

ABSTRACT

DIFFERENCES IN PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT AMONG DIFFERENT GENERATIONS OF AMERICAN JEWS AND NON-JEWS

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The purpose of the study was to explore the psychological adjustment of the Jewish minority group in its process of assimilation into the American culture. The students were classified on the basis of their socio-economic status, religious affiliation (Orthodox, Conservative or Reform), and generation (first, second, mixed and third). It is believed that past research comparing the adjustment of Jews and non-Jews was inconclusive because these factors were neglected. Furthermore, previous investigations did not make use of projective techniques for comparative purposes.

The Thurstone Personality Schedule and the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test was administered to 366 Jewish boys and girls attending private, religious, and Sunday schools in New York City. To evaluate the extent of their Jewish identification, a questionnaire was devised for that purpose. Fifty-one students of established American Protestant families were used as a control group. All students were either Juniors or Seniors in high school.

Jewish boys born abroad had the poorest mean score on the Thurstone Personality Schedule (32.88 compared to 25.11 for the native Protestant group). Their mean score on the Rorschach Multiple Choice

test was close to normal (7.91 compared to 6.98 for the native born Protestant group) .

Results in the opposite direction are obtained with the third generation Jewish group; while they had a normal mean score on the Thurstone Personality Schedule (22.39 as compared to 25.11 for the control group) , they gave the poorest Rorschach mean score (11.84 as compared to 6.98 for the Protestant group) .

Jewish students whose mothers were Orthodox and born in the United States, and whose fathers were born abroad, tended to be similar in psychological adjustment to second generation students. However, when the mothers were Conservative or Reform, the children were closer to the third generation group. The experimenter attributes these differences to the factor of social or cultural identification. He believes that within the Orthodox family of mixed parentage, a boy is likely to have stronger identification with his foreign-born father, because of the mother's more subservient role; while, on the other hand, if she is Reform or Conservative, a boy is likely to feel closer identification with the American culture through the mother's more culturally active influence.

When the second and third generation Jewish boys were matched for socio-economic status, this factor was found not to affect the direction of the results. Likewise, a second classification on the basis of religious affiliation (Orthodox, Conservative and Reform) did not materially affect the scores.

The questionnaire revealed that first and second generation Jewish boys and girls have a closer identification or feeling of belongingness with their minority group than the third generation group, while both groups recognize to the same degree the existence of anti-semitism and non-acceptance.

The interpretation presented is that the third generation group, through acculturation, appears to have adopted dominant group values. As a result, they appear to have more favorable social adjustment than the first and second generation group, as measured by objective tests. However, the third generation group, as evidenced by a high maladjustment score on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, revealed more anxiety. Conflicts resulting from weaker identification with the minority group combined with the uncertainty of acceptance by the dominant group produce this greater degree of anxiety in the third generation .

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AMONG DIFFERENT GENERATIONS OF
AMERICAN JEWS AND NON-JEWS

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. The concept of "marginality" in the sociology of assimilation .	1
1. Lewin's explanation of the marginal man with special emphasis on the Jew .	10
2. Various solutions to the feelings of isolation .	13
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	
A. Research on general populations by social scientists .	16
B. Research using objecting Personality Tests to compare Jews and non-Jews.	21
C. Discussion of these investigations .	26
III. NATURE OF THE STUDY	28
A. Statement of the Problem .	28
B. Purpose and Methods used in the present investigation .	30
C. Description of the Sample .	32
D. Description of the Tests used .	35
1. Thurstone Personality Schedule .	35
2. The Rorschach Multiple Choice Test .	38
3. Theoretical Rational of the tests used .	39

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA	43
A. Scores obtained by high school students according to generation .	43
B. Attitude of Jewish students towards their reference group .	55
C. Socio-economic status and Test results .	57
D. Scores obtained by Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Students .	62
E. Test results obtained with samples of Gentile students .	64
V. DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS	70
VI. SUGGESTED RESEARCH	86
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	90
APPENDIX	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

LIST OF TABLES

<u>TABLE</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
I.	SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH OF PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JEWS AND GENTILES .	22
II.	DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLES OF STUDENTS TESTED IN NEW YORK .	33
III.	MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH BOYS ON THE THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE AND THE RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST .	44
IV.	TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE AMONG THE MEAN SCORES .	46
V.	MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH GIRLS ON THE THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE AND THE RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST .	52
VI.	MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH BOYS OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION WHEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS CONTROLLED .	61
VII.	COMPARISON OF SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH AND GENTILE STUDENTS .	65
VIII.	COMPARISON OF SCORES OBTAINED BY THIRD GENERATION JEWISH AND THIRD GENERATION PROTESTANT STUDENTS .	67
IX.	COMPARISON OF BLAIRS' STUDY WITH WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS AND PRESENT STUDY OF JEWS AND GENTILES ON THE RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST .	69

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

PAGE

- I . Comparison of the mean scores obtained by various generations of Jewish boys on the Thurstone Personality Schedule, and the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test .

47

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. THE CONCEPT OF "MARGINALITY" IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF ASSIMILATION

The problem of assimilation of immigrant groups in their adopted cultures has long been a subject of considerable importance to sociologists and, more recently, to psychologists. Of special interest is the personality adjustment of the "marginal man". The concept of "marginality", aside from its economic meaning, has been evolved by sociologists to describe members of ethnic groups who are not completely identified with either the dominant in-group or the minority out-group, and yet maintain cultural ties with both. The following is the definition which Stonequist gives :

"The marginal man is the individual who lives in, or has ties of kinship with two or more interacting societies between which there exists sufficient incompatibility to render his own adjustment to them difficult or impossible. He does not quite "belong" or feel at home in either group. This feeling of homelessness, or of estrangement does not arise in the same way or for the same reasons in all individuals, nor is it identical in all situations. For many it is a matter of incomplete cultural assimilation in one or both societies; for others it arises less because of lack of cultural assimilation than from failure to gain social acceptance, and in some cases it originates less because of obvious external barriers, than because of persistent inhibitions and loyalties." (42. p.297)

We could therefore consider "marginality" as a kind of no-man's land in which the individual stands between two cultures , the

two extremes of his position being on the one hand complete identification with the minority group and on the other, complete assimilation with the majority group. In between, we have the individual who tries to make an adjustment in which both cultures are involved, with all the attendant conflicts of ambivalent identification, rejection, guilt and frustration.

Warner, (46.) in his book, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, made a study of various minority groups in a small New England town and the various stages involved in their assimilation. He elaborated the concept of "marginality" from the research point of view. He states that the greater the cultural differences between the host and the immigrant culture and the greater the racial difference between the population of the immigrant and the host society, the greater would be the subordination of the immigrant group, the greater the strength of the social sub-system, and the longer the period of assimilation. An Englishman would certainly have less difficulty becoming assimilated in the United States than an Italian or a Frenchman. However, one of the slowest and most painful processes is when both cultural and anatomical traits are highly divergent from those of the host society. In conclusion, this is what Warner has to say about his conceptual scheme :

"With these propositions in mind, it is possible to construct a rough scale by which hypotheses may be developed about the relative ranking of each racial and cultural group in American Life, the strength of its sub-system, and the period necessary for ultimate assimilation." (46. p.286)

Let us now see what are some of the major end-results of marginality. In the first place, since the marginal individual is, or is made to feel different from the dominant groups, he is subject to feelings of inferiority and rejection, and frequently reacts with aggressive resentment. Loewenstein states the following :

"The resultant stress and strain of the divided allegiance create the ambivalent attitudes and emotions so characteristic of the marginal individual. He is perpetually torn between hatred and resentment of the dominant group and hatred and resentment of his own group." (33. p.150)

Such conflicts involved in a marginal status would, in many instances, lead to psychological damage. It has been found that there is a greater incidence of suicide and mental disease among immigrant groups and a higher rate of juvenile delinquency, particularly among the native-born of immigrants, where children are half assimilated, and in conflict with their non-assimilated parents. Sometimes this would result in "self-hatred", which is found among Negroes (Kardiner, 25.) and among Jews (Lewin, 73.; Greenberg, 64.)

This self-hatred would make the individual go as far as to identify himself with the aggressor. (Sarnoff, 86.; Pelcovitz, 82.) It is reported that in concentration camps in Germany, some Jewish internees ended up imitating the conduct of their Nazi tormentors. Identification with the dominant group explains why among light-colored or more educated American Negroes there may be contempt for their darker-

skinned fellow countrymen. One African student who spent some time in a Negro University in the East reported to the writer that he was appalled to see that a Negro co-ed would not date a boy who was darker-skinned than herself. We find a similar trend among the Jewish settlers in America. The original group which was made up of Spanish Jews looked down upon the Germans when they came to this country, and later the German Jews looked down upon their less sophisticated brethren from Poland and Russia.

Concerning the conflicts of an immigrant group, significant investigation was undertaken by a Norwegian psychiatrist who studied a small community of Norwegian immigrants to the United States. He found that the incidence of schizophrenia was much higher among this group than in the general population, and also much higher than in Norway itself. It is obvious that the Norwegians - applying Warner's conceptual scheme - would have greater similarity to the dominant group and would therefore have relatively less difficulty in assimilating. Nevertheless, the difficulty still appeared to exist. Dr. Ernest Harms, a psychologist, who made a report of this research, and who called this phenomenon "Emigration Neurosis", has the following to say :

"Here is a clear statistical indication that immigration can have wider psychopathological consequences." (69. p.18)

It has been emphasized (Anastasi and Foley, 4.) in the literature that the individual who would be most subject to difficulties in

his adjustment is the American-born of immigrant parents. The child, inculcated with the attitudes and values of his parents, and at the same time exposed to the influence of American culture, finds himself in a rather unstable condition. He lives on the border of two worlds, not feeling at home in either one of them. Samuel Koenig, discussing the differences between first and second generation Americans, has the following to say :

"The marginal individual often becomes a tragic figure, lacking a cultural anchorage and a sense of belonging. As a result he may experience serious personality difficulties and become a maladjusted person. The first-generation individual, who has arrived here at a mature age, is sufficiently anchored in his culture to be able to withstand the inner conflict resulting from the clash of cultures. If necessary, he can, as he often does, withdraw into his own group. Not so with the native born. He is forced to struggle and sometimes to succumb, that is lose the inner security necessary to a satisfactory adjustment to life." (30. p.512)

On the basis of the foregoing statements, it would be expected that second generation Jewish boys would show a greater degree of maladjustment than immigrant boys, since the former would be more marginal because of their greater conflict potential, i.e. a Jewish family life and a partial identification with the gentile world. However, discussion of this subject will be postponed until some of the empirical data obtained in this research are given.

There seems to be little empirical research on white Americans, indicating that this relationship between the degree of

acculturation and adjustment does exist. Hallowell (67.) in a Rorschach study of the Salteaux Indians in three degrees of acculturation, found that those who had adopted the Western garb showed the greatest degree of maladjustment. There was more drinking and criminal behavior among these Indians. W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, in their monumental work on the Polish Peasant in Europe and America, pointed out that assimilation is a complex problem and is more than merely a complete adoption by the minority group of the habits of the dominant group. This is what Znaniecki reports elsewhere :

"Do not let the Americans illusion themselves because the second and third generation Polish or German immigrants talk American slang and know how to vote, they are assimilated psychologically and have acquired the American way of feeling and thinking. More is needed to attain such a result than most people are inclined to imagine... The process of adaptation is necessarily a gradual one, and can be completed only under favorable conditions in the course of time. Prejudice, intolerance, lack of sympathy with the cultural heritage of minorities on the part of native Americans serve only to increase national tensions and to postpone the assimilation and adjustment of large numbers of individuals." (50. p. 32)

The above quotation is particularly interesting since it delineates two types of assimilation , - the cultural and the psychological, the latter being more complete since it includes communality of feelings besides similar outward manifestations. This would naturally depend upon the full acceptance of the minority group by the dominant group.

It would be pertinent at this point to clarify some of the concepts which will be used in this research. When two people of different cultures come in close contact, some fast or gradual changes are bound to take place. The concept of "acculturation" has often been used by anthropologists to explain the phenomenon. The first systematic attempt to define the word was made by Redfield, Linton and Herskovitz in 1936 :

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at time a phase of acculturation."
(32. p.464)

In acculturation it seems that either or both cultures are modified through close contact, but without a complete blending of the two cultures. Assimilation, however, is that form of acculturation which results in groups of individuals wholly replacing their original culture by another, rather than settling for a "mixed" culture. (Beals, 5. p.628)

Linton points out that there may be two processes involved in acculturation. It does not only involve the addition of a new element or elements, or "culture" to one's own culture, but it may also include the elimination of certain existing cultural elements which no longer have intrinsic value in the new setting. (32. p.469). Also, the old

cultural elements may be modified or reorganized so as to bring them in conformity with the cultural pattern which has a survival value .

Immigrants coming to the U.S.A. have been contributing to the American culture, but the emphasis has been for native-born children of foreign-born parents to behave like "Americans" and forsake habits of the "old country" . This is why the U.S.A. has been called a "melting pot" . However, as pointed out by Znaniecki in an earlier quotation, the adoption of English and certain American characteristics are taken over by immigrants or their children, but they are not assimilated with regard to the accepted pattern of behavior of American society, since some are still controlled by the values and meanings of their ancestral culture. Depending on the circumstances, it might take two, three, or more generations before the assimilation is complete. This is characterized by strong feelings of kinship, common attitudes within a group which originally might have been made up of disparate cultures. The assimilative process, according to Gillin, depends upon the following

- factors :
1.) Toleration by the dominant group.
 2.) Equal economic opportunity.
 3.) Recognition of the foreigner and his culture, and sympathetic response to him.
 4.) Broad exposure to the dominant group.
 5.) Similarities in cultures.
 6.) Amalgamation or intermarriage. (20. p.529)

Acculturation and assimilation might be two processes which go on simultaneously, or at various stages of development.

