Grieving the Destruction of Femininity: Tracing the Loss of Menstruation in the Holocaust and Post-War Attitudes

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A Graduating Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements in the Honours Programme
For the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
In the Department
of
History

The University of Victoria
2 April, 2024

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, Q W U R G X F W L R Q « « «

Introduction

The Holocaust was one of the most horrific, inhumane, and unjust historical occurrences to date.[1] This was the state-sponsored and systematic genocide of European Jews that represented a paragon of pure evil. Non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust, such as Roma and Sinti, WKH GLVDEOHG KRPRVH[XDOV´ and political opponents, also

gendered way. I explored four main gendered vulnerabilities: sexual violence, pregnancy and childbirth, menstruation, and dehumanization and humiliation through public nudity and head shaving. During my research, the lack of academic sources on experiences of menstruation during the Holocaust stood out to me. Despite its significance in understanding the struggles of women in the camps, the scarcity of scholarship focusing more explicitly on this topic highlights the need for further historical research.

This thesis will centre around narratives pertaining to menstruation in the concentration camps, both during the Holocaust and in the post-war period. While the majority of testimonies featured here are from Jewish Holocaust survivors, those of non-Jewish female camp survivors are also incorporated. Experiences of menstruation brought about discomfort, shame, and dehumanization. At the same time, due to the conditions of the camps, almost all women lost their menstrual cycle for at least part of their internment and experienced amenorrhea. Amenorrhea is the absence of a menstrual period for three months or more that is experienced by D ZRPDQ ZKR KDV SUHYLRXVO\ KDG UHJXODU PHQVWUXDO F study of the effects of the Nazi concentration camps on 580 female Hungarian Holocaust survivors found that amenorrhea was experienced by 94.8% of these women, with 82.4% experiencing an immediate onset of the cessation of menstruation upon their incarceration. Only 0.6% of these women menstruated longer than four months after being interned.[4] These figures, though not representative of all female Holocaust survivors, offer insight into the prevalence of amenorrhea in the camps. This thesis will explore both the occurrence and disappearance of ZRPHQ¶V PHQVWUXDO F\FOHV to illustrate how their experiences were affected by their biological ability to menstruate.

[4] $OIUHG 3DVWHUQDN DQG 3HWHU %URQV ³7KH (IIHFWV RI WKH +RORFDXVW RQ WKH 5HSURGXFWLYH)XQFWLRQ RI)HPDOH 6XUYLYRUV´ Journal of Minimally Invasive Gynecology

Chapter 1 will draw attention to experiences of menstruation in the camps to illustrate the difficulties, complexities, and conditions that characterize these topics. Continued menstruation in the camps included suffering from unsanitary conditions, lack of sanitary products, shame and dehumanization, and Nazi violence. Poor food and nutrition, as well as the harsh physical labour required of female camp prisoners, will also be explored to understand the context for the onset of amenorrhea. Chapter 2 will f

mentions of menstruation in the camps, usually in reference to a female relative, such as a sister or cousin. However, many of these sources only very briefly mention this topic and were not

This thesis largely reflects feminist perspectives and methodologies. A gendered analysis LV QRW DQ DWWHPSW WR FRPSDUH H[SHULHQFHV WR 3HVWD history, looking at the distinctions between different groups is a central element that can provide different and thought-provoking perspectives. When using a gendered lens, culturally dominant and androcentric ways of categorizing what is historically important are challenged. A gendered DQDO\VLV RI WKH +RORFDXVW KDV DQG ZLOO FRQWLQXH WR experiences.

