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Nation, Memory Culture and Gender

To date, studies of the representation of women in national memory and of the role of gender in memory culture have been rare. A closer examination of the current state of research reveals the following features: European national cultures of memory are male-connoted and orientated towards the bourgeois gender-model. Women as agents are scarce, their spaces of agency and their self-images and aims are often marginalized.\(^1\) This exclusion of women from the nation is reproduced in nineteenth-century national cultures of memory and is thus reinforced.

From a historical perspective, national cultures of memory are a relatively new phenomenon. The shaping of a national memory culture has been a significant part of nation building since the nineteenth century. A national culture of memory in the form of monuments, remembrance days or celebrations served the shaping of a national consciousness, defined in a variety of ways, often in delimitation from other nations and sometimes by way of excluding particular groups of the collective.\(^2\) Although women were considered an integral part of the nation and although bourgeois women contributed to the building of the nation as members of clubs, by collecting money and by publications, they were excluded from the body politic of the nation and they were denied civil rights. The representation of the nation and its delimitation from other nations were also gendered: as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, when national movements

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1 Tacke (1996); Assmann, Aleida (1999); Hutton (1999); Zemon Davis (1999); Niethammer (2000); Lundt (2004: 1–29).
2 See for example: Samuel (1989); Assmann, Aleida (1993); Berding (1994); Schmoll (1995); Dörner (1996); Ozouf (1996); Langewiesche (2000); Buschmann/Langewiesche (2004); Olick (2003).
emerged, the national community was depicted as masculine and courageous, the enemy disparaged as weak and effeminate. The masculine imbuement of national cultures of memory is reflected in the prevailing concepts of research into cultural memory; it is not the subject of critical examination. This can be shown with the example of Pierre Nora’s concept »lieu de mémoire«. Nora’s interest is directed at historically anchored national identity. He exclusively refers to the nation and his concern is the safeguarding of national memory at present or in the future. Nora’s concept runs the risk of drawing an image of history that is centered on male spheres of action. This can be demonstrated with the example of its implementation in Etienne François and Hagen Schulze’s project on »German places of memory«. There have been many discussions about the concept of »lieu de mémoire« as well as about the selection of the places. Here we shall concentrate on the analysis of the implicit concept of gender in this approach.

Twenty-five of the 121 contributions of »German places of memory« deal with persons, five among them with women. Accordingly, Rosa Luxemburg and Rahel Varnhagen, the Prussian Queen Luise and Marlene Dietrich represent the female element in the German places of memory. We may further add Uta von Naumburg, even if she is listed only due to the Bamberger Reiter (Bamberg horseman) who appears first in the title of the essay that deals with her. That there is a certain blindness towards questions of gender can be demonstrated with examples that seem to be gender-neutral: Canossa, Nuremberg, Versailles, or Rapallo appear to be general places of memory at first sight. In fact, they are not general, as they are exclusively associated with male spheres of action. This, however, is not clearly indicated. Even symbolically charged places such as Karlsruhe, the site of the Federal Constitutional Court, or »Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch«, the German civil law code, which are not that closely linked with big (foreign) politics, undoubtedly refer to a larger extent to male law makers or law interpreters than to their male and female opponents. Meanwhile a further condensed one-volume edition of the »German places of memory«

3 Yuval-Davis (1998); Blom/Hagemann/Hall (2000); Hagemann (2000); Planert (2000a), Hagemann (2002)
has been published which, as the preface states, especially focuses on the political-historical places of memory (François/Schulze 2005). Among the 29 examples not one single woman and no feminine-connoted place of remembrance can be found. This rough exemplary analysis illustrates the unsatisfactory nature of public memory culture and the accompanying scholarly debate from the perspective of gender.

According to Jan Assmann, cultural memory contributes to the creation of a historically grounded identity of those who share a common culture. It reflects the public categorization, evaluation and interpretation of the historical events considered relevant by which the political and cultural self-image of a community roots itself.\(^7\) We therefore have to ask the following questions: Which remembrances do allow women to be inscribed into a polity when they are excluded from national memory? Which remembrances enable women to establish their own individual, political and national identity?