What is the relationship between these concepts as used by anthropologists, and the concept of marginality ? In this paper the latter term will be applied only to those individuals, irrespective of their degree of acculturation, who feel a conflict owing to their position between two different cultures, of which they are a part.

1. LEWIN'S EXPLANATION OF THE MARGINAL MAN,
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE JEW

According to Lewin, (74.) the adult acts during most of his life not purely as an individual, but as a member of a social group which is itself sub-divided. He may act as a member of a religious group ; later as a member of a political party ; and then as a member of a family group. He has to fill these various roles, shifting his behavior to suit the situation in which he finds himself. Conflict arises when there is no compatibility between the various roles he has to fill, and when there is a degree of uncertainty about just where he belongs.

Minority groups seem to have the latter problem. While the Jew lived in the ghetto, boundaries were clear-cut for him ; he wore a badge which set him off from the dominant group, which he considered as "strangers" . The in-group feeling led to extreme conservatism, orthodoxy and ethnic solidarity which, in turn, was responsible for the survival of the group against difficult odds.

With the Emancipation period, the ghetto walls in the western part of Europe disappeared and the Jew was able to move about freely. The Jewish group lost its compactness as boundaries became less well defined. Since there was a relaxation of pressure from the outside group, the trend for the Jew became the acquisition of the dress, habits and language of the dominant majority. However, the change

brought no real relaxation to the life of the Jew. Instead, it has meant an even greater tension. Once he was on his own, his problems increased because he had to cope with the hostile world all by himself. Previously, the point of application of external forces had been on the whole group, allowing the individual a considerable measure of security within the group.

While he was in the ghetto he had no desire to go beyond the walls, since he was well aware of the impassable barrier in his way. There was no "positive valence" using Lewin's terminology, but, -once he was allowed to move out, there was a goal to be reached which was not easy to attain. Conflicts arose in his path towards assimilation, These conflicts, according to Lewin, created "tension" , which leads to restlessness and unbalanced behaviour" (74. p. 185) .

While forging ahead, the Jew found himself between two worlds. The cause of the actual difficulty in this marginal individual is not inherent in the real or formal aspects of his belonging to many groups, but in his feeling of insecurity with regard to belongingness. In connection with this uncertainty, Lewin adds :

"For the modern Jew there exists an additional factor to increase his uncertainty. He is frequently uncertain about the way he belongs to the Jewish group, and to what degree. Especially since religion has become a less important social matter, it is rather difficult to describe positively the character of the Jewish group as a whole. A religious group with many atheists ?

"A Jewish race with a great diversity of racial qualities among its members ? A nation, but actually in most respects the different values and ideals of the nations in which it lives ? These are, I think, a few chores more bewildering than that of determining positively the character of the Jewish group." (73. p. 180)

Gilbert, (19. p.291) likewise points out that super-conformity to the mores of the host group and the rejection of one's own minority identification may take place through "reaction formation", as it did among some German Jews.

It would appear, therefore, that the psychological problem of the marginal man involves the crucial psychodynamic factor of "belongingness" . A person without any strong identification would feel as if the ground had been pulled out from under him. One of the "curative" factors in psychotherapy is to make the patient feel that he is still wanted by significant people in his environment. The analogy between the clinical and the social situation can be clearly seen .

2. VARIOUS SOLUTIONS TO THE FEELINGS OF ISOLATION

Jessie Bernard, (7.) classified four types of adjustment which could be effected by the marginal man in order to achieve greater security. Taking the Jew as an example , in the first place the individual may decide to reject the Gentile world and live within the fold of his own group, becoming entirely clannish. This isolation is found among a few Jewish groups in New York City. An example would be the Sephardic Syrians, who have, as a group, maintained the "ghetto" mentality. They avoid association with Gentiles as much as possible. Their social life centers around their synagogues which serves as a religious meeting place, and their community center for recreational purposes. Very few enter professions. Business is their major source of income. Practices of traditional Judaism are sometimes to the extreme. Many do not answer the telephone or ride busses on the Sabbath. Some women do not even carry a handbag on that day. Needless to say, intermarriage is almost non-existent, not only with Gentiles, but even sometimes with Jews of different origins, though to a lesser degree today .

In addition to complete identification with the minority group, a second solution is to reconcile both cultures to each other . Such an individual is indistinguishable from Gentiles since he has adopted the habits of the outside world as long as he is outside his home. But once this individual is at home, he becomes the authoritarian master of

the household. He wears the traditional 'yarmulka' or skull cap, and follows in detail the prescriptions of the law. Dietary laws, in particular, are strictly observed at home, although he does not feel obligated to do so once he is outside. In the course of this research, a well-known writer and scholar teaching at Columbia University was interviewed. As the interviewer was about to take a few notes on his pad, the scholar, with some embarrassment, observed that it was the Sabbath, and that he would not like his children to see anyone writing on that day, since this would be a bad example to them. According to Jewish tradition, any type of work is prohibited on the Sabbath; further, no one is supposed to touch light on that day. While pointing out the writing as a bad example, he allowed his children to watch a football game on television in the next room. Here is a good instance of the way in which the two cultural worlds are reconciled. The pencil was taboo, but not television. This is an example of selective application of each culture on a situational basis. They are contradictory, but still juxtaposed.

The third way to solve the problem is an attempt to select what is esthetically acceptable in both cultures. According to Bernard, this is the most rewarding, but by no means the easiest :

"To salvage what is lovely, to reject what is ugly, this involves an unending scrutiny of values. No comfortable relapses into unconscious acceptance or rejection of values on the basis of tradition or prestige." (7. p.291)

The fourth way to solve the problem of marginality, according to Bernard, is to renounce both the Gentile and the Jewish worlds, assuming that they are completely irreconcilable, and will inevitably produce conflicts in individuals. It can be expected that people who do this will compose the political and social nihilistic groups.

In general, in a world of rapidly shifting populations, made easier by greater facilities in inter-communications, immigrant groups present a problem in adjusting to their new environment. It is during this transition period of gradual absorption to the dominant group which is rife with social and psychological consequences. The time of the great waves of immigrants from Europe is now history. Present day problems of large movements of population are the half-million Puerto Ricans in New York City, Mexicans in the West, and migrant laborers from the South now residing in the great industrial centers of the North .

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A. RESEARCH ON GENERAL POPULATIONS BY SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Concerning the major contributions of the social scientists in the study of Jews, everything that has been done appears to have been incidental to the main purpose of the research. In such books as Warner and Srole's Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups , (46.) Havemann and West's They Went to College , (24.) Kinsey's Sex Life of the American Male , (26.) Terman and Oden's The Gifted Child Grows Up , (43.) we can obtain data on the Jew just because he happened to be part of the population studied. No work exists that would compare with Thomas and Znaniecki's Polish Peasant in Europe and America , (50.) or Davis and Dollard's Children of Bondage , (13.) about the Negro. There are innumerable studies and surveys carried out by Jewish agencies and community groups; but the data were assembled mainly for the specific purpose of reform, and thus might not be appropriate from the research point of view.

Some writers, like Samuel Koenig, have explained this dearth of research among Jews because of the group's extreme sensitivity. It seems that any kind of research by social scientists would set them aside and "expose" Jewish life to the Gentile world. Since there

is so much emphasis upon acculturation, research which might show differences would not be welcome. Koenig makes the following comments concerning this lack of empirical research :

"The Jews of America, as a group, have not only received attention, have not only been written about and discussed, but have also been generalized upon more than any other ethnic group. The basis, however, for any sort of sound generalization is a body of concrete data, which, in this case, is largely lacking. The material that does exist is either mainly journalistic, or literary, or philosophical." (29. p. 284)

However, a few sociological books which have been entirely devoted to Jews must be mentioned. When Robert E. Park taught at Chicago, he encouraged his Jewish students to study their kin. Only one book , The Ghetto (47.) was written by Louis Wirth. Another contribution was the book edited by Graeber and Britt, The Jews in the Gentile World, (22.) Another book was published recently under the auspices of the Columbia Research in Contemporary Cultures, entitled We, the People , by Zborowski and Herzog, (49.) The purpose of this latter research was to reconstruct village life in Poland through interviews of individuals in New York City who could still remember their experiences in the old country.

In his review of the published literature on Jews, Glazer, (62. p.279) has been able to draw two important social characteristics of the Jew : - he seems to have advanced more rapidly, and is more prosperous than any other ethnic group ; he intermarries very little, and

although he becomes culturally indistinguishable from other Americans, the line of separation from the majority group remains sharper than the line that separates other white immigrant groups from the majority group.

Loewenstein, in his book Christians and Jews, (33.) makes a survey of typical Jewish characteristics and endeavors to explain them from the psychoanalytical point of view. He is well aware of the limitations of his study, and gives some convincing suggestions as to what kind of research could be carried out in understanding the "Jewish Personality". He states, in this connection :

"It would be interesting to make a study to find out whether the fact of always being put in the same boat and tarred with the same brush by Gentiles has led to the formation of some character traits and behavior patterns common to all Jews. Such a study might be set up on the following lines : -

1. Evaluation of the social structures of selected groups, their distinctive features, institutions, important achievements.
2. Incidence of certain patterns of personality and behavior among members of the group and of attitudes towards each other, towards outsiders, and towards certain ideals.
3. Characteristics of individual members of the group when acting collectively.
4. Common ideals of the groups and conditions under which group consciousness is achieved.

"Obviously, such criteria would only acquire validity when compared with similar data compiled on other properly selected groups. In other words, one would have to compare the percentage of Jews who react in a given manner in given conditions with the percentages of Catholics or Protestants, French or Germans, and so on, who react similarly under the same conditions... So far this type of study has only been undertaken on the economic status of Jews, on their choice of profession and occupation, and on the crime rate and insanity rate among Jews. For the present, therefore, we shall have to assume provisionally the validity of criteria based on cultural and historical data, and on direct observations until such time as they are either confirmed or invalidated by scientifically established data." (33. p. 122)

While there has been a lack of research on the "Jewish personality", many studies, particularly in the last few years, have been published on the "anti-semitic personality", culminating in the voluminous work of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik et al., on The Authoritarian Personality, (2.) Further, Bettelheim and Janowitz, (8.) and Ackerman and Jahoda (1.) hypothesized on the psychodynamics of prejudiced people undergoing psycho-analysis. There is no doubt that these efforts are commendable. However, is it expected that a psychological understanding of one's prejudice may ultimately lead to the disappearance of bias ? Dollard is very pessimistic on this point :

"The effort to recondition individuals one by one, to free them from anti-Negro, or anti-Semitic sentiment is likely to be futile." (15. p. 463)

According to him, even mass propaganda cannot supplant prejudice, because it is in the social environment which would punish anyone who would make

any other than prejudiced responses.

It is felt that this orientation -- the study of the biased individual -- has become over-emphasized, to the neglect of the study of the object of this bias, the marginal man. A first serious attempt to do that is the study of the American Negro by Kardiner, (25.). A scientific study on the adjustment of the American Jew as a member of a minority group is yet to be published.

**B. RESEARCH USING OBJECTIVE PERSONALITY TESTS TO
COMPARE JEWS AND NON-JEWS**

After an exhaustive study of psychologically-inspired literature, the writer found only ten studies where the pencil and paper test of personality was used to differentiate Jews from Gentiles in the United States. The major findings are summarized in Table I. In examining the results, it was found that some psychologists reported that Jews seemed to be more unstable, while others reported exactly the opposite. In most cases, significance of the differences was very low on scales of neuroticism.

Sward and Friedman, (90.) who appear to have made the most extensive research in finding differences between Jews and non-Jews, point out the limitations of their study, and the fact that personality inventories could not present a picture of the actual differences between Jews and non-Jews. This is what they have to say in this connection :

"In the face of a labyrinth of Jewish adaptations at various times and places, the present research hardly aims to ignore the complexity of the Jewish psyche as defined in the literature (Arnold Zweig, Feuchtwanger, Sholom Asch, et al.) , or as observed in daily intercourse. It simply denies a wholesale difference in subjective temperament. Our admittedly select sample of American Jews diverge only slightly from the normal introspective picture. The defender of a "typically Jewish temperament" in America is only compelled to define his terms." (90. p.82)

TABLE I. SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH OF PERSONALITY
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN JEWS AND GENTILES

NAME and YEAR	TEST	SAMPLE	SCHOOL	FINDINGS
Garrett 1929	Laird P.I.	Freshmen 75 Jews 119 Non-Jews	Columbia	Greater instability among Jews. Difference not significant.
Thurstone 1929	Thurstone	Freshmen 127 Jews 694 Non-Jews	Chicago	Greater instability among Jews. Difference not significant.
Sward and Friedman 1935	Heidbroder Inferiority	Freshmen 163 Jews 163 Non-Jews	Minnesota	More variability among Jews. More inferiority feelings among Jews. Both not significant.
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	College Students 114 Jews 114 Non-Jews	Western Reserve	Jews have higher neurotic score. Not significant. Women more neurotic in general. Age least significant variable.
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	High School Students 80 Jews 80 Non-Jews	Pittsburgh	Jewish boys less neurotic. Sex more important variable.
Sward and Friedman 1935	Bernreuter	Adults 40 Jews 40 Non-Jews	Pittsburgh	Jewish adults higher neurotic score . Scores of foreign-born fathers higher than American-born fathers. National origin no effect on non-Jewish scores.