7KLV WKHVLV FRQWULEXWHV WR WKH JDS LQ +RORFDXV of menstruation and amenorrhea under the Nazi camp system in three main ways: through emphasizing the importance and centrality of this topic for understanding female experiences of the Holocaust, demonstrating the meaning of the loss of menstruation in the c7804C>1369r1 Tf1 0 0n-6((i)7(c)7

UHVXOWLQJ LQ WKH HUDV[6] Moreover, female survivors often edited out

details of their gendered perspective in their writing, especially sexual content, due to stigma and shame.[7]

Though there was no large scholarly focus on ZRPHQ¶V H[SHULHQFHV both during and immediately post-war, there were some outliers. Dr. Emmanuel Ringelblum studied Jewish women and children who resided in the Warsaw Ghetto from 1941-1942 and completed a comprehensive examination of ghetto family life.[8] 'HQLVH 'XJXQLHU¶V VWXG\ Ravensbrück is another example.[9] Additionally, it must also be recognized that some women wrote about their experiences during the immediate post-war era from 1945 to 1950, though a focus on gender was limited. This historiography consisted of historical essays on life in the ghettos and camps. Many memoirs were written by women during this time, such as Olga Lengyl and Gisella Perl, Jewish doctors at Auschwitz, and Kitty Hart, an Auschwitz survivor. Most IDPRXVO\ $QQH)UDQN¶V GLDU\ ZDV ZLGHO\ SXEOLVKHG DQ played important roles in the camps and who were leaders in the Eastern European Jewish resistance movements were encouraged by Zionist and other resistance groups to record their testimonies.[10] These early memoirs of female Holocaust survivors focused on authenticity, correct dating, absence of a moralizing tone, and emphasizing the importance of female mutual assistance for survival.[11] In the late 1950s and 1960s, scholarship was semi-dormant and there were only sporadic publishings about female victims of the Holocaust, with the focus largely on

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[6] -RDQ 0LULDP 5LQJHOKHLP ³7KH 8QHWKLFDO DQG WKH +RORFDXVW´ in *The Holocaust: Theoretical Readings*, ed. Neil Levi and Michael Rothberg (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 171.

[7] 1LFROH (SKJUDYH ³2Q :RPHQ¶V %RGLHV ([SHULHQFH DQG 'HKXPDQL]DW :RPHQ¶V *Journal of* 21, no. 2 (2016): 15.

[8] Ibid., 115.

[9] Ibid., 116.

[10] -XGLWK 7\GRU %DXPHO ³*HQGHU DQG)DPLO\ 6WXGLHV RI WKH +RORFDXVW´ *Women* (Oxford, England) 7, no. 2 (1996): 116.

[11] %DXPHO ³*HQGHU DQG)DPLO\ 6WXGLHV RI WKH +RORFDXVW $ +LVWR

of the Holocaust were discussed in an academic forum.[16] Their aim was, first, to provide a platform for female scholars and survivors who had previously not had a voice in the scholarship and, secondly, to help academics with writing about gendered aspects of Holocaust studies. Over 400 women attended this conference and it marked a turning point in Holocaust studies that would lead to ground-breaking work on gender and its importance in Holocaust scholarship. Many female survivors were interviewed at the conference and their testimonies unveiled unique encounters tied to gender and prompted an emphasis on ho Z ZRPHQ¶V H[SHULHQFHV LQ GLIIHUHG IURP PHQ¶V 6\ELO 0LOWRQ DQ $PHULFDQ +RORF ³,VVXHV DQG 5HVRXUFHV´ DW WKH FRQIHUHQFH 7KLV SDSH women to different forms of violence than were experienced by male prisoners and how they engaged in gender-related survival techniques, such as sharing recipes.[17] Milton would later FRQWULEXWH D FKDSWHU WR Women and the Holocaust: The Case of German and German-Jewish :RPHQ´5HQDWH %ULGHQWKDO $WLQD *URVVPDQ DQG 0DULO Q When Biology Became Destiny was published a year after the conference. Milton highlighted through a feminist lens how Nazi violence targeted the biological make- XS RI ZRPHQ¶V ERGLH and the significance of studying gendered vulnerabilities for a more complete understanding of the Holocaust.[18] When Biology Became Destiny explores how the biological makeup of Jewish and German-Jewish women during the Nazi era predetermined their social roles and subjected them to various forms of violence.[19] While the focus was on German women, this work was

