Gentiles" frequently became the highlight of CJDT dialogue with survivors. The importance of sacrifices made by individuals through their altruistic acts was the basis of an inclusive concept applied to both Jews and Christians, "even though I was not one of the Jews saved by them." Martin Maxwell acknowledged the Quakers who supported his rescuer, Sir George Winton, whose Kindertransport from Nazi-occupied

Austria saved nearly 10,000 Jewish children, including himself and his brother Leo. More than Sir Winton, the highest praise was reserved for a nameless Austrian Christian stranger, whose "generosity fed and sustained my single mother and all us four Jewish kids for the greater part of the year," until *Kristallnacht* when the Nazis deported Jews from Vienna. Max Eisen shared about witnessing unusual kindness from strangers during his Death March too: "The Nazis had us march past a town. As we passed under a large walking bridge, the townspeople gathered overtop the Jewish prisoners and threw bread down above our heads (for food). They cheered us on at great risk to their lives." Similarly, Lenka Weksberg spoke about her Death March experience, including her unexpected encounter with a schoolboy in Germany who held out an apple in his hand. "It was a rare treat and very precious," Lenka remarked of the "brave sacrifices" in a time of severe deprivation.

More often, "martyrs" was one of the words used to introduce sacrificial acts. Pinchas applied the term to Jewish deportees, who had not escaped the ill-fated journey order by Nazis "on Cattle Cars." First the crippled, young children and grandmothers, and then women considered "undesirables"— marked while maintaining their Jewish identity—perished unless selected for hard forced labour until death. Child survivors lived with the distress of being forced to work without the ability to stop, pick up, and save fellow enslaved humans or even say good-bye to loved ones. One Canadian pastor of CJDT partners identified with Jews due to Christian "martyrs" from colonial Korea.[27] Mention of the Bible-believers, each of whom were executed by imperial armies, brought into structural parallel the Fascist-styled statism of war allies; for

[27] Rev. Park's Korean family had to take Japanese names. They were punished for speaking Korean. His wife and infant died of starvation, and he was deported to Japan. At Japanese-controlled sites, he was in line for selections of forced labourers (and killing fields) like Nazis enforced, but given exemption as a "Japanese teacher."

imperial forces had enforced "absolute control with militaristic fervour" across continents in Eastern and in Western theatres where Jews and Christians had lived until the World War.

A key concept that emerged from the accounts of Jewish rescue and from cooperative "light" connected to the theme of *mutuality*. Initially, child survivors accepted CJDT invitations, admitting, "I'm scared." Elly said survivors had first tried approaching Jews and "wanted to talk, but it was too painful for them to hear." Over time, more narratives spurred more connections. When Claire first heard the Holocaust story of Anne Frank, she instantly reported, "That's like my story!" Not all Dutch, but many Protestant Reformed Christians had helped Jews like her father, who in turn, helped others with anti-Nazi resistance. As a survivor of Auschwitz, Nate Leipciger reported learning the importance of "interdependency" as a regular "feature of daily survival" for him and his father.

> We decided to live as long as we could; it was a form of resistance, including for many Jews who made it into hiding. The danger was imminent every moment and with minute-by-minute fear of being detected. Those who were gracious to help them survive could be killed as well. It put a great responsibility on them and on us.

Hope was "crushed" when Nate and Judy first returned home and discovered "nobody waiting there." Martin was locked out by strange inhabitants of his family's old home. Before "planting seeds and something happens" in CJDT settings, Elly reported the feeling: "I was a foreigner. I didn't talk about it. Nobody asked me, and I did not offer. It wasn't a subject for conversation."

Stories of liberation led to a positive theme of *hope*. Nineteen individuals (both Christian and Jewish respondents) made the direct connection. Nate connected his own liberation from the death camps as a "rebirth:"

> What we do and say is very important; if you're going to eliminate discrimination, it begins with us. We have to ask: What is our attitude toward the 'others'? We need to have mutual acceptance with adherence to the laws of the country. If we have these elements, we have *hope* and can move forward . . . connection and bond(s) increasing is a positive side of it.

Alex Mak invited the survivor and members of the public to join St. Ansgar Lutheran in reflexive and *mutual* anticipation of a shared "hope." This happened through listening to lived experiences of the Holocaust: "If we helped one person to find peace when they needed it, then it was all worth it . . . I couldn't be doing this and not be changed."

Nearly half of CJDT faith leaders, such as two former St. Ansgar leaders and Chaplain Macdonald, felt "motivated to learn" from child survivors after their interest in rescuers like Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who sheltered and resisted with Jews against the Nazis. Pastor Glen Nelson spoke with eyes that welled up with tears in comparing the attitudes of people associated with the minority and others of the majority in traditional Lutheran society:

> Denmark and the Scandinavian countries allowed the Jews to integrate into the community, and that made a difference . . . People in Germany were predisposed to have bad opinions about Jews, because of the libels that carried on for hundreds of years. In Germany, there were churches divided: Confessing Church—Bonhoeffer and others; and the state church bishops and pastors, who saluted Hitler . . . I'm trying most of all to raise the questions and express *what people question* but don't ask.

An invitational attitude of humbly "expressing what people question" was a shared value of both CJDT clergy and of the survivors whom they hosted. After speaking at four private Christian high schools, Helen expressed her desire "to be invited to speak there again" to witness the reconciliation of Christians and Jews:

> I hope they are aware of what transpired, and take it as seriously as can be . . . My hope is that my children and grandchildren and their generations won't have to go through this kind of thing again. That's number one . . . I feel when they hear me, I have their attention; that makes me go again and again—though it's difficult and not getting easier . . . I try my best to persevere, and I'm running out of time. I hope for good things to happen.

However, every child survivor reported feeling for decades that they were not as "free" to speak in Jewish venues if the express intention was hearing narratives that centred on Jewish heroes or partisans, with whom child survivors had neither any knowledge nor personal contact. Authentic

dialogue was fulfilled instead through CJDT "fellowship" with the tears that a Korean-Canadian pastor and his church of refugees shed:

> In Revelation, the Bible says in heaven God recognizes people of all nations—all families of the earth, including Jews. You don't know how much I wept for them. God gave the gift of tears; it was the answer people needed. Before ministry, I prayed for the gift of tears. I found true empathy in my heart. The image of God is a Hen. The mother hen doesn't abandon, but instead, protects her chicks from trouble. That's love. That's the image of hope, what the world is searching for: Hope.

Emplotment: A Trajectory of Hope

Through a narrative lens of hope, CJDT participants could recognize a pattern that indicated a trajectory for reimagined social and natural environments. "Witness testimonies" first took place in CJDT congregations with survivor recovery from suppressed liberation and Passover (Exodus) narratives. Hedy Bohm said:

> Pure and merciful love (*hesed*) was connected in childhood to all that was good in the natural world" that was broken. "First love" was often identified as the toddler or infant of a displaced aunt or older sibling, who came to live with the child survivor before family separation from deportations during the Holocaust.

Of his baby niece, Elly said, "I loved her like my own." Similarly, Esther adopted or doted on her "baby brother." Another survivor from Poland said that "salvation" came in the form of the two abandoned horses he slept beside and immediately adopted as his new "family," once he realized his orphan status on being liberated from concentration camps. Likewise, after surviving Dachau concentration camp, Elly found comfort in the horses of Zimbabwe (before his emigration to South Africa and then to Canada); and alone, Felicia continued taking stray animals into the house she had "built with sweat and tears" for herself and her daughter in Toronto. Another survivor recalled the daily hunger he had experienced as a child, during the 1940s and 1950s in Hungary. Although it was certain death for a Jewish child to be caught alive

in wartime, due to attachment to ancestors who perished for his own survival, he was driven to swim in the Danube River. There, during the Holocaust, Eva witnessed: Jews were lined up to be shot dead and drowned, except those saved by a Swedish Lutheran: “Raoul Wallenberg jumped in the water to save many Jews” tied for drowning and sheltered hundreds of victim families with courage and diplomacy.

However, reconciling with others involved not only human enemies. Child survivors still had “mixed feelings” about God. After her sisters’ deaths, a survivor questioned life and God, who appeared silent: “like a stranger in the opposite corner of a room;” the two no longer talked. Another Hungarian Jew said, “I went through difficult times before I could accept God. I believe that God helped us through the horrors.” Others reported their “unfinished business with God.”

Some reported “making peace” with God, upon grieving the loss of mentors or older role models. Pinchas “cried more” for the death of his sixteen-year old friend or “mentor” Jacob, who was shot in the concentration camp, than for his twin sister Sabina, who was sent to the gas chamber with their mother. Martin never forgot his Austrian friend Ricky, who fought and promised to protect Martin in their neighbourhood, where the Nazis took Martin’s younger sisters; into his mid-nineties, Martin spoke in churches of Ricky, who had kept his promise “as a brother.” Judy cried for her older siblings who had “died of starvation in the embrace of (sister) Eva” inside the same camp; she lit candles in memory of them. Vera’s older sister also died in her arms, while imprisoned at Terezin. Child survivors like Lenka had responded to adversity by persevering with solidarity and a cooperative approach.

Instead of outright abandonment, adoptive or substitutionary families formed and “gave cohesion” to survivors: “I wouldn’t have survived without my own sisters, and then, without the help of my camp sisters who were helping me when I was alone. It was a feature of women’s

survival." For the Weissenberg sisters in Auschwitz-Birkenau, it was these sacrifices and special bonds between themselves and newfound "camp sisters," which enabled the youngest to survive. To honour her eldest sister, posthumously, Judy's eldest sister Boshke became the "gift" to whom the parting words were written: "To my mentor, my guardian angel in Birkenau: Thank you, thank you for saving my life."

From the Displaced Persons (DP) camp in Germany, Judy and her sole surviving sister went to work as "common seamstresses of the garment industry" in Montreal, where most child survivors originally settled in North America after the war. In a foreign place, they encountered confrontational and receptive attitudes in everyday life. Judy said her French-speaking supervisor—even without expressing it in words—showed her kindness and demonstrated the skills she needed to know.

> I was working on the sewing machine, and 99 percent of workers were French except Jewish immigrants like me at that time (in the '50s). I struggled to make myself understood in broken French but saw it as a matter of respect. I showed interest in their history too . . . We educated each other.

Judy was keenly aware of the stereotypes held by people in the majority: "They thought all Jews were rich; they felt Jewish owners of factories were rich; but knowing me later made them see that not everyone was rich." Sometimes, like Kitty's work in Adult Education, Judy was placed in "awkward" situations, working with immigrants from Soviet Hungary. Even if each did not want to interact or was greeted coolly, Jewish survivors were ordered to work closely with Hungarian-speakers by "being the help" for them that they themselves had never received before. Even so, other friendships formed. Claire Baum shared as well in Toronto, during the Civil Rights era: "The churches made an impact on the community. There were so many women involved who wanted to further Holocaust Remembrance. It was not just one story; it was integrating the discrimination of the past into the present."

Survivors processed their thoughts as they spoke. While struggling to learn the English language, Faigie and Judy believed (like her sister Eva had expressed): "We were called 'greenhorns' for a long time. These Canadians felt somehow better if there was somebody lower!"[28] And yet, Hedy added:

> The more I engaged with people, the more I thought about my life journey. It all came down to faith. I must have had a guardian angel for months at Auschwitz and in the German factory that I call "hell." I only hoped to rejoin my mom and that helped me go on and eat the horrible slop they called food. I was spared to be here today.

The resilience of survivors was revealed through speech-acts. To students who were interested in science like himself, Elly Gotz said he changed the course of his mind and studies: "We didn't take the poison and die." Echoing Auschwitz survivor Nate Leipciger, Elly confessed that after emerging from the camp at Dachau, "I was ready to kill Germans. I wanted revenge. Now, I think about life. I teach that to hate is like taking poison and hoping the other will die." Faigie reminded CJDT students that even in the Death March, she tried to encourage others with the words she needed to hear: "Do not give up. God will help."

Shary recalled first teaching herself to ski with the Nazi soldiers' belongings left behind at a Displaced Persons' camp in Germany. After her experience of forced labour at Auschwitz and Schindler's factories, the mountains became a safe place—of respite on skis. "It was the only way to get food and supplies at first." Although "everything at *home* revolved around religion in early life," instead of attending synagogue every week in Canada, "I became a ski instructor and taught swimming too . . . and made an igloo for shelter to stay in the mountains." And yet, it was not solely the experience of being outdoors, but also, being there with people that made her time

[28] Half of survivor respondents indicated the label "green" was offensive: they were shocked being compared to Hitler's paramilitary *Sturmabteilung*. Canadian Jews may not have known, as in Germany Nazis were "Brown Shirts;" but in most countries Germany invaded, SA Nazis were "Green Shirts." Kim, "Speaking Up," 22.

in nature meaningful. Shary pointed to photos of a group of church women, who introduced her to the Canadian outdoors. Shary reflected aloud, “I didn’t hate nobody. Climbing mountains, I met people from all over the world: Swiss, Germans, you name it. I learned a lot from speaking with them. The mountains were my *home*.” Half of the survivors spoke of their search for belonging. “I was an immigrant, too,” Judy said, and had a “taste of freedom” in Canada after leaving Displaced Persons camp. She was invited to accompany a Canadian friend on a cross-country tour. Standing atop the Rocky Mountains, Judy finally experienced the feeling of being “free of Europe and all its sickness.” In the forested glade of Earl Bales Park, survivor Kitty also thanked her friend Edith Land and extended her arms to stress, “This is my sanctuary.” Hedy Bohm said that she felt like an “angel” or “fairy godmother” when she walked near the icy shores of Lake Salmon, where she talked with an Indigenous elder and “friends on the water.” Here, Hedy daily swam in summer to enjoy her “piece of paradise.” In their nineties, she and Shary had a sense of being “at *home* on mountains” that were a symbol of space where “hatred was overcome” and “new relationships” were forged.

While seeking deep personal healing after the Holocaust, some survivors recognized meaning in simply returning to nature after the traumas that they had endured. Three male survivors spent a considerable time in boats on the water, which was a retreat to reconnect with memories of parents. One said that he purposely selected a residence to overlook Lake Ontario across the street, where he reflected on his family, after immigrating to Canada in 1985. Beside the lake, he spoke of a sense of “tranquility.” He had struggled since his childhood in Poland with PTSD—after surviving six German concentration camps and then living in South Africa; but later, together with church ministers he reportedly explored “healing dialogue.” Before a group of Greek and Ukrainian Orthodox Christians in Toronto, Pinchas shared his desire to “pass

on the torch of hope" with ripple-effects like "waves on the water."[29] Another survivor, Helen, added how personally "liberating" she felt in looking across the expanse of the Mediterranean Sea: facing the direction of Morocco from Gibraltar. On this holiday at the coast, Helen "broke down in tears for the first time" since leaving Stutthof camp at the age of fourteen. Recollecting this moment of reflection atop the Rock of Gibraltar, after her Verblunsky family's deportation and deaths, Helen made the emotional connection to her Sephardic ancestors: those Jews who had been "slaughtered fleeing to Morocco" during the Spanish Inquisition. "Standing there on the Rock . . . It was the most emotional moment of my entire life. I thought about my ancestors; and I knew—there and then with *divine* help, I'd really survived."

Phase Three: Participant Observation

In January 2018, as a participant-observer I joined the "Bless Israel" tour led by ICEJ Canada. More than a third (36 percent) of the Canadian volunteers were visible minorities, mostly of Asian descent, and half (50 percent) or more of tour participants were caregivers to persons with disabilities; plus, a participant section at the front (8 percent) displayed physical disability. They sang at Israel's Sea and Jordan River, while also, planting trees on the hills of Galilee as in Canada. Participants gathered and listened to the testimonies prepared by survivors, for whom blankets and necessities were distributed in Israel; as also, generous resources were shared with destitute families.

Another local charitable organization led by a Christian couple from the Maritimes in Ontario hosted survivors at Peoples Church in Hamilton. They planted a grove of fruit trees in Israel "to feed Holocaust survivors." Members of a CJDT member church, led by Chinese-

[29] I recorded and referred the male survivor to this event where I went as the CJDT Liaison at St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto.

Filipino pastors, hosted survivors and returned yearly to Israel where they planted trees. Chinese Jews such as in Harbin had faced persecution; but in Canada, CJDT churches performed Chinese-Filipino and Israeli dances or Hebrew songs in annual musical tribute to Holocaust survivors. For nearly two decades, the church hosted "Israel Rejoicing" in the outdoor amphitheatre of Earl Bales Park (e.g., Aug. 18, 2019, Toronto) as in Israel.

Like Afro-Caribbeans from Canada in "Bless Israel," they connected survivor narratives to tales from the Hebrew Bible, including Exodus themes of deliverance from oppression each Passover, and Purim. Selfless or vicarious acts of divinely inspired rescue and mythic geography, such as biblical crossings of the Jordan or Nile Rivers, held symbolic meaning with shared values for Christian and Jewish guests of the church at the park. Traumatic memory was not forgotten but imbued with meaning for wider reconciliation within the natural world. Community support for Holocaust Remembrance in sacred or outdoor spaces of worship corporately assured survivors, "Never Again," with promise-keeping in songs.

Summary

After the Holocaust, feelings of fear or guilt did not end for child survivors. However, they were shown comfort in communal contexts of reception in Canada. Even those who had survived through being hidden by a Righteous Gentile felt robbed of either a sense of family or of *home*. Survivors in dialogue revealed struggling with reconciliation as underrepresented identities in the societies that each inhabited, diversely self-identifying as inner exiles. Later in life, blessing was identified with various "miracles" or "gifts" from above. However, their longing for the Old World was never quite realized.

Regaining relationships and support did not mean that child survivors automatically placed their trust in God, whom each had been taught early to believe. While coexisting invisibly "as strangers" with the deity as though in "opposite corners of a room;" occasionally, "salvation" did appear momentarily in the form of a horse or animal, a new mentor or "young mother," and in intercultural encounters, as with the Swede named Wallenberg. Overwhelming survivor guilt was an impediment to trust; discovering the truth of the ashes behind crematoria devastated survivors, who could neither save nor revisit parents and grandparents once a departure from the world left no grave. Although few had witnessed the murders of their family members, child survivors like Kitty and Helen said, "it was bad enough just knowing about it." Shock with "never a chance to say goodbye to Mother" haunted those who tried in vain to protect them and siblings.