TABLE I. CONTINUED

NAME and YEAR	TEST	SAMPLE	SCHOOL	FINDINGS
Sward 1935	Bernreuter	Item analysis of previous study	Pittsburgh	Jews show more : 1) Gregariousness or strong social dependence. 2) Drive and over-reaction. 3) Submissiveness. 4) Various anxiety states and symptoms of mood changes.
Sukov and Williamson 1938	Rundquist	Freshmen 163 Jews 1166 Non-Jews		Different Morale, Law, Educa- tion, and general adjustment. Differences not significant .
Sukov and Williamson 1938	Bell	Freshmen 49 Jews 366 Non-Jews		Jews more neurotic. Differences not significant.
Sperling 1942	Human Behavior Inventory 1. Introversion- Extroversion 2. Ascendance- Submission 3. Conservatism- Liberalism 4. Allport's Values	Athletes 80 Jews 80 Non-Jews	New York	No significance in total adjustment scores between Jews and non-Jews. Jews more extroverted. Jews more ascendant. Jews more liberal. Jews have higher theoretical and social scores.

TABLE I. CONTINUED

NAME and YEAR	TEST	SAMPLE	SCHOOL	FINDINGS
Fred Brown 1940	Brown University Inventory	Students 13-yrs. old 67 Jews 91 Non-Jews	Minnesota Summer Camp	Boys of higher and lower socioeconomic status give different mean scores, which are significant.
Long 1943	Bell	College Students 73 Jews 74 Non-Jews	Mental Hygiene Clinic, Detroit	No overall difference, but Jews score lower on home adjustment because of acculturation difficulties
Gordon 1943	Thurstone Personality Inventory	College Students 159 Jews No Non-Jews	Minnesota University	Majority of Jewish students as well adjusted as non-Jewish students.
Shuey 1945	Bell	Freshmen 397 Jews 101 Non-Jews	New York University	Social adjustment of Jews indicated by more favorable scores. More aggressiveness, and less timidity.

Brown, (57.) in discussing his results, where he found Jewish boys slightly better adjusted than Gentiles, formulates an hypothesis to account for the greater incidence of functional psychosis among Jews, which was found by Malzberg, (76.), Brill and Karpas (56.). Brown, (57.) explains that the incidence of neuroticism increases among Jews as the person comes in contact with adult social reality. The great emphasis upon intellectual achievement in Jewish homes gives the child the illusory sense of limitless "vertical mobility". During the early years this makes for good adjustment, but when the time comes for choosing a career and the individual discovers that discrimination limits this mobility, disillusionment follows with anxiety states and depression. This drive toward achievement gains momentum, resulting in "over-reaction and compensatory behavior". The larger number of functional psychosis represents a further stage of the process and shows the conflict between a powerful vertical thrust and a restricted social ceiling.

However, this finding by Brown that Jewish high school boys are less neurotic may be artificial. In other words, the personality inventory, as now constituted, is not sensitive enough, nor is it suitable enough to uncover significant differences in maladjustment between Jews and non-Jews. It was felt, perhaps, that the use of a projective test might give some evidence of the expected differences between Jews and non-Jews. In the next chapter a discussion will be offered as to what these two tests "measure".

C. DISCUSSION OF THESE INVESTIGATIONS

In reviewing the literature on the subject of Jewish temperament as compared to Gentiles, no unanimity was found in the results. Except for one study by Sward, (91.) who made an item analysis, all other experimenters limited themselves to the comparison of the mean scores. Two individuals having the same neurotic score may not necessarily have the same degree or type of maladjustment. Furthermore, there is quite a deficiency in the choice of the samples, - most of them being made up of college freshmen, who are naturally a selected group. Jewish college boys may not be as representative as non-Jewish college boys of their respective population at large. Most students come to college all ready with certain definite interests. For example, in the case of the research by Shuey (87.), mentioned last in our Table, she used education students, and it is assumed that this field of endeavor attracts students with certain personality characteristics. In Sperling's research, (88.) only athletes were tested. Gordon, (63.) made his study on the basis of returned questionnaires.

Some of the data appears contradictory, because Jewish samples obtained had various backgrounds; some students came from small cities and others from large ones. The Jewish student of New York City has different environmental influences than the Jewish student from a mid-Western town. Further, the personality inventories used are different, so that little comparison

could be made since they might not necessarily measure the same thing. In no instance were projective techniques used to supplement these researches.

Furthermore, it was not possible to discover whether such variables as "generation" , "religious affiliation" , or socio-economic status were taken in consideration. The fact that a student was Jewish was enough to lump him into one group. It was only in Sward and Friedman's research (90.) that parents were divided into foreign-born and American-born, but that distinction was not made for the students.

All the foregoing criticisms were borne in mind in setting up the design for this research . It is felt that a serious consideration of some of the various factors enumerated above is the contribution of this paper to the field of differential psychology .

CHAPTER III

NATURE OF THE STUDY

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Jews, as a minority group in America, have been one of the most avidly discussed in the yellow press, and one of the least studied in the social sciences. Indians, Negroes, Poles etc. have been studied by sociologists and anthropologists, but little attention has been directed to Jewish groups as far as personality adjustment is concerned. Early differential studies have been confined largely to comparisons of intellectual ability between Jewish and Gentile groups.

As early as 1930, Rumyanek (95.) reported 25 studies on intelligence and only two studies on emotional differences between Jews and non-Jews. However, as pointed out earlier, evidence of differences was found to be inconclusive and sometimes contradictory. Summarizing his impressions in reviewing the literature in this field, Orlansky has the following to say :

"Perhaps a hundred psychologists have been sufficiently interested in various aspects of Jewish personality to publish papers on the subject in English-speaking journals. Yet none has selected a representative sample of Jews and compared their behavior with a similar sample of non-Jews in real life situations. Such an enterprise might settle the problem posed, but it would take the psychologist away from his desk and involve his collaboration with non-collegiate organizations. What we have instead, is a series of erratic, disparate, and

"occasionally contradictory findings based upon paper and pencil tests of students, clinical observations of maladjusted individuals, and unchecked generalizations from personal experience. And these investigations are largely confined to shallow, isolated dimensions of personality; studies of the whole Jewish personality by a multiplicity of the techniques available to modern psychology are still unknown." (80. p. 378)

The purpose of this research has been manifold : firstly, to find emotional differences between Jews and non-Jews not solely by means of a personality inventory, but with a projective test as well ; secondly, to effect a more refined classification (generation, religious affiliation, socio-economic status) than has been done heretofore . A third major interest of this research was to discover whether the generalization made of the greater maladjustment of second generation Americans could also be applied to the Jewish minority group. In other words, interest was given to inter-group, and intra-group differences.

The clinical psychologist has been primarily trained to diagnose the problems of individuals, with little emphasis on the psycho-social aspects of maladjustment, such as the concepts of ego-identification, social acceptance, feeling of belongingness .

The techniques used in this research may have lesser validity when used for diagnostic work with maladjusted individuals, but on the basis of group comparisons, significant differences were found between various groups. The important problem of the psycho-social pathology of a minority group has been elucidated in this research .

B. PURPOSE AND METHODS USED IN THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The purpose of this study is to explore the adjustment of the Jewish minority group in its process of assimilation into the American culture. For this purpose, samples of first, second, and third generations of Jewish high school students having Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform affiliation have been chosen for testing. The intra-group differences were studied and the scores obtained on the tests were, in turn, compared with the scores obtained by a sample of non-Jewish students. The findings of this research are presented in the framework of a pilot study in order to demonstrate what type of data can be obtained, and the various analyses that are possible. The following methods, drawn from various disciplines, have gone into the collection of the data :

1. Projective and objective tests. (Appendix I)
2. Census-type questionnaires. (Appendix II)
3. Attitude scales. (Appendix III)

Deficiencies in previous research have been that such variables as generation, socio-economic status and religious affiliation were not controlled. Also, in the Gentile groups, Catholics and Protestants were treated as one group. Since the Jewish group is now generally recognized to be quite heterogeneous culturally, rather than homogeneous, it was believed that the study of differentiation would be justified within

the Jewish group itself , in order to distinguish intra-group differences before making a comparison with Gentiles. The question is, therefore , to find out whether Jewish students showing various degrees of acculturation would also show differences in a continuum of adjustment.

The concept of marginality, where the individual is in conflict because of his relationship to two incompatible cultures, has already been discussed. In this investigation, it was desirable to find whether there is a relationship between the cultural and psychological development of the Jew in the American culture .

This determination of correlation, or lack of correlation, between these variables suggests the query as to which group has the greatest stress of adjustment. Is it the immigrant generation which is uprooted and then set down in an alien milieu as a minority ? Is it their offspring , who have more problems because they are subjected to cultural conflicts between the demands of the home, on the one hand, and those of the larger society on the other ? Or, is it the third generation who are likely to suffer because they bear the stigma of a minority without the stable ground of "belongingness" which their less acculturated and less assimilated forefathers enjoyed ?

C. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

It was pointed out in the review of the literature that most of the tested samples were made up of college freshmen. It seems likely that a high school population would be more representative for such a research, since there are fewer selective factors at the high school level than at the college level. The attempt was made to obtain the widest variety of Jewish students attending various religious and non-religious high schools in New York City .

Table II shows the number of students tested, their generation, and religious affiliation. The total number of students tested was about 370 ; approximately 125 Jewish boys, 145 Jewish girls, 50 Gentile boys and 50 Gentile girls.

Contacts with school administrators were made mostly by correspondence. Although a short design was submitted, all principals required an interview for a more detailed description of the research. It was expected that some requests would be refused. One of their main objections was that they could not spare the students' regular class time for such a purpose. Another reason for declining cooperation was a reluctance to have students questioned on their religious affiliations and attitudes.

The samples obtained were from full-time Orthodox Jewish schools, private secular and Sunday schools in New York ,

^tTABLE II^r

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLES OF STUDENTS TESTED IN NEW YORK

A. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION - - Boys- - -	G E N E R A T I O N				TOTALS
	First	Second	Mixed	Third	
Orthodox	17	28	11	11	67
Orthodox Coeducational	---	8	6	10	24
Conservative	---	8	10	10	28
Reform	---	1	2	12	15
Catholics	---	---	---	---	20
Protestants	---	---	---	---	25
<u>Total</u>	17	45	29	43	179

B. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION -- Girls -----	G E N E R A T I O N				TOTALS
	First	Second	Mixed	Third	
Orthodox	---	27	9	9	45
Orthodox Coeducational	---	18	8	12	38
Conservative	---	10	5	11	26
Reform	---	2	4	28	34
Catholics	---	---	---	---	18
Protestants	---	---	---	---	26
<u>Total</u>	---	57	26	60	187

divided as follows :

- 2 Talmudical Academies for boys
- 1 Talmudical Academy for girls
- 1 Orthodox Sunday school, co-educational
- 3 Conservative Sunday schools
- 3 Reform Sunday schools
- 1 Orthodox day-school, co-educational
- 3 Private non-Jewish schools
- 1 Settlement House
- 2 Protestant Sunday schools

These seventeen institutions were either in Manhattan or Brooklyn.

An attempt was made to obtain the cooperation of the New York City Board of Education to permit testing of students attending public high schools. However, since it was not permissible to ask personal questions, the research could not be carried out in these schools.

It is realized that better representative samples could have been obtained, but as questions of religious affiliation are strongly disapproved of in the New York area, this study was limited to private institutions.

— In this study, students who were born abroad and who came to the United States after the age of five ^{were} ~~will be~~ considered as first-generation Americans. Second generation ^owill include those individuals whose parents were born abroad. Furthermore, besides the third generation, an intermediate group, the "mixed generation" was included, where one parent is born abroad while the other is a native American. It was found that in 90% of the intermediate cases, the mother was born in this country, and the father born abroad. —

D. DESCRIPTION OF THE TESTS USED

1. Thurstone Personality Schedule

In 1929, L. L. and T. G. Thurstone (92.) compiled over 600 items from various sources which were assumed to 'measure' personality. Out of this pool of questions, they selected 223 items which they considered the best, with no duplication of any item. The test was administered to 694 college freshmen entering the University of Chicago. The items were tentatively classed by the authors as being more likely to be responded to positively or negatively by neurotics and non-neurotics.

The method of internal consistency to validate the test was used. The Thurstones selected fifty subjects from the sample who gave the highest scores (neurotic), and fifty who gave the lowest scores (non-neurotic). Using the responses of these two groups as criteria, they were able to select the most discriminating items, of which there were forty-two. The students were given three choices, "yes", "no", and "?". Only in a few instances was the "?" response scored as showing maladjustment, on the basis of assumptions made by the above authors. In most cases this score was given no weight. The same scoring method was used in ^{the study by Sama} ~~this study~~, with this modification: here, inability to answer was construed as being not necessarily a "healthy" response. Consequently, all "?" responses received half a point, except those that were considered by Thurstone to be particularly

indicative of neurotic maladjustment, and, as in the original Thurstone scoring, they received one full point. —

To justify evaluating the "?" answers in the above manner, the following line of reasoning has been pursued. It is felt by some test constructors that a relatively great number of "?" or "Don't know" answers do not permit making inferences from the test results of a particular subject. The Minnesota Multiphasic Test of Personality follows this line of reasoning. However, it is assumed here that "?" answers reflect the presence of neurotic maladjustment. Special factors seem to intervene which prevent a direct positive or negative expression. In other words, a great number of "?" or "Don't know" responses is considered to mirror chronic ambivalence in a subject's attitudes, and this is construed as being a pathognomonic indicator of neurotic maladjustment.

In trying to discover the major characteristic which the forty-two items seem to be measuring, L. L. and T. G. Thurstone reached the following conclusions :

"In reading these questions, one gets the impression that there is a common psychological trait which is represented in all of them. The writers suggest that the fundamental characteristic of the neurotic personality is an imagination that fails to express itself effectively on external social reality. . . . The biological function of imagination is here regarded as preparation for action, and imagination itself may be regarded as unfinished action." (92. p.27)

Psychologists working with the validation of personality inventories have used various statistical methods, such as :

- a. The use of empirical criterion.
- b. Reliability with another test.
- c.. Internal consistency .
- d. Factorial validity .