[16] .DSODQ ³'LG *HQGHU 0DWWHU 'XULQJ WKH +RORFDXVW" ´
[17] (PLO\ $QQ :RRG ³7UDFLQJ WKH 'HVWUXFWLRQ RI :RPHQ¶V %RGLHV 6X +RORFDXVW´ 0$ WKHVLV 8QLYHUVLW\ RI 1HZ %UXQVZLFN
[18] :RRG ³7UDFLQJ WKH 'HVWUXFWLRQ RI :RPHQ¶V %RGLHV 6XUYLYRU 7H 18.
[19]

SLYRWDO LQ HPSKDVL]LQJ WKH GLIIHUHQW ZD\V -HZLVK ZRI

Czechoslovakian survivor, also published

By the early 2000s, historians began acknowledging the importance of integrating the history of sexuality in Holocaust studies and that the acts of violence inflicted upon female prisoners were forms of gendered and sexual violence that reflected patriarchal structures. Scholars Doris Bergen, Anna H ijkov i, and Nicole Ephgrave have been significant in this area of VFKRODUVKLS ,Q %HUJHQ¶V DUWLFOH ³6H[XDO 9LROHQ she explores the various reasons for the omission of sexual violence in Holocaust studies.[24] This foundational article not only validated the relevance of the research topic but also emphasized the necessity for scholars to grapple with the implications of gender, sexuality, and their effects within the context of the Holocaust.[25] Anna H ijkov i ¶V DUWLFOH ³6H[XDO %DUW *HQGHUL]LQJ WKH 6H[XDO (FRQRP\ RI 7KHUHVL Theresienstadt ghetto/camp utilized their bodies for survival by engaging in a system of sexual bartering that was another form of gender-targeted sexual oppression.[26] Lastly, Nicole (SKJUDYH¶V SLRQHHULQJ ZRUN LQ UHYHDOV KRZ ZRPHQ VSHFLILFDOO\ JHQGHUHG ZD\V 'HKXPDQL]DWLRQ DWWDFNH gender roles evoked different feelings and experiences of deg UDGDWLRQ IRU ZRPHQ DQG biological ability to reproduce left them vulnerable to sterilization, 612oAnETQo704B5200510044>13004F7A5

WKH 'HVWUXFWLRQ RI :RPHQ¶V %RGLHV 6XUYLYRU 7HVWLP

which is the first substantial work to focus on experiences of menstruation in the Holocaust.[33]

Wood highlights the gap in literature on this topic, as well as its importance for understanding

WKH H[SHULHQFHV RI IHPDOH YLFWLPV :RRG¶V SLRQHHULQ

completion of this thesis by validating the significance of this historical subject for study and by serving as a source for relevant oral testimony.

Bergen-

conditions played a role in the spread of diseases and contributed to the degradation and dehumanization of prisoners.[39]

Many female oral testimonies also refer to the dehumanization they felt due to the camp EDWKURRPV +DQD %UXPO UHFDOOV WKDW WKH WROLHWV Z Auschwitz.[40] %ODQND 5RWKVFKLOG ZKR VXUYLYHG 5DYHQVEU•FN bathrooms and their distance from the sleeping quarters:

> There was no sanitation. We did not have latrines. There were holes with [wood]- there was a wooden board with two holes, and since many of us were sick from whatever they gave us to eat, it was a constant walk to the latrines, to the holes. There was tremendous degradation of human beings. It was the human spirit [that] suffered more than the physical spirit. Our bodies didn't listen to us, didn't obey us.[41]

Moreover, the Nazis limited access to these inadequate facilities by forcing strict schedules upon prisoners. Auschwitz survivor Judy Freeman remembers that access to the toilet occurred only in the early morning before roll call and after the end of the work day, with ten to fourteen hours in between.[42] The lack of adequate bathroom access would have provided yet another challenge for menstruating women.

The harrowing living conditions endured by those in Nazi concentration camps were marked by extreme unsanitariness. The lack of durable and clean clothing, infestation of lice, overcrowded and poorly ventilated barracks, absence of sanitary facilities, and the rampant spread of diseases created an environment of unimaginable suffering, degradation, and

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[39] Eugen Kogon, The Theory and Practice of Hell; the German Concentration Camps and the System behind Them (New York: Octagon Books, 1973).