Making Gender Visible in Memory Culture

Referring to the nation is rather an obstacle for a critical analysis of memory culture from the perspective of gender, as can be seen in the existing research literature on the subject memory and gender. There are a number of publications which try to research forgotten women and to integrate women’s history into local memory culture. However, most publications and case studies deal with either non-European countries or they focus on the regional space below the nation.\(^8\) These rather different studies have the merit of doing research into the hitherto neglected memory of women as well as into women as bearers of memory.\(^9\) As a rule, however, they lack a gender-based methodological critical examination of the current concepts of memory. So far, these publications which originated in the context of feminist or civil commitment have scarcely been analyzed or synthesized with regard to their implications for memory culture. Beyond historical

\(^7\) See Assmann, Jan (1992) and, as examples of the current discussions, Gillis (1994); Straub (1998); Assmann, Aleida (1999); Kaunsteiner (2002).

\(^8\) See for example: Najmabadi (1998); Baumel/Cohen (2003); Des Jardins (2003).

\(^9\) Here we will only point to some German studies which focus on regions (Baden): Nellen (1996), Asche (1992); Thomas (1993); Thomas/Schraut (1995).
research into forgotten women on the local level, there are only a few first methodologically reflected attempts to combine gender and memory, including an anthology by Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini and Paul Thompson from 1996, and thought-provoking essays by Maria Grever or Andrea Pető. Recently, Aleida Assmann, dealt with the relation of memory and gender and made observations on the gender-specific connotation of remembering and forgetting (Assmann, Aleida 2006). Further topical publications come from the field of social sciences or literary studies. These publications often deal with topics such as the representation of female remembrance in media, the question how gender can be made visible in texts and visual productions, or the dissolution of the heterosexuality of memory. These approaches focus on the deconstruction of existing memory practices but are not (or at least only partially) written from a historical point of view. There are, moreover, some studies on female remembrance of the Holocaust, most of them by literary scholars or pedagogues. They show the degree to which women have been marginalized in memories of the Holocaust.

An analysis of the existing public memory culture requires several methodical approaches. On the one hand it is necessary to deconstruct public memory culture from the perspective of gender. According to Joan Scott, gender is a major category for the interpretation of systems of social relations by which power relations have been established, legitimated and cemented in history (Scott 1994). Therefore we have to analyze cultures of memory from the angle of gender, with regard to their symbolic, normative and social-historical roots and systems of reference. Furthermore, we have to examine the gender-specific meanings attached to existing places of memory, the (national) symbols, values, concepts of power and history related with them, as well as the implicit images of masculinity and femininity they contain. This means that the gender relations inscribed into

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10 Leydesdorff et al (1996); Noakes (1997); Grever (1997a); Idem (1997b); see also Schraut/Paletschek (2006).
11 See the special issue of FrauenKunstWissenschaft Gender-Memory. Repräsentationen von Gedächtnis, Erinnerung und Geschlecht, 39/2005 or: »Erinnern und Geschlecht«, the title of the journal Freiburger Frauenstudien. Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Frauenforschung, vol.19/20, 2006. The same applies to the conference »Gender and Memory«, organised by the Centre for Women’s Studies at University College in Limerick, Ireland, in 2005. See the conference report by Inga Brandes: http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=1048.
12 Eschebach et al (2002); Messerschmidt (2003).
public cultures of memory have to be analyzed. Such an analysis is still in its infancy judging by the current state of research. The first relevant studies show that today’s memory culture is closely linked to the period in which its constitutive elements were created, namely the bourgeois era of the nineteenth century. Memory culture is further shaped by the bourgeois gender model which started its triumphal march in this time. The dichotomy of male – public and female – private anchored in the central bourgeois concepts had the result that female scopes of action and female perspectives were not perceived as political or as having an impact on society. The experience and achievements of women were marginalized or fell into oblivion regardless of whether or not they were in keeping with the bourgeois gender model. This does not mean, however, that there are no women at all in nineteenth-century memory culture. Women, especially female members of ruling families, were indeed part of public memory. Often they were presented in female realms of action which were (at least partially) congruous with the bourgeois gender model. Female rulers, for example, gained entrance into memory culture as mothers of the country.