Eysenck, (18.) Cattell, (11.) and Guilford (65.) have done extensive work with the latter method of validity. In 1937, Mosier (79.) made a factor analysis of thirty-nine items (three were rejected) which were chosen by the Thurstones as being most discriminating. Contrary to Thurstone's unique characteristic of the neurotic personality, Mosier found the following factors of maladjustment, using the same items :

- a. Cycloid - variability of mood.
- b. Depression.
- c. Hypersensitivity.
- d. Inferiority feelings.
- e. Social introversion.
- f. Social self-consciousness.
- g. Cognitive defect.
- h. Autistic tendency.

- In addition to these selected thirty-nine items, which had received intensive statistical treatment, the experimenter chose fifty-one additional items, also with a high discrimination index, from the 223 in the original test. They were chosen mostly for their pertinence to the present research. For example, questions of family relationships and attitudes towards the opposite sex were included. -

2. The Rorschach Multiple Choice Test

The Ink Blot Test, as devised by Rorschach, is an extremely complex instrument which not only requires time for its administration, but also requires highly-trained personnel for its interpretation. Harrower (23.) adapted the test in such a way that it could be used for group administration. The ink blot is projected on a screen and the subjects are supplied with booklets for indicating their responses. Necessary space is provided to write down the determinants, on the basis of which the subjects chose their particular responses. It is obvious that such an adaptation still requires experienced Rorschach interpreters, besides the fact that differences may be caused by variances in verbal, educational and expressive levels. To obviate this drawback, a further revision of the test was later introduced by Harrower, where the individual underlines responses which are already provided in a booklet. Each ink blot has three sets of ten responses. Half of all the responses were chosen from records of healthy, normal individuals, and the other half from records of persons suffering various psychological disturbances. Concerning the appropriateness of such a procedure, Harrower states :

"The underlying assumption has been that those individuals most likely to give certain types of responses when responding freely in the Rorschach method will pick up such responses when confronted with them in a multiple choice situation." (23. p.119)

This latter form of the Rorschach test was chosen because of its facility for group administration. There have been many critics of the technique, because of the many instances of "false positives" and "false negatives" . However, when different weights for each item were used for scoring, more satisfactory results were obtained. Although the test did not prove too satisfactory on an individual basis, except as a screening device, significant differences (Cox, 58. ; Mosak, 78.; Blairs, 53.) were found between various groups , neurotic and non-neurotic. Since this research is primarily interested in group differences, it is felt that justification exists for making use of this test .

3. Theoretical Rational of the Tests Used

Both projective techniques and personality inventories have been used for the assessment of personality. Since the correlations between the Rorschach and the personality inventories have been rather low, (Blairs, 54.) it is obvious that more research as to their relationship would be pertinent.

The personality inventory, or "self-appraisal test" , requires the subject to report on his attitude and behavior in his environment by answering specific questions. The greatest criticism in using these tests (Ellis, 59,) is that the individual may not be willing to report truthfully with regard to how others might see him. The projective tests, on the other hand, present an unstructured form or ambiguous

situation where the individual unknowingly reveals his own personality characteristics and his attitudes, in his attempt to perceive something concrete. They have the advantage that the individual, to a great degree, cannot use "censorship" to avoid unacceptable or poor responses. The difficulty in the projective techniques is that the interpretation depends upon the theoretical orientation of the author and the interpreter, as well as that a certain degree of subjectivity is involved in making a diagnosis.

Only two studies will be referred to here, where the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, and a Personality Inventory were used. Mittelman, (77.) used extensively the Cornell Selectee Index in an Army setting. In comparing the results he obtained with these two tests, he reached the following conclusions :

"The Selectee Index has shown itself to be most effective in detecting the presence of anxiety states, hypochondriasis, asocial trends, compulsive disorders and psychosomatic syndromes. It is less effective in the screening of those likely to exhibit the so-called monosymptomatic disturbances i.e. hysterical palsies, etc. It is also limited in detecting obsessive states and pre-psychotic states. In comparison, the Multiple Choice Test does best on psychoses and less well on psychoneuroses. It is possible that the best results will be arrived at through a combined administration of both tests." (77. p. 248)

Blairs used the California Test of Personality and the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test with a high school population. He found the correlation of .22 (P.E. -- .03) between the two tests. (54. p. 17) From

a study of inter-correlations of the sub-tests with the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, he has found some evidence that the Multiple Choice Test is a better measure of "self-adjustment" than it is of "social adjustment". These are the two main facets of personality which the California test purports to measure.

Wittman, (94.) used the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test with 3,150 psychiatric patients, and 883 attendants, but no inventories were given. The following is her conclusion concerning what this test measures :

"Observations on the present levels of adjustment of both intra-mural and extra-mural groups and study of social service histories of the intra-mural groups suggest that the type of inner adjustment evaluated by the Harrower Erickson Rorschach Test is something that might be labelled "personality integration". Personality integration, as the term is used here, implies an intra-personal harmony of the components making up the personality as it affects the inner adjustment of the person." (94. p.285)

The data obtained in this research shows that in many instances, there is a "healthy" score on the Rorschach but a poor score on the Personality Inventory, and vice-versa. Only in some instances were poor scores found on both tests. From the discussion above, it seems, therefore, that the personality inventory and the Rorschach seem to be measuring different areas of behavior or different levels of the personality.

Following the suggestion given by Blairs and Wittman, the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test will be considered as a measure

of "self-adjustment" or "inner adjustment" , while the Personality Inventory will be considered as a measure of "social adjustment" .

To get a more sophisticated perspective on the subject of the difference between objective and projective tests, Allport's contribution to the Motivational Theory will be referred to here. He used the terms "direct" and "indirect" methods respectively for these two types of testing. He reports on experiments (51.) which have revealed that the most urgent motive in life failed completely to reveal itself by indirect methods when the subject was conscious of his motive. He states the following hypothesis :

"Unless a motive is repressed, it is unlikely to affect distinctively the perception of, and responses to, a projective test." (51. p.109)

As a result of this hypothesis, Allport suggests that a diagnostician should never employ projective methods in the study of motivation without at the same time employing the direct method. He gives experimental evidence that individuals who give healthy personality scores may or may not give a healthy Rorschach. Those who try to repress their problems are more likely to show maladjustment on the projective tests while appearing normal on the personality test. It will be seen later how this may apply to the sampling of Jewish boys of the third generation.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

In preparing the census-type questionnaire, adequate information on three variables was obtained : generation, socio-economic status, and religious affiliation. It was believed that any of these might have had some influence on the test scores. Fisher's T-Ratio and the critical ratio were used for tests of significance, depending on the size of various groups within the sample.

A. SCORES OBTAINED BY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS , ACCORDING TO GENERATION

Two methods of grouping were used in presenting the data obtained on the boys. Intra-group differences were calculated among all the orthodox boys attending the Talmudical academies of Manhattan and Brooklyn where tests were conducted. It was assumed that this group would be more homogeneous than Jewish boys attending private or public schools, on the basis of several factors, one being that public schools are coeducational.

From Table III it can be seen that the first generation (those born abroad) appear to be least adjusted on the Personality Inventory, while the third generation seems to have the best score of adjustment. This wide range of difference between first and third generation might have been responsible for contradictory findings in

TABLE III. MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH BOYS ON THE THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE AND RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

A. THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE							
GENERATION	Orthodox Group		t-	N	Entire Samples		
	Mean	S. D.			Mean	S. D.	t-
First Generation	17	32.88	11.18	17	32.88	11.18	.22
Second Generation	28	30.32	9.39	45	29.06	10.64	
Mixed Parentage	11	27.90	10.09	29	24.17	10.86	1.92
Third Generation	11	17.45	10.54	43	22.39	11.00	.73
TOTAL	67	28.46	10.95	134	26.35	11.08	

B. RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST						
GENERATION	Orthodox Group		t-	Entire Samples		
	N	Mean		S. D.	Mean	S. D.
First Generation	17	7.91	5.05	7.91	5.05	.38
Second Generation	28	8.30	5.51	8.46	5.06	.91
Mixed Parentage	11	9.63	7.72	10.10	8.67	.90
Third Generation	10	13.35	9.46	11.84	6.95	
TOTAL	66	9.18	6.83	8.80	6.82	

*** Significant at the 5% level of confidence.**

previous research where the factor of generation seemed to have been overlooked.

The scores on the Rorschach show an opposite trend. Bearing in mind the assumptions given earlier (see Chapter III ; D. ; 3.) as to what these two tests predominantly measure, it seems that the foreign born are least adjusted "socially" while the third generation appears to have the greatest "inner maladjustment" as shown by the Rorschach. In combining the results of all the Jewish boys tested, exactly the same trend with a narrowing of the range of means is found. Figure I gives a graphical representation of the results .

All the significant t-tests have been tabulated in Table IV . The analysis of the results reveal differences between the two sets of scores. There is a tendency for the orthodox of mixed parentage to score closer to the first and second generation. However, when all the Jewish groups, irrespective of religious affiliation, are considered, the mixed group stands closer to the third generation.

It was found that out of the 29 cases of mixed parentage, the mothers of 27 of the boys were born in the United States, whereas the fathers were born abroad. The assumption can be made, therefore, that there is a greater incidence of marriages between native American girls and foreign men, than vice-versa. Within the larger classification of the boys according to generation, the majority of the mothers are

T A B L E I V

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE AMONG THE MEAN SCORES

A. Boys - Orthodox Affiliation -- Thurstone Personality Schedule				
Generation	First	Second	Mixed	Third
First Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	3.52
Second Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	3.62
Mixed Parentage	- - -	- - -	- - -	2.32 *
Third Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -

B. Boys - Entire Samples ----- Thurstone Personality Schedule				
Generation	First	Second	Mixed	Third
First Generation	- - -	- - -	2.54	3.25
Second Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	3.13
Mixed Parentage	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Third Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -

C. Boys -- Entire Samples ----- Rorschach Multiple Choice Test				
Generation	First	Second	Mixed	Third
First Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	2.45 *
Second Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	2.60
Mixed Parentage	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Third Generation	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -

* Significant results at the 5% level of confidence ;
 All others at the 1% level .

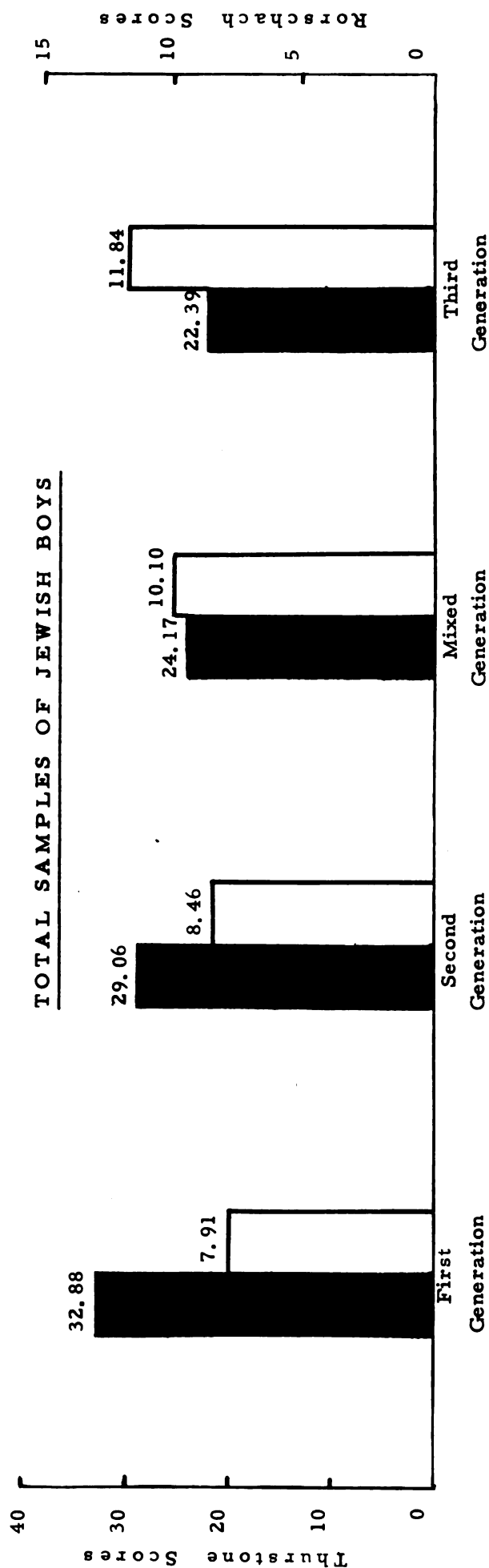
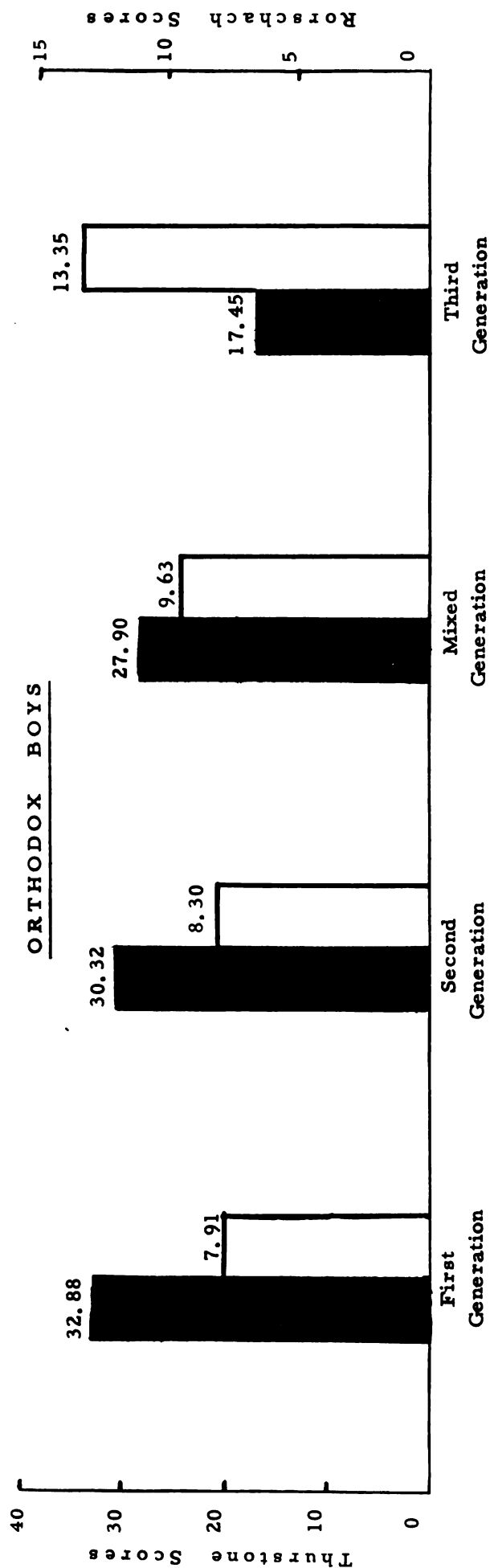


