

CHAPTER I I

PATTERNS OF ETHNIC INTOLERANCE

THE PLAN OF THE RESEARCH

In recent years, a number of attempts have been made to estimate the extent of anti-Semitic attitudes in the United States. Since underlying hostility may reveal itself verbally, the responses collected in nationwide public opinion polls have been used repeatedly as an indirect measure of anti-Semitic hostility. Because of technical limitations, these efforts to measure anti-Semitism have failed to produce exact answers. At best they tell us how many persons verbalize negative reactions to Jews on a general, abstract level. But in a problem area such as that of intolerance, numbers are often less important than intensity of feeling or the importance of anti-Semitism in the emotional economy of the anti-Semite. Moreover, from a practical point of view, intensity of feeling is less relevant than readiness to action. Polls reveal little about the intensity of anti-Semitism, or about readiness to act, since the verbal statements they gather, most of them superficial in nature, are unreliable measures of an actual desire to take action against a minority.

Despite these limitations, national polls offer clues to the over-all incidence of anti-Semitism in the United States. The conclusions drawn from about twenty or thirty of them¹ indicate that not more than 10 per cent of those sampled spontaneously made anti-Semitic statements. One of the polls most frequently quoted bears out this observation. The *Fortune* Survey of February, 1946, revealed that 8.8 per cent of the nation's population was strongly anti-Semitic. This conclusion was based on the percentage who spontaneously named the Jews either as "a group harmful to the country unless curbed" or who spontaneously designated the Jews as "people trying to get ahead at the expense of people like yourself."

In addition to this "core" of almost 10 per cent, nationwide poll data have indicated that from 30 to 60 per cent offered various anti-Semitic responses when questioned directly about the Jews. Their anti-Semitic

¹ Flowerman, Samuel, and Jahoda, Marie: "Polls on Anti-Semitism," *Commentary*, April, 1946, pp. 82-86.

remarks were not made spontaneously and were, generally speaking, less drastic in their criticism of Jews.

Gordon Allport, in 1944, found a similar distribution of anti-Semitic attitudes. He estimated that of our national population, "5 to 10 per cent are violently anti-Semitic, while perhaps 45 per cent are mildly bigoted in the same direction."²

The patterns of ethnic intolerance are, however, vastly more complex than one might expect if one were to accept the limited responses to public opinion polls at their face value. Equally, the reasons for intolerance are much more subtle than the simple rationalizations produced in response to poll questions, or in an effort to justify personal intolerance. Obviously it is not enough to merely discriminate between those who spontaneously make anti-Semitic remarks, those who make them only in response to a specific stimulus such as the naming of Jews, and those who make no anti-Semitic statements even when their attention is directed toward the problem.

A distinction must first be recognized between those persons who merely hold negative stereotyped value judgments about the Jews to be true, and those who openly express a desire to have Jews restricted, either politically, economically, or socially. But even there our study shows that an important differentiation can and must be made if one wishes to assess anti-Semitic attitudes correctly. There is a great difference between the man who says spontaneously that the Jews should be curbed (and insists that laws be passed or unlawful pressure exercised to that end), and another who may say the same thing at first but may realize, on further reflection, that such actions would be contrary to our basic liberties and form of government. The first may well be considered more of a danger to the well-being of the community than the second, unless the total situation should change so radically that the latter is no longer interested in safeguarding our basic institutions.

Some people make strongly anti-Semitic statements, only to change their opinions on further reflection. There are others who are prevented by their reflections from revealing their underlying attitudes in this matter to others—or even to themselves. In the latter case underlying attitudes remain repressed, unconscious at the moment, but may reveal themselves dangerously as soon as the repression ceases to be effective. Although there are wide circles of our society for whom ethnic intolerance is a part of the mores, written into the law, enforced by the main institutions of

² Allport, Gordon: "The Bigot in Our Midst," *Commonweal*, October 6, 1944, p. 583.

social control and supported by the channels of mass communication, the same mores caution that intolerance is better left unmentioned. Moreover, if intolerance is institutionalized or generally accepted much of the motive for discussing it disappears. The situation becomes quite different if Jews compete on the job or live next door.

Whether the average individual is ready to express his hostility toward minorities to a stranger will depend on many factors. One of them is the degree to which such discussion is an approved custom within his own circle. It must be realized that in many respects the public opinion poller is a stranger to his randomly selected subjects, many of whom do not feel close enough to him to discuss what they consider personal matters. It is another thing to express prejudice to closer associates, to those in whom one has confidence.

DESIGN OF THE INTERVIEW

The interests of the social researcher in studies such as this are not limited to statements made for public record. At least as important are the subject's full range, intensity, and shading of attitudes and the motivations which account for his public behavior. Although the subject may try to conceal some of them from all-too-public inspection, it is possible to understand them through an interview if the interviewer has first succeeded in gaining the confidence of his subject by establishing what is technically known as positive rapport. Only then can he gather information which may lead to an adequate understanding of the attitudes under investigation.

Interviewing people in connection with anti-Semitic attitudes is complicated by the fact that many people hold at least two different sets of attitudes on the question, one for general consumption, and another for private expression. Moreover, as with many other problems in which the individual's emotions are strongly involved, the reaction depends more or less on the context in which the problem appears. One man's outlook may be so constituted that the word-stimulus "Jew" evokes no strong reaction in connection with intellectual matters, while the same word-stimulus may arouse strong emotions in the context of economic practices. For another person, the reverse may be true. As a matter of fact, the study seemed to reveal that the intensity of anti-Semitism could not be adequately gauged on the basis of the veteran's reaction to the word-stimulus "Jew" in a single and particular context even if this simple reaction was of great violence. Rather, intense anti-Semitism could be

determined only when the negative reaction to the word-stimulus was persistent in the different contexts in which the Jew was presented throughout the interview.