[40] +DQD %UXPO ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP &RO $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ /LQGD * .X]PDFN 8QLWHG 6WDW 1990.

[41] %ODQND 5RWKVFKLOG ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVH $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ 6DQGUD %DUGHO\ 8QLWHG 6WDW

[42] -XG\ )UHHPDQ ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP &RO $UFKLYH *LIW RI -RDQ 5LQJHOKHLP ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ -RDQ Museum, 25 May 1982.

dehumanization for those interned in the Nazi camps. For women experiencing menstruation, the lack of available clean clothing, inability to wash themselves, and limited bathroom access presented an even greater challenge of dealing with their menstrual cycles while in the dirty, disease-ridden, and cramped camp conditions. The profound impact on the physical and mental well-being of the individuals subjected to such conditions is evident in their accounts.

> completely self-conscious, afraid of what getting my period means in this place . . . Dealing with this curse means praying that it will go away quickly and never return.[46]

5HQD¶V 3XUHSHOLHG exhibits the feelings of the young camp prisoner being terrified of blood soaking through her clothing. This is representative of the feelings and attitudes of many female Holocaust victims who experienced their menstrual cycles in the camps. Another female prisoner, Trude Levi, depicts her experience in Auschwitz of having her period with nothing to stop her from free-bleeding:

> We had no underpants, nothing to keep the blood from dripping on to our legs or on to the ground. That was the ultimate degradation and it was the last menstrual period many of us had in camp. The body does not waste reproductive energy on starving humanity in severe shock.[47]

In the camps, normal physiological developments for women, such as menstruation, became sources of psychological discomfort, emotional distress, and physical torment.[48] The lack of sanitary products made a very private female experience public, as women were forced to free-bleed and worry about stopping their blood flow with limited available materials. Historians Elizabeth Bauer and Myrna Goldenberg conclude that the Ho ORFDXVW ³VXFFHVVIXOO\ U IXQFWLRQV RI WKH IHPDOH E RGy to the lack of sanitary products,[49] DQG WR D FXUVH and bloody clothing was another reality for menstruating women in the camps. Bruml describes her first and only experience menstruating in the camp and how this affected her ability to keep her clothing clean:

> If I may, so . . . at that time, this was the last time I had . . . was menstruating for many months; uh because, you know, we lost menstruation. And I very carefully washed out the pants, very carefully; but, of course, I couldn't hang them. I couldn't do anything with

[46] Rena Kornreich Gelissen and Heather Dune, 5HQD¶V 3URPLVH $ 6WRU\ RI %HDXW\ LQ $XVFKZLWV (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 75.
[47] Waxman, Women in the Holocaust: A Feminist History

example, the food ration was approximately 800-1500 calories per day.[51] Doriane Kurz, who survived Bergen-Belsen camp as a child, recalls her experience with food rations:

EOHHGLQJ ZKLFK FDXVHG KHU WR EOHHG HYHQ PRUH ³2QH *RG)RU QR UHDVRQ KH NLFNHG PH IRU QR UHDVRQ DQ

illustrative of the lack of protection available for menstruating prisoners and its physical consequences. Vera Laska exposes the depths of degradation and cruelty experienced by women in the camps. She remembers in Auschwitz-Birkenau that the Nazis subjected a group of women to a humiliating ordeal in the shower area, where they were forced to undress while guards leered at them. One woman in particular was experiencing her monthly cycle and due to her nakedness and lack of underwear, there was blood running down her legs. The Nazis saw this blood and physically beat the int HUQHG ZRPDQ LQ IURQW RI KHU IHOORZ SULVRQ bathroom floor.[62] It is clear that violence towards menstruation was a gendered vulnerability that epitomized the dehumanizing nature of Nazi oppression towards female prisoners. As a result of Nazi violence, women were forced to associate fear with their bod L HV¶ natural cycle. The testimonies and narratives presented shed light on the unimaginable suffering endured by menstruating prisoners, who faced not only physical torment but also psychological anguish due to their biological ability to menstruate.