FIGURE 1. Comparison of the mean scores obtained by various generations of Jewish boys on the Thurstone Personality Schedule, and the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test.

conservative or reformed in their religious affiliation. Such differences, as those pointed out above, could be explained in terms of the difference in the roles played by the mother in orthodox families, and the more liberal Jewish families. The latter are more inclined to follow American norms of conduct of women in the United States. The two quotations following will point out the differences. According to Schermerhorn, the major characteristic of the family life of immigrants in the United States is a stronger father figure :

"The patriarchal feature was probably more strongly emphasized than it was among native white Americans; this resulted in the partial seclusion of women, especially in Italian and Mexican homes. In nearly all, it implied stern and rigorous discipline from the father, unquestioning obedience of the children, a subservient wife and mother, and economic management controlled by the male head of the household." (40. p.467)

Robin Williams, writing about the American family pattern, presents a different picture :

"Not even in theory is the wife expected to render unquestionable obedience to her husband, much less in actual practice. The marriage relationship most commonly held up as a model is one in which joint decisions are reached. It remains true that the general consensus still holds that in the last resort the husband should be 'head of the house' , but it is felt that only in rare circumstances will 'patriarchal' rather than 'democratic' processes be desirable." (39. p. 56)

The equalitarian principles expressed above would not necessarily hold in Jewish - Orthodox families, where the father, born

and raised in Europe, is reluctant to accept equal status with his orthodox, American-born wife. The more subservient role of the latter serves to provide fewer acculturative stimuli and tends to place their children in the second generation group rather than the third. On the other hand, a conservative or reformed wife would expect her husband to follow the American norms of family relationship which are more democratic, and as a result, tend to exert an influence on her children to become more like third generation Americans .

These differences could be attributed to the factor of social or cultural identification. Within the orthodox family of mixed parentage, the boy is likely to have stronger identification with his foreign-born father because of the mother's subservient role. On the other hand, with a stronger mother figure who is reformed or conservative, a boy is likely to feel closer identification with the American culture through the mother's more culturally active influence. This general premise of the dominant role of the American mother and how it affects the adjustment of the adolescent is also made by a psychoanalyst, Erickson (17.) who draws this conclusion from his clinical practice.

In the mixed-parentage-orthodox-mother group, we have no way of determining with which parent the child identifies culturally most; however, it is possible to say that the child identifies culturally to a lesser extent with his orthodox, American-born mother than the child with a reformed or conservative American-born mother. However, these

inferences would require more conclusive evidence than could be obtained from our data.

The following research findings supply some evidence on the above question, that is, the mother's influence on boys in the American culture. Kirkpatrick and Stone (71.) attempted to find out which of the two parents, father or mother, could affect their sons' attitudes. The parents and children were given the Thurstone Attitude Scale, and the results were correlated. It was found that the correlation between mother's and son's attitudes was .62, whereas that between fathers and son's was .33. These results suggest, therefore, that boys have the tendency to be influenced by their mother's attitude more readily than their father's.

To summarize the findings, on the Personality Inventory the third generation boys were found to be better "socially adjusted" than the first and second generation boys, while they show more maladjustment with the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test. The assertion has been made by Anastasi and Foley that the conflicts of adjustment in any minority group would be greatest in the second generation. They state in this connection :

"The point has frequently been made that the maladjustment is greatest not in the case of the immigrant generation who retain their customs to a large extent, not in the case of the third and succeeding generations where the adaptation and assimilation is virtually complete, but in the case of the offspring of the immigrants - or second generation - who are caught in the maelstrom occasioned by two different frames of references." (4. p.705)

It seems reasonable to make this assertion if it is based on the conception that the stresses and strains of adjustment are greatest in those individuals who must seek to satisfy essentially conflicting traditional demands. How can the results in this research be interpreted in the light of this statement made by Anastasi and Foley ?

It could be stated that for the Jewish population, the stress is not on the second generation but on the third generation, and as such, the Jews as a minority group represent an exception to the general rule, because of the special nature of their minority status. On the other hand, it is possible to state that results of this research agree with Anastasi and Foley's assertion, but that problems of adjustment extend to the third generation for the Jews. In other words, they require a longer period of transition in their adjustment to the dominant group. Following that line of thought, it can be hypothesized that by the fourth and fifth generation, conflicts are minimized for the Jewish population. However, this will necessitate further research since most of the samples tested did not go beyond the third generation .

Table V gives the results obtained with the girls. They achieve nearly identical scores on the personality inventory, irrespective of generation. The Rorschach scores, however, show an ascending degree of maladjustment from second to third generation, but the range of differences of group means is not as wide as that found among the boys. This recalls Sward and Friedman's study (90.) where mothers born abroad and

TABLE V. MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH GIRLS ON THE
THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE
AND RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

A. THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE				
GENERATION (all affiliations)	N	Mean	S. D.	t
Second Generation	57	30.60	11.60	.16
Mixed Parentage	26	29.07	13.76	.27
Third Generation	60	29.93	11.55	
TOTAL	143	30.03	12.01	
B. RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST				
GENERATION (all affiliations)	N	Mean	S. D.	t
Second Generation	57	6.80	4.98	1.10
Mixed Parentage	25	5.58	3.90	
Third Generation	60	8.02	5.60	2.32 *
TOTAL	142	7.10	4.92	

* Significant at the 5% level of confidence.

those born in the United States show no difference in their personality inventory scores. It seems, therefore, that with females, generation is of minor importance in affecting test results in personality inventories.

It can be concluded therefore, that Jewish males tend to be influenced to a greater degree by social and cultural forces than Jewish females. This can be inferred from Sward and Friedman's data (91.) and from what has been observed here. It seems possible to assume that Jewish females tend to have a more well-defined role within the family than do Jewish males. As an example, 90% of the girls plan on marriage and child-raising as their life aim, and only secondarily choose elementary school teaching and social work within the professional career area. Very few have the incentive to go into the professions. However, with the boys, third generation males have higher ambitions than first or second generation males. Within a hierarchy of professions, the latter choose those which are not generally considered of the 'higher prestige' professions.

It should be pointed out that among the girls, the mean scores on the Rorschach test of the mixed parentage group was closer to that of the second generation than to that of the third generation. Within this mixed parentage group, it was found that 2/3 of the mothers had orthodox affiliation. As with the mixed parentage boys, similar interpretations could be made with regard to the subservient role of the orthodox mother.

Therefore, in families of mixed parentage, where the mothers have an orthodox affiliation, the children will tend to have an adjustment level more like that of the second generation children, On the other hand, the children whose mothers have reformed and conservative affiliation will tend to have an adjustment level more like that of the third generation children.

**B. ATTITUDE OF JEWISH STUDENTS TOWARDS
THEIR REFERENCE GROUP**

Following the psychological testing and the census-type questionnaire, students were requested to answer a few questions (see Appendix III) on their general attitude towards Judaism and Israel. These questions were devised to tap "feelings of belongingness" and sense of pride of one's ethnic group in the various groups tested, to get some idea as to the extent of their identification. The purpose was to relate any findings on the attitude questionnaire with results obtained with the psychological testing.

The students had to state whether they were extremely happy, pleased, or indifferent at the founding of the State of Israel. Among the first and second generation students, 81% stated that they were extremely happy, as against 56% of the third generation. (t-ratio 2.78)

The next question was whether the students were very pleased, pleased, or indifferent in hearing about the outstanding achievements of a Jew. 64% of the first and second generation answered that they were very pleased, while 50% of the third generation answered in a similar manner. (t-ratio 1.40)

On Jewish intelligence, 63% of the first and second generation believed that the Jew was smarter than the non-Jew, and only 34% of the third generation thought likewise. (t-ratio 2.90)

As to the extent of existing anti-semitism, there was greater agreement. 86% of the first and second generation, and 78% of the third generation admitted that there was anti-semitism of various degrees. There was no significant difference between the two groups.

It is felt that these results illustrate a loosening-up of strong identification feelings of the third generation Jewish students. In the discussion of the results, an hypothesis will be offered as to the affect of different degrees of identification on the adjustment level of the Jews.

C. SOCIO - ECONOMIC STATUS AND TEST RESULTS

Anastasi and Foley, in surveying the research on the effect of socio-economic status on tests of personality, make the following generalization :

"On neurotic inventories, school children from lower socio-economic levels have shown evidence of greater maladjustment than those from middle and upper levels. Moreover, these class differences were found to be larger and more reliable than differences between urban and rural. . . . When groups of comparable socio-economic level were selected the national and urban-rural differences tended to disappear. " (4. p. 793)

In this study, the total sample was first divided according to generation. Results were obtained which indicated a gradual increase from one generation to the next, with regard to better social adjustment as measured by the Thurstone Personality Inventory.

According to Anastasi and Foley's statement, this gradual better social adjustment was found to correlate with higher socio-economic status. It has been demonstrated that the concept of adjustment really divides into at least two sub-types : One is "social adjustment" which seems most accurately reflected in the personality inventories ; the other is "inner adjustment" , which seems most accurately reflected in the Rorschach results.

It is a well known fact that the longer the immigrant groups have been in this country, the higher their socio-economic status is likely

to be. Therefore, the similarity between the "adjustment" scores in Anastasi and Foley's generalization, in terms of socio-economic status, and those of this study, in terms of generation, would lead to the belief that the division used here actually would be analagous to a division along socio-economic lines, since these two factors would correlate. If, in a general sample, a division is made according to the criterion of generation, (first, second, and third) it seems likely that individuals will fall into approximately the same place on a continuum, regardless of whether the criterion of this continuum is generation, or socio-economic status.

It was therefore decided to sort our students according to socio-economic status, to ascertain whether this was the causative factor in the differences found in our sample. For this purpose, Warner and Srole's classification scheme was used. This was used in their studies of the Yankee City series. They divided their population in the following manner, giving each group a particular weight :

A. Manual Techniques	<u>Index Value</u>
1. Unskilled Labor .	1
2. Skilled Factory.	2
3. Skilled craft operations, shop type, tailoring, etc.	2.5
B. Exchange Control Techniques	
1. Management-aid operations, e. g. foremen, secretaries, bookkeepers.	3
2. Management operations-administering and controlling, market and factory structures.	4
C. Professional Techniques - law, medicine, engineers .	6

The index for our first generation parents was found to be 3.20. Warner and Srole found that the Jewish index in the Yankee City was 3.32 (46. p.61) which is close to our own figure. However, the second generation parents had a higher socio-economic status indicated by an index of 4.14 .

The entire sample of boys was sorted according to Warner's major classifications. It was found that the mean score obtained on the personality inventory by the boys whose fathers were skilled or unskilled laborers expressed more maladjustment than the mean score obtained by the sons of professionals. Mean scores of the intermediate classifications correlated closely with socio-economic status.

These findings seem to corroborate Anastasi and Foley's generalization, and it can be assumed that the division according to generation has produced positive results because of its close correlation with socio-economic divisions. Generation, consequently, does not appear to be the causative factor in the differences found, but rather socio-economic status .

However, further analysis will show that the conclusion reached above is not infallible. Accordingly, within the second and third generation groupings, the boys were matched on a one-to-one basis with relation to the profession or vocation of their fathers. In this way, two equated groups in socio-economic status, but of different generations, were obtained.

This type of classification according to Anastasi and Foley's generalization, would make differences in adjustment levels of the two groups "tend to disappear" . In Table VI , tabulations for both types of groupings are included; those non-equated, and those which are equated. The difference in adjustment level does not disappear when the socio-economic status is made comparable.

In other words, by controlling the latter factor, the second generation nonetheless maintains a higher neurotic score on the Personality Inventory, and a lower neurotic score on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test than do the individuals belonging to the third generation .

Therefore, contrary to Anastasi and Foley's generalization, Jewish students of different generation but of similar socio-economic status, persist in showing differences in adjustment. Thus, the important factor in producing such differences is the generation, and not the socio-economic status of the group.

