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Box 16, Folder 10, Dropsie College study of Jewish education
portrayal of other religious groups, 1964.

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DRAFT STUDY OF THE DROPSIE STUDY

Background of the Study

This study deals with the attitudes toward other groups found in the teaching materials used in Jewish ^{supplementary} and day schools in the U.S.A. It is an attempt to ^{convey} relay the manner in which Jewish textbooks portray other religious, ethnic, or racial groups, and also to show how Jewish groups picture each other.

Religious, ethnic, racial, or other communities in interaction, encountering outside groups in cooperation or in dialogue, in competition or tension, may register their attitudes toward the others either in a friendly, neutral form, or in a hostile one. A reflection of any one of these attitudes can often be found in the textbooks of each group. Each culture or sub-culture tries to transmit to the child a certain image of itself and of the outer world. In education, including religious education, the ideals and values propounded and stressed are usually determined by the value system and ideals of the society in question, reflecting its dominant attitudes and beliefs. Moreover, under certain conditions, the school itself and consequently, to a certain degree, the textbooks used, are bound to have an impact upon the rising generations, helping to strengthen their value system and ^{influencing} causing them to react in a specific way.

The Jewish community is no exception to this rule. It is the function of its schools, or religious schools, to implant Jewish ideals, to contribute to the survival of Jewishness or of the Jewish group and to inculcate loyalty to it, to acquaint the rising generation with the tenets of Jewish religion and

culture (as the case may be.) Here, too, the school and its textbooks both reflect Jewish society and its attitudes, and may have an impact upon society by passing on to the rising generation traditions, values, and ideas.

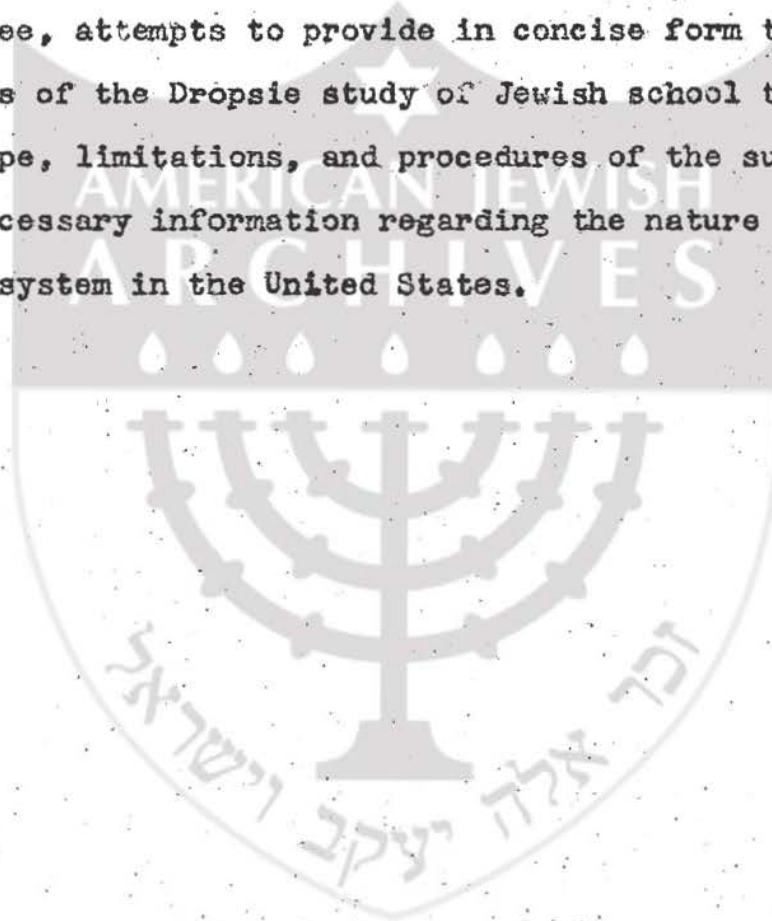
The present inquiry is concerned mainly with the possible impact of the textbooks upon the children (at the ^upoint of) inter-group and intergroup relations. How do Jewish textbooks visualize the Jewish community in its relations with other communities, with religious, ethnic, and racial groups? how do they regard the non-Jewish groups, and how does each Jewish group envisage its relation with other Jewish groups?

This project, conceived as a Jewish self-study, is one of several autonomous inquiries, initiated and encouraged by the American Jewish Committee, and carried ^{out} at academic institutions in the United States. The Protestant survey was conducted by Dr. Benhard E. Olson at Yale University Divinity School, and studies of Catholic textbooks ^{were} carried out under the direction of Father Trafford Maher of St. Louis University. While these three studies do not employ a unified methodological approach, and the research designs are not identical, the studies share a common aim: to contribute to the pluralistic society in which diverse groups can live together without impinging upon one another's freedom, by suggesting ways of eliminating from religious education textbooks prejudice of one group against ~~the~~ ^{an} other, and to help implant in each an understanding of the other.

The Dropsie College Intergroup Project was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Bernard D. Weinryb, with the research,

analysis, quantitative computations, and preliminary reports the responsibility of Dr. Daniel Garnick. Dr. Meir Ben Horin served as a consultant.

This summary, ~~prepared~~ prepared by the American Jewish Committee, attempts to provide in concise form the major findings of the Dropsie study of Jewish school textbooks, the scope, limitations, and procedures of the survey, and some necessary information regarding the nature of the Jewish school system in the United States.