For reasons discussed in the preceding chapter, this study of ethnic intolerance in general, and of anti-Semitism in particular, was based on the reactions of a group of 150 veterans of enlisted rank from the city of Chicago. In view of the character of the group, it seemed plausible that good rapport could be established by offering the veteran an opportunity, in the course of a pleasant though intensive interview, to express his personal views on the problem of adjustment to civilian life and a chance to recount his wartime experiences. It was expected that an informal talk with a woman interviewer about the current difficulties of adjustment and the hardships experienced in the war would aid rapport by permitting the veteran to express some of the tension which may have accumulated in him during his years of service.

In most cases, the understanding attitude of the interviewer and her interest in the interviewee's fate and difficulties produced two results: first, it lowered the individual's defenses, since this seemed a "safe" situation, in which one might speak freely; second, it relieved the feeling of discomfort at least about the present situation. Many statements by veterans indicated that they were open with interviewers on matters which had been preying on their minds for a long time, and about which they had had little opportunity to express themselves. Such statements seem to corroborate that the interview achieved its purpose in this regard. For example, one veteran declared:

"It was swell I think. You get a chance to say things that you don't get a chance to say except to friends."

In a number of cases, veterans revealed details of their wartime sex experiences which, they were quick to add, they did not wish made known, especially to their girl friends or wives. Thus it seems that the study succeeded in putting the subject at ease and in lowering the individual's constraint with regard to the admission of attitudes he thought should not be communicated.

This mode of approaching the veteran had two effects: By setting the individual at ease, he was enabled to express his hostile feelings more freely. On the other hand, the same ease did away with some of his superficial frustration and hostility and therefore decreased the need for discharge of hostility, whether through anti-Semitic remarks, or otherwise. This was in keeping with the purpose of the study which was less

interested in fleeting expressions of anti-Semitism due to chance annoyance than in underlying anti-Semitism, which would be present even if the immediate setting were not frustrating.

While the discharge of tension by way of anti-Semitic remarks was thus less necessary or attractive, it should not be overlooked that many of those interviewed may have been searching for common ground on which to meet the interviewer. There was just a chance that this factor may have been conducive to anti-Semitic remarks, but careful study of the records reveals that such was rarely the case. Moreover, a subject who felt that anti-Semitism was an easy and convenient meeting ground for forming personal relationships thereby revealed his conscious or unconscious conviction of the widespread character and general acceptance of anti-Semitic attitudes.

It was not the object of this research to study the individual's *readiness* to discharge tension in a hostile manner against any stimulus which was presented, but to study, instead, the individual's *habit* of discharging hostility chiefly by means of ethnic intolerance. If the first object had been chosen for study, it might have proved best to remind the individual, before long, of the unpleasantness of his past war and present adjustment experiences and, at the height of his annoyance over them, to introduce the word-stimulus "Jew." Since it was the second problem which was selected, the interview situation was handled quite differently.

Steps were taken to insure that superficial hostility, which might be discharged at random against any casual stimulus, would not be discharged in an anti-Semitic manner simply because the subject's attention had been directed toward the Jews. This was particularly important when interviewing a group of men who during the recent past had undergone the frustrations of military service and were currently undergoing the frustrating experience of adjustment to civilian life. Therefore, the stimulus "Jew" was presented only after many other topics had been introduced, such as politics, employment, marriage, and the army. These topics offered sufficient outlets for random discharge of hostility. If, during these portions of the interview, hostility was spontaneously discharged by means of anti-Semitic remarks, one could be more certain that an individual would reveal anti-Semitic hostility in many other contexts. It was felt that if the bulk of the interview avoided ethnic topics, it would then be possible—after rapport had been established and maintained—to include indirect and finally direct questions on ethnic attitudes. The stimulus "Jew," could then be introduced without having to fear

that reactions would be due to the presentation of the stimulus rather than to underlying permanent attitudes.

Such a procedure required that the interviews be extremely long and detailed and be administered by highly trained and skilled interviewers, well able to establish and maintain rapport. In view of the particular group studied, a small number of women were employed who were psychiatrically trained social workers with experience in public opinion surveying. Their skill in interviewing, combined with their ability to establish rapport, made the interview an interesting experience for most of the veterans.

The long interview took from four to seven hours and in several cases was administered in two sessions.³

In order to obtain data which would allow for comparative analysis, the interviews were carried out in as standardized a fashion as was compatible with maintaining rapport and insuring spontaneous reactions.⁴ The interviewer approached the veteran either by telephone, or, on the occasion of a home visit, by asking him whether he would be willing to be interviewed for a public opinion survey of veterans. She explained that this survey was being conducted by the University of Chicago in order to learn about veterans' opinions. Anonymity was assured and the veteran was told that the survey was not seeking the views of the individual veteran. The survey, he was told, was interested in finding out as a whole the opinions of the veterans living in the metropolitan area of Chicago. No promise was given that the men's answers would lead to a remedy of their complaints, but they were informed that all findings would be published and the veterans' feelings thus conveyed to the community at large.

DEGREES OF INTOLERANCE

On the basis of exploratory interviews with a small group of veterans who were not included in the final sample, it was found that for purposes

³ A copy of the interview is to be found in the Appendix on pages 213-218. There were more than 160 predetermined questions, excluding the neutral probes which were introduced to encourage the veteran to continue or to elaborate his statements.

⁴ Details on the procedures are found in the Appendix on pages 189, 190. As noted there, the following elements of the interview were standardized: (1) the person of the interviewer, (2) the method of approaching the subject, (3) the place of the interview, (4) the method of asking the predetermined questions and of probing for associative material, (5) the technique for recording the entire interview, and (6) the time period in which the interview took place.

of the study it would be necessary to distinguish four types of veterans on the basis of their attitudes toward Jews. These four types were designated as *intensely anti-Semitic*, *outspokenly anti-Semitic*, *stereotyped anti-Semitic*, and *tolerant* toward Jews.

Briefly, the four types may be defined as follows:

1. The *intensely anti-Semitic* veteran was spontaneously outspoken in expressing a preference for restrictive action against the Jews even before the subject was raised. For example, he might have advocated Hitler's solution to the Jewish problem here in America, when asked whether there were any groups of people trying to get ahead at his expense. When questioned directly about the Jews, he maintained his outspoken preference for restrictive action. For example, he might have objected to having Jews as next-door neighbors, to working on the same job with them, or he might have advocated prevention of intermarriage with Jews. Finally, he also displayed a wide range of unfavorable stereotyped opinions about the Jews.