TABLE VI. MEAN SCORES OBTAINED BY JEWISH BOYS
OF SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION
WHEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS CONTROLLED

A. THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE								
GENERATION	Not equated for Economic Status			t	Equated for Economic Status			
	N	Mean	S. D.		N	Mean	S. D.	
	t							
Second Generation	43	28.61	9.70	2.97 **	29	29.10	9.31	3.44 **
Third Generation	40	22.55	8.88		29	25.00	7.06	

B. RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST								
GENERATION	Not Equated for Economic Status			t	Equated for Economic Status			
	N	Mean	S. D.		N	Mean	S. D.	
	t							
Second Generation	43	8.51	5.16	2.73 **	28	9.17	4.92	3.30 **
Third Generation	38	12.01	6.24		28	12.68	6.89	

** Significant at the 1% level of confidence .

D. SCORES OBTAINED BY ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE
AND REFORM STUDENTS

It has already been pointed out that in the various studies concerned with the adjustment of Jews, none seem to have taken in consideration the factor of religious affiliation. It has also been demonstrated that in the realm of "social adjustment" and "inner adjustment" the factor of generation is of major importance rather than socio-economic status, since it was shown that groups of second and third generation matched for socio-economic status still maintain their differences. It is yet to be shown that religious affiliation bears equally little weight with regard to "social adjustment" and "inner adjustment" .

Male and female groups were divided on the basis of religious affiliation, - Orthodox-talmudical, Orthodox-coeducational, Conservative and Reform. The differences in scores between the groups were, in general, not significant. In other words, one's religious affiliation has little relation with one's "inner" or "social" adjustment.

However, there are some slight discrepancies which necessitate an explanation. A difference in the Personality Inventory exists between boys attending talmudical academies and boys attending Orthodox coeducational institutions. This difference is just short of being significant at the .05% level. Taking into account that the Personality Inventory reflects "social learning" or "learned social skills" , the fact that approximately one-fifth of the Orthodox-talmudical boys

are foreign-born may tend to produce in that particular group a poorer mean score on the Personality Inventory. In fact, if this explanation is valid, it is a further indication of the importance of generation in determining "social adjustment" .

The same explanation may be used to account for the lower Rorschach score attained by the group of Orthodox-talmudical boys than that attained by the Orthodox-coeducational boys; the implication being that the greater percentage of first generation boys in the Orthodox - talmudical group tends to produce a healthier Rorschach mean score.

A further test of the hypothesis that generation is the primary causative factor for differences in both types of adjustment was also examined. Third generation boys were divided into Reform and Orthodox groupings, these being considered as extremes on the continuum of religious liberalism versus conservatism. No significant difference was revealed.

**E. TEST RESULTS OBTAINED WITH A SAMPLE
OF GENTILE STUDENTS**

As a representative sample of the dominant group, non-Jewish Protestant students were tested in one Sunday School, and two private schools. The last two institutions permitted the investigator to inquire as to religious affiliations and origin ; information which could not be requested in public schools because of the present state law forbidding such inquiries.

All of the non-Jewish group belonged to long-established Protestant families in this country. They were of relatively high socio-economic status, comparable to our third generation Jewish students. The test results are shown in Table VII, which includes the scores obtained by various generations of Jewish students and the control group.

A comparison of the mean scores obtained by the total Jewish sample, and the control Protestant group, indicates that on the Thurstone Personality Schedule, there is no difference in social adjustment between Jews and non-Jews for both girls and boys. This agrees with the majority of investigations tabulated in Table I.

Summarizing the results of these tables, Garrett (60.) , Thurstone (92.) , Sward and Friedman (90.;91.) , in their studies, and Sukow and Williamson (89.) , and Sperling, Long, and Gordon, have not found the differences significant. Only two investigators, Borwn (57.) and Shuey (87.)

TABLE VII. COMPARISON OF SCORES OBTAINED BY VARIOUS GENERATIONS
OF JEWISH AND GENTILE STUDENTS

GENERATION - BOYS	Thurstone Personality Schedule				Rorschach Multiple Choice Test			
	N	Mean	S.D.	t	N	Mean	S.D.	t
First Generation - Jewish	17	32.88	11.18		17	7.91	5.05	
Second Generation - "	45	29.06	10.64	.22	45	8.46	5.06	.38
Mixed Parentage - "	29	24.17	10.86	1.92	28	10.10	8.67	.91
Third Generation - "	43	22.39	11.00	.73	41	11.84	6.95	.90
TOTAL - Jewish	134	26.35	11.08	.50	131	8.80	6.82	2.67 **
TOTAL - Protestants	25	25.11	11.52		23	6.98	4.44	

GENERATION - GIRLS	Thurstone Personality Schedule				Rorschach Multiple Choice Test			
	N	Mean	S.D.	t	N	Mean	S.D.	t
Second Generation - Jewish	57	30.60	11.60		57	6.80	4.98	1.10
Mixed Parentage - "	26	29.07	13.76	.16	25	5.58	3.90	
Third Generation - "	60	29.93	11.55	.27	60	8.02	5.60	2.32 *
TOTAL - Jewish	143	30.03	12.01		142	7.10	4.92	1.80
TOTAL - Protestants	26	29.65	10.77	.16	24	5.64	3.46	

** Significant at the 1% level of confidence.

* Significant at the 5% level of confidence.

found definite superiority of adjustment with their Jewish sample. As pointed out earlier, we have no evidence that the generation of the Jewish samples were controlled, and this may have been responsible for the inconclusive results obtained by these investigators.

On the other hand, with the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, there is evidence of a decided difference between Jews and non-Jews, when boys are tested, (8.80 s.d. 6.82 and 6.98 s.d. 4.44 respectively, $t=2.67$) while for the girls the difference in the Rorschach goes in the expected direction, but the difference is not wide enough to be significant at the 5% level of confidence.

The comparisons made above between Jewish and Gentile samples included one group which is heterogeneous from the point of view of generation. In order to eliminate the factor of generation with its attendant effects on adjustment scores, in Table VIII the scores obtained by long-established Protestants and third generation Jews were compared. On the basis of the assumption that third generation Jews have become more acculturated, they were used in this comparison. The Personality Schedule results show little difference between the two groups, while the difference in the Rorschach is maintained, as in the case when the aggregate scores were compared. In other words, although the "social adjustment" of the dominant group is similar to the "social adjustment" of the minority group, the "inner adjustment" level seems to favor the former group.

TABLE VIII. COMPARISON OF ADJUSTMENT SCORES BY THIRD GENERATION
JEWISH AND THIRD GENERATION PROTESTANT STUDENTS

Religion - BOYS	Thurstone Personality Schedule				Rorschach Multiple Choice Test			
	N	Mean	S. D.	t	N	Mean	S. D.	t
Protestants	25	25.11	11.52	.93	23	6.98	4.44	3.44 **
Jewish	43	22.39	11.00		11	11.84	6.95	

Religion - GIRLS	Thurstone Personality Schedule				Rorschach Multiple Choice Test			
	N	Mean	S. D.	t	N	Mean	S. D.	t
Protestants	26	29.65	10.77	.10	24	5.64	3.46	2.36 **
Jewish	60	29.93	11.55		60	8.02	5.60	

* Significant at the 5% level of confidence.

** Significant at the 1% level of confidence.

The major part of the sample of this research is Jewish, while the non-Jewish group is relatively small. Harrower's book (23.) does not give any norms for high school students, to use as a basis of comparison with our results. For this purpose, use was made of Blairs' (54.) data with a sample of students in Illinois. The mean score he obtained for the girls was close to the mean score obtained in this study, (6.49 and 5.64 respectively). Findings with the boys were close, as well (7.37 and 6.98 respectively). It can be assumed, therefore, that the Protestant sample of this research does not vary much from the general population and could therefore be used as representative of a non-Jewish group.

In another paper, Blairs (53.) reports the Rorschach scores of White and Negro education students attending summer school at the University of Illinois. The mean scores he found for the white students, who were an older group, was close to his findings with the high school students. Table IX brings together Blairs' findings, and the findings of this research. For the purpose of comparison, the scores obtained by the third generation Jewish group were used. The data indicates that the Jewish male group obtained an almost equal score to that of Negro students, (11.84 and 11.78 respectively), while the Jewish girls scored somewhat lower than the female Negro students, (8.02 and 9.63 respectively). It seems that both Negro and Jews, as a minority group, suffer from the "marks of oppression", using Kardiner's terminology (25.). In the next chapter, the implications of such findings will be discussed.

TABLE IX. COMPARISON OF BLAIRS' STUDY WITH WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS
AND PRESENT STUDY OF JEWS AND GENTILES
ON THE RORSCHACH MULTIPLE CHOICE TEST

M A L E S						
STUDY	N	Gentile Means	S.D.	N	Minority Means	S.D. t between dominant and minority group
Blairs' findings	86	7.30		9	11.78 (Negro)	3.00 **
Sanua's findings	23	6.98 (Protestants)	4.44	41	11.84 (Jewish)	6.95 3.44 **
F E M A L E S						
STUDY	N	Gentile Means	S.D.	N	Minority Means	S.D. t between dominant and minority group
Blairs' findings	91	6.63		19	9.63 (Negro)	2.08 *
Sanua's findings	24	5.64 (Protestants)	3.46	60	8.02 (Jewish)	5.60 2.36 *

* Significant at the 5% level of confidence.

** Significant at the 1% level of confidence.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

-The most striking finding in this research is the ascending "inner maladjustment" shown by Jewish boys from first to third generation on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test. Socio-economic status and synagogue affiliation seem to have very little effect on the scores. On the other hand, the scores on the Personality Schedule follow the opposite trend, i.e. foreign born show a greater degree of "social maladjustment" than third generation boys.-

In applying the principles mentioned in Chapter III , concerning what these two tests measure, it can be said that those boys who are born abroad, and those boys whose parents are not entirely assimilated, may either feel somewhat insecure in their relationship with the social world or do not endeavor to adopt the American norms of "social adjustment" as measured by the paper and pencil test, e. g. Thurstone Personality Schedule. The third generation, on the other hand, will try to conform as much as possible to these norms. As pointed out by Margaret Mead (35.) , all Americans try to be "third generation" in general. Also, as Gorer states with reference to the Jewish group :

"Many of the children and nearly all the grandchildren of the original immigrants were willing to abandon in a considerable degree these claims for special status, and in the greatest part gave up completely the un-American habits which were the manifestations of such claims." (21. p.205)

Some psychologists who have studied Jewish and Gentile temperament on the personality inventories , found that their Jewish groups obtained healthier scores than Gentiles. These findings, which are contrary to what might be expected from a minority group, may be attributed to what Allport has called "enhanced striving" , (3. p. 156) where there is special effort not only to appear just like everybody else, but to overemphasize certain desirable characteristics at the price of self-deception .

This would tend to be reflected to a greater degree in the third generation Jewish boy who would like to appear as "fully Americanized" as possible, and not to show the least signs of weakness, dependence, or rejection. This attitude, one may reason, is emphasized by radio, television, movies, comics etc. where the hero is always courageous and full of initiative. In this connection, the word "sissy" has had great significance among adolescents, and the Jewish boys, particularly the third generation, would like least to be identified with this word. Gorer has the following to say on the subject :

"This concept of being a sissy is a key concept for the understanding of the American character; it has no exact parallel in any other society. It has nowadays become a term of opprobrium which can be applied to anyone, regardless of age and sex....Schematically it means showing more dependence or fear or lack of initiative or passivity than is suitable for the occasion." (21. p. 85)

This comes out in one question of the schedule, "Do you lack spunk or courage" ? There is a definite significant difference in the results between the second and third generation. Only three boys out of 40 in the third generation admitted that they lacked courage, as against 14 in the second generation group.

An interesting analogy to these results is provided by a study by Wheatley (93.) . He administered the Bernreuter test to a group of Negro music students at Howard University. This test included many of the items found in the Thurstone Personality Schedule. He discovered that the mean score obtained by the Negro student was equal to the white's mean . This leads to the belief that for a population belonging to a minority group, and whose strivings are to conform to the dominant group, the paper and pencil test does not reflect the actual degree of maladjustment but reflects rather a picture of what these individuals consider normal, socially, in the dominant group. This degree of self-deception naturally varies with the individual .

Kornreich, discussing his results with several tests of personality, which he used with V.A. hospital patients, cautions about the use of test scores for predictive value, He states :

"Thus, the examiner cannot tell whether test scores indicate the subject's conception of his own behavior, or his own conception of what constitutes socially acceptable behavior, or his "unconscious" tendencies to behave in a given manner, or "reaction formation", behavior which is the direct opposite of these "unconscious" tendencies." (72. p.123)

There is, therefore, no way of knowing whether the wide difference between the second and third generation boys is due to genuinely different "adjustment level" or to different attitudes concerning what is considered socially acceptable.

Merton developed the reference group theory which aims to systematize the determinants of the processes of evaluation and self-appraisal of individuals who take the values and standards of other individuals or groups. This may explain the dissimilarity in personality scores between first and third generation Jewish boys, since the values for self-appraisal might be different in the two groups.

It is for this very reason that the use of projective tests have greater sensitivity in revealing inner dynamic adjustment. Since the individual does not "know" what is normal and what is abnormal, his percepts on the test tend, therefore, to reflect the deeper layer of his personality, which is not accessible to his awareness. Mussen (80.) gave the Thematic Apperception Test to 50 Negroes and 50 Whites, and found significant differences between the two groups. One of these differences showed that the Negro boys' stories expressed more aggressive "press" from the environment; further, there was a mild verbal aggression from heroes. These reactions may be expected from this minority group in response to the hostile discrimination to which they are subjected. Hammer, (68.) using the House-Tree-Person Test with Negroes and White children finds support for the frustration-aggression hypothesis.

Although the scores on the Personality Inventory appear to be satisfactory with the third generation Jewish boys, beneath the surface of apparent psychological health and vigor, everything does not seem to be going so smoothly. Harrower (23.) gave a criterion for a danger point that would necessitate further diagnostic work, a value of 40% poor responses. The average number of poor responses of our third generation very nearly attains that percentage (11.84 poor responses from a total of 30 would be equal to 39.4%) . The differences within the Jewish groups are only a matter of degree since the first generation boys still have poorer scores on the Rorschach Test than Gentiles. Speaking about the Jewish minority's endeavor to be accepted, Infield has the following to say :

"The most desirable way to resolve this tension would obviously be that of shedding all Jewish associations and becoming one of the majority. For many, the only obstacle to this solution lies in the fact that the majority, as a whole, shows not only no willingness to condone such "crossing of the line" , but actually a strong resistance against it. . . . The American Jew caught at this barrier and not feeling like moving back to the center of his own group, but never fully admitted "over the line", develops all the symptoms characteristic of the "marginal man." (70. p. 511)

It was demonstrated in Chapter IV (B.) that the identification of the third generation Jewish boy was weaker than his second generation counterpart. This would tend to intensify his marginality. However, there is one aspect that should be pointed out.