The Jewish Community and its School

Between 5,000,000 and 5,500,000 Jews live in the U. S. today, over $\frac{3}{4}$ of whom are American born. The latter are mostly the sons and daughters--and grandsons and granddaughters--of the immigrants who came to this country during the last 60-80 years, ~~mostly from~~ many of them from Eastern Europe.

Each of the immigrant groups built up its own institutions (religious, cultural, political, social, philanthropic, educational, fraternal, welfare, etc.), Some of them modified transplantations from "old country," others springing up in response to new needs.

Thus there exist today in the U.S.A. three main Jewish religious denominations (modern Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform) and a number of ~~secular or semi-secular~~ ^{non-synagogal in lay} organizations (Zionist, Hadassah-Womens' Zionist group, Paley Zion, Religious Zionists, etc. labor groups), civic-protective (American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee), fraternal and/or service organizations (B'nai B'rith, The National Council of Jewish Women, Workmen's Circle, Labor Zionist Order, and others); a ^{network} of all sorts of welfare organizations (Family Service, Child Care, Health, Vocational Service, etc.), cultural, educational, recreational, and many others. To these should be added a number of institutional frameworks for aid to Jews abroad.

Jews, like other immigrant groups, were confronted with a certain paradox: on the one hand, the desire to assimilate and ^{to} integrate into American society--which means acceptance

of the values and attitudes of the majority groups--and on the other hand, the desire to maintain a common Jewish heritage and to survive as a group. Unlike most other immigrants, however, the Jews came from a minority situation ~~from a~~ ^{distinctive} country of immigration and was highly sensitive to anti-alien trends and group differences in America "seeing in them, ¹ rightly or wrongly-- a repetition of European anti-Semitism."

In recent years, what has been termed ^a "revival of Jewish religious life" has taken place in the U. S., for a variety of reasons (the effects of the Nazi holocaust, sensitiveness towards anti-Semitism, the impact of the establishment of the ^{the "triple religious melting pot"} State of Israel, etc.) Membership in Jewish organizations is estimated to have doubled during the years 1935-1955. ~~THE~~ Between 1949-1956 the number of synagogues affiliated with the Reform movement (Union of American Hebrew Congregations) increased ~~from~~ 35.2% from 392 to 530, and those of the Conservative movement (United Synagogue of America) increased 64.1%, from 365 to 599, ²

* 1955-64 trends?

¹ Bernard D. Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accommodation to America." Publications of the Jewish Historical Society, XLVI, No. 3 (1957), pp. 380 ff., 400-402 (Reprinted in Marshall Sklare ed., The Jews. Social Patterns of an American Group, Glencoe, Ill., 1958, pp. 4-22).

² American Jewish Yearbook, 1950, pg. 154; 1957, pg. 4; 1958, pg. 114.

~~and~~ ^{and} those of the ^{modern} Orthodox group (Union of Orthodox ^{Jewish} Congregations) grew from 500 to 720. To this may be added as many as 2,000 unaffiliated synagogues--mostly Orthodox--with half a million or more members.

These trends run parallel to the general "religious revival" in America. However, while institutional religion serves generally as a means of religious identification, among Jews it serves also as a symbol of Jewish group identification, but not necessarily solely religious in character.

While Jewish group identity may be expressed in various ways, ^{sympathy and support of} ~~loyalty~~ to Israel, marrying within the faith (endogamy), and association with some form of Jewish organizational life, ^{enterprise} the most purposeful ~~factor~~ for group survival is thought to be the stress that parents and leaders place on Jewish education for their children.

Over half a million children are attending Jewish schools in America. Taking as a basis the data of the National Study of Jewish Education for 1958³ there were in that year 553,600 children attending some 3,400 Jewish schools, a growth of 131.2% as compared with 1948, by far surpassing the estimated ratio of ~~birth~~ growth of the Jewish child population generally.

Among Jewish children of elementary school ages (5-14) about 40-45% attend Jewish schools--in smaller communities at a much higher rate (Camden, N. J. 67.6%; Savannah, Ga. 96.4%; Tucson, Arizona 89.3%).

If it is "kept in mind that the average length of Jewish elementary schooling is 3 to 4 years, or less than half of the total school age period...the estimate that 40-50% of Jewish children receive Jewish instruction at any one time would therefore imply that well over 80% of Jewish children receive some Jewish schooling at some time during the eight years of elementary school age."

The Jewish religious school in America is largely supplementary to the public school system with the pupils attending either in the afternoon when they leave public school and on ^{Saturdays or} Sundays, or on Sundays alone. Day (parochial) schools accommodate about 1/10 of the whole Jewish school population. The bulk of the Jewish schools are of an elementary character; only a fraction of the Jewish school population (6.7%) continue their Jewish study through high school age.

The period of time spent on most Jewish children in the Jewish school (with the exception of the day school) is comparatively short. The average child spends in the Jewish school between half a year and a year of the ^{entire} time he spends in the public school.

³ Unless otherwise identified, all figures come from this study as published in Alexander M. Dishkin and Eri Z. Engelman, Jewish Education in the United States, I, N.Y.: American Association for Jewish Education, 1959

⁴ ibid., pp. 40., ~~15-16~~, 51 ff

The vast majority of American Jewish schools, however, (88.5% of enrollment) are under congregational auspices of the three religious denominations, with the Conservative group accounting for 39%, Reform for 28%, and Orthodox for 21%. While most of the Sunday schools are connected with the Reform movement, about one-half of the weekday afternoon schools are Conservative-sponsored, and almost all the whole day schools are of Orthodox origin.