Since the nineteenth century the nation has been represented by female allegories. Contemporary notions of gender have left their mark on these allegories although they were considered timeless and universal. They symbolized, for example, values such as motherliness or sorrow. These values attributed to women were understood as anthropological constants; they were thus de-historicized and consequently appeared to be unchangeable. This could also, however, apply to male-connoted allegories in the iconographic canon of memory culture. Equivalent to timeless and unchanging motherliness, for example, is a-historical male courage. But in contrast to women who almost exclusively represent timeless values, we find a great variety of concrete references to men, along with the remembrance of concrete male-connoted historical events, in memory culture such as Bismarck, Churchill, or the Nuremberg trials. This means that male allegories which stand for timeless values are only one facet of male-connoted remembrance.

It is therefore necessary to analyze the medieval, early modern and religious roots of female allegories and their change in the nineteenth and the

14 See for example Kohn-Waechter (1991); Plessen (1996); Agulhon (1999); Planert (2000b); Cusack (2003); Turpin (2003).
twentieth centuries. There is, for example, the religious figure of Mary who, in the Middle Ages and in early modernity, symbolizes motherliness and the mourning for the lost son. In the national era, Mary was made the allegory of the mourning for the failed endeavors to build a nation, as was the case in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland or Poland. It was a strong allegory as it offered the opportunity to bind all Christians, be they men or women, to the national idea. In the twentieth century the feminist reconstruction of this allegory on the basis of its pre-modern meaning allowed new perspectives to be developed. Once again Mary was interpreted as a religious motif of grief and motherliness and thus opened the opportunity for women to resist in conflicts about the national cause. The Women for Peace movement in Northern Ireland may serve as an example for this (Corrigan-Maguire 1999). The Women for Peace are a political movement who interpret the national allegory of grief as a general Christian and motherly connoted symbol. They thereby created a point of identification for the opposition of both Protestant and Catholic women to the armed conflict between the two groups of the population. The figure of Mary, who in the nineteenth century was transformed into the female allegory of the grieving nation, was re-interpreted by the movement following the pre-modern allegory of Christian and motherly mourning for the dead sons and husbands. In this way it was transformed into a figure of identification for women – no matter which camp they belonged to – who turned against the unreasonable demands of the nation. Similar patterns of interpretation were used by an Italian political movement which, by referring to motherliness, united both widows of Mafiosi and members of the judiciary in their fight against the Mafia (Siebert 1996).

Do women and men remember differently? Female connoted family memory versus male connoted cultural memory?

One possibility to combine memory research and gender research is provided by the question if there are specific female forms of remembrance. Do women remember in another way than men? Of course, this question is problematic as it might lead to the assumption of an essential gender
dichotomy in memory culture which does not necessarily exist per se.\textsuperscript{15} Here we do not intend to enter into the debate on the construction of gender. For us the question is a suitable starting point to examine the historical effectiveness of gender topoi and their impact on memory politics. Relevant research underscores the productivity of this approach.

To date, research findings point out three characteristics with regard to gender-specific forms of remembrance:

Oral history interviews have shown that women individualize their memories to a higher degree than men. Women say \textit{I} when men withdraw to \textit{one} (Leydesdorff et al. 1996: 1–16). Memory research demonstrates that memories which are connected with own experiences are rooted deeper than de-personalized memories. Therefore the consequences of this pattern for public memory culture and for the historical anchoring of identity have to be examined. We also have to ask which consequences it has for public memory culture when we insist that political events not be separated from subjective experiences. Another research finding is that events within the family play a much greater role for women than for men.\textsuperscript{16} Although this can be put down to the traditional division of labor between men and women, it is a phenomenon that should not be reduced to the dichotomy of female – private and male – public. Female remembrance rather opens the view for the family as a place of counter-tradition and as a place of creating traditions far away from the state and beyond what is considered desirable by politics or the public. In the socialist systems of the former Eastern Bloc, for example, the family was the place where patriarchal gender relations were cultivated despite the public gender-egalitarian ideology or where religious and anti-communist traditions were handed down between the generations. Memories such as \textit{grandpa was not a Nazi}\textsuperscript{17} or that \textit{we did not know} are not part of the official politics of history in Germany. It can, however, be assumed that they are characteristic of the memory discourse of many families (Wolfrum 1999). Including the feminine connoted space of the family into the analysis of public political memory culture enables us to examine and contrast the memory considered desirable by the political system and (female) lines of counter-tradition which elude public control. Intensifying this focus on family memories might also enable us to integrate once again, at least to a higher degree, this

\textsuperscript{15} On the debate on sex and gender see Butler (1999; 2004) and Honegger (2001).
\textsuperscript{16} See Petö (2004) and Bjerregaard et al. (2006).
\textsuperscript{17} See Welzer (2001); Welzer et al. (2002).
largely female communicative memory into the dominantly male cultural memory. Considering these questions might also open new perspectives in the debates about collective, communicative and cultural memory from the perspective of gender. Against this background, communicative memory can be understood as female, cultural memory as male. A consistent integration of communicative memory into the public culture of memory could therefore push forward the gendering of memory culture.

The historical analysis of remembrances of war is one key theme of memory research which takes into account gender. This may be due to the fact that war and the experience of war are topics of historical research which have experienced a boom. But the analysis of war experiences from a gender perspective also makes clear how much war, interpreted as the culmination of national crisis and as climax of identification with the nation, is a suitable subject of research to elucidate the differences and partial contradictions in the memories of men and women. With regard to the Second World War, regardless of national specifics, the defense of the nation is remembered as male conduct in communicative and cultural memory whereas collaboration, fraternization and non-identification with the nation because of love is mostly remembered as female conduct. In Denmark and Norway, for example, women who had sexual relationships with occupying German soldiers became symbols of collaboration. It was a taboo to remember them. Only recently could the silence about them be partially broken. By bringing the topos of romantic love into the debate, relations with German soldiers could partially be made understandable and could be legitimated. By this the topic could be shifted from the political to the private sphere. Can we conclude from this that remembrance of war reveals deep distrust of women’s loyalty? Is this also a cause for the lack of female remembrance in national cultural memory?

18 Gender is not important at all for the prominent authors on culture of memory; see, for example, Halbwachs (1985: 125-149, EA 1925); Assmann, Jan (1988).
19 See as representative studies: Lipp (2003); Buschmann/Langewiesche (2004); Korff (2006)
20 See Lenz/Mattauschek (2004); Lenz (2006).
Memory, Gender and Space

The starting point for the following considerations is the interconnection of public memory and the nation. By using the category of gender, the seemingly gender-neutral national space of memory can be deconstructed. This deconstruction alone does not, however, suffice to integrate female connoted places of memory into public memory culture, because deconstruction does not anchor female remembrance in cultural memory. Inscribing women into memory culture requires us to do away with the dominant position given to politics and to take up topics from the fields of historical anthropology or cultural history. These topics tend to be connoted with femininity. Moreover, a gender-sensitive integration of women's historical experiences into public memory needs a spatial system of reference in addition to and beyond the nation state. Playing with different spatial scales, which involves bringing together local, regional, national and transnational perspectives, enables multi-perspectivity and, we assume, makes it easier to integrate the category of gender.

It is possible to examine memories which go beyond the nation state with the example of border regions or transnational networks of communication. Are there common gender-specific patterns of remembrance on the transnational level? Which female experiences and activities, which memories of women's agency, can be snatched from oblivion and integrated into a culture of memory which is, for example, orientated towards Europe? Such a research project requires comparative studies in different countries or regions respectively, as it is self-evident that comparisons which only focus on national cultures of memory are inadequate.