Practical theological research opens the opportunity to examine the social activities and dynamics of marginalized and culturally alienated communities for comprehensive insights. The study findings suggested psychological and social dynamics should lead to social and cultural understanding of reconciliation; the distance from traumatic conflict was a variable factor. Although Holocaust survivors reported initial views of Christians that were negative, due to historically regarding them as bystanders of the violence that culminated in pogroms and genocide, this impression was altered over time: many of the Jewish respondents (7) recalled family members or Holocaust survivors who were likely/confirmed Christian converts, but in secret, as a revelation would not constitute a real improvement in outcomes.[30] Even if the understanding was not immediately transformative, for the first time, some female survivors expressed self-empathy in safety and in sharing their lived experience of shame over the

[30] Although none denied the intuition spoken, with caution (possibly due to reasons of manageability or of "threat" to Jewish identity), thoughts held in private were shared without further commitment after recall.

mistreatment that they (or siblings) had received in church-run schools. Incidentally, occasional kindness by a Christian neighbour, a nun, or strangers had extended hope to orphans or surviving women and Max Eisen, during a critical time in their life trajectories.

Structural factors such as social class were not mentioned by the study participants, although they were relevant to the conflict that dominated their lived experience.[31] Investigating the meaning of reconciliation after liberation caused me to question if psychospiritual factors, eventually named "spiritual mutism," might have been at play. An equivalent half of survivors reported their difficulty of accepting the deity as divine Protector: "I was angry at God for taking my father." Qualms over divine Fatherhood arose alongside the gender issue: "Nobody was there to save . . . Why call God *He*?"[32] Because of Displaced Person status, reflection on social engagement categorically expanded discursive envisioning of spaces for social belonging, related to polyvalence in "mutual" capacity-building as a parallel to "discipling" by mentors. The next chapter will discuss this aspect of survivor recovery with emerging intercultural perspectives "from below."

[31] Of twenty-seven interviewees, only three (among the four Christian and Jewish immigrants from South Africa) acknowledged economic systems of oppression. Given the lower socioeconomic status in virtually all the respondents' origins, this was not taken to mean the insignificance of economic variables; but rather, class/economic factors of apartheid did not present as a primary barrier to reconciliation.

[32] Fatherland and paternal loyalties were effectively weaponized by Axis members and associated with *Der Führer* Hitler and the Japanese Emperors who ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF DATA FINDINGS

This chapter engages with the data collected from CJDT participants and discusses their views of reconciliation. Descriptions of diverse subjects pointed to motives as well as a contextual understanding that provides nuanced perspectives of the social phenomenon under investigation at different points across time and space. Spiritual mutism was not a prognosis but a reaction from the inner wounding of child survivors, who were originally identified as "witnesses" of distressing events. Their lived experience of cultural trauma had included a sense of abandonment by authority figures, who had betrayed their trust or were perceived as complicit agents in the family separation that devastated survivors, long after the losses from traumatic events in childhood. After a critical period, as incarceration policies were forcibly applied, the Holocaust bore impacts not only on child survivors but also on their relational and social positioning.

In abetting their journey as spiritual or cultural change agents, Christian-Jewish Dialogue was uniquely conducive to the development of a process of intercultural reconciliation. Especially for child survivors, whose faith in God or humanity seemed irreparably lost, interconnectedness and openness to "liminal creativity" was key:[1] the hope and need for community, positive identity, a sense of belonging with personal value, and psychological safety from abandonment or threat became inherently tied. Most were denied opportunities due to the

[1] Asian *han*/Indigenous spirituality affirms "home" redefined as *communitas* "because it belongs to God." Lee, *From a Liminal Place*, 149; cf. Park, *Wounded Heart*, 156, 168.

lack of education and skills such as English writing, except strictly German speech, around the time that they spent in hiding or in labour camps.[2] Different from normative stories, these marginalized voices were thus given a licence of "their own;" and oral communication would be crucial to the entire process in question. As set by CJDT, this was relational or invitational through successive bi-directional or dialogical stages. They could be simplified in a model to show three concepts: initiation, communication, and permeation. All three concepts corresponded with the three "Cs" that guided the coding of data: conditions, causes, and consequences. A discussion and analysis focussed accordingly on the data that revealed the attitudes and interactions of CJDT partners in dialogue.

In discussing the data, contextualization was helpful for reconciling through memory work of the survivors after genocide. Only then could the social factors and conditions for intercultural reconciliation be grasped interpretively or appreciatively in moving from the categories of themes to the concepts that shaped the theoretical framework. In ways that resembled other groups with inordinately high diasporic populations, Jewish culture was hard to define, prior to the Holocaust and the formation of a Jewish state. Although normative stories initially supported the prevailing Ashkenazic or Yiddish-speakers' lived experience, in Israel as in Displaced Person camps, Sephardic and (often assimilated or converted) German Jews reported intra-ethnic silencing. Disillusionment and inevitable loss of life occurred with delayed hopes of negotiated settlements. Perceived "sell-outs" and underprivileged or female students, who could not attend yeshivas and were viewed as too young or unqualified to air grievances,

[2] Oral history was noted and valued. Max Eisen or other survivors whose memoirs were printed by publishers such as the Azrieli Foundation said an editor transcribed and completed the books using audio recordings.

were exposed to added distress after family separation;[3] in their isolating situation, communities, families, and camps were often divided. Therefore, CJDT cultural navigation reinforced primary principles of the reconciling process that affirmed a convergence of the values or empathic acts that would govern emergent covenantal fidelity, expressed in spiritual or social solidarity with diverse "witnesses." A discussion of the conditions, limitations, and theological factors seen in the CJDT dialogical approach to reconciliation will follow a context analysis.

Context Analysis

As Co-Chair of Holocaust Education Week (HEW) for Toronto's Holocaust Education Centre and Museum, at various CJDT venues I helped by driving and introducing the survivor-speakers for CJDT schools and "Interfaith" programs. These annually drew between 23,000 to 34,000 members of the public to Holocaust-related programs, mostly offered in community venues (e.g., civic/community centres) or schools and campuses in the Toronto area. A 2017 survey that I conducted of 165 community venues showed that over 10 percent of Holocaust Remembrance events were held at Christian faith-based venues (in at least 16 different Protestant churches); year after year, one-third (33 percent) of the participating schools were Christian or church affiliated. The students of CJDT schools were similar in age to that of nineteen of the twenty-one child survivors in their youth, at the time when they had lived through the Holocaust. Other members represented in the network were diverse, and sometimes, promoted the CJDT model of reconciliation through other networks: pastoral fellowships, diasporic faith communities, and circles of ACSI (Association of Christian School) educators.

[3] Eight of these survivors in the study &/or their sisters were reportedly stigmatized, as they were in situations where they had to attend German Catholic church-supported schools; and in the Shanghai Ghetto many later visited, mostly observant Ashkenazic exiles received and benefited from the western aid.

Reconciliation could address intergroup and intersecting aspects of cultural alienation and exile. At a college where I worked, an immigrant from Syria addressed Leslie Meisels' narrative of his deportation from Hungary to Bergen-Belsen camp. "Coming out of hate (and hating myself as a woman) he brought voice to the voiceless; he was 'shut out' of systems" as the marginalized. Karen Brouneus defined reconciliation as "a mutual acknowledgement of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace."[4] In "psychologizing the nation," public resolutions that conflated reconciliation with forgiveness failed to address the temptation toward revenge, hatred, or fear.[5] Like the lack of closure for "the living dead" that was the failure of post-conflict societies, sometimes, the immigrants or offspring of veterans of CJDT faith groups still felt the effects of growing up in environments of social exclusion. Though North Americans are reportedly more likely to feel "overwhelming emotion" in religious experiences or prayer, virtually none of the survivors mentioned spoken prayer as a primary channel for communication with God. Instead, identifying biblical and exilic models of alienation helped to evoke CJDT participants' empathy and "kindred" sentiments toward other inner exiles; mutual recognition of growth trajectories highlighted the distress and struggles of inner exiles through youth and even arrival in Canada, at similar times to CJDT participant families' immigration or return from war. Reconciling with the past through stories in hospitable contexts of reception generally occurred over years of engagement with "safe" CJDT partners. Before communication and permeation, initiation was key to the successful CJDT process of reconciliation.

[4] Brouneus, "Reconciliation," 3.
[5] Hamber and Wilson, "Symbolic Closure through Memory, Reparation and Revenge," 35–6.

Initiation

Analysis of the Survey Data for Conditions of Reconciliation

Because child survivors had experienced or anticipated betrayal, stigmatization, and rejection in religious settings, the sensitive initiation of dialogue by Christian CJDT representatives served as a key stage in the reconciliatory process. Among CJDT survey participants, without any contrary indication, the majority (85 percent) said that CJDT/Holocaust Remembrance *strongly demonstrated reconciliation* in the conditions for peace (Charts 4–5, Chapter Three).[6] This was significant, since survivors such as Shary and Vera reported "messy" impairments of "wounds that never heal" in themselves, as self-described "little people" unwillingly exposed to trauma.

Even though Holocaust survivors eventually became paying members of synagogues, they distinguished formal religion from the spiritual worldview that permeated their active conscience as "Old Time Religion:" a belief or thought *difficult to regain*. Kitty said after her displacement: "I stopped thinking of anything except today, dealing with the immediate. I was detached from everything. Some people never got their feelings back." However, it was understood that "what you did with faith" intentionally mattered (Helen), including "reconcili-action" (Shary) with respect to ethics and morality (Judy), in recognition of the "image of God" in others (Pinchas). In response, CJDT faith leaders committed to dialogue with child survivors or their families as whole persons. Critical to this preliminary stage of relationship-building was the "neutral" liaison, who enabled conversations for dialogue to occur between diverse identities. As will be seen after a discussion of the empirical research data, this person would functionally serve in a role as the bridge between survivor and faith communities. Accompaniment and trust

[6] Results were partial: apologetic after not finishing this part of the survey, one Jewish participant was hospitalized with cancer; and a few anonymously indicated they "did not understand the question."

facilitated the embodied mercy of CJDT communities to shine through. Their focus was on tangible demonstrations of mercy and "grace," as seen in dance, word or song, and deed.

One factor alone did not account for the compounded loss and healing of child survivors. Therefore, restoring trust as loose kinship ties was a felt need before these were created in CJDT practice. After witnessing the sinister effects of Nazi policies in favour of the "fair Aryan race," Jewish survivors positively responded to the CJDT focus on reciprocation and trust.[7] Nate appreciated the "mutual understanding" and Elly's "do not hate" message that characterized dialogue, without devolving into theological debate. Survivors commented: anti-Judaism in the Church was to blame as only "one factor but not the main reason" for the popular support lent to antisemitism, which pervasively persisted in secular societies where survivors migrated. Half of the survivors elaborated on stereotyping and unprovoked racist attacks on these non-Aryans who were viewed as "unclean" foreign targets—even if they were "not religious" and respectable citizens, such as Hedy's mother. Judy identified the power of popular perceptions. "How they/we behave and think depends very much on the status we have on the global scene: poor, powerless, stateless, alone—we are humble, supportive [of] the weak, strongly community minded, ready to 'repair' the world. When they are strong, in a well-armed state, not persecuted, powerful, master of lives and decisions, they tend to exhibit the same negative attributes like all other species in the same boat." (This message resonated with the "boat" people from Asia who comprised audiences of CJDT venues.) CJDT participants were also initiated into welcoming "humble" survivors as multidimensional exilic agents, and not just as partners in dialogue that could be instrumentalized toward fundamentalist or ideological aims.

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[7] Vera Schiff, Judy (Weissenberg) Cohen, Elly L. Gotz, Kitty (Mozes-Nagy) Salsberg, Felicia Carmelly, Martin Maxwell, Judy Cohen, and Helen Yermus commented on their mothers' black hair as a reason they had "no chance" to escape Nazi detection (1939–1945). Following the Inquisition, Canadian Olive P. Dickason (*Myth of the Savage*) explains old German and British myths of diabolical "Wild Women" or bearded Wildemann (*wodewose*) encouraged stereotypes of dark-haired minorities in colonized places, where Jews had lived for centuries.

Corporate mourning occasioned public lament without a single theologically normative position. Gradually, CJDT partners mutually legitimize empathic pathways to trust and peacebuilding. Expressed as a desire or movement to belong, the goal of reconciliation fulfilled the felt need of survivors, who often relied on someone outside of their own cultural group to facilitate smoother entry into CJDT venues. They could look to a gatekeeper; but in practice, most preferred a navigator to act as a trustworthy bridge or cultural liaison. Curiosity was mutually sparked. An observer compared this initial process to an emotionally "heartfelt invitation," in which the Christian was "wooing" the survivor who might be "jilted" from memories of childhood rejection that did not afford any easy acceptance—even of genuine intentions along a path that both parties desired.[8] Initiation was defined by the capacity for hospitality seen in this context of reception, both essential to intercultural dialogue and at the heart of CJDT practice. Churches were structured to seamlessly host survivors.

What seemed unnatural, for a group of Christians to immediately relate to survivors, happened for people of all ages. From the survey result (Chart 1) it was clear that 30 percent of respondents did not decisively or readily engage in intercultural dialogue. "People have their own pain; most people are afraid of getting hurt." Kitty believed, "to be safe and protected requires trust and respect;" and perhaps, "they've never felt different and marginalized like you and me." The need for survivors to be supported or believed was sometimes tested over time. A survivor who was orphaned reported, "I have no trust, personally, but have to reach out and be honest. We don't talk in order to be heard, but speak because we really mean it."

A trajectory of hope and resilience grew, along with a shared sense of reconciliation. This was connected to three values: restorative hope, which was assigned prophetic meaning and

[8] Conversely, survivors could say they had given "enough;" as Götz Aly's *Why the Germans? Why the Jews?* focussed on material envy and "race hatred" as reasons for the Holocaust instead of religious animosity.

relational promise. Hope was placed in a Creator, as one Baptist said: “Blessing comes from the Lord.” No longer viewed as merely broken, cultural narratives of trauma were transformed into a message of restored ideals for the wholeness of all individuals embedded in “renewed” humanity and a prophetic “new creation.” Christian CJDT members acknowledged their spiritual position: “blessed to be a blessing.” Psychospiritual support was extended with the hope of mutually helping people to navigate systems in a society that at times proved unwelcoming, challenging, and even “disabling” for survivors. Therefore, both in Israel and in Canada, allied CJDT partners enacted symbolic support for survivors by growing trees as a visible sign of promise: remembering to construct a better future for all. They planted an orchard to help feed Holocaust survivors in Haifa, who studied English and shared testimonies in appreciation. A Canadian Baptist reflected: “The Jewish person sharing their life is imparting a gift. When a person presents oneself so vulnerable, well, that’s intimacy. It’s what we should all hope for.” Acts of humility opened the doors to mutual blessing or restoration of souls in life-sustaining ways.

A prophetic sense of emancipatory “light,” and not just “normalcy, also gave hope. However, the truth-telling initiative was much more than simply a “feel-good” monologue. The collective focus on “right-doing” was compared to a prophetic act, based on dialogue for peacemaking. Survivors and CJDT members concurred that no space should be afforded for evil or hate; the shared value of truth was manifested in understanding and empathic solidarity on behalf of the victims. Misperceptions could be dispelled, as the Dean of Students at Tyndale Christian university gratefully affirmed before CJDT survivors: “It’s hard to deny the truth when you’re facing a living witness.” Another lay leader of Peoples Church said of the Jews: “In our (shared) past we discover our future.” From engaging with a living witness, the proclamation of “light” led to a communal demonstration of the desire to build a just future in covenanting fashion. An Iranian-Canadian called her own Christian-Jewish encounter a personal “rebirth”

from darkness to the truth of light: as a minority woman, she confessed her personal transformation from hate to "finally learning to love myself and my neighbour" through her personal engagement with a survivor.

Minority Networks of Religious Change Agents

From the CJDT survey and interviews, one could clearly infer the hope and desire of minorities to participate in intercultural engagement. This was confirmed by most visible minority clergy and the majority of youth, as well, including those in Rev. Comar's confirmation class. He was among six survey participants (totaling 30 percent) who were self-described White Christian CJDT leaders of various ethnicities. Within CJDT communities of faith, the majority (70 percent) of survey respondents reported a relatively higher representation of minoritized ethnic and female participants in CJDT (Chart 3).

The results of quantitative and qualitative findings of the research study thus suggested that relatively marginalized agents in a social network were more likely to actively invite others and participate in intercultural engagement (e.g., CJDT). With a common connection to historic injustices, Black and Asian minorities were disproportionately represented among CJDT partners who engaged survivors throughout participant observation over the greater part of a decade. This social phenomenon provided a focal point of interest for a multivariate abstract theory: the mutual preference or affinity of exilic CJDT members and survivors of antisemitic violence suggested a *minority hypothesis*.

This minority network of CJDT practice would centre on a communal appreciation of spiritual mutism and liberation. BME change agents like Rev. Andrew Park's *han* silently shared Black or Asian lived experiences and memories of ancestral enslavement; instead of bitterness, the CJDT participants were propelled toward transformative peacebuilding. Additionally, for

Holocaust survivors, "liberation" signified not just an event, but also, a journey toward self-recovery and quality of experience with life in community, after having been impacted by the "sin of racism" and exclusion. From 1946 until 1965, Canada was the prime destination country or disembarkation point for diverse minorities: Blacks of Commonwealth nations, and displaced Jews, followed by Asians in the West. As typified by others who carried *han*, the lived experience of multidimensional victims and witnesses had included economic and cultural inequity; although CJDT practice did not foreground socioeconomic factors for liberation as much as spiritual mutism.