Enrollment by Type of School

	No.	%
Full time day schools	42,651	7.8
Weekday afternoon schools	261,287	47.2
One day Sunday schools	249,662	45.0

Total 553,600 100.0

Enrollment by Religious-Cultural Orientation

	%
Orthodox	21.0
Conservative	38.6
Reform	28.1
Yiddish	1.3
Other or multiple orientation	11.0
TOTAL	100.0

THE OBJECTIVES of Jewish education as formulated in the different curricula include knowledge (Bible, history, customs, Hebrew, Yiddish); practices and participation, beliefs and attitudes (understanding of Judaism, heritage, etc.) and a sense of belonging and identification. Some additional objectives are: "to explore the teachings of Judaism and the ideals of American democracy for reciprocal influence" or "to inculcate . . . the universal ideals of Israel's

prophets . . . toward . . . involvement in service for freedom, brotherhood and peace."

Values and attitudes are mostly not formulated as a discipline, but left to be developed by the teacher. As the new edition of the Conservative "Curriculum Outline" explains:

"Values are not to be treated as subject-matter, nor merely as verbal slogans and formulas. They cannot be taught directly through preaching, discussion, or rationalization, nor can they be acquired quickly. . . through a single course, or from a special text on values, or ethics. . . The child learns values best by living them and by watching others live them. . . In school it is the teacher and the principal . . . with whom the child identifies. He always learns more from the teacher than from the curriculum. . . The skill with which the teacher utilizes various forms of group discussion to make situations described in the content studied . . . relevant to the daily life and experiences of his pupils will contribute greatly toward making these values function in their lives."¹⁴

CHARACTER OF JEWISH TEXTBOOKS

A few words describing some basic differences between the content of Jewish and Christian curricula may be helpful at this point.

Jewish history is the history of an ethnic-religious group, which includes social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of group life, whereas the history of Christianity, as well as of particular denominations in Christianity, is mainly Church history.

For the most part, Christian doctrine and Christian teachings embrace the encounter with Judaism. Christianity was originally a Jewish sect; its beliefs and practices are rooted in Jewish thought and the earliest ideological conflicts occurred within the matrix of Judaism. Bible teaching in Christian schools leads to comparisons of (and contradictions between) the New and Old Testaments. Most Christian biblical themes have some relevance to Jews. In Judaism and the Jewish school all this appears differently.

¹⁴Louis L. Ruffman and Others, *Curriculum Outline for the Congregational School* revised edition, New York: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, 1959, p. 14.

Character of Jewish Textbooks

A few words describing the basic differences between the content ^{of} ~~between~~ Jewish and Christian curricula may be helpful at this point.

Judaism evolved into a historical religion with very little, or no, emphasis on dogma. In contrast with Christianity, Jewish religion has little concern for faith and doctrine. It is for the most part concerned with observance of the legal or moral code, with good deeds, and other behavior traits, and not with the formulation of a creed.

Moreover, since the Jewish schools place a strong emphasis on "transmitting heritage" the curriculum is heavily weighted with "knowledge" subjects. Analysis reveals that the bulk (60% - 80%) of time is taken up with language instruction, (Hebrew/Yiddish) prayers, customs and ceremonies, Bible and some Talmud--subjects into which explicit intergroup or inter-relations do not enter ~~except~~ except insofar as the textbook may specifically apply the lessons of the past to current ^{mention} history and/concrete religious of ethnic groups in today's world. (There is, of course, much mention of "outside" groups in the Bible but this study considered intergroup references/only/to ^{as} ^{applying} contemporary groups; ancient groups such as the Philistines and Moabites ^{e's} were not taken into account.)

See Solomon
Schickel
in "The Dogmas
of Judaism"

Some indications of how the various Jewish school systems allot their classroom time will show some slight differences with regard to the amount of time in which intergroup relations might arise:

1. The usual Conservative Congregational School has a four-~~days~~ five and a half hour weekly program, about three hours of which are spent on language and prayer, two hours on history, customs, ceremonies and holidays and one half hour on art and song. Since intergroup content would most likely arise in the study of history, it may be seen that only a fraction of (the) that two hour period would expose the children to intergroup material. Much the same may be said for the five day Talmud Torah and for the all day school (insofar as the Jewish studies are concerned.)
2. The Reform Congregational School has some three-day programs, but mainly two- and one-day programs. The one-day programs are largely given over to history, customs, ceremonies and holidays, as well as ethics and hence have a larger relative exposure to intergroup content. The two- and three-day programs begin to approximate the situation in the Conservative system.
3. The one-day Sunday School Program, unrelated to congregational schools, is usually arranged for very young children and hence centers around biblical themes, holidays, etc. with relatively little intergroup content.

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4. The Yiddish Schools tend to have relatively little intergroup content in the lower grades. In "Mitelschule" (high school) the intergroup (and ~~the~~ ideological) content becomes quite important even in the "language" materials.
 - 7 5. The Lubavitcher "release-hour" missionary effort is almost totally devoid of intergroup content. But this is not the case in its Yeshiva program, particularly the "literary" material for the early years and pre-teens. However, even here, the percentage of time spent on material with intergroup content is small.
 6. Pre-teen youth movement materials tend to be devoid of intergroup content, and the older groups also show relatively little ~~concern with these.~~
 7. The American Council for Judaism spends the highest percentage of time with intergroup (and ideological) materials. Virtually all of their teaching activity, even when biblical themes are studied, relates to current intergroup relations. They also have a well-defined program for differentiating themselves from the remainder of the Jewish groups and trends and hence even when discussing purely religious observance are intergroup oriented.