The above quotation assumes that the shedding of Jewish associations and an endeavor to "cross the line" cause the symptoms characteristic of the "marginal man" . An attempt should still be made to explain the fact that the Orthodox third generation boys, although maintaining their "Jewishness" still appear to have a higher degree of maladjustment than the second generation boys of Orthodox affiliation. Their scores do not differ much from the third generation Conservative or Reformed boys. Thus, third generation Orthodox boys may be more inclined to seek friendships outside their circle, since they feel they are more "Americanized" . As a result, they would also be more frequently subject to rejection, which would accentuate their insecurity .

In analyzing the responses on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, it was found that the third generation boys, in general, rejected twice as many cards as second generation, and had more "chiaroscuro" associations, which are indicative of emotional disturbance. It would therefore appear that an attempt to maintain their Jewish identity while striving to be accepted into the prevailing society occasions increased emotional conflict.

Allport's contribution on the subject of difference between projective and objective tests has been discussed in Chapter III (D., 3.) He believes it is not possible to know about the existence of a neurotic situation unless both diagnostic approaches are used. He states that it

is not the well-integrated subject aware of his problems who reveals himself in projective testing, but rather the neurotic personality, who, repressing his fears and anxieties, is caught off guard by a projective method :

"...an apparently bland and calm individual, denying all anxiety, reveals profound disturbance and fear in projective performances. It is this type of dissociated nature that projective tests help to diagnose. Yet, they cannot do so unless direct methods also are employed." (51. p.111)

This last quotation may illustrate the psychological condition of the third generation student of Jewish faith. Previous research using solely the objective methods revealed very little, since anxiety might have been repressed on a personality questionnaire, but would seep through on a projective test. However, it cannot be denied that the first generation boy is entirely devoid of anxiety, but--contrary to the third generation boys, he might not repress it to the same degree, since he recognizes his problem. Furthermore, his anxieties might have been tempered by his strong feelings of belongingness to a minority group which gives him security. Some evidence to that effect is given by the attitude questionnaire which was discussed in Chapter IV. It was seen that there was a greater sense of pride of their 'ethnic' affiliation among the first and second generation high school students, as compared to third generation Jewish students .

In the course of this research, individual students were interviewed, so as to obtain some insight of the problem from their point of view. The following is a verbatim answer obtained from a 16-year old boy. He was requested to give his opinion as to the degree of adjustment and differences between first, second, and third generation.

"The first generation would have a problem to his environment, but the third generation also probably (in) getting accepted by everyone else. In some cases there is still a barrier, only if it is in the mind, he might (still) find it difficult. First generation Jew may have some difficulties with the language and money, but not on deeper problems of acceptance by Gentiles. Therefore, the third generation should be more neurotic."

The line above which has been underscored reveals a possible facet of the Jewish personality. The assumption is that the Jew, even with no overt or covert anti-semitism, may still feel a certain degree of anxiety because of his long history of minority status. The following is a portrait of a Jew which illustrates this condition :

"Here is a man who would snatch up a newspaper, and skimming rapidly through its four, six, or eight pages, would pounce on one line, and in that line would be the word "Jew". Here was a man, a seasoned newspaperman, mind you, who would grow red or turn pale at some chance phrase in a newspaper--some excerpts from an article, some cable or by-line--if this chance phrase, this cable or by-line contained the word "Jew". He had a heart that bled in every ghetto in the world; a heart that bled in Roumania and Turkey, in Russia and in the Argentine, in America and Hungary; in short, wherever Jews are persecuted, which is as much as to say everywhere. Such is your Jew - a quiver of rage, and it is because of an outrage committed in the Dnieper Valley. A creature in a state of perpetual tension, bearing the weight of a whole race, a whole world on his shoulders - fifty centuries of history on his poor bowed shoulders." (33. p.121, written in 1903)

Thus, it is possible that some Jews, without ever having experienced any prejudice, might have acquired all the reactions of the "marginal man" through identification.

It was pointed out in Chapter II (A.) that the emphasis on research was mainly with the source of anti-semitism, and some of the personality correlates, such as the "authoritarian individual", but little work has been done with the "marginal individual" and his feelings about his status. This type of work would be very useful, since the recognition of these feelings would make for better adjustment, as stated by Allport, (51.) . Lewin, (31.) besides contributing to the concept of the marginal man, wrote on the subject of education of Jewish children, for the purpose of counteracting the unfavorable reaction resulting from prejudice when these children are faced with the reality of their minority status.

Discussing the problem of self-hatred among Jews, Greenberg suggests the following as a solution :

"The non-Jewish world, as long as it clings to its unfavorable notion of the Jew in general, will always make impossible the entire extirpation of self-hatred in the Diaspora. All I claim is that we can rid ourselves of a good deal of it, despite the world's attitude, by bringing it out into the open and by becoming aware of what it causes us to do and say . Let us express our discomfort as Jews more directly, without falsifying it by an ineffective sublimation. . . . The sense of Jewish inferiority is there, but less of it will be there the moment we acknowledge it and begin to realize just how and where we act upon it. And the more we acknowledge it, the less, I feel sure, we shall act upon it." (64. p.433)

The next question which arises is whether it is possible at all for the Jew to become entirely incorporated, and identify himself with the dominant group of the country in which he lives.

The following two quotations, which are poles apart, try to give the answers. The first is by Arnold Toynbee, the well-known historian, while the other is from Rabbi Elmer Berger, who represents the American Council for Judaism, a group opposed to the existence of the State of Israel.

"To be a Jew is to be a human being whose social environment is Jewry. It is an essential part of the Jew's individuality that he is a member of the living Jewish community and an heir to the ancient Jewish tradition. He cannot cut off his Jewishness and cast it from him without self-mutilation; and thus, for the Jew, an emancipation-assimilation contract with a Gentile nation has the same kind of consequence as the legal instrument which turns a free man into a slave. It deprives him of half of his manhood. A Jew, who, by process of emancipation and assimilation, attempts, in social contract with his Gentile neighbors, to turn himself into a Dutchman or a Frenchman or an Englishman or an American of "Jewish religion" is simply mutilating his Jewish personality without having any prospect at all of acquiring the full personality of a Dutchman or whatever the Gentile nationality of his choice may be."
(45. p. 253)

Berger's stand is opposite to Toynbee's, since he believes that religion should not be a handicap to full identification with the dominant group. Reporting on his views, Schermerhorn writes the following :

"He (Berger) has pointed out that instead of saying that assimilation has failed in Germany, it is more true to say that democracy did not succeed since Germany never digested this idea... He asserts that whenever the democratic freedoms are truly established, the Jews live in freedom and where they are insecure, not only the Jews, but all the minorities are insecure. This is the view of the American Council that the only way in which the Jew can find acceptable status in the modern world is for him to identify himself with the nation in which he lives in every way except that of religion. There is no reason why a Jew cannot be a good Englishman, Frenchman, Belgian or Hollander." (40. p. 496)

This brings us to the topic of anti-semitism which may be the major social factor in preventing a feeling of true acceptance by the dominant group. Prejudice reached alarming heights during wartime, undoubtedly abetted by Hitler's propaganda of hatred, and encouraged by a brand of native fascism which flourished before World War II. Criticism of the Jews had even entered into "high places" including the Congress of the United States. (27. p. 220) Discussing the problem of acquisition of new social habits, Dollard writes the following :

"... Do law firms and banks not continue a subtle policy of discrimination ? Are Jews not rationed in the colleges and universities of highest symbolic significance ? I think the answer to every one of these questions would reveal that anti-semitism, perhaps of an indirect kind, is a matter of fact among the social leaders of America. Since only they can apply the most stringent, informal sanctions against anti-Semitic beliefs, the outlook is not good for making anti-Semitism unconventional." (15. p. 463)

It was seen that the number of poor responses on the Rorschach of the Negro group was just as high as that of our third generation Jewish group. An outstanding work on the effect of prejudice upon the adjustment of a minority group is Kardiner's study of the American Negro, which included the administration of the Rorschach test. This is what he has to say in conclusion :

"Perhaps more than any other group that has come to our attention... (it) was clearly demonstrated that the defects in adaptation are not of mysterious or racial origin, but owe their existence entirely to the arduous emotional conditions under which the Negro of America is obliged to live. The defects in his adaptation are truly the marks of oppression. The authors use the American Negro as their test group, but many of the findings are applicable to any group that must live in social isolation." (25. p. 338)

Anti-semitism might probably give the clue as to why the Jews, like the Negroes, bear the "mark of oppression" as shown by the great similarity in the percentage of poor responses in their Rorschach.

In 1946, Bogardus (55.) gave his social distance scale to 1,950 persons in various regions of the United States, and he found that Jews ranked twenty-third in a list of thirty-six ethnic groups.

Richard (83.) made a similar study in 1950 with white students, and the Jews ranked fifth in the nine ethnic groups evaluated. a previous study made with Negro students did not show much difference from the results obtained with a white population. This is another indication that the minority group which tries to identify itself with the

dominant group, tends to adopt their values. Another large-scale research of interest is Campbell's study (10.) in 1942, where two-fifths of the national sample interviewed was willing to make some derogatory comments regarding Jews.

It is estimated that Jews comprise 25% of the population of New York City, where this research was conducted. The question is to what degree signs of anti-semitism would exist in such a metropolis ? Robinson and Rhode, in 1945, made an extensive study of anti-semitism in New York City, where they interviewed 1,165 individuals. The question which gave the highest number of unfavorable answers was, "Do you think that Jewish business men are as honest as other business men ?" 24% of the sample answered, "No" . In trying to account for differences in these responses among the Gentile groups, the authors report the following :

"The lower economic and educated Protestant expressed more anti-semitism than the other groups studied. It was suggested that in this group there are many persons whose position in the dominant religious group, and perhaps as native-born "Americans" , contrasts painfully with the economic disadvantage and insecurity which they experience. Such position might lead to feelings of frustration and antagonism which could be channelized into anti-semitic views." (84. p.514)

Thus, the Jews in New York City are not spared from anti-semitism, although it might be less virulent than in some other places.

The high Rorschach scores in our study were obtained from students living in various neighborhoods, so it is unlikely that anti-semitism could have arisen because of certain local conditions. However, further intensive research would be required before we can say that the poor Rorschach scores were solely determined by anti-semitism, and that this is responsible for the lack of "feeling of belongingness" to the dominant group.

Maladjustment, as a result of non-acceptance by the dominant group, is reported by Kluckholm in his study of the Navaho. Since even the most acculturated of them are not received on terms of social equality, in sour disillusionment, they abandon all moral codes. Some, however, may achieve a "working, but flat and empty adjustment". (28. p. 114) A more empirical finding which has already been referred to in this paper is Blairs' study of the Negro students, who showed more maladjustment than the white students on the Rorschach Multiple Choice test.

Another pertinent finding is Hallowell's, where his minority group were Ojibwa Indians. He divided his sample into three groups, non-acculturated, semi-acculturated and entirely acculturated. Using Davidson's signs of maladjustment on the Rorschach, he found that 56% of the most acculturated Indians fell in the poorly adjusted group, while 27% of the least acculturated Indians received the same rating. He feels that it is

the lack of any positive substitute for that aspect of the aboriginal value system which had its core in religious belief which is responsible for his findings. Hallowell has not gone into the discussion of the Indians as a marginal group, but he agrees with the experimenter, (personal communication) that his population which had acculturated most was not accepted on "equal" terms by the dominant group.

However, there is a definite trend today of a greater acceptance of minority groups. A great deal has been heard about fair employment practices, which is included in the platform of many politicians. Furthermore, the decision of the Supreme Court to abolish segregation in schools has been a landmark in the history of the United States. Its implementation, though opposed by some Southern states, is progressing. The big league baseball clubs now accept Negro players. Separate facilities in interstate transportation in the South are on their way out.

A more adequate evaluation of this positive trend toward greater liberalism has been shown by Gilbert (61.) in his study of stereotype changes among college students. He found that in the course of eighteen years, students at Princeton are less inclined to attribute stereotype characteristics to minority groups. The analysis of his results show that the characteristics most frequently checked for Negroes and Jews in 1950 are about the same as those most frequently checked

in 1932, but "they were checked by a far smaller proportion of students than in 1932" . This does not necessarily mean that there is less prejudice, but only reflects the thinking of the time. Further research would be required to see if these changes agree with basic convictions. Gilbert's point is that much of prejudice is without conviction, but effective nevertheless .

It can therefore be said that prejudiced people find it more and more difficult to uphold American ideals of equality , and perpetuate the existence of "second class citizens" .

CHAPTER VI

SUGGESTED RESEARCH

It was pointed out in the Introduction that this research had been conducted as a pilot study to show how the tools of clinical psychology could be used cross-culturally, to find out the adjustment level of various generations of a minority group as compared to the dominant group.

Differences in the adjustment level, as indicated by the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, were explained in terms of "identification" or "belongingness" . The hypothesis offered was that the greater the feeling of identity with one's group, the greater the feeling of security.

Differences found through use of the Personality Inventory were explained in terms of incorporation of the values of the dominant group. The test did not seem to measure psychological health, as much as conformity or over-conformity to these values.