By 1962, the Anglican Church's official recognition and CJDT incorporation redefined this "mission" that no longer focussed on proselytizing; spiritual healing achieved instead the reconciliation and the public recognition of Jewish survivors, who became recipients of "blessing" and of outgroup preference. These unidentified orphans or newcomers, some who had seen little to no aid for them in Israel, were initially too destitute to join the rank-and-file membership of synagogues, sports clubs, or community centres. Therefore, liberation was not fully experienced in 1945 as a material or physical reality; but rather, existential liminality awaited those who had been categorized as refugees or even "mixed" offspring in North America, yet in need of healing. Hence, based on years of dialogue, reconciliation was socially reframed beyond the traditionally interpersonal level of repair and salvation.[9] Throughout European history, Jews had experienced similar racialization and targeting through ethnoreligious markers. From different social locations and often bearing an implicit understanding of cultural trauma, other exilic CJDT participants engaged through deep listening

[9] Four years after Canada's lead, the U.S. *Refugee Act* of 1980 provided for ten times more resettlement than in 1960 (5,000) for the "refugees," defined by the United Nations conventions as a person with a "well-founded fear of persecution."

and responsiveness toward Holocaust survivors; although, one Black faith leader confessed, "I know but cannot understand *their* racism itself." As first- or second-generation transnational identities or newcomers to North America, CJDT participants reported cultural or psychospiritual understanding of survivor needs; and many were surprised or curious to hear about their similar experiences of socioeconomic inequity that orphaned survivors like Judy and single moms like Felicia confronted in Canada.[10]

More than half of the CJDT survey participants volunteered the fact that they had been caregivers to persons with disabilities. They identified more with "carer" than with a "survivor" identity, not denying the fact that disability occurs at a higher rate in racial or victimized communities.[11] The disproportionately high representation of disability among participants was also readily apparent through participant observation at CJDT events and "Bless Israel" tour, as in personal interviews. Orphaned survivors such as Esther, who had been hidden in a Polish convent, spent considerable time as a patient in Canadian hospitals and was not aware that she had an orphan sister in Israel; and later, Esther became a caregiver after the Holocaust to her adopted family of immigrant survivor relations in Canada. Through survivor narratives, invisible minorities could identify with the loss of parents or loved ones, who struggled to survive like Judy and her siblings or were exterminated due to disability or sickness; CJDT participants who were immigrants of British or European descent said they identified with the personal losses, having either lived with or cared for family members with disabilities. Whether they were immigrants or caregivers, CJDT members empathized with survivors, whose Jewish families had

[10] As a Commonwealth nation, Canada had a high proportion of Indigenous, Black, and Asian populations, 1967–1990s (before U.S. removal of race quotas); 43 percent of immigrants were visible minorities, rising to 85 percent in 3 decades. With a third "mixed" ethnicity, 17 percent of non-Europeans made similar BME gross earning shortfalls near 21 percent (1991). Stelcner, "Earning Differentials among Ethnic Groups in Canada," 297, 304.

[11] Kim, "Access or Liberation?" 479–80; cf. Schiff, *Surviving Theresienstadt*, 55.

been subjected to forced labour without ready access to health care, under Nazi laws and policies. For example, some ministers of similar European origin (e.g., Czech and Hungarian), whose Protestant or Salvation Army churches were CJDT partners and filled a role in the disability community, regularly invited survivors to teach their congregations and to reconcile with their own cultural and migration histories. More than a feature of class, in diasporic communities, the importance of the survivor and caregiver role for communal continuity was also consistent with cultural, spiritual, and family values that each had held in common with forebears.

CJDT participants interpreted righteousness ("right-doing") as a sacrificial act of *blessing* or empathy—shared with survivors as for "martyrs." This resonated with witnesses such as Nate, who empathized with the Christians who were "true heroes" in "risking everything" to save and shelter Jews from the Nazis at the cost of their own lives and families. For decades, hidden children said that as survivors, their lives were interrupted due to feelings of rejection; even Canadian Jews tended to look "mainly to Jewish resisters," but did not care to hear or could not process Holocaust stories of Jews rescued by Christians. However, child survivors were not quick to distinguish other Christians who were a "blessing" based on differences in ethnic identity. Later, several child survivors did respond, upon discovering in the news that a CJDT minister's church building burned down. This faith leader was active with refugees and had the same surname as a Slovakian Righteous Gentile, whose identity in Holocaust memoirs was distributed by them so that youth of the minister's church might connect a time of crisis to the social value of a moral "hero." Four survivors offered books to replenish his church library and explained, "There were people who had to flee and became homeless and stateless. As (displaced) Jews we would understand what it's like to be homeless and stateless."

Therefore, survivors and CJDT partners understood liberation as selfless intentionality: accepting a mutual responsibility by entering into another person's suffering, not trying to escape or deny it. Together with Holocaust survivors, the pastors of Filipino churches collectively hosted a public screening of a documentary about the rescue of close to 1,300 Jews during the Holocaust, due to the "righteous" intervention of Filipino President Manuel Quezon. CJDT members were inspired by original footage of Jewish exiles in the Philippines (March 24, 1940): the film recorded an enactment of the Purim play from the Book of Esther during the Second World War and the Japanese invasion that left 500,000 Filipinos dead. Several survivors said they appreciated what other countries did for the exiles and their continuity of community practice, as recalled by the survivors (7) who shared in cultural celebrations such as Chinese-Canadian Remembrances of Shanghai's symphony and Jewish Ghetto, under imperial occupation after the Nanjing Massacre.[12] Through my role as CJDT liaison, reciprocal messages of affirmation and encouragement were delivered to Holocaust survivors by many CJDT faith leaders.

Participant observation and qualitative analysis could make "sense" of propositions about religious habitus, agency, and the altruistic minority field, from which diverse CJDT practitioners would emerge. Marginalized Christians and diverse Jewish CJDT participants constituted a socially underrepresented grouping of peacemakers.[13] Child survivors such as Judy reported being an inner exile: "the stranger, the foreigner, the outcast, and the envied," who was forced to "strive two or three times harder" to overcome obstacles as an immigrant in North

[12] Several Holocaust survivors, including Captain Martin Maxwell and Kitty Salsberg, with Summit or Zion Alliance Church members, also attended ALPHA Education Parkview Gala and youth artwork unveiling, in support of the construction of the Asia-Pacific Peace Museum in Toronto (Nov. 10, 2019).

[13] In this respect, their mutual affinity has a parallel in the history of Black Christian-Jewish cooperation from the Post-Reconstruction Migration of former enslaved Americans until the Civil Rights Era.

America. Normally, pre-/post-migration intergroup encounters, anxieties or competitions over memory status, and cultural victimhood could "make reconciliation of the third generation very difficult."[14] However, Christian audience members in the perceived dominant social group connected to survivors through deep listening, authentic engagement with humility, and identifying with victims of persecution as the representative outgroup. Oftentimes, immigrants reported an implicit understanding of survivor narratives, as a parallel influence against the "umbrella enemy," which minorities regarded through their own unspoken histories of suffering. Learning each other's "language" or faith outlook, through situational perspective-taking, also helped diverse Christians and CJDT survivors to approach faith in a fuller context.

Five years after founding CJDT, Roland de Corneille wrote his book (*Christians and Jews*), on learning to value Others as "*complete* persons." Reportedly, by the mid-1960s, Black and White churches in Canada and then America were imitating or practicing this intercultural schema of hospitality, which included instructional examples of intercultural Passover and Sabbath appreciation. Not mere sympathy or "concern about Jews," but rather, the "threat of hate" prompted examining all aspects of identity:

> Those who have become involved have learned to exercise great restraint in making judgments . . . In this way, the religious element as a whole can confront the total community with its prophetic message . . . Christians and Jews are led to discuss what it is about their outlook and way of life that is essentially Christian or Jewish—not merely North American or secular.[15]

Through dialogue, a deepening awareness of the whole person's interests, background and culture fostered further CJDT opportunities for cooperative learning: church/synagogue visits, shared prayers, or *Seder*-Eucharist meals at Passover. As inclusive hospitality nurtured dialogue

[14] Bilewicz and Jaworska, "Reconciliation through the Righteous," 163.
[15] Corneille, *Christians and Jews*, 110–12, 115.

and interest in each other's *being*, quality of life experience was reflected in the survivor trajectory.

Together with the "cloud of witnesses," as survivors believed, Christians and Jews would strengthen relations and counter biases or scapegoating. Only then, intercultural places of refuge could be found. Christian leaders commented that they desired building relationships with Jews through communal meals or time spent together, while exploring each other's cultural views and lived experience. On the other hand, survivors (and one rabbi) indicated that kindness or empathy was a value. Kitty Salsberg specified that this *mitzvah* or "self-giving" was meaningful when it was enacted "without any expectation of reward." According to CJDT survivors, "psychological acknowledgement" and "recognition of (lost) loved ones" both met an important need, which was not evident to people in other contexts of reception. Hedy Bohm acknowledged this was an unmet need that even mental health professionals had missed. When she and War Orphans like Kitty arrived by ship in Canada, the Canadian Jewish Congress had arranged for the child survivors to speak with Jewish social workers. However, these professionals as well as Jewish relatives "weren't interested in knowing what had happened to us" and "did not know about trauma or counselling." At Windermere rehabilitation camp in England, another child survivor from Poland did not benefit from any psychological resources in English. Sadly, in North America, social workers lacked the training or awareness needed to deal with them. Therefore, after leaving Romania, Hedy said: "They had no inkling how to speak with us. They had the attitude we were poor ugly immigrants; I was humiliated and felt I could never go back for help." Intra-ethnic as well as intercultural understanding was needed to overcome widely-held views and biases of refugees as the perpetual Other.

Although CJDT respondents indicated the value of warm and genuine hospitality, Jewish survivors also responded that empathy, thoughtful gestures of remembrance, and generosity of time or resources were especially meaningful in their time of dire need. Acts of kindness were highly valued as a measure of trust by survivors. Critically interpreted as a sign of commitment when "there were no psychological aids" and little cultural resources for healing and help among destitute orphans and Displaced Persons, the context of reception in which CJDT practitioners could reach survivors helped them improve their self-perception. Sensitivity to rejection or abandonment was an unspoken yet essential part of wounding that needed addressing in the "inner exile." However, with authenticity, mutual acceptance, and a spirit of reciprocity, the minority network that enacted cultural transformation and greater awareness burgeoned, as CJDT practice incorporated survivors as change-agents.

Initiating Intercultural Bridge-Building

Without contrary opinions, all fourteen CJDT participants surveyed agreed unanimously (100 percent) that CJDT practice displayed an open or "receptive" intercultural context of reception. Similar to a practical snapshot in time, a contextualized Framework of Theoretical Linkages was a theorized strategy to describe relations and resonances that appeared in the contextualized practice (in Figure 1). While being consistent with the data of the research study, Cultural Navigation in the framework under discussion drew on the notion of a support service, such as Systems Navigation in Social Work or institutionalized "mercy ministries," as in hospitals. A principled approach to intergroup reconciliation relies on cultural navigation through the tacit knowledge and leadership skills, embodied in CJDT bridge-builders.

Initiating reconciliation and dialogue was the most resource-intensive stage, as rebuilding trust became a necessary challenge for laying the social or "trust" foundation that a living covenant may occur. Not just focussing on the cognitive aspect of dialogue and learning, the social phenomenon of reconciliation was experienced in the process of prioritizing "blessing" with the aim to extend a "shared space" for belonging and acceptance. Therefore, Survivors could participate in the collective faith-journey that involved social-emotional learning and competencies (e.g., building self-/cultural awareness, capacities for relationships, and responsibility).

Cultural trauma with potential religious themes resonated with other identities belonging to faith or minority networks as stakeholders in reconciliation. Whether or not dialogue occurred between actors at every stage, the cultural navigator liaised and welcomed key agents (survivors) into the community of practice. In this sense, the cultural navigator also served as a "bridge" in close proximity to disparate groups; and through the bridge-builder, each survivor gained access to CJDT faith venues too. (Figure 1 provides a current or temporal framework of the key stakeholders and identities in faith locations, which could change at any point in time.) Therefore, this navigator used embodied memory or tacit as well as explicit knowledge: in relating to various stakeholders; relaying cultural values or themes that were important for social learning; and mitigating "transfer trauma."[16] Making others aware of potential "triggers" due to relocation and moral distress was necessary for different actors to agree and converge on positive paths with the navigational help of a bridge-builder. This role could be described as a navigator that facilitates deep conversations and listening. Being a "connector" between communities,

[16] Pettigrew, "Secondary Transfer Effect," 55.

providing moral support, and focussing on improving the conditions for growth and inclusive dialogue were recognized as important to a ministry of mercy.

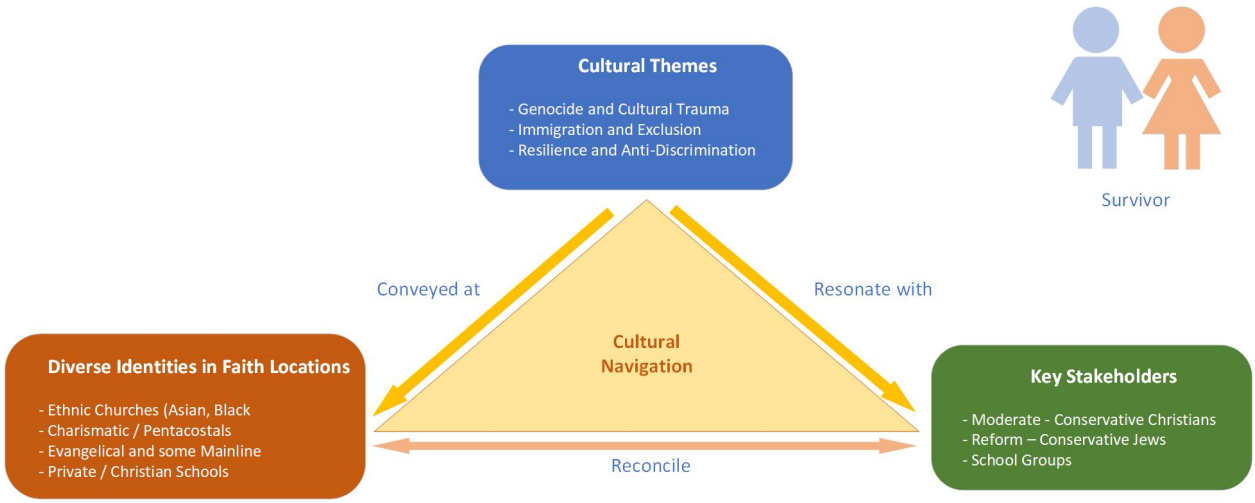

Figure 6: **Contextualized Framework of Theoretical Linkages / CJDT Relationships**

While understanding of the structure, demographics, and underlying ethos or philosophy of groups helped, on the other hand, drawing out "the best" in others involved recognizing other's strengths without reactiveness. One CJDT participant shared, "What's needed is leadership by example: checking in *with* people, not checking on them, and making even the weakest link feel like a valued player." A strong and committed "track record" of preventing escalations or tensions and misunderstandings garnered the trust of stakeholders in the connector, as a reliable "friend" who could facilitate conversations for deeper learning. Even as a survivor said, "I feel like I'm falling apart," she humbly shared a hope in mutual respect aloud: "We talk as the *little people*, who must listen to both sides; but we should not paint everyone with the same brush." Another survivor, Kitty, added: "It's not the subject matter of the Holocaust (which I don't like thinking about), but the *engagement* that was meaningful. Most of all, I appreciate your friendship. That's why I do this and go on."

In this way, emboldened for reconciliation as "icons," empowerment and the post-traumatic growth of survivors became possible through bridge-building across points of social and psychospiritual fragments. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of practice, intentionality could be traced to the *boundary spanner*: one acting as a bridge with potential normalizing of values through alliances or strategic "links." The boundary spanner could be a cross-functional individual or a collective (e.g., CJDT cross-organizational initiative). In degrees that can be differentiated from prestige, the centrality of network or spanners' multiple dimensions could measure interpersonal relationships, shared attitudes in memory, or their knowledge-transfer, indicative of degrees of communication—referring in social network theory to high in/out *degree centrality*.[17]

The role of the boundary spanner was not "missionizing," but instead, building partnerships that tied unrelated groups or networks with a high degree of connectivity. Spanners thereby brokered relationships in important ways by functioning inside (linking indegree ties) and outside (linkages leading out of) stakeholder groups. As such, seen in humanitarian aid or mission organizations and more clearly throughout CJDT development, the lay or "expert" boundary spanner that shall be called a "cultural navigator" could ideally operate between spaces of liminality. In serving in less visible or in more influential positions for multiplication, Kitty Salsberg's neighbour, Edith Land, voluntarily functioned as a pioneer bridge-builder who navigated the field of Christian-Jewish dialogue. Edith Land was an immigrant ally who was primarily responsible for establishing the home of Toronto's Jewish Holocaust Memorial Site at Earl Bales Park (1991), which was renamed the Canadian Society for Yad Vashem Memorial Site (2013). Edith was also involved with content creation that introduced Holocaust education

[17] "The dimensions of Social Position are historical. 'Old' dimensions may become less relevant, new dimensions may acquire a central role." Galtung, *Multidimensional Social Position*, 161–67.

into public school curricula, which was initially sponsored by the Toronto District School Board, before these curricular resources were soon shared with other school boards in the province. Edith's neighbourhood contacts in Toronto's Armoury Heights represented the original Jewish refugees who spoke to CJDT audiences, and later, became advocates of the Holocaust Centre and Museum that she coordinated in education and fundraising. Like Dutch survivors (such as Ada), whom she mentored to replace her, Edith's strong connection to the Anglican Church's leadership in Rev. Roland de Corneille and in others helped draw people into the burgeoning field. After boundary-spanners, CJDT practice would fuel intercultural reconciliation and visible outgrowths.