While these variations may be attributed to the different Jewish school systems, they are less true in the actual classroom experience, ~~they are less true in the actual classroom experience~~ since there is a certain interchange in the use of textbooks--one group at times using textbooks published by another group.

→ transition?

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Perhaps the most important distinction is that the very nature of Christian doctrine and teaching entails a comparison between Christianity and Judaism; this is simply not true of Jewish religious teaching. Christianity was originally a Jewish sect; its beliefs and practices are rooted in Jewish thought and the earliest ideological conflicts occurred within the matrix of Judaism. Whether or not a particular Christian textbook holds the Jews collectively responsible for the Crucifixion of and death of Jesus, it is impossible to set forth Christianity without reference to Judaism. Christian education thus embraces the encounter with Judaism in both historical and doctrinal contexts as well as within the framework of contemporary relations.

In Jewish school textbooks, on the other hand, the Christian-Jewish encounter is for the most part in the context of modern or recent times and is social rather than doctrinal and theological. Because of the nature of Judaism as a religion (historical, rather than dogmatic), of the character of early Jewish writings (lack of mention of Jesus*) and the Jewish school curriculum, (emphasizing concrete subject matter) Jewish-Christian relationships tend to be described pragmatically.

between Jew & Christian

* The Christian interpretation from Biblical passages, such as Isaiah 53, as having relevance to Jesus are, of course, not accepted. There exists Jewish apologetic writings, mostly of the Middle Ages, which deal with Christianity, but they

Scope, Limitations and Methodology of the Study

The Dropsie Study investigated a large sample of 220 items, including books, plays and periodicals, drawn from 46 organizational and individual publishers.^{*} Several criteria were used in selecting these items. The list of textbooks compiled for the National Study of Jewish Education (1958) helped determine which items are more widely used in the schools. But the objective was to include materials not only of the principal religious "denominations" of Judaism in the U. S., but also of such smaller groups as the American Council for Judaism, as well as the texts published by the more important central community agencies, Yiddish school organizations, Zionist youth organizations, and independent publishing houses.

The aim of the study was to ascertain what Jewish curriculum materials teach, explicitly and by implication, in two broad areas: Jews in relationship to non-Jews, and Jews in relationship to other Jewish groups. To what extent do the materials refer to outside groups? What themes serve as occasions for inter-group references? Do the materials contain prejudice?, and also, do they combat prejudice through affirmative, identifying or corrective statements about other groups?

In setting up procedures to determine bias, the author of this study was aware of certain problems inherent in the very purpose of religious school textbooks. For, whether the

^{*} A list of the publishers and their breakdown into publisher and language type, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ may be found in the appendix.

religious school is seen as the transmitter^{ter} of a body of faith, of a set or moral and ethical attitudes, or of ~~good~~ ^{group} identification and loyalty, the textbooks will perforce stress the distinctiveness of the particular faith--particularly so in a pluralistic society where diverse religious and cultural groups co-exist in cooperation, competition, and sometimes conflict. Emphasis on the unique history, values, and beliefs of the ingroup is thus necessary in order to help separate it from the surrounding community, but there is the hazard that it may encourage ~~as~~ a defensive or polemical attitude toward the "others."

Moreover, each religious community has at some point in history suffered at the hands of others. Recounting these episodes of martyrdom may fulfill important needs of minority persons, explaining and justifying their plight and sometimes even turning suffering into a sort of virtue. But themes of victimization and persecution also call for the image of an oppressor. This is a problem for all religious groups, but particularly for Jews, who have lived as a minority for the past 2,000 years. A description of the Jewish past which omits the persecution by the Crusaders who exterminated Jewish communities in the 11th and 12th centuries; the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal in the 15th through 17th century; the Chmelnitzky massacres in the Ukraine (1648); the pogroms in Czarist Russia ~~in~~ (19 - 20th century) and the Nazi catastrophe in our own time would be a false and ~~at~~ distorted history. And it would also be a distortion to try to "balance" each story of persecution by an instance in which non-Jews helped Jews.

These instances certainly deserve a place in the history book, and they provide an important corrective, but ~~they~~^{major} in proper perspective they do not change the/pattern of the event. The author or editor of Jewish curriculum materials is thus faced with the difficult problem of how to avoid falsifying Jewish history while at the same time refraining from impressing upon the young the image of the victimizer⁵ ~~(Christian)~~^{or Moslem or Nationalist-political} as persecutors and oppressors. In the words, negative references to the persecuting "others" cannot be avoided in every case, just as favorable images of self are inevitable ~~xx~~ in the case of any committed group. Realistically, the problem of the textbooks is therefore less whether they have any negative references at all, than how these measure up in relation to the positive references. Do positive images offset the negative ones or vice versa? ~~THEX~~ A thoughtful handling of the materials ought not to yield a totally negative image of the outside.

The Research Procedure

The concept of "prejudice" and its opposite has been used here as an organizing principle. Prejudice may be defined as a way of feeling, a bias of disposition consisting of commonly shared attitudes of hostility, contempt, mistrust or devaluation of the members of the particular social, religious or ethnic groups because they happen to belong to that group. ~~THEXX~~ Its opposite is not nearly the absence of prejudice, but a positive expression of accepting and acknowledgment or the effort to correct distortion. The

analytical categories are:

Prejudice: rejection and/or hostility, stereotyping, distortion.