2. The *outspokenly anti-Semitic* veteran revealed no spontaneous preference for restrictive action against the Jews. Instead, outspoken hostility toward the Jews emerged only toward the end of the interview when he was questioned directly. As in the case of the intensely anti-Semitic veteran, his thinking contained a wide range of unfavorable stereotypes.

3. The *stereotyped anti-Semitic* veteran expressed no preference for hostile or restrictive action against the Jews, either spontaneously or when questioned directly. Instead, he merely expressed a variety of stereotyped notions about the Jews, including some which were not necessarily unfavorable from his point of view. For example, he might have thought Jews clannish, or that they are people who engage in shrewd business methods. But he felt, for any number of reasons, that these characteristics did not justify aggressive action against the Jews, by the government or by society at large.

4. The *tolerant* veteran revealed no elaborate stereotyped beliefs about the Jews although even the most tolerant veterans expressed isolated stereotypes from time to time. Moreover, neither spontaneously nor when questioned directly, did he advocate restrictive action against the Jews. In fact, on policy questions, the tolerant person either denied any just grounds for differentiating between Jews and non-Jews, or affirmed his lack of concern about such differences.

On the basis of the experience gained in the exploratory study, the

interview situation was so constructed that the responses to questions would permit a clear delineation of these four types.⁵

CONTENT OF INTERVIEW

A description of the interview in broad outline may indicate how such delimitation was achieved. The first portion of the interview was designed to offer the veteran an opportunity for the spontaneous expression of hostility against the Jews without leading the veteran's attention to the subject.

After some casual initial talk intended to create a pleasant, conversational atmosphere, the recorded portion of the interview opened with very general questioning as to how the veteran thought that "things were going to turn out now that the war is over," and what and who "would interfere with the veteran's having a decent life." His answers were followed by detailed probing and produced a first chance for verbal discharge of tension or hostility.

The interview then turned from the problem of a decent life for all to problems more particular to the veteran's readjustment to civilian life. In this connection and in order to bring to light hostility directed against persons and groups, the veteran was asked whether he thought there were any groups of people who might be harmful unless curbed, and what groups, if any, were trying to get ahead at the expense of people like himself. A specific chance was offered for expressions of hostility by asking whether some people or groups got "all the breaks," whether deservedly so, and who they might be.

Next, the veteran was questioned on his attitudes toward political parties, employment, economic security, and the last depression. Some of these questions supplied further indirect opportunity for the spontaneous expression of hostility toward the Jews and other minorities. The discussion of economic security led easily to the problem of seniority on the job. In this context, ethnic stimuli were introduced for the first time in the interview, by querying whether veterans, white people, native-born Americans, or Gentiles should receive employment preferences when jobs were scarce.⁶

These questions concluded the first portion of the interview, which was designed to permit discrimination between spontaneous and nonspon-

⁵ The full methodological and statistical details of this procedure may be found in the Appendix on pages 195-208.

⁶ More than forty questions not mentioning minority groups had been asked previously.

neous readiness to discharge tension by means of ethnic intolerance. This first section of the interview was designed to throw light on the subject's generalized attitudes, his generalized dissatisfaction, fears, and apprehensions of a less personal nature. Its purpose was also to assess the veteran's feeling either of competency or of being overpowered by the political or economic system; it also permitted evaluation of his feelings of deprivation and of his attitudes toward symbols of authority.

Questions on occupational and financial aspirations for the future led up to the second part of the interview which was more personal in character. Questions on marital status and expectations, and on plans for child rearing, were followed by a detailed inquiry into the man's army experience. In this second portion of the interview, and especially in connection with army experiences, there were extended opportunities to display stereotyped thinking and thereby contribute to the differentiation of the various types of anti-Semites. This was particularly true of such questions as who the veterans thought were the "troublemakers" and "goldbrickers" in the army.

The third and last portion of the interview contained the direct questions on Jews and Negroes. It was designed to determine which men consistently displayed tolerant attitudes. This section began with a series of questions on international topics and foreign countries, which were related to the previous discussion about army life. At this point, the stimuli "Negro" and "Jew" were introduced directly; first in connection with what kinds of soldiers they made, and then in regard to the subject's preference or nonpreference for social and economic association with them, as well as his views on the modification of current interethnic patterns.⁷

Charting the subject's attitudes as to the proper limits of his social contacts with Jews and Negroes—that is, technically speaking, his social distance from them—supplied an indirect measure of his disposition towards discrimination of members of these groups. One method of studying social distance is to probe for the limits of social contact common and relevant to the everyday living of the individuals involved. In this sample it would have been pointless to ask whether Jews should be excluded from membership in "social register" clubs, since almost none of the veterans themselves would have been eligible. Instead, social distance was measured in terms of approval or disapproval of common employment, neighborhood residence, and intermarriage.

⁷ This final series of direct ethnic questions came after more than 80 per cent of the attitude portion of the interview had been completed.

At this point, the part of the interview intended to evoke associational answers ended. Further questions were asked requiring direct and factual answers about age, length of domicile, family extraction and composition, income, education, reading and listening habits, and so on.

TABLE 1(II)
DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-SEMITISM

	Number	Percentage
Tolerant	61	41
Stereotyped	42	28
Outspoken	41	27
Intense	6	4
Total	150	100

In order to adequately characterize the anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes as they were gathered from each individual, and before the individual cases are compressed into over-all statistical conclusions for each of the four categories on the tolerance-intolerance continuum, excerpts from one characteristic case in each category will be presented.

The number of men who fell into each of the four categories can be seen from table 1(II).

From this table it is evident that less than half of the subjects were tolerant, while slightly more than a fourth were stereotyped and another fourth outspokenly anti-Semitic. Only a very small fraction were intensely anti-Semitic. In this sample of veterans, the approximately 60 per cent who displayed some measure of intolerance toward Jews was roughly the same percentage found in national opinion polls. The number falling within the intensely anti-Semitic category was quite small, and they are therefore analyzed together with the outspokenly anti-Semitic veterans throughout this study. However, since they are potential activists whose political role might be significant, should their dissatisfaction increase and be channelized into organized anti-Semitic agitation, it is important to examine one of their number along with the other more frequent types.