[62] Laska, Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust: The Voices of Eyewitnesses, 176.

HYHU\ DVSHFW RI IHPDOH SULVRQHUV¶ OLYHV LQFOXGLQJ VLJQLILHG WKH UHWXUQ RI WKHVH ZRPHQ¶V ERGLHV DQG W

dehumanizing conditions of the camps. Additionally, it represented that their reproductive capabilities and fertility had been restored.[66]

Explanations for Amenorrhea

In understanding the impact of the loss of menstruation on female prisoners, it is important to consider how these women conceptualized what happened to them. As previously stated, amenorrhea was a condition experienced by almost all women in the camps. This was likely a combination of poor nutrition, harsh physical labour, and extreme shock and trauma from the conditions of the camps. These are all scientifically recognized explanations for amenorrhea and were likely the reason for this loss. However, some female prisoners postulated different explanations for the loss of their menstrual cycle both at the time and after their

camps. Many survivors were quick to highlight how they did not because of the bromide that was added to their food. Dora Freilich, who survived Auschwitz-Birkenau, replies to her interviewer that stuff in the food. [68] Some prisoners like Zlata Jakubovic, describe that too when asked about seeing the bromide in their food rations at Auschwitz:

> 7KH\ >WKH 1D]LV@ EURXJKW XV DOO VXSSHU :H FRX
> in the food. But then we [learned] that it was a sedative, bromide, or brom, and we couldn't eat it. But it was good, it was useful for us, because we stopped [having] PHQVWUXDWLRQ IRU WKUHH \HDUV ZH GLG Q¶W KDYH P[69]

Jakubovic discusses the bromide in positive terms, as it stopped the challenges of experiencing menstruation in the camps. Some women also recall the distinct smell of the bromide, such as

> %DUDEDUD)DUNDV ZKR ZDV GHWDLQHG DW $XVFKZLW] ³7K
> after that, we found out that they put some bromide in the food to make [sure] that the woman >GLGQ¶W@ KDYH >WKHLU@ SHULRG >LQ@ LQ Q¶W KDYH >P\@ [70] It is clear >DQ\@

that many women believed chemical bromide was being put into their food by the N004C70(a)7(ny w)-6(om)7(e

> The food we were given was, of course, of no nutritional value, no value whatsoever. It was watery soup, one slice of bread . . . All of us stopped menstruating because we had no nutrition in our bodies. We started to resemble skeletons.[75]

$QD 9LQRFXU DOVR FLWHV PDOQXWULWLRQ ³+XQJHU ZDV V DIWHU WKH ZDU

[76] Beyond the physical, oral testimonies offer some psychological explanations for the cessation of menstruation. During her time at the Grünberg concentration camp, Rosa Nissenholz attributed the cessation of menstruation to trauma and shock. She recalls upon her

something in their food. She herself believes it was a psychological reason, though she does not elaborate.

A distinction must also be made for the women in the camps who continued to get their periods. This was the reality for a small minority who were entitled to certain privileges. At Auschwitz, Cecilia Einhorn remembers how women who got better food or were Kapos in charge of the barracks still got their period.[79] Helen Tichauer, who worked in the camp office at $XVFKZLW] DQG ZDV DOVR D PHPEHU RI WKH ZRPHQ¶V RUFK interned, even on a death march. She discusses how for the first fourteen months in the camp she experienced amenorrhea, until she began receiving better rations due to her job and got her period back.[80] Contrarily, for some women, it was not due to having a better position in the camp system that they retained their period. Irene Shapiro had no special privileges but continued menstruating at Auschwitz-Birkenau, while working for a Krupp munitions factory. This left her with conflicting feelings:

> I got out of the typhus-barracks . . . menstruating and looking so well that the Germans were asking me, where have you been, at a resort? This is what I mean, survival of the fittest, I wanted to survive. I must have been endowed with some survival genes which XQIRUWXQDWHO\ GRHV[81]Q¶W VHUYH PH ULJKW QRZ

Shapiro remembers her desire to survive, yet the presence of menstruation in the camps posed a significant obstacle to her chances of survival. In general, female prisoners attributed their experiences of amenorrhea in the camps to either chemical bromide or physiological factors,

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[79] &HFLOLD (LQKRUQ ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP

[80] +HOHQ 6SLW]HU 7LFKDXHU ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ -RDQ 5LQJHOKHLP 8QLW September 2000.