(e.g. "First came an insolent rabble of Christians, a raging mob of Frenchmen and Germans who had taken into their minds to fare forth to the Holy City and to drive out from thence the sons of Ishamel")

Anti-Prejudice: acceptance, acknowledgment, correction

(e.g. "The Jews lived well in Rome. The Pope was friendly. He was opposed to the inquisition.")

The textbooks have been quantitatively analyzed, counting the relatively frequencies of prejudiced, anti-prejudiced, and neutral references. The unit of measurement was a sentence or a picture.⁶

Balance and Imbalance

As previously mentioned, the problem is basically not whether a text contains some negative or positive sentences--both are apparently inevitable--but the extent of each. Sentences or pictures with intergroup content were scored negative (-), positive (+) or neutral (0). The references were

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Although they vary in length and impact, sentences are more uniform than other units of measurements such as paragraphs or chapters.

then rated to determine whether the textbook was "positively imbalanced" (~~xxx~~ i.e. contained more positive than negative statements) or negatively imbalanced. The concept "inbalance" thus gives an indication of the direction in which the inter-group content is oriented. (The concept of inbalance may be simply understood as the relative frequency of pro and con statements, but in content analysis, the mathematical procedure for determining inbalance is a little more complicated, because the neutral statements also enter into the tabulations. A more detailed discussion of these methodological question is to be found in the appendix.)



Pre-Occupation

The term "pre Occupation" simply describes the extent to which any given textbook mentions^s outside groups. The "coefficient of preOccupation" is a simple mathematical percentage, expressing the ratio of sentences or pictures having intergroup content to the total number of sentences and pictures in the book. PreOccupation serves as the sort of index of the degree to which one group relates itself to others. In the case of the Jewish school, curriculum materials dealing with customs, ceremonies, ~~and~~ holidays, prayer, song or language manuals are for the most part, "introverted" and pay little attention to the outside world. Similarly, purely religious textbooks, in contrast with Christianity, make few references to other religions.

The items which tend to have^{a high} coefficient of preoccupation are usually history, biography, and books dealing with comparative religion. Generally, it is the subject matter of the curriculum rather than the publisher type (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Zionist, etc.) which determines the extent of preoccupation with other groups.

Total preoccupation in all of the 220 ~~book~~ curriculum materials analyzed ranged from 0 percent to 89 percent. In the high ranges of preoccupation, however, (61-89 percent) there are only a limited number--a total of 17 textbooks, while in the low ranges (0 - 10 percent) there are almost half, precisely 100 items, the rest being divided among the intermediate ranges. The total preoccupation figure for all texts does not go beyond an average of 14 per cent. 76

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For comparison's sake it should be mentioned that the St. Louis University study of Catholic textbooks revealed a preoccupation figure of 51.4 percent, and the Yale Divinity School study of Protestant curricula (Faith and Prejudice) Yale University Press, (Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, 1963) revealed intergroup preoccupation figures ranging from 66.5 percent to 87.9 percent among the four ~~separate~~ Protestant curricula analyzed.



Five group categories were devised in order to classify and organize the different contexts in which the Jewish textbooks ^{refer to} ~~wrote~~ about non-Jews. The group categories are:

- I Non Jewish Religious Groups
- II Non Jewish Ethnic Majority Groups
- III Non Jewish Ethnic Minority Groups
- IV Non Jewish Racial Groups
- V Non Jewish Socio-Economic Groups

These distinctions were considered necessary in analyzing the Jewish school material because Jewish history is the history of an ethnic-religious group, which includes social, ^{cultural} economic and political aspects of group life. Thus, while Christian religion textbooks will tend to ~~identify~~ write about Jews qua Jews (with some variation, such as "Hebrews" or "Israelites") Jewish textbooks will identify non Jews in a variety of contexts, ~~expts~~, i.e. as Swedes or Russians (ethnic majority or minority), as Roman Catholic or Ukrainian Orthodox (religious), as landowners and peasants (socio-economic).

The following table illustrates the average coefficient of preoccupation for the five group categories according to publisher type, combined ~~max~~ average over publisher types and total coefficient of preoccupation per publisher type.

who
The forty odd publishers ~~that~~ issued the text were organized into eight groups. The first five denote official religious denomination. The Yiddish publications, usually stemming from semi-labor groupings, are put together to make ~~max~~ number six. Number seven covers publications of Zionist publications and in number eight are "all others" including independent publishers and central community organizations and agencies, bureaus of Jewish education and private publishers.

Direction and Imbalance

The great majority of intergroup references in Jewish school materials are non-directional, that is, neither prejudiced or anti-prejudiced. When directional assertions are made, they are overwhelmingly positive (anti-prejudiced). The few prejudiced assertions are rarely doctrinal, but tend to be historical in content: in recounting ~~situations~~ historical experiences, former or contemporary persecutors are railed against. Even in these cases, however, an effort is made to distinguish between the individual and the group. For example, an individual Christian persecutor, rather than the whole of Christianity, will be taken to task.

In group category I (Non-Jewish Religious Groups) 35% (76) of the Jewish curriculum materials analyzed for this study showed imbalance, 88% of it positive, 12% negative (anti-prejudice) and (prejudice). While the number of books showing negative imbalance was, in absolute terms, higher for this group category than any other category, the number of positively imbalanced textbooks was almost eight times as great. The negative comments were largely found in books consisting of stories taken from popular Yiddish writers. These reprinted stories and poems by Eastern European Yiddish writers tend to communicate the attitude of many of the oppressed Eastern European Jews--sometimes fearful, sometimes contemptuous and mocking toward the European peasant around him.