TYPICAL EXAMPLES

CASE ONE: AN INTENSELY ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. As defined above, the *intensely intolerant* veteran spontaneously declared a preference

for restrictive action against Jews, and, in addition, expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about them.

Mike, a thirty-two year old switchman, was born in Chicago, of Irish Catholic parentage, as one of six children. His father was a conductor on the elevated lines. After four years of high school, Mike became a beverage salesman. He married shortly after he went into the army, where he served as an airplane mechanic. Thereafter he was separated from his wife for most of the four and one-half years of his army life.

On his current job he earned approximately \$55.00 per week. The *Chicago Tribune* was his regular newspaper and he was a member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and of the Switchmen of North America.

Attitudes toward Jews. As was typical for the few intense anti-Semites, Mike's hostility toward minorities emerged spontaneously and explosively in the initial portions of the interview.

His remarks were pessimistic from the outset, and he took frequent opportunity to denounce politicians and big business for the difficulties in which Chicago, the United States, and the world found themselves. After an outburst in which he characterized the capitalists as the people who really run the government and who got the United States into war, the question was put to him: "As things stand, would you say that some people get all the breaks and others get none?" His answer was:

"Yeah, the Hebes. (And without probe or other encouragement, he elaborated:) I think Hitler did a good thing. They're born that way, they can make a dollar where a white person starves. Where they come in, the niggers follow and knock the property down. They're awfully clannish for another thing. Take the Irish, they don't trust each other. The Jews patronize each other."

Thereafter, and throughout the interview, he described the Jews in outbursts of negative character and urged that repressive measures be used against them. When, in a probe following the above response, he was asked whether he felt that the Jews deserved the breaks they got, he declared:

"No, I think they should put them all in Africa. Yeah, I certainly would. (Pause.) Conscientious objectors is another thing. They should take their citizenship and deport them. If this country isn't good enough for them to fight for, it isn't good enough to live in. They had a lot of jobs in the army where they didn't have to carry a rifle."

His views on the role of the Jew in the army were dominated by the fact that his outfit had had a Jewish chaplain.

"We had a Jewish rabbi for group chaplain, and we had a Catholic priest come around three times a week. . . . I don't see why they gave us that Jewish chaplain. There were only about ten Jews in our outfit of 2,500 men. They'd never make good regular army soldiers. They're below the average. They just aren't cut out for military life. (In the army) I've only seen about four Jews that I know of. One of them was kill crazy. . . ."

At the end of the interview, when questioned directly about the Jews, Mike reiterated his demand that Jews be deported, and gave as his reason:

"They're too clannish, they don't mix. All your big industries are controlled by them. Your movies are all controlled."

He favored the prevention of intermarriage: "You get half-castes." He objected to living next door to Jews. He was opposed to working on the same job with a Jew:

"If I could get away from it I would. They kill a job. They overproduce. A Negro will never try to get ahead of a white man where a Jew would."

Finally, as a solution to the problems of interethnic relations, he advocated:

"Get a Hitler over here, he'd take care of them. (Laughs.) They should curb them somehow, they should not let any more in. No matter what country they get into, they get into money."

Among other opinions frequently held to be true by extreme anti-Semites, Mike suspected that President Roosevelt was of Jewish ancestry:

"Sometimes I think Roosevelt was part Jewish—he sure took care of them Hebes. We cheered over in England when he died. They're piggish. They demand the best, but then when they get the bill they kick."

Attitudes toward Negroes. Negroes too, were spontaneously used as objects for discharge of intense, verbal hostility, and restrictive measures were advocated. First spontaneous mention of Negroes occurred early when he recalled his army experiences in England. The lack of a clear color line there was a source of annoyance:

"I could talk all night about England. Being in England is like living on Maxwell Street.⁸ In the small towns they have no plumbing, a toilet outside and several families use it. . . . It's a backward country. . . . Another thing was the color line. There wasn't any. It was common to see a Negro with a white girl."

The Negro as a symbol of sexual rivalry recurred spontaneously in the

⁸ A slum thoroughfare in Chicago crowded with shops and stalls which are chiefly Jewish-owned.

interview even after the discussion of interethnic relations was guided into other areas. When, in the portion of the interview dealing with economic expectations, he was asked about equal employment treatment for Negroes, he replied:

"That's a delicate question. I hate them myself. They should put them in one section of the city and keep them in there. They're giving them too much independence. (In which way?) It was disgusting over in England. You could walk down the street and see a beautiful English girl go down the street with a nigger and wheeling a colored baby. They'd write home to get underwear to give these girls. It was disgusting. (Pause.) I talked to a corporal in the infantry that saw them in combat and said they weren't up to par in fighting either."

On the direct questions designed to probe the limits of his social distance from Negroes, he scored the highest possible intolerance score. He objected to intermarriage: "It would do away with the white race entirely. You won't have a white race left." He objected to Negroes moving in next door to him. "It ruins a neighborhood, lowers it." He objected to working on the same job with a Negro. "That's the reason I left the post office. That place was lousy with them, about eight to one." In fact, he said, he would only eat with Negroes if he had to.

Finally, he viewed the solution of Negro-white relations in terms of strict segregation.

"The only trouble with colored people is the way they increase. They don't care how they live. And you know yourself you see them in department stores where you didn't a few years ago. . . . As long as they're all over the country now, put them in one section and don't let them out."

CASE TWO: AN OUTSPOKENLY ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. As defined above the *outspokenly anti-Semitic* veteran responded to direct questions by declaring a preference for restrictive action against Jews, and, in addition, expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about the Jews.

Peter, a thirty-five year old semiskilled worker in a machine shop, was born in Chicago of Italian-Catholic parentage, as one of three children. His father was a laborer. After four years of high school, Peter went to work in a machine shop with no special technical training. He had never married; while in the army for three and one-half years, he served as a military policeman in the European theater.