[81] ,UHQH 6KDSLUR ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP &R $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ Anthony DeRoo, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 27 March 1992.

such as malnutrition or trauma. Some women also continued to have their periods in the camps, but this was not the majority.

Psychological Ramifications

Experiences of amenorrhea took a psychological toll on female prisoners in the camps. There are two main ways this is discussed in oral testimony. Some female Holocaust survivors express emotions like happiness and joy that they felt upon losing their periods. Others convey the sadness and worry they underwent due to a sense of the loss of femininity. Though amenorrhea was a near universal experience in the camps for female prisoners, the psychological ramifications of this were encountered differently. These emotions represent the complexity of these experiences for women and a need to refrain from generalizations.

Many women describe a positive correlation between the cessation of menstruation and their well-being in the camps. The most common emotions or descriptors associated with DPHQRUUKHD LQ WKLV LQVWDQFH DUH ³KDSSLQHVV ´ ³MR\ ´ ³EOHVVLQJ ´ 6XUYLYRUV 5RVD 1LVVHQKRO] 'RULV 5DXFK D ³EOHVVLQJ´ LQ WKHLU WHVWLPRQ\ WR GHVFULEH WKHLU H[amenorrhea. Rauch describes how losing her period was a blessing due to the inability to find supplies to protect herself from free-bleeding.[83] *LWD 7DLW] DQG &HFLOLD (LQKRUQ ERWK UHIHU WR ³1RERG\ ZDV PHQVWUXDWLQJ $QG [84] Anna Bleiberg RXW RI OXFN

[82] 1LVVHQKRO] ³7KH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XVHXP &R $UFKLYH ´ -XQH 5DXFK ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ -XQH [illegible] ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO

Berlin. Shulman asserts that female prisoners had a more difficult time with self-image than male prisoners:

> We lost our femininity because . . . we had no menstrual periods. Due to malnutrition . . . And so we had no breasts, we had no appearance, we had no looks . . . Men had it a little

> anymore. That was over. And . . . young girls . . . were upset because they were not menstruating.[91]

$OO WKHVH ZRPHQ¶V WHVWLPRQLHV KLJKOLJKW WKH SURIR

their experiences in the camps. Beyond its physical implications, amenorrhea represented either a blessing or a curse that manifested as the loss of femininity for survivors. For many female

females experience their first menses between the ages of ten to fourteen, with the average age being twelve. On her late onset of menstruation, Ostberg recalls:

0 \ P H Q V W U X åå' € Dp

Both Ostberg and Gelb are examples of women who did not menstruate in the camps but experienced the delayed onset of menarche. The disruption of menstruation due to the horrors of the Nazi regime is evident in their testimonies.

In some more extreme cases, women experienced severe disruptions to their menstrual

Conclusion

As has been made clear, experiences of menstruation in the Nazi concentration camps brought extreme discomfort, shame, and dehumanization for female prisoners. Menstruation was D VSHFLILF JHQGHUHG YXOQHUDELOLW\ WKDW DIIHFWHG ZR environments, the majority of women lost their menstrual cycles for at least part of their internment, experiencing amenorrhea. This thesis has examined both the occurrence and GLVDSSHDUDQFH RI ZRPHQ¶V PHQVWUXDO F\FOHV LQ WKH F Female Holocaust Y L F W L P V ¶ experiences were significantly affected by their biological ability to menstruate. This has been done in two parts. Firstly, the experiences of menstruation in the camps have been investigated to show how unsanitary conditions, lack of sanitary products, food and nutrition, shame and dehumanization, and Nazi violence towards menstruation were all factors that LQIOXHQFHG ERWK ZRPHQ¶V H[SHULHQFHV RI PHQVWUXDWL the multiplicity of experiences of amenorrhea was

'XHULQJ 5HQHH / ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
Herr Oral History Archive, acquired from the Jewish Family and Children Services of
6DQ)UDQFLVFR ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ -XGLWK $
Birnberg, and Zuzana Goldstein. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 23 April
1992. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507699.