Another possible way for research is the comparison of female experiences and scopes of actions in smaller spatial systems of reference, for example in regions or municipalities.

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21 See for example the volume: Lundt (2004), which deals with the way in which the inhabitants of the border region of Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark see themselves have been northerned.

22 See David Blackbourn on the overcoming of national historiography by local and transnational historiography: Blackbourn (2005). On the debates about world history, European history or transnational history see Osterhammel (2001); Weiner/Zimmermann (2002); Haupt (2002); Woolf (2003); Cohen/O'Connor (2004); Frevert (2005).

23 By now there are only few publications which deal with culture of memory beyond the nation from a superordinate point of view. See for example: Auf der Suche nach regionaler Identität (1997); Schmoll (1995); Flender (1998); Blatter/Schilling (2003).
stigma of being less important than national history, of being not representa-
tive, or as being simply irrelevant. However, in contrast to the national level, the regional or local space offers a surprisingly great range of material with regard to women, female perspectives and female spaces of action in history. As our exemplary analyses of memory culture in Offen-
burg (a middle-size town in Baden, Germany and a major centre of the 1848-revolution) have demonstrated, the material gained in this way allows us to establish the necessary connections between memory culture and gender history. When the approach to memory culture from a small space is connected with the analytical category gender and the extension of topics beyond politics, then a number of new research perspectives arise.

Regional or municipal memory culture refers, for example, to many monuments which have survived more or less by chance and which are of rather marginal importance from the national point of view. These monuments, however, open spaces of remembrance of women. Offenburg hosts, for example, a memorial for French female resistance fighters who were executed there (Friedmann/Kreutz 1994). This memorial has been forgotten and could be integrated into public memory in Offenburg; moreover it could become an ingredient of a European culture of memory which is anchored in the local context. It could be an example to demonstrate the transnational character of a European resistance movement in which women participated. A European perspective which starts from the regional level offers chances which get lost in the process of national condensation. On the national level, monuments like this one or similar places of memory which represent female resistance had to give way to the more important male competitors or to supposedly gender-neutral remembrance. The discussions about the Holocaust-memorial in Berlin are best suited to elucidate the process which levels social, cultural and gender differences – a process which is characteristic for remembrance anchored in the centre.24

But it is not only forgotten female places of memory which can be brought back to life again. Taking up historical events from a limited space allows us, moreover, to implement hitherto neglected female activities into the regional culture of memory. Marie Geck, who lived in Offenburg at the

24 See Cullen (1999), Brumlik et al. (2000); Kirch (2003); Leggewie/Meyer (2005).
end of the nineteenth century, may serve as an example. She was a social-
democrat and well-known beyond the region. The wife of a member of the
Reichstag was strongly involved in municipal politics, worked in the fam-
ily’s own printing business and raised five children (Ernst-Schmidt 1980).
She was part of the national network of the social-democrats and the net-
work of the women’s movement, and in correspondence with August
Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin. In addition to her daily political
activities, Marie Geck devoted her time to the remembrance of 1848. She
published numerous historical essays on local revolutionary events as well
as on the history of Offenburg women. She did this with the aim of creat-
ing a democratic tradition. She was called »Baden’s Rosa Luxemburg« by
her contemporaries, i.e. they characterized her by referring to the national
context. Although forgotten in national history, she stands for a specific
female and regional approach to memory culture. By remembering them
consciously, regionally important figures such as Marie Geck can regain a
gender-political significance as well as significance in memory politics. The
example of Marie serves as a reminder of feminist, politically active women
on the regional and the national level, but she also stands for the transna-
tional memory of, for example, the European workers’ movement.

How can women be written into memory culture?