On his current job Peter earned \$35.00 per week. The *Chicago Tribune* and *Herald American* were his favorite newspapers; he was not a member of any organization.

Attitudes toward Jews. Although Peter's stereotyped characterizations of the Jews emerged only after he was questioned directly, his stereo-

typed attitudes led him to advocate a variety of restrictions. His first mention of Jews was in the middle portion of the interview dealing with economic expectations and the question of employment preference for Gentiles during periods of depression. (This may be contrasted with Mike's interview, in which Jews were mentioned spontaneously in the initial portion of the interview.) Peter was convinced of the inevitability of another depression in about seven years. "The unemployment will be bad enough so that we'll have to have war with Russia to bring us out of it." He saw himself unequipped to deal with the effect of a depression except by going on relief. When asked whether Gentiles should be given first chance if there were not enough jobs to go around he laughed nervously and said:

"They (the Jews) usually go into business for themselves. They have money and stick together. I've only known two that ever worked in a factory. The Gentiles will stick to a job while if a Jew gets \$500 he'll quit and open a store."

He felt that:

"The Jews in the army did right well for themselves. They were treated all right. Our first sergeant was Jewish. He didn't qualify for it, he got it through drag."

As a solution to the Jewish problem, he suggested deportation:

"Personally I would send them all back to Jerusalem. They're not a creative race, they're always counting their money. It was the Germans, Irish, and the Italians and the Russians that built up this country. These races aren't too proud to work. The Jews control the money and stick together."

When, toward the end of the interview, Peter was questioned directly on his attitudes toward Jews in different social situations, he was predominantly, if not completely, hostile. He objected to intermarriage, not on racial grounds but "because of religious difficulties" and was opposed to working with Jews. "They're not experienced and wouldn't be dependable on a job. It requires skill that they don't have because they don't work on jobs." On the other hand, he was tolerant of the prospect of Jews living next door to him. "He could have his business, and I could have mine. We could keep to ourselves."

Attitudes toward Negroes. Peter made no spontaneous mention of Negroes. When the subject was introduced by the interviewer, he revealed a thoroughly stereotyped attitude and made repeated demands for restrictive action against them.

Discussion of employment rights of Negroes produced the following outburst:

"Well, Mussolini said that if white people didn't watch out, the colored people would rule the world. I'm not prejudiced though. I think the Negroes should have their place. I don't know, the Negroes today, the majority of them are lazy and they don't seem to be able to get away from their ancestry, although we try to educate them. They have their peculiar ways and carry on just like wild men. You should see them in their own neighborhood. White people should get preference. The Negroes are expanding, they have no birth control, and if we aren't careful they'll take over in about a hundred years."

In describing the Negro in the army, he said:

"The Negroes were treated very well. Most of them had physical handicaps and got good jobs. They were put into the Quartermaster Corps. They abused their jobs. They were the ones that sold our supplies and cheated. . . . They didn't do any fighting. We got along with them as long as they stayed in their place. We didn't associate with each other. They kept on the other side of the line. . . ."

The full meaning of Peter's attitudes emerged as he commented on the question of social distance:

"They're like their ancestors. They're lazy and of different color and from a different climate. They'll never acclimate to this climate or to the ways of the white man. They're slow in education. Their ancestors were cannibals and wild, and they haven't gotten over that."

He was emphatic in urging prevention of intermarriage.

"That wouldn't help to keep the ideals of America up. It would change the whole evolution of this country. When you speak of an American, you speak of a white person. Overseas the Negroes called themselves 'American Indians.'"

When asked about having Negroes as next-door neighbors, he said:

"We have them in my own neighborhood, and I know from personal observation that their habits are very bad, they're dirty, loud, and filthy. . . . (As fellow workers.) They're careless and lazy. I would have no confidence in them. They're wild and they're not clean. Their body has aroma of a bad smell. A white person might be more untidy than a Negro, but I could tolerate that. I have observed them personally, and I don't think they'll ever work into the ways of the white man and this is because of their ancestors. They (the Negroes) should be isolated in different states and put them there to stay and let them have the same privileges as the whites in those states. (Pause.) I guess that wouldn't be very democratic. They might want to live in states that weren't set aside for them. They should be allowed to live in any state that they wanted to. Maybe it would be better to isolate them in different sections of the different states."

CASE THREE: A STEREOTYPED ANTI-SEMITIC VETERAN. The *stereotyped anti-Semite* has been defined as an individual who expressed a range of unfavorable stereotypes about the Jews, but who rejected the notion of any restrictive action against the Jews.⁹

George, a twenty-eight year old bank clerk, was born in Chicago of German-Lutheran parentage, as one of two brothers. After four years of high school and one term in a banking school, he went to work as a bank clerk. His four years of army service were mostly spent in combat in the Far East. He returned home to be married, and took up a bank clerk's job which was currently paying \$43.00 per week. His wife was also employed.

The *Daily News* and the *Tribune* were his regular newspapers. George was a member of the American Legion.

Attitudes toward Jews. George made no spontaneous mention of the Jews in response to any of the indirect questions designed to elicit ethnic hostility. His mild stereotypes about the Jews first emerged when, toward the end of the interview, he was asked for his opinions about their behavior in the army. He replied:

"We didn't see many of them in the front lines. Those that were there had all the privileges anyone else did. I don't believe they were mistreated. Most of them were in the Medical Corps and base sections."

"Yes, they did (make good soldiers). . . . In some cases they were as good as the next man. A few were killed in the front lines. It is true that a Jew tries to use his brain to get him out of things and is sly. It usually worked, too."

He also held stereotyped opinions of the Jew in business and finance:

"They got hold of all the financial ends in this country. I don't dislike them, but I don't like them because a Jew has no scruples when he's out to get ahead. It's at his best friend's expense that he'll get ahead. I don't care to deal with Jews, but nowadays you can't help it because they're in every business field."

Despite these stereotypes, he showed little aggressiveness on the question of what should be done about the Jews:

"There's nothing much you can do about it. They have as much right to live here as anybody else. . . . You can't force anybody to leave the country, but I don't believe we should take any more in."