Communication

Analysis of the Survey Data for Communication and Causes

CJDT framers of discourse had limited authorial voice, yet these principal authors (survivors) felt empowered to negotiate their own cultural/survivor identity. Their social-interactive role of reception was conducive to participation by "collective social organizations," including members of Jewish and Asian cultures.

Among each of the fourteen respondents to the CJDT survey question (Graph 5), responses were decidedly in agreement (100 percent) that people's capacity for empathy increased through the CJDT practice of reconciliation. Jewish and Christian respondents unanimously identified empathic learning opportunities as an important strategy for intercultural reconciliation. Every respondent selected a value scale between eight and ten out of ten; and most (64 percent) of them rated perfectly (10/10) the value of the intercultural CJDT practice for

reconciliation. Except for one respondent who chose a lower rating (8/10), the remainder (4) selected a very high rating (9/10).

For Christians and Jews, "light" and a peace ethic were needed. Their understanding of the empathic learning potential of practice suggested of CJDT participants:

(a) Christians and Jews shared the equal regard demonstrated for the implicit or social emotional learning style of the CJDT practice of reconciliation; and,

(b) fostering learning that builds empathy remained an important value, based on the data collected from the fourteen different CJDT members or survey participants.

In this way, CJDT members gradually felt that they were "valued players."

Convergence of Values

Convergence of cultural values such as the liberating life (*chai*) of mercy, guided by a principle of empathy, became a contributing factor for CJDT's continuity and reconciliation—prioritized over identity interests or "binary opposition." The fact that CJDT survivors were silent until the next generation grew suggested that cultivating hope and healing would require a lengthy period, in which shared values could be observed or tested in their new environment after moving to Toronto. Edith was a neighbour who lived beside Holocaust survivors; and she shared openly about the personal challenges that she regularly encountered, "swimming upstream," in efforts to open the minds of both Christians and Jews to engage in intercultural dialogue. At first, her neighbour was the most vocal opponent who confronted Edith on their street (Kirkton Road). Even at the local school where their children attended, "Christian and Jewish parents didn't talk to each other;" but Edith persisted in forging friendships with "compassion for Holocaust survivors" and valued peace. *Shalom* eventually touched her neighbour, the Conservative rabbi

of Adath Israel, although he had initially discouraged his congregation and wrote newspaper articles for the Jewish community in Toronto to disavow Christian-Jewish Dialogue. Years later, Rabbi Schild actively supported Edith's effort to create park space for the donation of a Holocaust memorial at Earl Bales Park. At Edith's funeral (May 17, 2013), Rabbi Schild delivered a personally written speech to honour her as a "Righteous Gentile," and sent it to her daughter.

"There are not many studies of intergroup contact in postconflict settings,"[18] and few who change their minds after moral betrayal. However, the value of life was common to many. Soon after leaving Europe, War Orphan Kitty Salsberg and interned Rabbi Erwin Schild saw Edith Land as a sort of spiritual mentor in Christian-Jewish reconciliation. Together with Jewish leader Robbie Engel, Rabbi Schild honoured Edith as someone who "would have risked her own life to help and save others" (17 May 2013). He said, "We memorialize along with our own *kin*, the righteous of the world, in whose merit we and our descendants will live."

Appreciative Inquiry: Practice of Mercy & Reconciliation

Appreciative inquiry was helpful for constructively theorizing on the CJDT practice of reconciliation. The implications shown later included embodying a concept of reconciliation, which was connected to mercy and not to salvation.

Appreciative Inquiry Phases

Discover (Define), Dream (Envision), Design (Co-Construct), and Destiny (Sustain).

[18] Kelman promoted "concrete" life-stories as more helpful than a joint consensual history. Bilewicz, "Reconciliation through the Righteous," 166.

1. Initiate—*Defining the human value of life is primary and not exclusive.*

Reconciliation conceived as "bridging" facilitates not only intergroup communication, but also, actively invites outsiders into the midst of community. Against "the sin of stereotyping," this act of recognition is not at the exclusion of acknowledging "tribal" loyalties, but preference is given to the victim identity "fending for (them)selves" wherever situated. Researching CJDT practice reveals that reflective practice can serve as a reminder of the need for sensitivity and care. Christians who "identify God with the victims of violence" are keenly aware of the universality of human rights, of which victims were deprived.[19] The acceptance (and not the evasion or dismissal) of moral responsibilities becomes a part of the essential character of reconciling agents, whose commitment to mutual engagement invited "equal but different" people into healthy social arrangements. Therefore, working to define the meaning of their needs and how to engage vulnerable victims was a first step of active inquiry, which demanded reflection on life narratives and capacity-building for dialogue between appropriate group members.

2. Discover—*Deal with biases and appreciate the individual.*

Appreciation is important to (self) discovery, since trauma can be ambiguous and prolonged for survivors of genocide, who may live in a subconscious state of perpetual threat after the provocations to injury have passed. Perceived symbols of power could provoke fear from without—"triggers" being even the image of a cross (for some Jewish survivors). Therefore, respect was shown in a number of ways: by safeguarding their dignity; by protecting them from exposure to possible triggers, thus expecting consent before entering into public environs that could cause distress; and maintaining a nonjudgmental attitude about individuals' occasionally confusing or defensive responses.

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[19] Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, 23.

The social role played by CJDT audiences lay in affirming each other's identities and will to live. Reconciling agents cultivated trauma-informed awareness in a network of merciful accountability and reconciliatory praxis. As described by the Lutheran elder, it represented mutually "building a relationship through a personal story" that included "warts and all." The process could be multilayered, particularly in situations often complexified by ethnic, religious, and cultural comparisons. With transparency, two or more trusted "supports" could inform an interconnected network or kinship-type "holding" environment in the absence of survivor family structures. To reassure survivors of equal voice and not rejection or fear of rejection, Solomon Nsabiyera Gasana in Rwanda said that "confronting conflict and poverty through trauma healing" must specifically involve "being able to express the personal meaning of past experiences to a sympathetic audience."[20] In this vein, Holocaust survivor Leslie Meisels wrote that CJDT messages of appreciation were "the only thing that keeps us going."

3. Design—*Envision and initiate sharing welcome and respect toward others.*

(Re)education is a key component to moving forward and envisioning intercultural engagement. Survivors described this as a learning process that includes both spiritual and cultural appreciation of the value of life. Helen Yermus said:

> I could not remember my father's face. Now, I remember not his looks but his deeds . . . his kindness. What you do with your faith is important so (people) find comfort. We're all different but we're all human beings . . . As I get older, it's more and more on my mind: we Jews believe in *chaim* ("life").

Akin to "promise-keeping," people modelled the morally responsible act of *remaining present* to others in shared accounts of suffering—without pressing agendas or constraints. Because "life" (*chaim*) is "strong in Judaism," in attitude and deeds "it begins with us;" and a "sacrificial act"

[20] Kaufman, *After Genocide*, 147, 150, 153; cf. Martin Maxwell's invitation by Rwandan survivors to speak on Bathurst.

can lead to the "miracle" of "mutuality that is not tolerance but acceptance." In utilizing symbolic actions and rituals of enactment, the peacebuilding community does not pre-empt the attempts at reconciliation made by and for the Survivors themselves. Respecting all freedoms and rights accorded the survivor identity with recognition of promises made or broken in the past, while rejecting interference that smacked of absolutism or a denial of the other. Realizing a communal dream must be a shared venture through the recognition and comfort offered, while metaphorically stand up with the victim and choosing never to forget their "sacred duty."

4. Destiny—*Cooperatively create "shared space" designed to give life & build communities.*
Learning in humility respects the layers of suffering (physical, mental, emotional and spiritual) to which Survivors bore witness. In the "sanctuary" of a recreated *home*, with "connection and bonds increasing" God makes "all things new." Sustained solidarity does not model "speaking over" others; but to "the least" of these, it acknowledges particular (not just universal) rights and safeguards others' communities. Mutual care demonstrated toward survivors recognizes the dead and the living, to whom survivors bear witness. Since one purpose of reconciliation and dialogue is for listening and addressing one's community—not just others'—by developing trust relations, honest humility meant allowing others to have "unfinished business" with God in their journeys.

5. *A dialogue of remembrance has the potential to empower and restore mercy.*
Light and "testimony to the power of the Spirit" was a communal value of lived truth. "You become the spark and pass it on . . . [and] fill the room with God's love." Christian communities in dialogue with survivors could cultivate a response to weakness: a "power under" approach to offer mutual support and acknowledgement. The communal approach to reconciliation created a deeper consciousness for valuing victims and sharing the burden of their trauma. "That's how

God sees it;" and together with Jewish survivors, the CJDT Christian leader says that they "become a part of the extension of God's love in our lives." Even for the enemy, "God can really welcome them as they change," because "change comes by personal revelation" so that eyes might see. Capacity-building for healed lives and resilient communities became a part of the discursive ways that CJDT co-constructed "shared space" for Christians and Jews to inhabit together.

Recognizing Spiritual Pain through Mercy

A significant area for theorizing on the CJDT practice of reconciliation "from the inside-out" was socially interpreted enactments of embodied mercy. This concept in Christian practice corresponded with Jewish participants' references in Judaism to social repair or *tikkun olam*. It connected to "peace that overcomes the world."[21] The meaning of "world" was not simply indicative of the secular or material desires; for CJDT Christian participants, it represented anything that could draw believers away from humanity and God, including "terror" and the "barrenness" of a world without love.

Occasionally, Christian audience members who identified strongly with Survivor trauma narratives were orphaned or self-identified as ethnically "Jewish" CJDT participants. From diverse congregation members to CJDT school administrators, the increasing rate of genetic (DNA) tests in the past decade reportedly resulted in shocking discoveries by former Muslims, science teachers, mothers, and a surveyed student about their hitherto unknown ancestries. Although only one was an "angry Jew-hater" beforehand, numerous other "seekers" began grappling over years in Christian settings with existential questions of identity, faith, and cultural

[21] The "Aleinu" daily prayer, refers to a future soon-to-come. *Sefer ha'aruch*; *Midrash Rabbah* (Gen 11:6); cf. *Sanhedrin* 37a.

belonging. Some felt betrayed for not having been told the truth of their Jewish ancestry, and reportedly, felt a kindred warmth and "need" fulfilled in meeting survivors. A younger survivor of genocide said that he felt this after spending time with older survivors, who represented to him "the mother or father I never had, growing up as an orphan." Another War Orphan said she "looked up to the older one(s) but was hurt when none checked or called after leaving the ship."

CJDT participants thus recognized reconciliation as a call to mercy. With related code words of "comfort," "charity" or "compassion," reconciliation did not convey meanings of penance and forgiveness. A Christian faith leader contrasted mercy to grace:

> Mercy is when you don't get what you deserved in life; grace is when you get what you don't deserve. Jewish survivors didn't get what they deserved, and they are still in need of mercy. With the grace Christians have received, all the more reason is given for humility to move us to generosity and to showing God's mercy in blessing.

Mercy thus encompassed social healing and empathy in a bottom-up perceptual sense of peace (*Shalom*) or "kingdom work."[22] Therefore, Christian works of mercy did not conflict with, but rather, complemented Jewish efforts to embody the religious principle of social repair (*tikkun olam*). Like *pikuach nefesh* ("to save a life"), the theme of CJDT participation enhanced solidarity that was conceptualized as "shared space," which used the pathway or vehicle of dialogue to achieve a reparative process of total transformation.

Contrarily, spiritual mutism was a solitary experience that could stifle the spirit or soul. Half of the survivors (11) volunteered the fact that they privately struggled with anger at a "distant" God, whose presence they could not feel even in synagogue. From "Faces in the Crowd," Rabbi Franklin Bialystok referred instead to a "Jewish Emptiness" that was the predicament of Canadian Jewish identity in Saul Hayes' words in 1970 (*Viewpoints*). Silencing

[22] "Rabbi Tarfon taught: The day is short, the task is great. You are not obliged to finish the task, but neither are you free to neglect it" *Pirkei Avot* 2:20–1.

was further compounded by women's relative exclusion from religious networks and social systems of support. In different caregiver accounts of the Holocaust, survivors reported having to solely carry the daily burden of feeding sick parents or sisters: Vera Schiff alone cared in vain for ailing family members who died at Theresienstadt concentration camp; Shary also strove to save her sisters inside the camps, after their Marmor parents had already perished during the Holocaust in Transylvania. Although all the sisters had grown up in a very religious environment, she later relayed a conflicted view of religion (shared with Judy) that bespoke female self-reliance: "God can save, but you could not wait for Him. It remained up to you to act." Spiritually ways of understanding the deity were impaired by trauma, although not irretrievably (at least in the case of one who relayed conflicted feelings yet held a role in his synagogue). Females born into Orthodox or Hasidic communities led by men reported the greatest loneliness and disappointment when "nobody offered to help" nor answered the survivors' cries to heaven.

On the premise of ancestral connection, not only memory linkages to trauma, but also, communal values were recognized by diverse participants. Without exception (save but two clergy members), all participants of each qualitative phase of the study were representative of cultural groups that typified high levels of kinship values or respect for elders. Additionally, first or second-generation immigrants of different identities were more likely to resonate with the themes delivered in survivor testimonies. Nate told Christian CJDT partners about the difficulties, after being deported from Lodz, of surviving seven concentration camps from the age of twelve years, and then transitioning to being a lone student:

> I had tremendous self-doubt when I first came to Canada—whether I could fend for myself and get educated or find a job. There were so many pressures I felt as a new immigrant. It was different from being in hiding or at a camp. . . Just the freedom to live as a human being is key. The system should be humane to us.

The majority of CJDT participants shared similar immigration stories or related to cultural trauma through the historical lens of existential and social conflict. Others could understand the issues related to systemic barriers and the spiritual or self-doubt that Survivors faced, upon migrating to Canada. As ethnoreligious minorities, many CJDT members shared an understanding that pertained to issues of transnational identity and the search for belonging. Faith leaders such as a Baptist Filipino Pastor (with tears in his eyes), acknowledged matriarchal practices of high regard for the intangible contributions of elders in the community. Christian and Jewish CJDT participants related trauma to restoring the honour that had initiated an elevated role given elders, both visibly and invisibly, while acknowledging sacrifices for younger generations that exiles had made, despite lacking access to education and to cultural or social privileges associated with citizenship.

Theorizing from a multivariate or implicit condition of survivor witnessing for reconciliation considered the complex barriers that inner exiles faced. Unresolved grief as a component of Historical Trauma Response (HTR) connected survivors' sense of loss to their distress or depression. Judy's Wiessenberg family members were among the 90,000 Jews in Hungary who lost homes or jobs *en masse*, due to anti-Jewish laws during fascist rule (1938-1945); Judy's brothers, cousins, and other Jewish men worked as members of slave battalions that were murdered in January 1943 by the Hungarian Second Army.[23] With tens of thousands of camp survivors returning to empty or occupied homes, individuals interviewed reported their onset of deep depression: "break down and cry(ing) uncontrollably;" fluctuating despair and guilt; and silence; or the temporary inability to speak at all. Rather than simply keeping "peace"

[23] People were either made into forced labourers or sent on a Death March (like my grandfather who was the only man to survive and climb out of a mass grave in Jeolla, South Korea). Bohus, "Not a Jewish Question?" 738.

in terms of a status quo, survivors who were helpless to avert familial pain reported "safety" in CJDT communities. An ethic of truth-telling came to be valued despite HTR; and encouraged by faith leaders, survivor communities extended trust to virtual strangers. A Korean Baptist pastor thus said:

> The world needs a new way of dialoguing. Focussing on the existential can have a tremendous impact. Reconciliation has to be continuous for there to be hope. Continuous reconciliation can also lead to peace of mind. It's a lifestyle. By remembering . . . we are not arguing about doctrine but learn to lower ourselves. You go down to others' level—to really hear them or think about those who died. That's dialogue: meeting others; understanding history; reading between the lines. This way, reconciliation is possible for Christians. It's beautiful.

Through cultural openness and self-disclosure, not only was authenticity or resilience perceived as something physical; it was also seen as the psychospiritual ways in which survivor capacity grew. Despite HTR, PTG could be witnessed by the community at large.

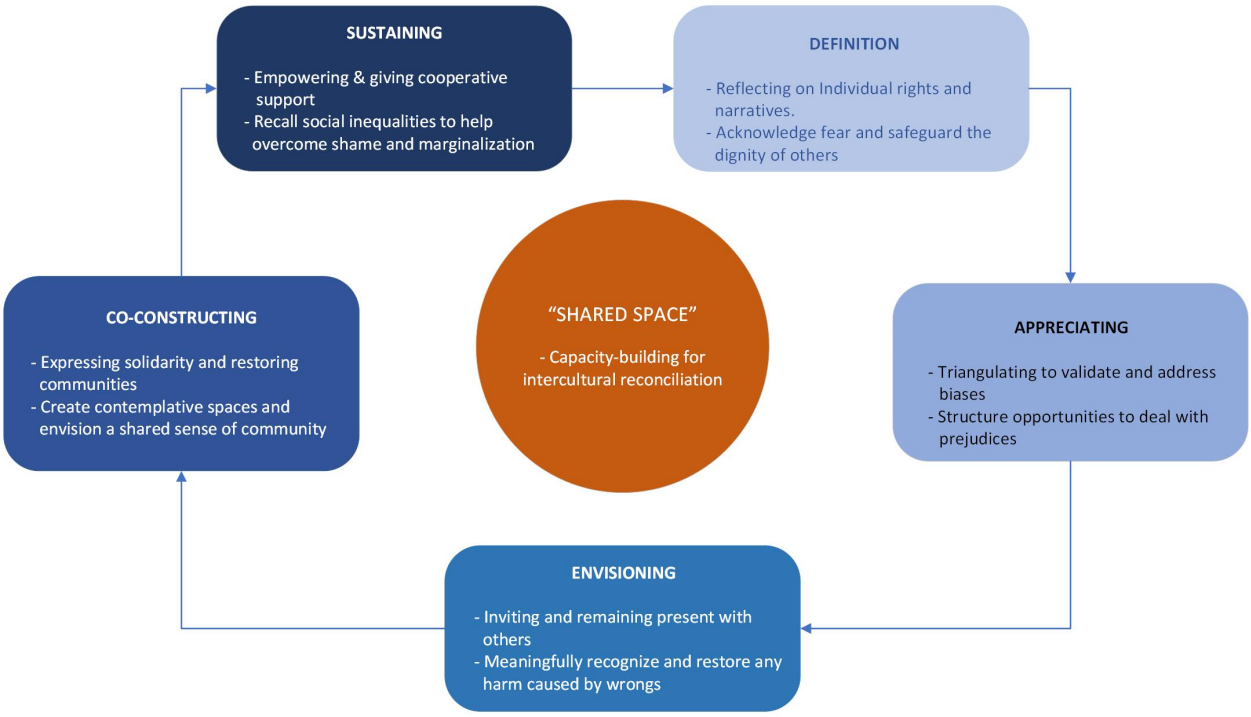

Figure 7: Appreciative Inquiry of CJDT Practice

Reconciliation was perceived not in terms of a single event, but rather, as a process of authentic repair for social transformation. As widely gathered from intercultural encounters in Jewish history and Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Cost of Discipleship*, this included ethical interventions in cultivation of hospitable spaces.[24] Christians emphasized the personal sacrifices and not just material goods that were required to demonstrate mercy:

> Speaking to the wealthy young ruler (or the woman at the well), Jesus saw people's hearts and stood for a broken world. So many Christians are caught up in Orthodoxy-doing, but in his kindness, Jesus modelled a mercy that is strong. Like integrity, kindness comes at a personal cost; kindness leads to repentance and change.