In order to write female remembrance into memory culture new forms of
presentation of history are necessary. The question is, whether new media
such as the internet provide better opportunities for this goal than tradi-
tional forms of presentation. The characteristics, the advantages and disad-
vantages of the medium of the internet are the subject of intensive debates.
Here it is not possible to give a comprehensive overview of these debates.
We will only present some arguments in favor of the use of the internet as
medium of presentation of a gender-sensitive culture of memory.25 A gen-
der-sensitive presentation of memory culture should make the heterogene-
ity of social memory visible and include as many actors as possible in the
process of shaping a gender-democratic social memory. The internet could

25 See Maurer, Susanne / Schraut, Sylvia, Gender and the Creation of European Lieux de
be a suitable instrument for the creation of a multi-faceted and cross-border landscape of memory which prevents an overly quick canonization of images of history. The following qualities of the internet are favorable for such an approach: Many virtual visitor groups have unfiltered access to information. Especially the target group of women, who are often bound to their homes, can get access to memory culture without traveling to sites of memory or participating in public commemoration. The flexible space of the internet which can be re-modeled quickly offers the opportunity to present memory without having to use hierarchies or without having to limit information because of costs. It allows a broad and multi-dimensional presentation. In this way it is possible to establish points of resistance in national cultures of memory which tend towards canonization.

There are a number of requirements for the gender-sensitive presentation of places of memory in the internet, especially with regard to the access to information. A design which attracts both women and men means, above all, to create the opportunity of a multi-perspective access to the material presented which allows associative and creative selection of information besides the usual hierarchical ways of access determined by the content management systems. Analyses of existing history web-pages show, moreover, that the usual search terms and search engines are gender-biased. Therefore, they are of little use for the inclusion of female-connoted memory. It is necessary to develop gender-sensitive search terms for the presentation of memory culture. Furthermore, the aesthetics of common web-pages has to be examined with regard to gender. Are they gender-neutral? Which new requirements have to be formulated with regard to the aesthetic of web-pages in order to attract both women and men?

These considerations led to an interdisciplinary pilot-project on memory and gender in the internet developed by students of history and computer science at the University of Freiburg in summer 2005. The project’s aim was to design a gender-sensitive internet-presentation of the revolution of 1848 in Offenburg.\textsuperscript{26} From the perspective of informatics this aim required the creation of manifold possibilities of access to the information presented. From the historical perspective it meant making visible the forgotten memories of women and abstaining from simply reproducing the historical male-connoted mainstream-experience. Moreover, the project

\textsuperscript{26} See http://pohl.ug.uni-freiburg.de/1848/ and the report on it by Claus et al. (2007).
was to show that history is not simply the digging out of past facts. What is remembered from history is always dependent on the interests of a given present. History is re-interpreted and constructed over and over again. It would have been too much for the students involved in the pilot-project to elaborate all aspects of the revolution in Offenburg. Therefore they primarily searched for female revolutionaries or for the impact of the revolution on the private or the family’s space; they put emphasis on the communicative processes in connection with the revolutionary events. Finally they selected the following main themes: sites of the revolution, networks, revolutionary couples, and remembrances of the revolution.

The last point was of special importance to us because by selecting several points in time in which 1848 was interpreted in different ways it becomes clear that images of history are not immanent to history, but that they are reproduced. It should become clear – this was our own optimistic assumption – that the perspective chosen by us (gender) also has to be historicized, is constructed and thus subject to change. The selection of the other main themes also demonstrates the shift in emphasis brought about by the presentation of revolutionary events from the perspective of gender. The places selected show that the sites of revolutions are not always and not only equivalent with (male-connoted) public spaces associated with politics. They also take place in gender-neutral spaces of communication, for example in inns, or in semi-public spaces such as (female-connoted) private homes. It becomes visible that the political and public event revolution could not have happened had there not been female-connoted spaces of communication and social gatherings. Therefore it was consistent to replace the revolutionary individual with the revolutionary couple and to pick

27 This included the »Salmen« inn, where the Offenburg Manifesto which initiated the revolution in Baden was drawn up; the houses of revolutionaries (men and women); and the railway station, as infrastructural prerequisite which enabled the assemblies of the revolutionaries.

28 Here selected biographies of well and less known revolutionaries were to be presented. Further, revolutionary networks, spiritual forerunners of the revolution and persons which referred to the revolution and kept alive its memory were to be included into the presentation.