⁹ The absence of demands for restrictive action was easily established by questions as to whether such action should be taken. However, subjects who stated that no restrictive action should be taken because there was no way to assure their success, were subsumed in the category of the outspoken anti-Semites.

This last opinion was in line with his more general views on immigration. He was opposed to any further entries into the United States and felt that the European refugee problem should be handled by the shipment abroad of American Red Cross supplies.

The range of social distance questions completed a picture of passive acceptance, toward the Jews. He was opposed to the prevention of intermarriage. "No, you can't stop that. It's up to the individual. He makes his nest and he's got to lie in it. There are plenty of white men marrying Jewish women nowadays." He had no objection to having Jews move next door to him. "No, it all depends upon what type he is. I have a friend who is a Jew—one of the finest types of persons I know. I don't know why he shouldn't move in next door to me." Finally he expressed no objections to working with a Jew.

Attitudes toward Negroes. George's attitudes toward Negroes contained a mixture of individual stereotypes, a mild personal tolerance toward them, and a belief that the conditions of Negro life ought to be bettered. At the same time, he insisted that segregation was more and more required if only because of the attitudes of other whites.

When the Negro was mentioned, he declared:

"I don't believe in difference between race. No matter what color a person is, providing he's a good citizen, he should have an equal chance at the job. I don't believe in inequality there. It's true some things will have to be done about the colored people because the problem is becoming acute. Pretty soon they'll have to segregate them because there are people who can't stand them to live next to them. But there are a lot of colored people who're cleaner and neater than white people."

As a solution to Negro-white relations, he stated: "I believe that a Negro sooner or later will have to live in certain parts of the city. I could get along with them, but the average white man can't. He's here, he's human, he must have a place to live and work. He should be taught to live clean. That might help."

His personal tolerance of the Negro extended to numerous areas of personal contact. He opposed prevention of intermarriage.

"It's up to the individual. If a white person likes a Negro and wants to marry, why shouldn't he? That's his problem. But I don't believe a white man would care to do a thing like that: I wouldn't. Not that I have any feelings against them."

He would accept Negroes as neighbors.

"If he's a good neighbor, a good clean man, does things to keep up his property—better than a dirty, white man." (As fellow workers:) "I've worked

with them already. Good workers and they've got to earn a living just like anybody else. After all, our natives are colored, and we worked with them. They were our best friends over there."

George's stereotypes about the Negro included the oft-encountered ones of the inability of Negroes to be combat soldiers, and of general laziness:

"From the reports I've heard they didn't stand up under combat. . . . I think they got the makings of smart people if they get rid of their lazy streak, get their homes and persons cleaned up."

CASE FOUR: A VETERAN TOLERANT TOWARD THE JEWS. The *tolerant veteran* was defined as an individual who held no stereotypes or only an occasional isolated stereotype about Jews and who denied the desirability of restrictive action against them.

John, a twenty-six year old mechanic, was born in Chicago of Austrian-Evangelical parentage, as one of eight children. His father was an ornamental ironworker. After four years of high school, John went to work as an apprentice in an ironworks factory. He was single; while in the army for three years he served as a light ordnance maintenance mechanic. On his current job, as a mechanic in a crane factory, he earned \$65.00 per week. He was a regular reader of the *Chicago Tribune*, a member of the American Federation of Labor, and of the social club of his church.

Attitudes toward Jews. John made no spontaneous mention of ethnic minorities during the initial portion of the interview, or in response to any of the indirect questions. When, toward the end of the interview, the subject was raised directly, he displayed a pattern of tolerance toward the Jews despite one isolated stereotype. On the other hand he employed a wide range of stereotypes about Negroes, and although he declared himself for equal treatment of Negroes, he insisted on segregation.

John's isolated stereotype about Jews emerged in connection with army life: "They were treated all right as far as I know. They all seemed to get pretty good jobs—either clerks or in the medics—postal clerks, company clerks and things like that." Nevertheless, when asked "How did the fellows in your outfit get along with Jews," he responded, "The ones in our outfit mixed right in. There was no ill feelings. Everybody got along."

In the various questions concerning interethnic relations, John displayed consistent and tolerant attitudes toward the Jews. He had no objection to intermarriage, in fact, he favored it as a policy to improve interethnic relations. "Don't think any harm can come to the Gentiles

marrying the Jews. It may cause better relations between the two if more were to marry."

With regard to employment preference, he would favor:

"The person that can do the job and has been there the longest. As far as any race, color, or creed—that shouldn't interfere in any way."

He summarized his attitude toward the Jews associatively as follows:

"I don't think there's any reason for ill feeling between the Jews and the Gentiles. That's caused a lot of trouble as in Germany, and I think we should overcome it. They say Jews have all the money—well, some of them do, but there are many who don't. It's just one of those things that grew. And here it shouldn't make any difference what the race, color, or creed of a man is."

Attitudes toward Negroes. John's opinions on the position of the Negro in the army showed a strange mixture of stereotypes combined with a limited amount of personal observation.

"It's true that they were kept apart. They had the same rights as the whites, I think, even though they were segregated."

To the question of whether Negroes made good soldiers, he replied:

"They made good combat soldiers if they were mixed in with the whites. There at the last they were mixed in, given infantry training, and ten or twelve put in with a white company. Then they were good; but when they were a whole division by themselves, they weren't. (In what way?) Don't know why. It seemed like they needed the leadership or the courage of the whites."

It is interesting to note the line which separated demands for tolerance toward the Negro from those for anti-Negro segregation and restrictions. John objected to intermarriage:

"Well, that's something I don't approve of. (Pause.) But it's entirely up to the individual. As far as the government interfering—it shouldn't. Every man should have the right to his own opinion."

He objected to Negroes moving in next door to his house:

"Yes, I would. I'll tell you, it's just the idea that as soon as one moved in all the rest would soon follow suit and then you'd be the only white left. There is that and the fact that property evaluation would go down. They just don't take care of their homes the way a white man does. It just seems Negro nature, the greatest percentage of them. He just doesn't have the initiative that the white man does to keep up his house. All his money goes into clothes, drinks, or something like that. That is, not all of them. There are some different, but that's the greatest per cent."