Kitty agreed that this biblical model was indicated by Jesus' use of the terms "Friends" and "neighbour." They showed ethical categories with assumed proximity, which led to questions of dominated spaces and leaning to speak overtop of others. Inclusion of the powerless outsider in the life of a community of peace carried an implied *counter-narrative* of the guest and host, imparting spiritual or cultural life to each another.

Permeation

Analysis of Survey Data: Consequences

Mentorship that responds to the spiritual call to mercy can permeate dark recesses in collective memory. Survey data showed results (Chart 2, Chapter Three), which confirmed positive outcomes of CJDT practice with child survivor narratives. Respondents unanimously (100 percent "yes") rated CJDT practice "very high" for a meaningful impact on CJDT participants and Holocaust Remembrance. The nuance of meaningful difference and impact could be seen in answers to the second and third Likert questions of the survey (Graphs 2 and 3). All fourteen

[24] Kim, "Dearly Departed: Harbin Jews, Women of the Russian Far East, and Diplomatic Heroes."

respondents reported that they observed appreciation of the Holocaust, the lived experience of survivors and their culture, in CJDT audience members (Graph 2).

An alignment of cultural values could be the critical factor for successful permeation. Cultural icons, such as survivors, were also key to communal permeation for intercultural reconciliation. Verbal reports were confirmed or triangulated with reports from the Holocaust Centre and packages of thank-you cards that were sent by CJDT participants to survivors, who presented them during interviews in the security of *home*. In their response and for the next question (Graph 3), all respondents rated or approved the value of CJDT practice was "high" (general ratings ranging from 8/10 to 57 percent scoring it 10/10). On the third question on survivors' observation of a growth in specifically understanding antisemitism, similarly, all respondents rated the CJDT practice "high," except one respondent who rated it "fair" (6/10). Though gauging a growth in awareness of antisemitism is challenging, several speakers commented that students were not always given enough time by teachers to ask questions and obtain answers from the survivors. A reasonable answer to the question would demand someone, such as teachers or clergy, to spend time in follow-up and gauge participants' growth in awareness after CJDT events.

Co-Constructing "Shared Space"

The point of entry into intercultural/interreligious dialogue is ever changing and historically shaped—especially in social situations that involve moral disrepair. Paul Kang noted "opening eyes" and Alex Mak acted for others to "find peace." They presented a "religionless" Christianity for people to consider for reaching others of a different culture. Solidarity thus became a feature of the permeation of intercultural concepts of unity or peace, which was

inherent to a healthy practice of reconciliation. Rather than static or institutionalized cultural memory, conversation became a feature characterizing community practice in the CJDT model of dialogue. Nate Leipciger stressed prioritizing coexistence and respect:

> Prejudice is always present, but it's what you do with prejudice that's important. How do you learn to coexist and have mutual respect? You don't have to be like the other. Tolerance says: I'll tolerate you if or once you become like me. . . We have to fight this attitude.

Therefore, restoring positive cultural identities through dialogue and multidirected partiality demanded trust as a priority of CJDT practice, which did not exclude ancestral "clouds of witnesses." This contrasted with the missing socioemotional (trust/relational) factor for reconciliation to heal intergroup relations,[25] once identity threat fostered entrenched conditions arising elsewhere for competitive victimhood (e.g., Rwanda). The face-to-face encounters and symbolic sacrificial acts were valued by Andy Comar, who reflected on the feedback of war veterans and of parents of youth participants at CJDT events. Looking ahead with concerned Jews to a future post-survivor world, Comar commented: "It's important for them to be a part . . . It's about the *relationship*—especially for people of a certain age that didn't grow up in the technological age."

Putting Forgiveness into Context

On the causes for a lack of belonging, survivors were eager to speak about their desire to counter hatred and discrimination of every kind. Theirs was not an ossified or exclusive version of victimhood. In *The Healing of Nations*, Mark Amstutz discussed the "limits of political forgiveness" for the transgressions of cultural wounding and ethnic rivalry, after which social

[25] Schnabel and Ullrich, "Putting Emotion Regulation in Context," 126; cf. Kaufman, *After Genocide*, 147.

trust became necessary for reconciliation and restoration to occur.[26] Once deep psychological distrust and ethnonationalism became embedded, group-related structural inequalities could lead to intractable political conflicts without hope of reconciliation. Therefore, solidarity was stressed over confession: survivors' suffering "is not a competition of suffering" nor about forgiveness; but rather, it is about nonretaliation defined by partnership, lest continual "hatred or xenophobia becomes ingrained in our society."

On the shared role of remembering, Vera voiced concerns not over the "convenience" of forgiveness, but rather, concerning society's duty to remember and prevent genocide. "What about the Missing and Murdered Indigenous women? Nobody remembers the Roma—think about those Gypsies who went through the Holocaust too!" Social responsibility was a factor for the enduring appeal of the CJDT practice of reconciliation. Judy reflected on the urgent need for dialogue due to the "virus" of racial bias:

> There's always a reason why prejudices developed and persisted. Once it becomes embedded, people use it without knowing why. It can be exploited politically if it pertains to a whole people: Blacks, Jews, many minorities. It's a question of power and powerlessness; we cannot solve problems of bias by legislation alone.

Kitty recalled aloud that her Jewish grandfather and the Roma, from whom he had learned and became "an expert violin player," shared "the exact same death." Ironically, Christians with high pro-forgiveness attitudes were less likely to exhibit forgiveness behaviours and grace. Emphasis was not placed on relationships after the forgiveness. Hence, Solomon Gasana made the case that in "confronting conflict and poverty through trauma healing," forgiveness should be placed at a final stage in the journey to healing.[27] "Making amends" and facilitating equity thus comprised the preconditions to forgiveness for victims of trauma.[28]

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[26] Amstutz, *Healing of Nations*, 178.
[27] Kaufman, *After Genocide*, 154.
[28] Paloutzian, "The Bullet and Its Meaning," 52, 78.

Invited to the "roundtable," healthy dialogue and sometimes vicarious apologies would draw opposing parties into multidirectional communication for peace.

Agents of Blessing

Blessing was directed toward survivors, and with mutual affinity, CJDT Christian participants interpreted the "light" humbly modelled by survivors as a blessing in return. Affinity is normally a feeling of kinship or attraction associated with biological relations of similar "ethnic affinity" with "thick" ties. However, besides race, tribe, or family, child survivors and CJDT Christian partners prioritized communal-based cultural values and biblical familial terms of "thickening"/endearment. Being symbolically renewed with acceptance into the "family of God" was no longer a priestly decision. A wider basis of spiritual inclusion led to an unusually expansive sense of communal *belonging*. With the language of spiritual belonging, CJDT could include a naming practice for the creation of "shared space." A counter-narrative arose as the outcome of a biblical covenant shared between people of faith with familial terms of reference: "spiritual cousins," as Asian Christians said for Jews without biological relation.

Their practice of reconciliation resonated with biblical motifs for peace that extended beyond individual subjectivity or tranquility. On Kristallnacht (1938), as Jewish women were murdered (even in ritual baths or *mikvahs*), Martin Maxwell like Erwin Schild witnessed fellow citizens hunted by "Haman" or herded into their houses of worship to be killed. While Helen Yermus began recognizing the "hand of God" at work through human "angels" who would lend her a helping hand, Kitty Salsberg read herself into the story of the Exodus when she reflected on her "deliverance" and a new life in Canada as the "parting of the sea" after the Holocaust. She said to me over a Passover meal, "It is I who was liberated like Hebrew ancestors in Egypt. If people were true, they would be welcoming the stranger . . . as Jesus did—helping people and

curing the blind or the people with sores (that I saw). Jesus represented true Judaism . . . the essence of the religion." Shared meals were just one of the demonstrations of cultural gifting: oral histories, from Jewish cultural memory added to biblical readings; also, traditional music was performed and psalms joyously sung with Filipinas', Chinese, or African dancers. Speaking to a Filipino Pastor or Cree "brother" Theo Fontaine, Nate repeated, "I live for him and he lives for me." People's identification with spiritual kin was rooted in newfound covenant among "sisters" or with "brotherly" bonds.

Summary of Initiation, Communication and Permeation

The empathy-building or social emotional learning potential of CJDT practice was highly valued or regarded by the survey participants. Interview (Phase Two) subjects similarly produced the concept, as "mercy" and "charity" were comparisons or reports made about CJDT practice by Jewish and Christian dialogue partners. An evaluation of the quantitative and qualitative research results suggested that empathy became one of the core concepts to explain why peacebuilding or reconciliation could occur by means of CJDT practice and ongoing dialogue. However, in the survey, all respondents identified the value of CJDT practice both for empathy-building and for intercultural reconciliation. The empirical data revealed half (roughly 50) of the tour participants were caregivers with approximately eight persons with disabilities on board the bus.

Through more than six decades of survivor accompaniment, both CJDT Christian and Jewish partners engaged child survivors as local change agents. Increasingly, female "rabble" or ethnic minority participation was observed in CJDT settings at the initiation of a cultural navigator. Although the survivor (and Christian) inner exiles shared their categorization and consequential treatment as "poor ugly immigrants," hope was inclusively maintained within "shared spaces" of solidarity with mutual respect for cultural ways of being and gifting. At the

heart of the CJDT inspiration for reconciliation was a "prophetic" calling, which drew diverse Christians and Jews into an intercultural practice with embodiments of mercy.

Dialogical practices in time and space could enable authentic reconciliation to unfold. However, silence was reinforced through atmospheres or contexts of reception. Half of the Jews commented in interviews that, except for CJDT and their Christian partners following years of captivity during the Holocaust, survivors were "never wanted" nor invited to speak about traumatic lived experience. Vulnerability became a "privilege" that was rarely explored by these marginalized identities, whose very survival had depended on their bearing the burden of responsibilities for others, while remaining invisible in contexts of hostile exclusion. Child survivors who were hidden in Nazi-occupied Europe explained that from an early age, they were restrained from talking openly and from extending trust, lest others be betrayed;[29] and later in life, this nearly prevented them from processing the morally challenging experiences to gain self-awareness and authentic relationships.

However, as will be seen in the next chapter for ministry or cultural motivation, young Queen Esther (like the exile Nehemiah) exemplified distress as well as the values of hospitality and attunement to the situation and needs of people on the margins of society. Extending from Robert Clinton's "ministry philosophy" concerning values informed by experience, "spiritual issues will differ with the maturity . . . and with numerous unique factors" for one's development; achieving an end or long-term goal of reconciliation suggested a "need for the mentoring function of direction" that could adapt in crisis, depending on the "felt need of the mentee" who could also mentor at different times: "The basis of their mentoring is the relevant

[29] Claire Johnson says, some people talk to think, and this self-awareness is critical for success. Johnson, *Scaling People*, 1.

knowledge they have amassed through experience."[30] Mutually committing to each other through prayer or sensitive listening was a way of identifying with exiles' spiritual mutism, which was represented with moral and cultural closure in the boundary spanning symbol of Esther in the *Megillah*.

[30] The aforementioned stages (initiation, communication, permeation) found a parallel in Dr. R. Clinton's dynamic of informal/formal mentorship: responsiveness, accountability, empowerment. Clinton, *The Mentor Handbook*, 4–5, 6–13, 7–5.

CHAPTER 5

BIBLICAL REFLECTION ON SPIRITUAL MUTISM & AGENCY

"*I grew up not knowing my parents or my name. They called me* '*Esther*' *because I was hidden*."
—Esther Fairbloom, child survivor of the Holocaust in Poland[1]

Interviewees and the sacred record both revealed that unanswered prayers by suffering innocents caused survivors of biblical exile or of genocide feel "forgotten" by God. From the Hebrew Bible and Holocaust survivor narratives, an inner state of exile was "psychologically an elusive motivating factor in both the individual and collective behaviour of the Jewish people."[2] This condition of identity crisis was exacerbated without the symbols of Davidic kingship, Jerusalem temple and God's presence in the distant land of Israel (Ezek 10:15–22).[3] Stripped of symbols and feeling abandoned, the people of God were still called to cooperate in the outworking of God's redemptive plan throughout exile. To this end, characters like Esther in diasporic novellas offered the wisdom upon which "advice tales" shared hope for diasporic thriving.[4] A way forward was shown that tied continuing divine presence to God's covenant people in the direst situation. This represented psychic or spiritual trauma to the ones whose childhood faith was erased by utter destruction and cultural worldviews were shattered by disruption.

As a factor for spiritual mutism, the submerged experience of trauma in the "inner exile" demanded recovery for "slaves" to pass through healing, as their forebears had gone through the

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[1] Esther said she spent over a half-decade of her early childhood often locked inside a cupboard by nuns, who at risk of their lives, saved Esther from the garrisoned Nazis. They murdered her Jewish parents by the convent.

[2] Gaber, "The Psychological Phenomenology of Exile," 32.

[3] Bruggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 672; cf. Jer 29:4–7.

[4] Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 153.

Exodus. Literary scholars have noted: "Trauma itself may provide the very link between cultures."[5] Besides the satire in Esther, Western theologians stress the ridiculous or "comical" in the *Megillah*.[6] However, unlike the modern reinterpretation in American Jewish life, the solemn cultural event with features of lament originally marked the diasporic lead-up to the Holocaust when Esther was read publicly, during the annual feast of *Purim*.[7] The life world in which individuals perceived or storied traumatic events differently could determine his/her role as a casualty or Survivor. Trauma, especially in Judaism, was traditionally revisited through the act of communal remembering and not as an isolated occurrence.

Since antiquity, every year at *Purim* Jewish communities of faith collectively pondered the life of Esther: a child exile in a foreign land, where she was forced to survive apart from her Jewish community. The setting of the sacred "scroll" or *Megillah*—of late Persian or early Hellenistic origin—was likely sometime in the Persian period (486–465 BCE).[8] Like Moses who had lived in a palace (Exod 2:10), Esther represented Jewish subjugation to foreign dominion.[9] Therefore, "Esther challenges us to think of God as a verb and not just as a noun, or as the one who is known in and *through* historical events."[10] Similar to child survivors (who favoured this protagonist), Esther's cultural and emotive significance made her representative of a *traumatic social process* as the hidden outsider: "with no native power of her own owing to her sex or position in society."[11] According to later survivors, this female character represented a symbol of

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[5] Caruth, *Trauma,* 11; cf. Jobson and O'Kearney, "Cultural Differences in Personal Identity in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," 96.

[6] Levenson, *Esther*, 12; cf. Craig, *Reading Esther*, 30.

[7] Historically, as at Hanukkah, Esther's "carnivalesque" reading was improvised by Jewish women (e.g., Temple Emanuel in New York), as a popular addition from the 1930s to compete with Christian holidays during the rise of Sabbath schools. Nadell, *American Jewish Women's History*, 34.

[8] Fewell, *The Children of Israel*, 176, 178; cf. Carvalho, *Encountering Ancient Voices*, 416.

[9] Bechtel, *Esther*, 3, 18.

[10] Costas, "The Subversiveness of Faith," 78.

[11] White, "Esther: A Feminine Model," 161–62, 167.

the inner exile: bereft of family and *home*, undergoing identity loss, and lacking cultural belonging.[12]

Child survivors could identify with protagonists of biblical narratives that encountered social barriers to inclusion, just as terror or betrayal had precipitated their own sense of mistrust in God through situations of crisis and genocide reflective of Jewish calamity (*Shoah*). A contemporary study of responses to moral injury in child survivors of the Holocaust enabled readers of the *Megillah* to appreciate the courses of action, agency, and resiliency exercised by the visible/invisible outsider. First, the exilic account introduced public representations of trauma in an ancient narrative of diasporic threat. Next, reflections on memory and trauma could integrate patterns of exclusion and inclusion, as these stress-reactions of a survival character emerged from scattered fragments of stories retelling survivor audiences about mentors and exiles. Of relevance to individual personhood, community, and faith practice were narratives of the *Megillah* that focussed on hope for an intercultural legacy identified in collective memory.