(LQKRUQ &HFLOLD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULD
+HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6
November 1984. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn45882.

)DUNDV %DUEDUD 0DUWRQ ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW
7RE\ +HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGX
States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 27 April 1990.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504566.

)DUNDV +HOHQ ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
Oral History Archive, Gift of Jewish Family and Children's Services of San Francisco,
WKH 3HQLQVXOD 0DULQ DQG 6RQRPD &RXQWLHV ´ ,QW
Memorial Museum. 13 September 1990.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511714.

)UDQN %HWWL ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
Oral History Archive, Gift of the Gratz College Holocaust Oral History Archive ´
Interview. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 3 March 1991.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508683.

)UHHPDQ -XG\ ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH *LIW RI -RDQ 5LQJHOKHLP ´ ,
Ringelheim. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 25 May 1982.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn47954.

)UHLOLFK 'RUD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
&ROOHJH +RORFDXVW 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHU
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 24 October 1984.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508628.

*HOE 5HJLQD /DNV ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULD
+HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG

Holocaust Memorial Museum. 18 March 1998.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn506665.

*HUVRQ %DUERUD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULD
+HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH *LIW RI WKH 8QLYHUVLW
Interview. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 5 March 1983.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn503597.

*RUGRQ 5DFKHO ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
Oral History Archive, Gift of Jewish Family and Children's Services of San Francisco,
WKH 3HQLQVXOD 0DULQ DQG 6RQRPD &RXQWLHV ´ ,QW
Memorial Museum. 7 November 1990.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn515702.

*RWWOLHE $P\ =DKO ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRU
+HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWH
Holocaust Memorial Museum. 9 June 1999.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn507288.

+HQVRQ /HDK ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0X
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV
March 1989. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511271.

IVDDFVRQ -XGLWK ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULD
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV
August 1993. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn512628.

,VVHQEHUJ 2OJD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
Oral History Archive, Gift of Jewish Family and Children's Services of San Francisco,
the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV
Memorial Museum. 11 April 1983.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn47698.

-DNXERYLF $OLFH ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULD
+HUE 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWH
Holocaust Memorial Museum. 27 August 2002.
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.LUVFK 0DUJRW ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
5HODWLRQVKLSV ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORF

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.OHEDQRZ 'DYLG ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
+HUU 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWH
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.RKQ 0DQLD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XV
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWH
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.XU] 'RULDQH ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0X
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ /
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+HUU 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWH
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1LVVHQKRO] 5RVD ³7KH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HP
7RE\ +HUU 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLW
Museum. June 1982. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn512458.

2VWEHUJ 'RUULW ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ *
Memorial Museum. 29 July 2000.
https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn506644.

3DODUF]\N $QQD 6]\OOHU ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0
7RE\ +HUU 2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLW
Museum. 19 August 1996. https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504869.

5DXFK 'RULV ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0XV
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ FRQGXFWHG E\ *

Memorial Museum. 7 July 1995.
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5 R W K V F K L O G % O D Q N D ³ 8 Q L W H G 6 W D W H V + R O R F D X V W 0 H P R
+ H U U 2 U D O + L V W R U \ $ U F K L Y H ´ , Q W H U Y L H Z F R Q G X F W H
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6 F K L O G * H U G D + D D V ³ 8 Q L W H G 6 W D W H V + R O R F D X V W 0 H P R U
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7LFKDXHU +HOHQ 6SLW]HU ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW
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States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 7 September 2000.
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9LQRFXU $QD ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRULDO 0X
2UDO +LVWRU\ $UFKLYH ´ ,QWHUYLHZ 8QLWHG 6WDWHV
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:DUH $QQD 0D[HOO ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRUL
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=\JPXQWRZLF] ,WND ³8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRU
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