The study was conducted in New York City, which has the largest Jewish population in the world. The question arises whether similar results could be obtained with Jews in a different cultural context. The next step would be to study the adjustment of Jews in a small or medium-size town, where they would represent a negligible percentage of the total population. This is where regional differences might possibly affect the test results and throw more light on the effect of environmental forces on the adjustment of the Jews, as a minority group.—

A further extension would be to compare the Jewish population in two similar cities which are known to be different in their attitude towards their acceptance of Jews. This could be extended on an international basis. Similar studies could be conducted with Jews of various nationalities, provided samples could be matched and the tests made similar in different languages. Jews living in countries known for their liberalism could be compared with Jews living in countries where there has been a history of prejudice and discrimination. —

In the course of the past 2,000 years, the Jews have always borne the burden of minority status. However, with the founding of the State of Israel, Jewish citizens, after twenty centuries, are born and grow in an atmosphere where they do not experience the feeling of a minority status, as did their ancestors. Would the "sabrá", the native-born Israeli, present different personality characteristics from the German or Polish Jew whose early years of life were fraught with fears and struggles for survival? Israel presents today a fertile soil for research in acculturation and in assimilation.

For reasons aforementioned, the researcher had to limit himself to private schools and Sunday schools. It is true that in the Sunday schools, practically all students attended public schools; but the fact that they were going to Sunday school may have been a selective factor. The possibility of a similar study with Jewish students in public high schools would be a worthwhile undertaking, provided the local Board of Education would grant permission to ask personal questions of students.

The present study limits itself primarily to the interpretation of the results obtained with psychological tests. In the previous chapter, a verbatim quotation given by a Jewish adolescent was added to the discussion. His opinion represents 'in a nutshell' the stand which has been taken in this research. To supplement the results obtained from psychological testing, boys and girls of the Jewish faith could be interviewed intensively with an appropriate questionnaire, to obtain their impressions and feelings about their minority status. This approach is a natural extension of the present study .

The Rorschach Multiple Choice Test cannot be said to be a satisfactory substitute for the individual administration of the test. Comparisons of Rorschach profiles of different groups would make a greater contribution than the simple comparison of "maladjustment" scores. The use of more recently developed scales of personality, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, or the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, would undoubtedly give more interesting data. In the latter test, clusters of behavioral characteristics have been identified and isolated by the detailed statistical procedures of factor analysis. It would be of interest to make comparisons of these clusters of behavior among groups of different backgrounds. Two persons having identical neurotic scores on a personality test may be quite different in the quality of their maladjustment. In other words, a plain score on a general inventory test is not adequate, since it

does not indicate which areas or clusters of behavior show psychopathology.

To summarize the possibilities for future research, this chapter has suggested : - different, more extensive samplings. Further, a supplementary method of investigation was likewise indicated. A more adequate sample, together with a greater variety of social background than that found in New York was thought to be pertinent. A further suggestion given is the use of field interviews to obtain information directly from the minority group which is being studied.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

— Two tests of adjustment, the Thurstone Personality Schedule and the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, were administered to approximately 400 high school juniors and seniors, of both sexes, in New York City. The bulk of the sample was made up of Jewish students who were divided according to generation, synagogue affiliation, and socio-economic status. The Gentile group was made up of long-established American Protestants. The following are some of the findings :

A. The longer the ancestry of the family in the United States, the better appears the adjustment of Jewish boys on the Personality Inventory. Boys born abroad have the poorest scores on this test. On the other hand, the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test shows an opposite trend. The third generation boys, while showing good adjustment on the Personality Schedule, give evidence of a greater degree of anxiety and insecurity on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test than first and second generation boys.

B. The degree of Jewish "belongingness" and identification appears to be stronger among first and second generation than among third generation Jewish boys.

C. No significant differences were found on the Personality Schedule, when the girls were tested. However, with the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, we find a similar trend as with the boys, - third generation girls give a poorer score than second generation girls, but of lesser significance.

D. In our intermediate groups of mixed parentage, where the mothers are born in the United States and fathers are born abroad, the children are likely to be like second generation when their mothers are Orthodox, and third generation when their mothers are Conservative or Reformed.

E. Both the objective and projective tests used show no effect due to socio-economic status. When the second and third generation are equated for socio-economic status, the latter group still shows better adjustment on the Personality Inventory and poorer adjustment on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test, as pointed out in the foregoing paragraph (A.) .

F. Synagogue affiliation, such as Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, does not seem to be a factor which influences the adjustment scores.

G. A small sample of non-Jewish students was used as a control group. While Jewish boys and girls show slightly better adjustment on the Personality Schedule, their Rorschach scores are significantly

different in the adverse direction. Similar results were found by Blairs, {53-} who tested White and Negro student teachers, the latter having a Rorschach mean score almost equal to our third generation Jewish group,

The following hypotheses are proposed to explain the results outlined above :

A. The third generation has absorbed dominant group values into their own values, since they are the most "acculturated" , and as a result, show better verbalized social adjustment on the questionnaire type of personality test.

B. The Rorschach Multiple Choice Test is a better index of deeper personality stability, since the examinees do not "know" what is being measured. Therefore, any minority group which has experienced some degree of discrimination, while appearing normal or better than normal on the objective test, show evidence of anxiety on a projective test. Jews show some "marks" of their minority status in their Rorschach responses.

C. Since it was found that the third generation Jewish boys show more maladjustment on the Rorschach Multiple Choice Test than first and second generation, we have assumed that the higher the degree of acculturation without acceptance by the dominant group, the greater the liklihood of more problems of adjustment. The results would indicate that conflict and stress resulting from weaker identification with the minority group and lack of full acceptance by the dominant group is strongest with the third generation Jews.

APPENDIX

- I. THURSTONE PERSONALITY SCHEDULE
- II. CENSUS-TYPE QUESTIONNAIRE
- III. ATTITUDE SCALE

APPENDIX I

Number _____

INSTRUCTIONS : Read each statement carefully. Draw a circle around one of these three answers for each question. Try to answer by "yes" or "no" , if it is possible. If you are entirely unable to say even a tentative "yes" or "no" to the question, then draw a circle around the question mark .

There are no "right" or "wrong" answers to these questions. Please try to answer as truthfully as you can. Your cooperation is invited in an attempt to gather some accurate information for research purposes. You will note that you are not asked to give your name.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| Yes | No | ? | 1. Do you get stage fright ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 2. Do you have difficulty in starting a conversation with a stranger ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 3. Do you worry too long over humiliating experiences ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 4. Do you often feel lonesome, even when you are with other people ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 5. Do you consider yourself a rather nervous person ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 6. Are your feelings easily hurt ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 7. Do you keep in the background on social occasions ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 8. Do ideas run through your head so that you cannot sleep ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 9. Are you frequently burdened by a sense of remorse ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 10. Do you worry over possible misfortunes ? |

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----|---|
| Yes | No | ? | 11. | Do your feelings alternate between happiness and sadness, without apparent reason ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 12. | Are you troubled with shyness ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 13. | Do you daydream frequently ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 15. | Do you get discouraged easily ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 16. | Do your interests change quickly ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 18. | Does it bother you to have people watch you at work, even when you do it well ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 19. | Can you stand criticism without feeling hurt ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 20. | Do you have difficulty in making friends ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 21. | Are you troubled with the idea that people are watching you on the street ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 22. | Does your mind often wander so badly that you lose track of what you are doing ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 23. | Have you ever been depressed because of low marks in school ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 24. | Are you touchy on various subjects ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 25. | Are you often in a state of excitement ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 26. | Do you frequently feel grouchy ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 27. | Do you feel self-conscious when you recite in class ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 28. | Do you often feel just miserable ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 29. | Does some particularly useless thought keep coming into your mind to bother you ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 30. | Do you hesitate to volunteer in a class recitation ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 31. | Are you frequently in low spirits? |

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----|--|
| Yes | No | ? | 32. | Do you often experience periods of loneliness ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 33. | Do you feel self-conscious in the presence of superior ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 34. | Do you lack self-confidence ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 35. | Do you find it difficult to speak in public ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 36. | Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 38. | Do you feel you must do a thing over several times before you leave it ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 39. | Are you troubled with feelings of inferiority ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 40. | Do you often find that you cannot make up your mind until the time for action has passed ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 41. | Do you have ups and downs in mood without apparent cause ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 42. | Are you in general, self-confident about your abilities? |
| Yes | No | ? | 43. | Have your relationships with your mother always been pleasant ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 44. | Do you feel that life is a great burden ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 45. | Do you get on well with your brothers and sisters ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 46. | Do you take responsibility for introducing people at a party ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 47. | Do you think most people are self-seeking or malicious ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 48. | Do you find it difficult to get rid of a salesman ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 49. | Are you sometimes the leader at a social affair ? |

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| Yes | No | ? | 50. Do you love your father more than your mother ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 51. Are you afraid of falling when you are on a high place ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 52. Do a great many things frighten you ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 53. Do you have the habit of leaving a lot of tasks unfinished ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 54. Have you found books more interesting than people ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 55. Are you ever bothered by the feeling that things are not real ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 56. Is your mother's nature usually cheerful ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 57. Do you get tired of amusements quickly ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 58. Are you frequently worried about religion ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 59. Do you often have bad pains in any part of your body ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 60. Were your parents partial to any of your brothers or sisters ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 61. If you come late to a meeting, would you rather stand or leave than take a front seat ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 62. Did you have a happy childhood ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 63. Do you often say things on the spur of the moment, and then regret them ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 64. Have your relationships with your father always been pleasant ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 65. Is there anyone you want to get even with ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 66. Do you like to be by yourself a great deal ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 67. Do you allow people to crowd ahead in line ? |

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| Yes | No | ? | 68. Do you limit your friendships mostly to your own sex ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 69. Are you absent minded ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 70. Do you make friends easily ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 71. Are you ever bothered by the feelings that people are reading your thoughts ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 72. Do you prefer participation in competitive intellectual amusements to athletic games. |
| Yes | No | ? | 73. Were your parents happily married ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 74. Do you think you are often regarded as queer ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 75. Do you often feel that you do not get your chance in social conversation ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 76. Do you ever cross the street to avoid meeting somebody ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 77. Is your mother dissatisfied with her lot in life ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 78. Do things often go wrong for you by no fault of your own ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 79. At a reception or tea do you seek to meet the important person present ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 80. Do you get easily upset ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 81. Do you love your mother more than your father ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 82. Do you get tired of work quickly ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 83. Do you enjoy social gatherings just to be with people ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 84. Are you shy with the opposite sex ? |

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---|
| Yes | No | ? | 85. Do you feel well rested in the morning ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 86. Do you ever take a lead to enliven a dull party ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 87. Are you bothered much by blushing ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 88. At night are you frequently troubled by the idea that somebody is following you ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 89. Was your mother the dominant member of the family ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 90. Do things ever swim or get misty before your eyes ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 91. Is your home environment happy ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 92. Do you occasionally have conflicting moods of love and hate for members of your family. |
| Yes | No | ? | 93. Are you slow in making decisions ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 94. Do you think that no mercy should be shown to criminals ? |
| Yes | No | ? | 95. Do you lack spunk or courage ? |

APPENDIX II

Number _____

INSTRUCTIONS : Answer all the questions to the best of your ability .

In those cases where you want to give further information, please do so. Try to make your answers as truthful as you can; they will not be useful if they are inaccurate. Most of the questions below can be answered by checking. In those cases where you are asked to write your own answers, space is provided .

1. Are you a boy or a girl ? (Check) Boy _____ Girl _____
2. What is your age ? _____ (years) _____ (months)
3. In what grade are you now ?
 1. Freshman _____
 2. Sophomore _____
 3. Junior _____
 4. Senior _____
4. What day-school do you attend ? _____
5. What kind of a house do you live in ? (Check below)
 1. One family house _____
 2. Two family house _____
 3. 3 or 4 family house _____
 4. Apartment house _____
6. What is the estimated rental value of the house, if your family owns it ;
or , what is the approximate rent you pay ?
 1. From \$ 30 to \$ 59 _____
 2. " \$ 60 to \$ 89 _____
 3. " \$ 90 to \$ 119 _____
 4. " \$ 120 and over _____
 5. I can't say . . . _____

7. Were you born in this country, or elsewhere ? If you were born outside the U.S.A., could you tell us in what country ?

8. If you were born outside the U.S.A., how old were you when you came to this country ?

9. What is your father's occupation or profession ?

10. Describe as accurately as possible what he does on the job ? (For example : He supervises the work of others; he has his own store; he works in a factory ; etc.)

11. If your mother works outside your home, write exactly the kind of work she does .

12. If your father was born outside the U.S.A., could you tell us the country of his birth ?

13. If your mother was born outside the U.S.A., could you tell us the country of her birth ?

14. If your father was born outside the U.S.A., what was his approximate age when he came to this country ?

15. If your mother was born outside the U.S.A., what was her approximate age when she came to this country ?

16. Could you tell us the country from which your father's family came, in case he was born in the U.S.A. ? (For example, Germany, Italy, Poland, England, etc.)

17. Could you answer similarly about your mother's family ?

APPENDIX III

1. When you hear about the outstanding achievements of a Jew,
how do you feel ?
1) Very pleased _____ 2) Pleased _____ 3) Indifferent _____
2. The founding of the State of Israel made me
1) Extremely happy _____ 2) Pleased _____ 3) Indifferent _____
3. In general, when comparing the Jew with the Gentile, do you
think that
_____ 1) The Gentile is smarter.
_____ 2) The Jew is smarter .
_____ 3) Both are equal .
4. Do you think that the Gentile society, in general,
_____ 1) Expresses no anti -Jewish feeling .
_____ 2) Expresses mild dislike .
_____ 3) Dislikes Jews .
_____ 4) Shows active hostility towards the Jews .
5. What religious group do you belong to ?
1) Orthodox _____
2) Conservative _____
3) Reform _____
4) None _____

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