The sense of a group's collective identity or meaning-system at threat was also identifiable in survival texts after the divine act, exemplified by Esther or Moses' parent who hid the child (Exod 2:3). In a shared experience of survival, the solitary character became a living symbol constitutive of a culture of trauma. Reframed as performative drama with historical enactment, the book of Esther fosters greater appreciation for the social and theological implications of trauma for communities at risk. The microsociological criteria of cultural trauma narration is a useful frame for evaluating stories of trauma when they are situated between biography and history, such as the performative memory or collective belief system expressed through the singularity of exilic Hebrew experience in the *Megillah*.[13] As the "memory of trauma

[12] Mark J. Boda recognized the loss of *home* as an identity issue. Boda, "Identity in Diaspora," 1–2.
[13] Kim, "Reframing the Book of Esther as a case of Spiritual Mutism," 247.

casts the figure of the survivor in a positive light," four constructive elements emerge: the nature of suffering; the nature of victimhood; the relationship between trauma victim and audience; and finally, the attribution of responsibility.[14] In reframing the biblical narrative, the task of post-traumatic witnessing recreated the spiritual trauma process of invoking cultural memory: the heroine, Esther, was orphaned in an "alien" class yet acted as both survivor and witness.

First, the essential nature of suffering, victimhood, and the relation between trauma victim and Divine audience will be introduced in the words of child survivors. This pattern of cultural trauma could help focus readers on multidimensional victimhood. The narrative of a Holocaust survivor's search for meaning helped draw the reader deeper into a postcolonial reading of exilic identities in contemporary and biblical perspectives. Different audiences would appreciate a connection between a situation-centred mode of interpreting suffering or cultural trauma in which alienation and spiritual mutism reveal the survival nature and performance of a diasporic narrative.

The Nature of Suffering

"*I was angry at God for taking him away forever*."
—F. Schmidt-Libman,[15] Child Survivor from Lithuania, remembers father Faiva

In oral history, sometimes written decades or centuries after events, recorded persecutions and microaggressions could illustrate oppressive world orders. In the book of Esther, focus was fixed on actions or behaviour. Its uniqueness relied on the fact that it was the sole book in the Bible in which no mention of God nor ritual prayers arose. As though His silence matched the exiles',

[14] Capitaine, "Telling a Story and Performing Truth," 52.

[15] Like our friend, Klinger, Faige survived Stutthof then learned from me where her father was deported by Nazis. Faiva had died at a camp (Flossenbürg), less than 3 months before Dietrich Bonhoeffer was executed there.

God never responded as a powerful Rescuer.[16] In the biblical record, the pre-exilic origins of Esther's family betrayed the imperial structure of the First Persian empire, which preceded an intense period of Israel's transition to being governed by the Hasmonean dynasty (200–400 BCE).[17] Esther's people were subject to ruling male elites, whose wasteful and enormous surplus wealth was on display for half a year during the royal banqueting that was hosted by King Achashverosh (or "Ahasuerus") and the later-deposed Queen Vashti (Esth 1:10-12; 2:4). In Esther's ancient Persian context, ethnicity, nation-state and the sphere of authoritative control came into prominent focus.

Burgeoning systems of violence can be recognized through existential crises in the Bible. Esther appeared in the Persian capital of Susa (Heb. *Shushan*), as the only surviving child of Jewish parentage—likely among the early Babylonian exiles taken from Judah by Nebuchadnezzar (Esth 2:6–7; 4:14).[18] Characteristic of Jewish cultural knowledge and oral transmission, the narrative took shape at a time of "purity ideology" in the Exilic period, whence ritual contamination had caused foreigners to be viewed generally as contagion.[19] Esther was torn from her *home* and selected to be consort of the Persian king, though a silent member of the "underclass;"[20] and being of Hebrew origin, like the former slaves of the Exodus, Esther's book thus appeared to suit a postexilic Jewish audience. In the style of the Israelite "threat" typology, it did not keep in accordance with Jewish cultural norms or the intra-ethnic marital patterns in

[16] Jews reclaimed their protagonist, Esther, after she had been branded a "harlot" in Lutheran history. Kim, "Reframing the Book of Esther as a Case of Spiritual Mutism," 250.

[17] Bechtel, *Esther*, 3, 18; cf. Carvalho, *Encountering Ancient Voices*, 414.

[18] Carvalho, *Encountering Ancient Voices,* 414.

[19] Harrington, "Holiness and Purity in Ezra-Nehemiah," 116.

[20] Speculation has listed Ahasuerus (or "Xerxes" in *Targum Rishon* with Rabbinic parallel, *Rab Esth* I:8, III). Carvalho, *Encountering Ancient Voices*, 410, 413; cf. Esth 2:3–4, 14.

ancient society.[21] However, once taught "to share Israel's sufferings in the fulfillment of commandments and the doing of good deeds in this world," as a "descendant of Sarah" like most Jewesses similarly labelled in the Holocaust, Esther (meaning "concealed") grew in her religious awareness. As befitting her original name of *Hadassah*, diasporic audiences identified the empathy in Esther that was aptly symbolized by a "myrtle" of mercy (Esth 2:7).

Esther was alone. Those without a mentoring outsider or intimate insider lacked national/legal parity in the country of their birth or citizenship. Immediately, these individuals became powerless as targets of a racializing process—frequently seen in the case of Displaced Persons, who were held suspect or mistreated as "enemies of the state." Recognizing *social location* thus remained critical to identifying a common mechanism of interaction imposed on subjects in different contexts of persecution. Esther's "concealed" ethnic identity thus became a deliberate tactic intended for her personal survival, on the recommendation of her older cousin or mentor Mordecai (Esth 2:7, 10). With people's inability to transcend identity factors and misrepresentation, Jews understood that social erosion of trust could ultimately lead to further marginality. Not unlike Esther's undisclosed Jewish name and ethnic identity was the apparent hiddenness of God in an intense time of Israel's suffering. The readers would have understood Esther's "hiddenness," which in a period of persecution, had a double meaning in the readings at Purim of "national significance."[22]

The Nature of the Trauma Victim

"*I was helpless and left all alone. I was simply there for the taking.*"
– Helen Yermus, Stuffhof Survivor & *KinderAktion* witness (of Kovno Ghetto)

[21] Like Moses' fugitive flight, Esther would have been morally injured from knowingly breaking purity laws enacted against her conscience; "visiting" and marrying a foreigner was prohibited by ancient religious/cultural taboos among Jews. Kim, "Reframing the Book of Esther as a Case of Spiritual Mutism," 250.

[22] Oppenheimer, "Ethical and Halakhic Responses Following Bar Kokhba," 118.

Suffering was characteristic of displacement, from which lasting consequences to social and mental wellbeing overshadowed women's lived experience. Being an ethnic outsider was dislocating and signified exclusion from the limited social and cultural environments that females were permitted to inhabit. As Esther and Mordecai knew, for a female to be separated from one's father or husband in crisis situations was tantamount to an abuse or death sentence for human "chattel," unless accompanied by male partners of relatively higher social standing. And yet, intermarriage was religiously prohibited for Judaeans from Israel—not to be desecrated by foreigners such as Tamar or Rahab, both famed matriarchs in the Davidic line, like Ruth the Moabite (Ezra 9:1–4, 10:1–5; Deut 7:3, 23:3; Josh 23:13; I Kgs 11:2; Neh 13:25). Except for Ruth in the *Megillah*, normally, women could not hope to overcome social anxiety or remove the stigma of ethnic impurity.

Child Survivors stated centuries later: Jews had no choice but to stay "hidden" as long as possible like the orphan Esther.[23] Esther thus bespoke "hidden" aspects of female lived experience, which included secrets enveloped in shame. Esther was introduced to the literary narrative after Queen Vashti was banished for her defiance in refusing to unveil and expose herself before the king's feasting male guests. According to ancient patriarchal norms, Jewish and Greek tradition suggested Esther was herself a "girl" of fifteen years when she was taken into the harem; and hence, her separation from *home* and community was against her will, according to the possible woman's perspective in the Talmud.[24] Ordinary women were depicted in ways that rendered them virtually invisible and silenced within the operational paradigm and

[23] Judy and Kitty said that Esther's feast of Purim held the greatest personal meaning, as Nazis occupied Hungary and murdered (Wiessenberg/Nagy-Mozes) parents and grandparents with local fascists' help.

[24] *Sanhedrin* 74b; cf. Niditch, "Esther," 46, 55.

inherent control based on men's "family rights" within the imperial Achaemenid super-structure.[25] Being identified primarily in terms of her relationships to significant men, Esther was thus separated from her cultural world and own ethnic peers at a young age.

As gradually seen in the Temple *cultus* and in later Christian-Jewish relations, the practice of "shunning" acutely rose to the fore in Esther. This passed because often only "women are able to know and experience things as they really are"[26] in the situations created by men: life worlds with underlying paternalistic, religious, classist, racial or political overtones. First, Queen Vashti's degradation was upheld for relative-status outcomes to marginalize all women throughout the empire, both publicly in the court and in the privacy of their *homes* (Esth 1:19–20). Next, the same power once used to delegitimize a particular group (females) was subsequently used to impose restrictions against other conquered minorities, namely, the Jews. The deposition of Vashti, whose identity was erased in perpetuity, became a marker of the start of systematized erasure. Any perceived threat to status hierarchy or national unity could constitute extreme measures by the elite and by majoritarian advocates. In the ancient Persian kingdom (and in Nazi-occupied Europe), marginalized insiders as well as ethnic outsiders could be treated as expendable. Therefore, Esther represented a divestment of personal power as an example of *double colonization*. Domination both by foreigners as well as subjugation under an imperial system of patriarchy led to stolen innocence; the king's advisors exploitatively used gender as it intersected with ethnocultural and social stratification for his pleasure (Esth 2:4).

Like the metaphoric trauma language of "portals" for entry, ethnic people's precarity or lived trauma warranted initiating pathways of integrative mentoring in situations of cultural conflict. Without initial words, reverberation with an individual's own exposure was "the

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[25] Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 16.
[26] Peacore, *The Role of Women's Experience in Feminist Theologies of Atonement*, 23.

imagery of trauma" in "ingrained silent modes of action."[27] Esther implicitly knew where Mordecai sat mourning—unjustly accused and ready for execution (Esth 5:14); she was faithful in delivering clothes to her cousin and displayed "deep distress" in heeding his warning: "For if you remain silent . . . you and your father's house will perish" (Esth 4:4, 14). A remote portal to shared space sprang from Mordecai's guidance to Esther, who later raised her voice and arose as a deliverer of their people: "And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" (Esth 4:14).

In the biblical text, brokenness was communicated and manifested in different ways. By seeking to understand sin relationally, moral significance was recognized in the estrangement of Esther from her community and *home* (2:6-8); from her husband the king (4:11, 16b); and from hope in a Deliverer (4:4a; 8:6). The first result was an imposed sort of suffering; the next could be read as a form of abandonment and fear. As seen in the book of Esther, experiences of suffering silently impinged on people's understanding of divine favour. The name of God was not invoked; the Bible did not deny an enduring situation of vile "domination" (Esth 1:20). For victims, particularly among the colonized, "their reality constantly contradicted their supposed inclusion in the biblically based love of God."[28] Yet, readings of Esther during the annual feast of Purim reminded Jews that this national heroine, like them, was dispossessed of family and *home*. Esther's "hiddenness" was presumably a divine tool, in keeping with Mordecai's precaution to mask her true identity. Despite the shame and fear, Esther unexpectedly rose to national influence and broke her silence.

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[27] Laub, "Knowing and Not Knowing Massive Psychic Trauma," 39.

[28] Mosala, "Implications of the Text of Esther for African Women's Struggle for Liberation in South Africa," 4.

A protagonist ought not be misunderstood, due to conclusions on her privileged status or cultural hybridity. Heroines like Esther began their journey as inner exiles with an outcast identity. In situations of ethnicized conflict or hostility, complex victims could face enormous barriers to exercising agency. Sometimes, they needed advice or guarding from sexual assault (Ruth 2:22; Esth 7:6, 8). Esther would have been merely a youthful bride when she herself was taken and forced to marry a foreign king. Her experience reminded others of their reliance on fate, which typified precarious living. The will by which men like Haman dominated entireties of life was through sheer violence with grandiose omnipotence. Haman's intent or assault on Queen Esther was hinted by the word subdue (לִכְבֹּושׁ) or "bring(ing) into bondage."[29] In Esth 7:8, the relationship between uninvited violence and intersectional identity-salience became abundantly apparent. Surprisingly, as a sign of divine grace the victim was not revictimized by the dominant ethnic or national discourse.

Relationship between the Victim and Audience

"*People were pulled out of their homes . . . I was alone (and) there was no parent with me. The war isn't over and is still painful . . . I stood and watched it*."

—Leonard Vis,[30] veteran and Child Survivor of the Holocaust in Holland

In a moment, hidden children could also become migrants, or exiles like their forebearers. Though they had once known security from parents or elders, each faced identity crises after catastrophes that tore asunder the family unit, once deemed sacred (Exod 2:3, 4; 4:27). As for all

[29] Holmstedt, *Esther*, 203.

[30] Leonard was a boy and separated from his family, as Jews were deported to concentration camps. He said by jumping off a train bound for Westerbork transit camp, he escaped the fate of his parents taken there and killed.

child survivors, grief characterized lived realities that demanded redressing the losses toward everyday reconciliation. Esther's graded exposure and silences could easily be mistaken for passive inactivity. Dormant within was a dislocating situation of internal/external social exile, which resembled trauma discourse in terms of Survivors' relational or emotional responses to grief. In a zone of non-being with trauma, characters like Esther or Mordecai reinforced double consciousness. Through a wellspring of experience each escaped a catastrophic culture of "abyss;" only "bearing of an intelligible core upon the collective" as sequential translators between spheres of activity and differently situated social groups, an "emergent identity" could "counter" or provide interdependent "futurity."[31] Hidden identities bore time-space consciousness. Not disregarding features of literary foil, this was missed by the male gaze that oversimplified Esther as an assimilated member of the Persian harem, or as another gendered version of the colonizing mentality (e.g., Haman's wife). Inescapably a "fringe" member of society, characters like Esther could struggle with shame; yet she confronted the social stigma and rejection due to her alienating displacement or minority status.

However, victim agency came at a cost. Women faced not only the erasure of cultural and social identity, but also, doubt or threats to integrity and body. Along with the risk of rape or abuse with calamity came "speechless terror" and loss. However, in a purposeful view of grief, Esther provided the tension of narrative and conflict that compellingly dramatized the Jewish concern for life in the scriptures. The tension of victimhood/agency was clear—as seen indicated by Mordecai and Esther, next to their formidable counterparts, Haman and his wifely counsellor Zeresh (5:8). In the protagonist-antagonist interaction of the book, the planned downfall of the

[31] Afro-Caribbean psychiatrist Frantz Fanon's "double conscious" thinking that inspired Hanna Arendt impressed anti-colonial Sartre (*Antisemitism*), who wrote the preface to his *Wretched of the Earth*. Drabinski, "What is Trauma to the Future?," 292, 294–95, 302.

Jews was clearly sparked by Mordecai's refusal to acquiesce to Haman the royal vizier. Evil was personified in Haman's irrational preoccupation with exacting revenge, not only upon Mordecai, but also, on all Jews.

Reinterpreted in modern wartime, British theologians identified a pernicious inter-ethnic hatred in the book of Esther that has been compared to the worldview of the Third Reich.[32] Haman was a descendant of King Agag in the royal line of the Amalekites. The prophet Samuel had ended Agag's life and his pillaging attacks upon Israel (I Sam 15:33, cf. I Sam 30), but Mordecai did not initiate such an attack. Possibly nearly a decade after the first scene, with the support of friends and family, Haman planned his impingement on the entire Jewish minority due to Mordecai, simply "that he was a Jew" (Esth 3:4–6; 5:14). While Mordecai's relation to Kish or Saul's royalty could have factored into his refusal to bow to Haman, the feature of a foil foreshadowed a system of benevolent rule in Mordecai's escapes from Haman's entrapments.

In the *Megillah*, threats to Semitic women's survival also featured chronic and episodic trauma. As in the case of exiles like Esther, this included fears and constant worrying over the security of themselves and significant others. Although being bereft of family and keeping her identity hidden seemed to temporarily shield Esther from palace plots devised by Vizier Haman, the extended period of prolonged or multiple experiences of distress. A depressive condition of the solitary protagonist shed light on her fearfulness and exclusion. Existential threats or humiliation confronted the defenceless exile.[33] When news of Mordecai's moaning in sackcloth reached Esther, in her helpless state to reverse the genocidal decree, "the queen was deeply distressed" (Esth 4:4). She had written authority (Esth 9:29), yet no words came from her lips. Moreover, physical symptoms of fatigue or sleepiness appear in contrast to her hostile

[32] Morton, *Women of the Bible*, 124.
[33] Niditch, "Esther," 45.

environment. Esther swooned before Haman and the king in court (compare Ahasuerus' sleeplessness, LXX Esth 6:1). Listlessness was occasioned with the moral injury that was further indicated by the selective mutism of Esther.

Thereafter, complex conditions of trauma were reflected in unstable social situations, which often correlated with disruptions in functioning of the family system. Multiple traumatic losses predated a new adoptive family (Esth 2:7, 9). At certain points, this became suggestive of cultural dislocation. As in those who signalled depression with identity crisis, denial of the body could accompany bitterness and grief (Esth 4:3; cf Ruth 1:20). In Esther were seen signs of grief and mournful actions: the vocal מִסְפֵּד (weeping) with fasting (Esth 4:16); ashes or wearing sackcloth (Esth 4:4); and combined with the verbal act (Esth 4:1), various gestures suggestive of lament.[34] Esther's refusal of food was in keeping with fear and depression. Despite a relationship with the king that did not commence consensually by her initiative or will;[35] Esther risked shame and scorn in exposing her true Jewish identity, as her uncle later recommended in desperation. Esther answered, "If I perish I perish" (4:16b). Though her response and fasting may be emblematic of heroic faith, it could risk her life, and most certainly, her family ties. As a split subject, the heroine Esther would demonstrate unusual, upending hopelessness.

And yet, in this story of mercy and survival (Esth 4:8), audiences could identify a subversive epitome of the muted *trickster*. Esther had relied on expert training by the king's eunuch Hegai, in preparation for what authors likened to an evening tryst that was suggestive of statutory rape. Esther succeeded in her bid to steal the king's heart from deposed Vashti, thanks

[34] Greenstein, "Book of Lamentations," 57.