Eg "A goy (gentile) is a thief...a goy, alone, knows that he is a thief...we have a shikse (gentle maid)

once...the thievish sort."

(translated from Yiddish)

The very same book, however, includes such a positive statement as:

"A priest would never resort to lying."

In group category II (Non-Jewish Ethnic Majority Groups), 45% (99) of the Jewish curriculum materials showed imbalance, 95% anti-prejudice and 5% prejudiced. Negative ^{comment} imbalance in this category manifested itself in several instances in the form of invidious comparisons between cultures and in generalized ^{caricature} characterizations:

Eg "It would be unjust to view the chasid's indulgence in intoxicating beverages in the same light as the senseless drinking of the Russian or Polish peasant which as a rule transforms ^{them} into drunken beasts."

However, the warmth and good feeling generated toward other cultures, societies and states is to be found much more often, particularly as regards the Jews' grateful feelings towards the U. S.:

"We often hear of Jewish contributions to American life. What contributions can you think of that America has made to Jewish life?"

In several instances, possible distortion is offset by corrective material: for example, a story which contrasts a learned and sympathetic Arab with a rich, proud but illiterate and anti-intellectual Jew.

In group category III, (Non-Jewish Ethnic Minority Groups) 12% (26) of the curriculum material reveals imbalance, 96% positive and 4% negative. The ^{only one} ~~single~~ prejudiced reference which occurred in this category, ~~was the following caricature characters:~~

"For many years the boy grew up among the wicked ^{Gypsies} ~~Jews~~."

However, much more characteristic ~~material~~ ^{was} is a sympathetic and affirmative outlook toward other groups:

"Try to train yourself not to react with preconceived opinions toward ~~these~~ groups outside your own experience. Try to think of Christians, ~~the~~ Negroes, Italians (etc.) as individuals to be liked and judged in their own right."

In group category IV (Non-Jewish Racial Groups) 16% (36) of the materials showed imbalance, 94% anti-prejudiced and 6% prejudice. The two instances of negative imbalance in this category resulted from ~~these~~ caricature descriptions rather than direct hostility to the group involved. Thus, in one story a Negro is described as having "fearful thick lips and big white teeth."

Here again, the positive ~~and~~ anti-prejudiced comments (which outweigh the negative by ^{eight} ~~14~~ times) are much more characteristic:

"White, Brown, black and yellow...all men are brothers, from one father, one ^{from} mother...? one land--the world...one God... the difference

is only the color, the nature is the same."

In group category V, (Non-Jewish Socio-Economic Groups 12% (26) of the materials showed imbalance, ~~while~~ 88% anti-prejudiced and 12% prejudiced. The negative imbalance tended to be expressed through hostility and ^{re}jection of occasional caricature, as, for example, in the following ^{excerpts:} two quotes.

"I was especially delighted when I laid hands on a Polish land owner. I yelled out in his ear and called in Yiddish, 'among the other wares you can purchase, Pan (lord) a Parisian heartache, my mine fall upon your head!'"

"The peasant who rode with them slept unperturbed like ^a the true ^{Esau} Efeu."

However, a sympathetic portrayal of the strivings of various socio-economic groups is again more characteristic of the curricula:

"Today, there are laws giving workers to the right to organize and fight for their demands, but in the beginning every step of the way was a hard struggle."

If we compare the positive and negative statement as a simple ratio, the absolute value (whether positive or negative) of the number will tend to be very high and will, in the case of the Jewish school materials, reflect ^{the} a great predominance of anti-prejudiced statements over prejudiced statements.

If the more complex ^{neutral} "coefficient of imbalance" is used (which

value of the positive or negative numbers will drop. (Obviously, if a given textbook contains 10 anti-prejudiced statements, and one prejudiced statement it is 90% positive; if the same textbook also contains 100 neutral sentences, the overall positive imbalance will be lower. In the following table we have illustrated both the simple ratio and the coefficient of imbalance for the 3 publisher types in the five Jewish non-group categories.



Publisher Type

GROUP
CATEGORIES

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Combined
I Non-Jewish Relg. Groups.	Simple Ratio	+100	+80	+100	+88	+100	+87	-71	+99	+93
	Coefficient of Imbalance	+.037	+.007	+.063	+.022	+.229	+.043	-.018	+.053	+.037
II Non-Jewish Ethnic Maj. Group	Simple Ratio	+100	+98	+99	+93	+100	+95	+87	+98	+97
	Coefficient of Imbalance	+.060	+.023	+.043	+.016	+.029	+.028	+.004	+.027	+.025
III Non-Jewish Ethnic Min. Group	Simple Ratio	-	-100	+100	+100	+100	+100	+86	+98	+94
	Coefficient of Imbalance	-	-.029	+.096	+.131	+.500	+.050	+.104	+.127	+.118
IV Non-Jewish Racial Groups	Simple Ratio	-	-	+100	+97	+100	+92	+100	+99	+98
	Coefficient of Imbalance	0	0	+.060	+.146	+.533	+.129	+.111	+.263	+.183
V Non-Jewish Socio-Economic Groups	Simple Ratio	+100	+95	+99	+92	+100	+93	+71	+98	+96
	Coefficient of Imbalance	+.225	+.014	+.009	+.056	+.118	+.002	0	+.063	+.042

INTRA-JEWISH RELATIONS

In addition to investigating ~~how~~ how Jewish school textbooks write about non-Jewish groups, this study explored the ways various Jewish groups write about one another. The same methodological approach was used, and the analysis is based on the following group categories:

Group Category VI	Intra-Jewish ^{Religious} Relations
Group " VII	Intra-Jewish Political-Cultural Relations (i.e., Zionism, Labor group etc.) ^{political groups, etc.}
Group " VIII	Intra-Jewish Subethnic Relations (i.e., Ashkenazim and Sefardim, German, (Eastern European Jews, etc.) ^{non-religious}
Group " IX	Intra-Jewish Socio Economic Relations

Preoccupation

If preoccupation serves as an index of one group's concern with another, and of the tensions between them, there is little of either in the present day Jewish community in America. Many differences (country of origin, language adherence, ideology) have been gradually dissolved in the second and third generations. The multiplicity of institutional loyalties ^{preserve and} engendered by the attempts to/support particularistic trends lead more to a variety of introverted interests than to tension between the group. As a result, there is within the American Jewish community today very little conflict and dialogue about basic problems of faith, ideology, attitudes and beliefs. The differences have at least been submerged if not completely ~~reestablished~~. reconciled.

The sole exception is probably the American Council for Judaism, Forming a very small minority in Jewish life, and being a comparative newcomer, the Council tends to define itself in contrast or opposition to other Jewish groupings.

Less than 9% of the total lesson materials show preoccupation with another Jewish group. There are, however, considerable differences between one Jewish group and another. Preoccupation ranges from 17.8% ^{of the} materials PUBLISHED by Zionist groups and 15.6% ^{publications} of the Council for Judaism down to 2.2% *for* the Hassidic-Orthodox group. Intra-Jewish preoccupation is revealed in the following table:

(make photo copy of page 103 of study)

TABLE 6
4

Average Coefficient of Preoccupation, by Group Categories VI-IX
(Inter-Jewish), According to Publisher Type, Combined Average
Over Publisher Types, ~~Total Coefficient of Preoccupation Per~~
~~Publisher Type for Group Categories VI-IX~~

Group Category	Publisher Type								Combined
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
VI Intra-Jewish Relig. Relations	.009	.009	.026	.049	.132	.002	.002	.023	.023
VII Intra-Jew. Politico- cultural Relations	.034	.000	.037	.022	.017	.055	.114	.031	.041
VIII Intra-Jew. Subethnic Relations	.026	.006	.018	.029	.006	.005	.024	.012	.016
IX Intra-Jewish Socio- Economic Relations	.009	.007	.012	.005	.001	.003	.008	.011	.008
Total	.078	.022	.093	.105	.156	.065	.178	.077	.088

For most of the ~~main~~ publisher types, it is the category of Intra-Jewish political^{and} cultural relations which ranks first in preoccupation. ~~THIS~~ In practice, most of these references are concerned with Zionism, its history, leaders and institution. This is readily understandable in the light of the importance of the movement and its achievements in recent years, including the establishment and development of the State of Israel. The category of Intra-Jewish Religious Relations, which would be concerned with differences of belief, interpretation and practice, ranks first only among Reform and Council for Judaism.

Direction and Imbalance

As in the lesson material dealing with ~~Non-Jews~~, the great majority of statements dealing with ~~Inter-~~^{Intra-} Jewish Group Relations were non-directional, that is, neutral or factual. However, among those books or other materials which did reveal imbalance, there was a higher degree of negative imbalance than was revealed in the materials dealing with non-Jewish groups. This may be because the Jewish educator and publisher is not bound by a minority psychology when dealing with internal Jewish matters and feels freer to criticize other Jewish groups, or it may be because the religious and ideological differences between Jewish groups are a source of more vital interest.

In category VI, Intra-Group Religious Relations, only 14 materials (6%) showed imbalance, 53% prejudiced and 47% anti-prejudiced.

The negative references tend to be doctrinal, although frequently placed in historical settings. For example, the Reform wing of Judaism and the American Council for Judaism occasionally imply that the services of the Orthodox are unattractive and unesthetic.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

On the other hand the Orthodox group, both general and Hassidic, tend to imply a character defect on the part of Reformed Jews:

eg "So called Liberal Jews are mostly quite indifferent to all religions."

"If I'm really hard pressed, our Reform Rabbi will be glad to free me from my oath."

Hostility stemming from or directed to the Conservative wing is minimal. There was only one instance of negative imbalance. Yiddishists show little preoccupation or imbalance, although the little is positive. Similarly, the non-orthodox Zionist and the Hebrew language types show least preoccupation in this category and no imbalance.

In group category VII, Intra-Jewish Political and Cultural Relations, only 40 of the items (18%) showed imbalance, 92% positive and 8% negative. In almost all cases, positive imbalance was directed toward the question of Zionism and the ^{foundation} ~~founding~~ of ^{the State of} Israel. Most references to this subject by the anti-Zionist American Council of Judaism, while rejecting Zionism, were nevertheless unbiased. There was, however, one prejudiced reference, implying a dishonest motive on the part of Zionists:

eg "This organization (Zionism) took advantage of the way the Eastern Jews and some of the frightened Jews from Germany felt."

In the case of the Zionist publications, the positive imbalance resulted from attempts to correct an extreme in nationalistic feelings:

eg "The national ideal reaches fulfillment ^{only} when it is combined with a human ideal broader and wider in scope than itself."

In group category VIII, Intra-Jewish Sub-Ethnic Relations, 17 of the publications (18%) showed imbalance, 88% positive and 12% negative. In the very few ~~negative~~ instances, ^{of negative imbalance,} hostility is expressed toward Western and Central European Jews:

eg "The biggest fools in the world are the German (Jews)...for a kroner they'd sell their own fathers."