29 The students selected well-known but also less-known couples from Baden or Offenburg, e.g. Amalie and Gustav Struve, Amalie and Johann Hofer, Mathilde and Fritz Anneke.

30 The memory of 1848 was researched into using the example of the years 1848, 1898, 1948 and 1998.
out as a central theme the semi-private / semi-public network of the male and female protagonists of the revolution.

It proved to be very productive (and this characterized the main themes selected) to consciously break the dichotomy of private – public written into the bourgeois gender model and to shift the perspective from the event itself to the place or space of the event. By this change of view traditional patterns and hierarchies of assessment could be avoided or opened up. By foregrounding the spatial dimension of a canonized and mostly male-connoted event, the participation of women and female-connoted fields of action became visible. Both methodological approaches – breaking up the dichotomy of worlds assigned to men and women by the traditional gender order and stressing the spatial dimension of events – are, in our view, suitable approaches for other gender-sensitive historical projects too.

Starting from the local space of events a European view which goes beyond regional and national borders opens up. In the framework of specific and careful analysis the concrete place of a historical event no longer proves to be only a side scene which only has to be dealt with by regional history. A gender-sensitive analysis of the local space shows that it is not exempt from the effects of transnational communication processes; what happens on the local level is, for example, stimulated by political events in neighboring countries. Starting from the local space it is able to describe and to analyze processes of migration and communication as transnational events and influences. In this way they can be written into a historical pattern of interpretation which is committed to a transnational framework beyond the nation and is further committed to the diversity of memories of men and women beyond the mainstream.

Findings

The dominantly male culture of memory shaped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continues to have an effect today, although there have been some changes. For example, there have been initiatives by the state and by municipalities to name streets, academic prizes, or scholarships after women, women's and gender history has been established and has had an impact on school books. Archives on women have been founded,
and the feminist movement has made endeavors to safeguard the remembrance of women. There is, however, still a long way to go in order to integrate female places of remembrance into memory culture, as the analysis of the »German places of memory« has shown. What has to be done to speed up this process?

At first, the seemingly gender-neutral national space of remembrance has to be analyzed with regard to gender-historical implications; these implications have to be made explicit. The memory images which are influenced by the bourgeois gender model have to be stripped of their seemingly timeless anthropological character. A first step to deconstruct such gender stereotypes which claim validity beyond historical change is to consistently put them into a historical context. This means analyzing the respective contemporary forms of gender relations, the degree of inclusion of female citizens into civil society as well as the state of the national, social and political development at a given time. A further method of historicizing these predominantly nineteenth-century bourgeois, timeless national allegories, metaphors and symbols is to analyze their pre-modern lines of tradition. On this basis, the second step must be aimed at bringing to light how these gender images were dealt with in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This means that a twofold historicizing of the allegories used in memory politics is necessary: on the one hand we have to clarify the historical context in which they emerged, while on the other hand we have to reappraise their lines of tradition.

But this deconstruction alone does not lead to the anchoring of female remembrances into cultural memory. Prerequisite to the writing of women into memory culture is to break the dominance politics and nation have in cultural memory and to take up those thematic fields that have been classified as belonging to historical anthropology or cultural history. These thematic fields tend to be connotated with femininity.

Experiences of women are often subordinate in family memory, which can be classified as communicative memory, and they are also shaped by the official history discourse. Nevertheless, they are less marginalized in family memory than in cultural memory and are therefore a potential repository of female counter-tradition. When family memories flow into memory culture to a stronger degree the chances for a stronger representation of women could increase.

A gender-sensitive inclusion of women’s historical experiences into public memory also requires a system of spatial reference in addition to
and beyond the nation-state. Playing with different spatial scales, interconnecting the local, regional, national and trans-national perspective, allows for multi-perspectivity and thus makes it easier to include the category of gender. This may be the basis on which we can gain access to a gender-democratic, socially and culturally differentiated, multi-faceted and controversial culture of memory that does without a hegemonic interpretation of the past.

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