[35] The Talmud described Esther as a girl (age fifteen), who was taken from her home under external compulsion. *Sanhedrin* 74b.

to Mordecai and to her secular guide Hegai.[36] Then, in an abruptly rare sign of trauma, Esther's speech temporarily ceased. This coincided with her shock of conceivably losing both family and community, while breaking the law by risking her life (Esth 4:16). Then, her speech was contained in the book to all but eight verses, only when confronted by a man in verbalizing a mood of fear or disbelief (Esth 5:4, 8, 7:3–4, 6, 8:5–6, 9:13; cf. Ruth 2:10, 20). Esther risked public contempt; and yet in contrast to Vashti and Zeresh, she relied on displays of creative impulse and transgenerational wisdom.

Esther found herself in a position of the choice between keeping her acquired position of privilege and revealing her secret identity. Primarily, she relied on a divinely inspired grace that pleased the king (2:15, 17; 5:2). To access this mercy, Esther sent the message to her uncle Mordecai: ". . . hold a fast on my behalf, and do not eat or drink for three days, night or day. I and my young women will also fast. Then I will go to the king, though it is against the law . . . Mordecai then went away and did everything as Esther had ordered" (4:16-17).

Responsibility and Self-Identification

"*Hush, Mother said to my little sister: 'Don't tell them you are a Jew' ...*
Meanwhile, fathers, mothers and children were deported as martyrs."
—Pinchas Gutter,[37] Buchenwald & Majdanek Survivor, singing *On Cattle Cars*

Haman's discriminatory policy did not develop in a moment. A system of complicity had permitted people to pursue violence against the Jews, who eventually resorted to self-defence.[38]

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[36] Erstwhile, it would never have been conceivable for Esther to gain eligibile status for social legitimacy without a privileged male partner.

[37] After the Nazis liquidated the Warsaw Ghetto, Pinchas was orphaned at age eleven. His parents and sister Sabina were murdered at Majdanek death camp in 1941, as Pinchas was sent as a "slave labourer" to six camps.

[38] Morton, *Women of the Bible*, 128.

The Jews, who historically suffered loss and dispossession, could relate to biblical accounts of suffering; it is easier and more likely for the oppressed to have critical insight into the conditions of their own oppression. Jewish ambivalence in Esther produced a disturbance of the imperial authority, as symbolized by Haman, with accounts of progressively inclusive feasts. In this way, the *Megillah* constructed the positive role of intercultural hospitality, which signified dialogue or merciful exchange. By modelling a transcendent or intrapersonal grace, the struggle to find personal meaning after existential despair was abetted by a sense of solidarity toward posttraumatic growth. Throughout conquests, the precariousness of existence among the marginalized made Esther comprehendible to subjugated peoples, who in certain ways, shared similar experiences to Persia's imperial culture of control.

Mutism could emerge as a traumatic phenomenon with devastating effect. An impediment from "silent horror" could grow to epic or spiritual proportions, especially where victimized women were doubly powerless to attribute responsibility for their suffering to perpetrators.[39] Silencing was further compounded by women's exclusion from religious networks or systems of support on their "homecoming." Moreover, as seen in the gallows Haman built to hang Esther's cousin Mordecai, certain identities were destined for extermination. The reality of violence or danger contributed to abrupt cessation of speech. Recovering the ability to act and speak (or pray) like the dominant identity could be one's only hope of escaping the looming "death sentence."

Esther was not publicly rewarded. Nor was she portrayed as though she were a mere victim of circumstances. As the child survivor found her voice, so Esther did not directly address Haman; instead, she bore witness before him and the king in calling him to account for every

[39] Kim, "Reframing the Book of Esther," 248; cf. Felsen, *Psychoanalysis and Holocaust Testimony*, 228.

misdeed (8:3-6). The Septuagint contains the prayers of Esther and Mordecai in two of six added LXX sections to the court scenes (Addition D, cf. Esth 5:1-2): Esther repeated to the King her "fear;" and in her preceding prayer in this version of *Esther*, it clearly resulted from (Haman's) savage "injury" to the Jews through affliction and bitter "slavery" (4:17; cf. 7:4). The queen entered the male domain to invite her husband, unbidden, to a feast that was being prepared for him and Haman.[40] Though she seemed to behave in keeping with gender roles acceptable to the ancient Near East, appearing as both fainting (after fasting) and inviting, her speech occurred according to the time and manner of her own choosing. Moreover, her invitation gave Haman a chance to repent honorably, though he refused. By overcoming fear and establishing inclusive feasts at a critical time, Esther set the social standard of hospitality and grace, which could overcome a dialectic of fear.

There were factors such as microaggressions, which was predictable for those of alien status in traditionally homogeneous societies. Women could only transact safely within shared spaces as they orchestrated it (21:25b). Therefore, Esther would recognize the need to solidify a trust reserve, in confronting a centrist base for rescue (7:2). In her attempts to address the calculating judgment of Haman in favour with the king, Esther injected female presence in navigating impossible situations, as she had previously been mentored to do.

The biblical view of preparing for a challenge would include corporate mourning. Similar to passages of lament (e.g., Amos 5:16 and Zech 7:1-7), the book of Esther contains displays of mourning that typified oppression or genocide. The *Megillah* marked the anniversary of an event of cultural destructiveness.[41] Formal acts of grief appear with specific acts of mourning, such as the word מִסְפֵּד (weeping) linked with fasting on one side (Esth 4:3; 4:16), and wearing sackcloth

[40] Vanderkam, *Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 182.
[41] Greenstein, "Book of Lamentations," 52.

on the other (Mordecai); in combination with a verbal act (Esth 4:1), both vocal and action gestures symbolized the sense of a specific "lament."[42] However, in expressing grief the purpose was to prepare for action—in an attitude of rebuilding such as the temple. Grief was shown in the conception of action or recovery.

The final verses of Esther, though traditionally overlooked by Christians, modelled values such as dignifying victims as potential agents who speak at the time of their choosing. Although of the ruling class herself, Esther demonstrated an adaptive and brave alignment with her people in speaking on their behalf. Once Esther had ensured the promotion of her kin to replace Haman, Mordecai then enacted social action by issuing "words of peace and truth" (9:30–31; 10:3b). His was a call for identification with people at the margins. Then, as seen nowhere else in ancient Jewish literature, an outcome of a joyous feast was the remarkable joining of the *verbal root* "Judah" and the gentilic "Yehudi" in unique inversion (8:17b), meaning non-Jews to *become as Jews*.[43] No longer demonstrating a fear of imperial oppressors, Harbonah, one of the chamberlains or eunuchs (*sarisim,* cf. Isa 56:4-5) was recognized as an example of a righteous Gentile. He was thus memorialized by Rabbi Pinhas in the *Jerusalem Talmud*.[44] In Esther, a renewal of trust was then offered the general populace, which in turn, sent gifts to the poor in their neighbourhoods (9:22). The inclusive nature of compassion would involve acting in humility. Therefore, Esther appealed to recovery for an empathic notion of *multidimensional* humanity.

The invitation to relationship can be viewed as command/connection, to which survivors later referred in using the term *mitzvah* for a "place of encounter."[45] The highest sense of

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[42] Greenstein, "Book of Lamentations," 57.
[43] Holmstedt, *Esther*, 226; cf. Levenson, *Esther*, 117.
[44] Holmstedt, *Esther*, 226; cf. Levenson, *Esther*, 117.
[45] Jurovics, *The Hospitable Planet*, 39.

sacrifice to Jews is "*giving of yourself* without any expectation of reward," repeated a Holocaust survivor (Kitty). The intersection of race and gender in the Bible provided examples of the ethical nature of reading life-stories. Yet, identifying with this historical Other also offered an appreciative glimpse of resistance. Esther's identity influenced her sense of agency and the expression of her invisible faith, beyond the level of ritual sacrifice. In child survivors or Esther, mining identity could deepen an understanding of the exilic figure's position of ambiguity and alterity. Memory turned collective suffering in a crisis to a sense of social responsibility. This compelled Esther to move outside her shame with a greater remembrance of traces from her past.

Inner Exile Transformed

"*Reconciliation is possible. We take the best from each side and start with a blessing.*"
—Captain Martin Maxwell, Holocaust/Kindertransport Survivor[46]

Displacement warrants further reflection in the *Megillah*. Uniquely, outsider-insider emplotment of lived time indicated distributive or orchestrated agency. Esther was a foreigner but remembered the poor. Esther and Mordecai (like Harbonah) reminded the reader that not just pure biological bonds should determine the one deemed "close" (Deut 25:5).

Although the saviour of a nation, events of Esther's life constituted a twist in plot. Feasting was a prominent and recurring theme for inclusion. Finally, the feast of Esther expanded to the far reaches of the empire, upon Esther and Mordecai's surviving threat of assaults by Haman and conspirers. In an unexpected reversal, Esther redistributed the fortunes of

[46] Taken by Austrians as a child, Martin Maxwell (born Majzels) later reunited with siblings Berta, Leo; after their parents died, twins Erna and Josephine were murdered by the Nazis. Martin escaped Austria with Quakers' help; he survived P.O.W. camps as a D-Day British pilot. Upon immigrating to Canada, he befriended Rev. de Corneille and spoke at churches.

the perpetrator. By rehearsing this act of performative justice, the reader entered the lifeworld of Esther and experienced a reversal each Purim. Without acting on the desire for violent anger and revenge, Esther became a model of genuine mercy and hospitality at a time of existential and national crisis. By choosing to watch and act (not on Haman's whim), her focus on truth-telling emboldened others to turn from their violence and engage the poor; they were won over, and in turn, the perpetual outsider or "guest" at the margins became the host.[47] With corrective and mentoring practice, victims of tragedy and loss in later displacements could rehearse a pattern of resiliency and growth to enact the exilic hope of belonging.

Mutuality was a mark of the most mature mentoring relationships, which grew in reciprocity through episodes of trauma. Hebrew literature reserved a place for empathy: "the role of the leader could be likened to a catalyst, activating a process of sympathy and group cohesion."[48] Similarly, Esther demonstrated concern for Mordecai, her mentor. Once Esther advocated for her Jewish people—in far-off and remote provinces, Mordecai would replace Haman in influence. Claiming steadfast honour, rather than mere privilege, Mordecai assumed his place of mutual reciprocity with the mercy seen in Esther.

Mentoring is well suited to the context of trauma. Esther relied upon Mordecai once she was orphaned; thereafter, she only sent or received messages from afar. Esther represented traumatic disconnection, related to collective suffering. Mordecai initially encouraged Esther to adopt the ways of the Persians, instead of exposing her Jewish upbringing. Mordecai patiently waited each day to learn of her welfare and watched the adoptee. Just as moral support was essential; also, her ability to transcend injurious circumstances of vulnerability was proven. It

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[47] Inclusive language suggested recognition of multidimensional humanity: the feast of Esther was celebrated by the eunuch Harbonah and by the poor or *Gentile-Jews* (8:17b; cf. 9:22). Kim, "Reframing the Book of Esther as a Case of Spiritual Mutism," 257; cf. Holmstedt, *Esther*, 226.

[48] Friedman, "The Road Back for the DP's," 508–9.

amounted to growth (Esth 8); and in this sense, Esther "lived up" to the faith with which she had been invested. Not as a mere victim, she became an agent for confronting trauma. Overcoming a dialectic of fear, her effusive love and steadfast loyalty involved identifying desires (*hashaq*) and needs *(tsorkhei gavoah*).[49] With guidance to direct her from the past and in permeating the future, the oppressed no longer mirrored a contemptuous fear יראה (*yir'ah*) of man.

Trauma and Solidarity

"Returning to Geislingen, I walk with a name, not a number. Now I walk as a proud Jew."
—Helena Weksberg, Czech Holocaust Survivor, Citizen of Canada & Israel[50]

Occasionally, brave solidarity becomes necessary. Even when King Ahasuerus told Jews to arm themselves in defence, the former xenophobic policy was overturned with costly struggle. An *ethnic* politic had dehumanized Jews. Conversely, Esther modelled humanity, as a reminder to her husband of his responsibility as king—to show concern. Acting in solidarity, Esther chose to invite the King and Haman to a feast, which she hosted twice. The first was genuine without reward; the second would seal deliverance from Haman's order. Esther managed social repair through prosocial activity in peacetime to gain opportunity for mitigation of conflict in varying circumstances.

While Haman was plotting Mordecai's death, Mordecai had not sought vainglory but returned each day to the king's gate to watch for and stay near Esther (Esth 6:12). Mentoring

[49] Comparing Deut 7:7, 9 and Acts 5:29. "The cowardly oppressed restrict their attitudes to those of fear and hatred." Novak, *Jewish Justice,* 193–94; cf. Barbé, *Theology of Conflict,* 76.

[50] "So many Jewish people in town but no one was left," where Lenka once grew in Tacovo, Czechoslovakia. She was deported by the Nazis to Auschwitz and then to Wurttembergische Metallwarenfabrik with 800 prisoners. A Christian representative invited Lenka in 2015 to Geislingen, where she was also honoured by the German mayor of the town, where she toiled and had been enslaved.

promised opportunities for listening and mutual support through trauma and displacement. Reshaped family structures could function toward nonbiological bonding as kinship. It served as alternative support systems to counter genderizing (or racializing) constraints, exclusion, and links that activated fear. Even when they were apart, Mordecai could offer Esther guidance or counsel; and in this way, Esther's elder facilitated adaptation for survival. Beyond ambivalence, the mentor could help others imagine identity, faith, and different destinies. As a reservoir of knowledge for reconciliation, mentoring could nurture approaches to achieve resilience and survival from trauma.

Mentoring promote a biblical model of social healing that characterized hybrid outsider–insider relations. Since ancient times, this influence over in-group bias relied on more than a single actor. The intentions of distributive agents featured mentoring and listening in hospitable contexts of reception; and mutuality drew upon cultural retrievals of mercy for the outcast. Mordecai's mentoring prompted interculturality through inclusive hospitality. Hope was commensurate with survivors' potential for finding commonalities and symbolic unions, seen in Esther's feast or in Mordecai's return. Mercy produced meaningful action.

Reflection

In discursive configurations, culturally endorsed memory was a link to traversing identity structures. As Purim was celebrated by victims of atrocity in the dark of night, corporate recollection of exilic ancestors demonstrated survivor multidimensionality with the potential for post-traumatic growth from bonds of loving mercy (*hesed*). A sinister conception played out in imperial context, invoking a dehumanizing pattern of domination. This pattern was repeatedly envisaged throughout Jewish history with purges for racial "purity" by enemies. The connection

of spiritual mutism to the post-traumatic stress of survivors did not detract from but highlighted a cultural *resiliency* with the spiritual and cultural agency that exiles exercised in marginal societal contexts. By empathically understanding this sequencing, both personal and intercultural recovery could be performed as communally re-enacted with emancipatory "knowing," each Purim or Passover (in recalling the Exodus of Hebrew slaves).

Therefore, distributive agency and mentoring offered hidden identities an awareness of trauma with rehearsals of memory. Manifest through communal continuity and action, instead of a static view of agency, a relational approach to resiliency did not only grow from religious penance; instead, it could emerge from a culture of trauma. A longitudinal frame of analysis with multiple actors would restore perspectives of intercultural repair through mentorship and not just confession; neither did their cultural response to women's lived trauma discount social healing through distributive assertions of agency. No longer focussing on control in the frame of discourse, meaningful acts and mentoring relationships could prove hopeful for exilic identities in stages of grief and of individual or collective growth.

Trauma should be differentiated from yet remain foundational to oral cultures in migration history. Esther surmounted enormous odds in accomplishing the liberation that represented survival of a diaspora under cultural, physical, and spiritual threat. Within communal cultures, wherein higher value was placed on achievements of the group than on the individual, ancestral connections became sustaining. In this sense, amid catastrophe exilic relationships never ceased; child survivors related to mentors (whether fictive or real and observant or not), despite death or exile. This effect of memory appeared most profoundly when viewed from a frame of contextual plausibility. To consider that attacks on Jews were conceived in political capitals (of Persia as of the German Reich) proved integral to interpreting or understanding

diasporic exile. It should not be bracketed off as secondary; genocidal intent was demonstrable in postcolonial critique. Albeit situated within her historical context as an "inferior" member or ethnic identity, the protagonist spoke and acted for other exiles in remote regions of the empire.

Hence, trauma was portrayed as one of various *kinds* of survivors' anguish. Through grief and abandonment, survivors whose trust was betrayed still desired to engage with others or with God in meaningful ways to ease their existential suffering and mournful loss. Empathic authenticity demanded a sensitivity to social connections, not ignoring the capacity of survivors for resiliently embodying mercy and care. Deep connections occurred not by objectification but through mutual identification: instead of instrumentalization, life-giving relations generated transformation. For child survivors, this was seen within performative cultures of trauma, where all human factors were respected: verbal/nonverbal communication; interpersonal/intergroup relationships; cultural/spiritual consciousness; through teamwork and psychospiritual safety.

However, individuals could feel overwhelmed and helpless. Esther thus represented a religionless body of valued text within the Hebrew canon. An imprint of traumatic drama on theologies of salvation became "hidden" for communal retrieval. Child survivors of atrocity may bear profound marks of trauma, which constituted impediments to social or spiritual reconciliation. Furthermore, these were not readily identifiable. The likelihood of experiencing feelings of betrayal and abandonment by God as a Parent-figure led to lifelong consequences. Both fear and shame impinged on spiritual and social capacities, which should be met with empathetic, sensitive support and not pressure or judgment. Like Hagar in the Genesis wilderness account (Gen 16:7; Gal 4:25), survivors could comprehend a God who always "sees"— although at a distance too far perhaps to hear their helpless cries. Therefore, truth-telling and aesthetic material or musical paths to sensory integration became more helpful than

confession alone, in survivor accompaniment on the journey to recovery. For trauma victims, identifying possibilities for reopening sacred channels of communication between each other and the divine was key. Communities of faith that supported this restorative process could help incorporate those biblical approaches, which were further conducive to personal and cultural reclamations of identity through sensory or subjective aspects of healing.