Also occasionally the Lithuanian Jew, who is traditionally "from Missouri," that is, skeptical in nature, comes in for some playful ridicule, but without rejection and hostility. Generally, the Jewish curriculum materials reflect goodwill among the different communities:

"All Israel are comrades; wherever the Jew and however different, still he is Israel."

In Group category IX, Intra-Jewish Socio-Economic Relations, 28 (13%) of the items showed imbalance, all positive. Not only was this category concerned with the injunctions to be charitable (as an important function of being a Jew) and the most discrete and constructive forms of charity, but also with the injunctions to show understanding and compassion for other classes.

Again, if we show the relationship between prejudiced and anti-prejudiced statements as a simple ratio, the absolute value of the numbers, whether positive or negative, will be higher. If we include the neutral statements, the absolute value of the numbers will drop. Both figures are given on table # .

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Self-Other Images

Our quantitative analysis measured the degree and direction of intergroup content in Jewish school materials. But school materials also contain statements ~~having~~ which do not refer to specific outgroups, but nevertheless deeply effect the image of "self" and "other." For example, a sentence such as "...the horror sweeping the old world in those centuries of the Crusades with their madness and massacres carried out under the pretence of religion" does not identify a specific outgroup, but affords an idea of how the author conceives the environment at a certain time. Thus, we have supplemented our quantitative analysis with a qualitative analysis expressed in descriptive terms. These descriptions of the images of self and other (in this case "other" means both Christians and other Jewish groups) are here broken down by Orthodox, Conservative, ~~and~~ Reform and the American Council for Judaism, the latter because of its distinctive position which separates it sharply on several issues from the Reform movement.

Orthodox Images

Self - Judaism is a religion of law which has absolute authority over the Jew; adherence to the law results in personal morality and a devotion to social ends:

"The secret (of success) of Jewish communal life... may be summed up in the concept of Torah...which truly harmonizes the interests of the individual with the needs of society; it draws them into the

service of the community."

Religious (Orthodox) Jewry has achieved an exemplary righteousness, and owing to this righteousness has ~~xxx~~ survived unbelievable adversity. Much of the Orthodox wing of Judasim has adopted the concept of Jewish nationhood. This nationhood, however, is fused to a specific religious form and content.

Other
Christianity

When portraying Christianity, the Orthodox generally employ a gentle approach but argue the social superiority of Judasim:

"Take Christianity. It proclaims the loftiest ideas...but it provided no tools for their actual execution. As a result, Christian theology has been led to take a profoundly pessimistic view of man's nature, perverted by ~~xxxxxx~~ original ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ sin, incapable of overcoming its inherent evil tendencies, ~~xxxx~~ It follows that man cannot shape this world in the spirit of God!"

~~XXXX cannot shape this world. XXXX the spirit of God~~

"At best he can try to express all his this worldly inclinations...and to long for salvation-not through meritorious works but through faith in the ultimate destruction of this world and in the other-worldly Kingdom of Heaven."

"While the Jews had not only the lofty ideals but also the means of execution-the mitzvoth."

"And again: 'Liberal Protestants tried, in their manner, to give deeper significance to Christian doctrines and symbols....Moreover, they could always point to Luther who asserted the freedom and rights of the individual; after all, Christianity is essentially a doctrine, addressing itself to man's beliefs allowing his actions ever anew to grow freely from his convictions... Not so in Judaism (which adheres to)...a law confronting the individual with a claim to absolute authority and cannot be challenged by personal beliefs.'"

"Judaism is stigmatized as being inferior to Christianity because it does not stress faith but law...(but) strong personalities who are not able to submit (to faith)...are forced to break with religion..."

"This difficulty is faced by any religion which demands faith rather than leading to it (by law)."

Jews

Criticism of other Jewish groups, interestingly, is sharper than criticism ^{OF} ~~than~~ Christianity.

Conservative Judaism, according to the Orthodox authors, retains some Jewish traditions but ~~maintains~~ has broken with historic continuity. Conservatives are depicted as lacking a strength of their convictions:

"Between the Orthodox and the liberal Jews there stands the swaying figure of the Conservative Jew-those who have neither the strength to profess Judaism nor that of rejecting it: people whose home is conducted along ritual lines, but do not restrict themselves outside their homes; who stay away from business on Sabbath, but receive the money the post-man brings and, if necessary, close a deal too."

Reform Jewry is still more sharply criticized. Reform Jewry is accused of deceit, lack of integrity, and of being "assimilationists" even as were the Hellenistic Jews of the Haccaben period. Reform (sometimes called Liberal) Jews are also accused of religious indifferentism:

"So called liberal Jews are mostly quite indifferent to Judaism as to all religion. They have broken with the traditional law of Judaism. In their youth they still hear something about those vestiges of Judaism which the reform movement tolerates.... Liberal Judaism has almost entirely levelled the edifice of Jewish tradition; but despite repeated efforts it has not been able to put anything worthwhile in its place. Thus it exhausts itself in a mere negation of tradition.... We may, paradoxically enough, assert that the religious consciousness of liberal Jews, as far as they possess any, merely comprises their own awareness that they no longer really adhere to the Jewish

religion

Zionism

The ideals of Zionism are sympathetically regarded by Orthodox Jewry, but the Zionist movement is criticized insofar as it has been emptied of religious content:

"By separating the Jewish nation from its religion, Zionism has sinned against the very spirit of history in which it believed in; for the Jewish national structure never harbored any other cultural content than the Jewish religion."

8/10/14