But on employment preferences, he expressed opposition to restrictions:

"I think they should be given the same advantages as the whites to make a living. You do find some very brilliant Negroes, and I don't think they should be hindered just because they're colored."

His response to the question of what should be done about the Negro in this country revealed his more general underlying attitude.

"They should be given freedom of speech and of the press. They should have all those rights. I think they should stay in their own restricted areas for the simple reason that as soon as they get in a neighborhood, the property evaluation goes down. The whites move out. If they could just move anywhere, they would soon ruin the city. But outside of that they should have all the rights."

John's general level of tolerance may be inferred from his answer to the question, "In your experience in the army, what kind of fellows were the biggest 'goldbrickers'?"

"Well, they were just individuals. All kinds. Some from the South and others from the North. Don't think you could say that one was more toward 'goldbricking' than the other."

COMPARISON OF ANTI-SEMITIC AND ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

From these case studies it appears that attitudes of tolerance or intolerance are generalized to some degree, since almost all those who were intolerant of Jews were also intolerant of Negroes, but the intensity of intolerance varied. Although anti-Negro attitudes are separately discussed in Chapter VIII, an analysis of the interrelation of these two expressions of ethnic hostility seems fitting at this point. The same method used in analyzing the nature and degree of intolerance toward Jews was used with some slight modifications in the analysis of anti-Negro attitudes. (See Appendix.)

Table 2(II) shows that one-sixth of the veterans had attitudes which

TABLE 2(II)
DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES

	Number	Percentage
Tolerant	12	8
Stereotyped	40	27
Outspoken	74	49
Intense	24	16
Total	150	100

were intensely anti-Negro, while half of them were outspokenly so. One-fourth held unfavorable stereotypes about Negroes to be true; at the same time nearly all of them called for equality of rights and opportunity but under conditions of segregation. Less than a tenth of the veterans could be classified as tolerant toward Negroes.

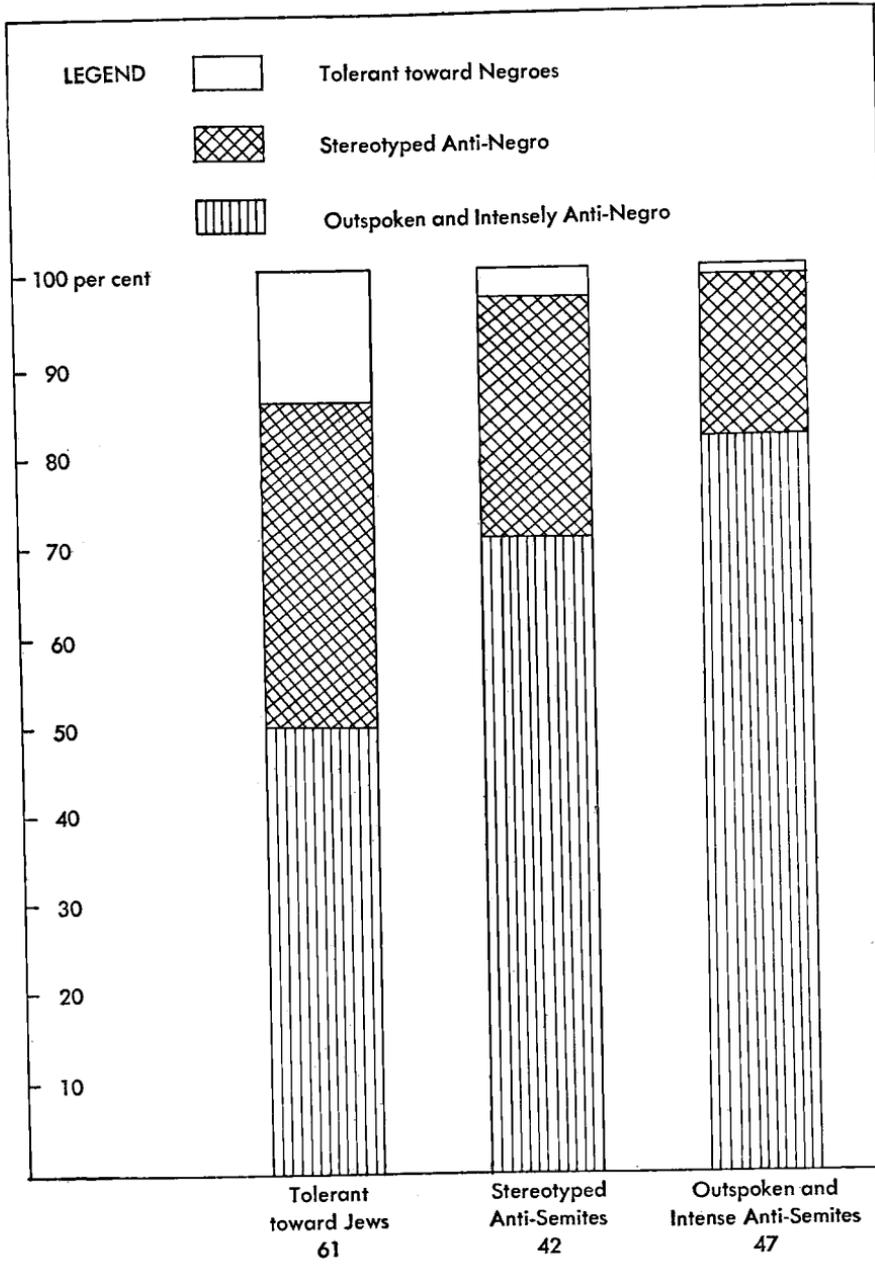
Merely to note that the incidence of tolerance is lower for the Negro, as these data indicate, does not fully reveal the association which exists between intolerance toward the Negro and intolerance toward the Jew. In the majority of cases, for example, tolerance toward Jews was coexistent with stereotyped and even more marked intolerance of the Negro. (See Chart A.) As the degree of intolerance toward the Jew increased, it was generally accompanied by an even greater degree of intolerance toward the Negro. The reversed pattern—that is, tolerance toward the Negro accompanied by outspoken anti-Semitism—occurred in only *one* case. This case may be explained by the fact that this man's hostility toward the Jews was limited to a special subclass of Jews—namely, alien Jews.