Cultural paths to reconciling with inner exiles thus relied not just on portals for trauma narration, but also, on spanning symbolic boundaries for reaching collective ways of being. Cultural trauma thus led people to seeing the world communally. Inner exiles did not solely recognize a solitary individual in Esther. The protagonist survived in living with and for others, a manner of being inseparable from those who mentored or embodied mercy (*hesed*). Hence, the individual never represented herself alone; she stood for an entire *ethnos*, in which belonging and a *home* would be located. Bound together (even when apart), the essence of spiritual mutism in Esther stood for its post-traumatic meaning with an enduring faith that became tied not merely to one suffering individual. The blessing of celebrating the feast and practicing reconciliation lay in a community that recognized belonging and understood *being* for each other; for in this dwelling lives hope.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

By the end of this study, individuals were taken to hospitals as feared. Beloved child survivors would pass into eternity. Spiritual mutism had connected their exilic experience to the culture of trauma represented by Holocaust survivors, whose memory lived on in communities of practice. Mercy could be traced back to early phases in life events of survivors, who had put their faith in a good God, and yet horrifically were taken and displaced from secure places of family or community life. Decades later, war orphans could recall a Jewish "mentor" or a Christian woman who sang and embodied care. Intercultural reconciliation between representative groups fostered survivor belonging and repair after the psychological or spiritual suffering once determined by adverse events.

Exilic accompaniment cultivated greater attention set on spiritual mutism, rather than on favoured identities or standards—whether these were often tied to gender, race, status, education, religious affiliation, or dominant narrative positions. Conversely, no one story typified the perpetrator identity or culture of trauma, when moral wounding was conceived as Esther's for restoring a shared identity. Instead of opting out, CJDT partners engaged in public lament, acknowledging untold stories of the Holocaust with a hidden intent: they did it for the children. Interpretively reading lived experiences of exilic grief or loss in survivor acts of remembrance, mourning, and a culture of trauma restored peace with celebrations of life in community.

While communities were grappling with issues of postwar economies or social assimilation, in perceived places of divine and human abandonment, CJDT partners attempted to

mitigate survivor disruption through the "return" to a cultural or spiritual *home*. For exiles like Esther in the *Megillah*, a buried past and concealment of the divine were foreseeable outcomes of trauma. Except for a communal response, this exclusion revealed intersubjective impacts that could alter life trajectory and purpose. As in the Holocaust, the silence of God in the *Megillah* caused people who read Esther to question or deny its significance. Biblical, historical, and empirical perspectives of spiritual mutism demonstrated the value of embodied mercy in Esther, as in inner exiles, whose enactment of faith acts in tacit or spiritual communion toward inclusive, moral, or cultural sensitivity guided a corporate discerning and witnessing to the truth. This also worked toward countering the biases that had precluded inclusive hospitality. Consequently, in existential *communitas*, cultural "hosts" and human or divine guests all became spiritual kin. As survivors imitated "mentors" with the boundary-spanning connector (CJDT), holistic repair of the image of God in others also restored the self-image and view of God in survivors.

Chapter 1 introduced forms or practices of reconciliation throughout exilic history. Reconciliation was often objectified without culturally accounting for the anxiety, shame, or anger borne by victim identities. In the image of a confessional, apologies had been delivered as a wooden substitute for cultural "gifting," which the *Megillah* had upheld as covenant, as did the Church of Mercy and CJDT practice. With parallel double consciousness, survivor agency and potential reparative action (*tikkun olam*) recognized exilic alienation and dislocation, reconciling with others while sharing the weight or cultural wounding of grief, trauma, and moral betrayal.

Trauma-informed religion in Chapter 2 served to foreground the social restoration represented by empathetic transition from exclusive to inclusive forms of hospitality as seen both in Esther and in the model of CJDT. By introducing exilic "texts," Holocaust narration helped reveal a deep need in child survivors for human dignity to be restored with a sense of respect and

cultural identity. Identifying injury from family separation or moral violation, as in the *Megillah*, cultivated trauma-awareness to address the psychosocial dimension permeating *communitas*, thus approaching exilic fulfillment and not pain. Connecting this lived experience to ancestors helped fulfill survivors' desire to rehearse and bear witness to shared existential or cultural threat as ancestors had countered harmful perpetrator soul-ties and normate biases denounced in the Bible (*Moses and Monotheism*). Once a survivor reframed her own mother's deportation unto death after Passover as vicarious suffering, in light of one's liberation a moral witness integrated pain of forebears with prayerful kindness (*hesed*). Suddenly, survivors recalled a mother's faith act of inviting poor students in meagre times or hospitality shown to the poor at Sabbath and Purim, as commanded by Esther. During dark nights of the soul amid psychic distress, naming sins in unclaimed soul-memory guided survivors toward cultural values of exilic mentoring or faith acts learned from ancestors, thus relating the biblical text's survival character to its enduring ethical relation of welcoming the Other.

Instead of viewing culture as an add-on, Chapter 3 showed survivors' role in a communal awareness of moral intra/interethnic wounding from traumatic memories that could foster positive change for child survivors in *communitas.* Along personal resilience trajectories, the lived experience of child survivors bore an ethical category of spiritual mutism that emerged in the voices of survivors: Points of Meaning (the guilt or shame of the "little" people); survivor-led Narrative Model (threat response); Implicit Assumptions (hidden exiles); Perspectives on Reconciliation (repair for *Shalom*); Tone (empathy); Complementary Role Assignment (liberated victim-hero); Relational Positioning (mutuality); Justification of Normative Stories (personal growth); and Emplotment (hope). Besides a need for resolution and justice, embodied mercy and survivor growth fuelled hope of reconciling with others; conversely, as perceived or real divine

and official agents were unjustly exempted from moral responsibility, CJDT redirected survivor focus on their own potential in a receptive context for positive communal action to abet reconciliation without provoking threat responses as well.

Practical stages of invitation included belonging, communication with partners, and permeation with ancestors being critical elements of survivor recovery and moral agency. In Chapter 4, the role of dialogue ushered in liminal mercy: normalization of a shared space of "becoming" in community; communication of truth and empathy; and drawing on performative memory of mentors for permeating emancipatory interconnection. Alongside CJDT partners, child survivors rehearsed intercultural reconciliation with the psychological or emotional safety that was necessary for navigating spiritual, cultural, and post-traumatic growth. Using the religious language of "blessed to be a blessing," akin to the Jewish value of "to save a life is to save the world," participants connected the practice of intercultural reconciliation to existential *communitas*, ancestral gifts in the wisdom of mentors, and embodied mercy. Child survivors grew to engage "safe" partners in reclaiming Old Time religion and liberation with a sense of purpose or "family."

Child survivors achieved community acceptance with transitioning into identity: from victim to survivor. Deconstructing this performative aspect in Chapter 5 was helpful to understand the path of the inner exile. A biblical counter-narrative grew at each stage in Esther: the nature of victimhood was exposed; this was endemic with an interrelatedness due to human suffering; the audience was drawn into a fuller identification of the victim's life-world; consequently, an attribution of responsibility was transferred to collective agents. As in the Church of Mercy and Esther, distributive agency exercised in a communal practice of reconciliation allowed spiritual mutism to be expressed through the exilic value of conferring

diasporic performance of action to cultures of trauma. In mentoring or recovery, reconciliation strengthened survivor adaptation through threats and triggers;[1] and with mutual respect or mercy as Esther modelled, reconciliation emerged from existential *communitas* and peacebuilding. Six decades of CJDT minority/religious networking involved cultural or ancestral mentoring that helped transform intercultural hospitality into hope-enactments of the oppressed.

Core Categories

In grounding the research, one or more "seed concepts" categorically revealed core areas identified within spiritual mutism: a profound need for "light" to be restored with mutually reciprocated truth and spiritual love for overcoming exilic alienation, as one of the impacts of cultural trauma; and, enacting mercy with repair. Bonds of peace formed with symbolic agents (mentors) who represented promises of covenant-making blessing. Among inner exiles, reconciliation was not identified as a confessional issue for trust in God. Rather, diverse CJDT members unanimously testified to "miracles" in cultural memories and confirmed existential concepts of mercy and shared liberation.[2] Salvation thus signified transformation that was made effectual in historical time and space through liminal spaces co-constructed for intentional belonging. While enhancing spiritual kinship, witnesses constituted the liberated "brother" or "sister" entrusted with mercy (Deut 23:16, 20; 2 Cor 5:18. 2 Cor 5:19). Hence, mercy appeared as the minority-constructed habitus, formed in/by the people of God.

The CJDT practice of reconciliation fostered peacebuilding through dialogue that spiritually nurtured people's moral capacities for amends-making. As seen in their reciprocal

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[1] From Canadian Parliament (Ukrainian SS Officer Yuroslav Hunka) to Faigie's Lithuanian-Canadian Nazi neighbour (SS Helmut Rauca) in Toronto, Jewish survivors confronted Nazi members in Canada.

[2] Known in child and adolescent development as interpersonal regulation of emotions, comforting behaviours were related to positive emotions displayed in the social process.

(covenantal) gifts, exchanges of ancestral knowledge for truth-telling and signs of cultural bonding or reclamation (song and dance) assisted those once deemed too "sick" to receive healing. Permeating the interconnection, mercy grew with "hiddenness" emerging from shared spaces of hospitality and mentoring. Light infused hope with truth (ancestors) and mercy (grace)—restoring the power of love to absorb evil with exilic peacemaking. Therefore, a broader cultural and spiritual conception of communally shared space became interpreted as peace (*Shalom*) and reconciliation for trust (Isa 26:3) in a memory-oriented search for belonging.

Seeking the "light" for redeeming survivors' memories of moral or spiritual death often could reawaken ancestral longings. Truth and Reconciliation, accommodating disability, Cultural or Holocaust Studies could benefit from exploring this social navigation model with its wider practical theological or responsibility-to-needs application to understudied intersections of child survivor, gender, and migration. With ethnocultural expressions, in CJDT exilic call to "witness" no expectation of conforming to religious identity was conveyed. The adoption of mercy along a long path toward "healing" from shame or HTR freed survivors who welcomed life-giving perceptions of the Other and of the self. Belonging to the subcultural category of wounded cultural identity was recognizably made up, in CJDT, mostly of ethnicity (non-Yiddish speaking Sephardic Jew or survivor), ability ("disabled"), social class (stateless alien), and gender (women). Therefore, cultural resilience, empathy ("reconcili-action"), and exilic habitus (boundary spanning) all appeared relevant to CJDT peacemaking. Thus reconciliation guided survivors after being uprooted from identity, faith, and cultural values by helping them transcend placelessness with belonging and peace.

Reconciliation took on a profound meaning of liberation or inner freedom for the exiles. Emerging from inner exiles' spiritual identification with ancestral "martyrs," long before trauma-

informed practices were widely known, this was demonstrated with creative dance, song, and symbols of life (as tree-shoots) to avoid one-sided identity development and invoke a shared image of freedom (snow-capped mountains, wild horses, forested valleys, and the ever-present sea). Remediation of spiritual mutism thus became a cause for the condition of shared space. The consequence was a spontaneous feeling of "kindred" belonging (with survivors and trust-building CJDT navigators), which transformed annual "witness testimony" into rehearsals of superordinate reconciliation at culturally sacred times of the year when survivors were targeted for deportation from *home*. Therefore, addressing the issue of cultural wounding essentially restored a sense of belonging (*home*), agency (empowerment), and cultural receptivity (storied lives with blessings of past and present "miracles"). Expressed mutuality in embodied mercy, as demonstrated with shared covenant/meaning making, honoured not only ancestors, but also, the identity of place in natural or spatialized "built environments" of reconciliation (e.g., Earl Bales). This provided the peace geography needed for a "return *home*" by the people of God to place, community, and cultural values.

Although spiritual mutism had signalled a heavy cost with survivors' lost sense of goodness, trust, and belonging, in the liminal spaces fostered by CJDT practice a new feeling of being valued and "seen" by others meaningfully fed into the QoE that was lost with childhood dislocation. Tears of agential gratitude characterized the participation of many child survivors, who were too young or denied the opportunities after forced removal for exercising choice (in education, place of dwelling or hiding, or a marriage partner). Sacred performances did not reinforce a singular grievous experience. Two Dutch Jews and another survivor from Lithuania reported that their tears showed a healing that was wholly "life-changing." Other child survivors' "unfinished business with God" involved neither forgiving nor denying the divine. However, as

in the biblical case of spiritual mutism in Esther, a sense of belonging after the loss of a spiritual *home* could be recovered with the existential *communitas*, whereby instead of silence, Rabbi Heschel's God who "weeps" was commonly echoed. From past binaries—disabled/"able," raced/white, gendered female/male, or victim/"green" fascist, along CJDT paths of healing the tacit knowledge shared by distributive agents created a newfound "family" to restore child survivors from the wounds of alienation.

Areas for Future Work

Reconciliation and growth could happen at any age. Seeking remedies for spiritual mutism was critical to addressing the issues of trauma in child survivors, after their existential and unmet spiritual need for repair led to healing. Apart from language barriers, different survivors contended with memories or cases of intra/interethnic conflict in environments of hostility in multiple contexts. Except for one, these child survivors had never received psychological support from professionals, nor did they accept being branded as ill or a "broken" victim of trauma.[3] As CJDT partners offered timely moral support, this helped at a difficult period in the pandemic when feelings were triggered of being in "hiding" again. Even late in life , child survivors would report signs of post-traumatic growth. This occurred as many of them deepened relationships with mutual understanding and encouragement, including the casual weekly focus groups or virtual "Coffee Time with Lily." Even then, reconciliation was keenly conveyed through "kinship" or peacebuilding; survivors' lasting concern for Indigenous/Roma as for Jewish girls appeared as a reciprocation from CJDT partners' support for them in the past.

[3] Having a university education may have helped the one survivor who read self-help and psychological books, although he did not seek professional counselling to address PTSD; whereas, none of the female survivors reported completing university programs and readings, except for honourary degrees conferred on two.

However, certain victim experiences carried implications for greater elder care. Other fragile contexts, such as refugee or disability care and child welfare systems, reminded the Jewish war orphans of wider experiences of traumatic rupture. Despite the best intentions, one female and a few male Holocaust survivors could not sustain conversations due to pandemic anxiety. Symbolic and social processes involved in healing could address hidden impacts, along with cultural or exilic yearnings despite moral injury, for which spiritual paths played a role in recovery from grief or despair. With the underlying dynamics of releasing/loosing and binding, spiritual-tie formation was seen as an extension of formal kinship after moral injury within a substantive scope (and a degree of generalisability after Assmann, Jones, and Freud).

Over time, the need for reconciliation and healing did not disappear. Although this observation was limited to participants in the research study, due to no possible control group for measuring what life would have been like otherwise; child survivors were distressed in reading fresh accounts in the news of antisemitic events and country conditions, where each had first witnessed the Holocaust. Family members struggled in silence to manage symptoms that intensified as the child survivors began aging. While survivors like Helen and Kitty found comfort in normative stories and in reading themselves into liberation narratives (Exodus), this did hold true for all. After traumatic events, Janoff-Bulman's theory of "shattered assumptions" and worldview recognized the pain over grief and unfulfilled human need to experience the world as a benevolent, meaningful place in which every human being holds worth.[4] To this end, spiritual mutism could be the entry point not as the end of but as the beginning of a road to transformation in child survivors.

[4] Janoff-Bulman, *Shattered Assumptions*, 1–5.

Although many wished to engage widely in dialogue with others, some survivors would maintain the confidence to continue doing so only with a little prodding. Most spoke of increasingly dwelling on childhood memories. Through boundary-spanning practice, cultural navigators could fulfill a role in sensitive approach to peacebuilding through multicultural practice transference. For aging survivors, carving paths that fostered relations between group representatives or Indigenous survivors evoked feelings of *home* for a superordinate belonging that had been lost and was spiritually regained by survivors.

In genuine fellowship with the Other "brother" or "sister," *Shalom* could supernaturally encompass and change the social atmosphere, as both young and old played a role in relational spatiality. Creatively framed in liminal spaces, reconciliation made the "invisible" visible through inclusive enactments of intercultural peace and blessing, whereby child survivors experienced liberation from moral and spiritual distress. Through the empathetic listening and learning that helped people to identify with the human and biblical Other, dialogue was not the end but the start to delivering hospitable mercy with covenant-making "blessing." Therefore, the repair of moral community, increased survivor agency, and cultural navigation were key to their growth and trust-building in faith contexts. Not for but *with* child survivors, reconciliation could become a communal journey of return. Natural "peacescapes" would eventually be transformed from darkness to light.[5]

[5] Hwang, *Agents, Actors, Actorhood*, 9.

APPENDIX

PHOTOS OF CJDT PARTICIPANTS

Fig. 1. Judy Cohen & Max Eisen, Nov. 8, 2018, Mississauga, ON. (Photograph by Lily Kim.)

Fig. 2. Ada Wynston, Felicia Carmelly, Joan Shapero, Martin Maxwell, St. Andrew's Church youth, Nov. 10, 2012, Toronto, ON. (Photo by Justin Morris with permission.)

Fig. 3. Esther Fairbloom and Pastor Teck Uy, Nov. 2, 2019, Friends of Jesus Christ Canada, Toronto, ON. (Photograph by Lily Kim.)

Fig. 4. Eleanor and Captain Martin Maxwell with A. & J. Herman of Bless Israel, Oct. 24, 2019, Barrie, ON. (Photograph by Lily Kim.)

Fig. 5. Helen Yermus with thanks from Stouffville Christian School, June 25, 2019, Markham, ON. (Photograph by Lily Kim.)

Fig. 6. Faigie Libman, Hedy Bohm, Felicia Carmelly and Bill, Nov. 1, 2018, Toronto, ON. (Photograph by Lily Kim.)

Fig. 7. Claire Baum and Rev. Paul Kang, Nov. 10, 2012, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Toronto, ON. (Photograph by Justin Morris with permission.)

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