Other interesting differences in intolerance can best be seen by a comparative examination of how the Jew and the Negro fared with respect to demands for restrictive action generally, and also in specific areas of interethnic relations.

For obvious reasons, the questions designed to reveal intolerance toward the Jews were not equally likely to reveal anti-Negro feeling. For example, on general questioning as to the solution of the Jewish problem, outspoken and intense anti-Semites often recommended specific and detailed restrictions such as the curbing of immigration or even deportation, especially to Palestine. For the Negro, expressions of restrictive desires were vague and undifferentiated. Instead of concrete demands of a repressive nature, such statements were made as: Negroes should be kept in their place; they have too much liberty. Or: Since sending them back is impossible, they should be kept at a distance.

It required more specific questions to determine a subject's concrete attitudes in this respect. Therefore, a series of four questions was asked dealing with situations likely to occur in the everyday life of the veteran. (See Table 3(II).) The tabulation shows that the character of expressed hostility depended on the area of interaction. There was only one question which evoked the same degree of intolerance for Jews and Negroes, namely, whether they should be forced to leave the country. Obviously, none but the most intolerant persons would welcome such extreme action. While the outspoken anti-Semite could rationalize his discriminatory

CHART A
INTERRELATION BETWEEN ANTI-SEMITIC ATTITUDES
AND ANTI-NEGRO ATTITUDES



demands by claiming that the Jews themselves want to leave the country, no such claims could be—or in fact were—made in the case of the Negroes.

With respect to common employment with Negroes or Jews, greater prejudice was shown toward the Negro. Ten per cent said they would be

TABLE 3(II)
ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES
(on Selected Questions)

	Attitude toward Jews		Attitude toward Negroes	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
<i>Should Jews (Negroes) Be Forced to Leave the Country?</i>				
Yes	16	11	25	17
Yes—particular class ^a	14	9	2	1
No	114	76	115	77
Don't know and Other ^b	6	4	8	5
<i>Would You Be Willing to Have A Jew (A Negro) Work in the Same Job That You Are Doing?</i>				
Yes	120	80	71	47
No	16	11	75	50
Don't know and Other ^b	14	9	4	3
<i>Would You Object to A Jew (A Negro) Moving in Next Door to Your House?</i>				
Yes	25	17	123	82
No	116	77	17	11
Other ^b	9	6	10	7
<i>Should Jews (Negroes) Be Prevented from Intermarriage?</i>				
Yes	10	7	114	76
No	130	87	32	21
Don't know and Other ^b	10	6	4	3

^a Includes alien Jews, recent Jewish refugees, etc.

^b Includes only responses which could not reliably be classified as "yes" or "no."

unwilling to have a Jew work on the job with them, but more than half were unwilling to work with Negroes under any circumstances, or only if Negroes were in inferior positions. In other words, 40 per cent more of the veterans were hostile toward the Negroes than toward the Jews in this regard.

The greatest difference between attitudes toward Jews and Negroes

was found to exist on the question of intermarriage. It was to be expected that the feeling against intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews as against intermarriage between Negroes and whites would differ considerably in degree. Three-fourths of the veterans were opposed to intermarriage between Negroes and whites, a figure which was almost 70 per cent higher than those who rejected intermarriage between gentiles and Jews.

Contrary to popularly held notions, the level of hostility toward intermarriage was most similar to that displayed against close residence with Negroes. Over 80 per cent of the sample objected to having Negroes as next-door neighbors; a figure which is 65 per cent higher than the number who objected to having Jews move in as next-door neighbors.¹⁰

Thus, we see that attitude patterns toward Jews and Negroes with regard to intermarriage and mixed housing present a similar level of hostility for each minority and may indicate a common underlying sentiment. It seems difficult to maintain the usually proffered explanation that segregation in housing is carried out mainly for economic reasons, while marriage restrictions are supposed to result from sex attitudes. Two such different explanations will not suffice to explain the similarity of attitude toward these seemingly different aspects of living together.¹¹

It has been recognized that sexual rivalry and fear, as well as suppressed desires, are often projected onto members of an outgroup. However, it is striking to note the degree to which this type of hostile projection is concentrated on the Negro group and is *not* directed toward the Jew.¹² In the main, responses on intermarriage with Jews were conspicuously free of sexually oriented symbols from which one could have inferred projection of repressed sexual desires. Neither in response to the question of intermarriage, nor in any other part of the interview were the Jews characterized as persons who engaged in sexually immoral or deviant behavior. This stands in sharp contrast to an important element of European anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic agitation which stressed the Jew's supposed sexual immorality.

The fact that the interviews were conducted by women interviewers

¹⁰ The difference between the number of those who objected to Negroes moving in next door and of those who thought intermarriage with Negroes should be prevented is below statistical significance.

¹¹ Currently, it is a focal point of democratic policy to eliminate segregation in housing. It is felt that changes in interethnic patterns are possible in this area, even while underlying prejudice about sexual and marital relations remains unchanged. This position seems difficult to maintain in view of the interrelatedness of these attitudes as indicated by the similarly high level of hostility.

¹² For a fuller discussion of this observation see Chapter VIII.

cannot explain the absence of this characterization. A number of those interviewed discussed illicit sex relations on the part of soldiers. (These remarks were not simply bravado, since the topic was usually discussed with reluctance and expressions of guilt.) Moreover, sexual allusions to the Negro were not infrequent. In characterizing the Negro as a soldier, he was repeatedly described in terms of his sexual behavior while serving overseas.

The overall pattern of hostility toward the Negro and the Jew suggests that when each minority is presented in different contexts and in different interethnic situations, different amounts of hostility are mobilized. In terms of these differential quantities, the Negro received *proportionately* more hostility than the Jew as the sphere of interethnic relations became more private, more intimate, less secular and less commercial. The measures of restrictive demands indicate that Negroes as compared to Jews fared least poorly in employment and worst in housing.