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Working Papers on
Contemporary Anti-Semitism

WHAT DO WE
KNOW ABOUT
BLACK
ANTI-SEMITISM?

Jennifer L. Golub



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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Jennifer L. Golub is a research analyst in the American Jewish Committee's Department of Research and Publications.

FOREWORD

Jennifer Golub's *What Do We Know About Black Anti-Semitism?* is the third in a series of Working Papers on Contemporary Anti-Semitism published by the American Jewish Committee.

The series seeks to address in a serious way a strangely neglected subject anti-Semitism in the contemporary American context. Given the high level of concern about anti-Semitism that American Jews continue to evince, one would have thought that scholars would take a keen interest in the matter. In point of fact, however, the scholarly literature on contemporary anti-Semitism in the United States is decidedly thin. Why this is so is not entirely clear. What is certain, however, is that the lack of scholarly materials places the Jewish community at a serious disadvantage in developing effective programs of action to combat anti-Semitism. In this area, insufficient knowledge is downright dangerous.

Jennifer Golub's *What Do We Know About Black Anti-Semitism?* adds significantly to our knowledge of the subject, and for that we must be extremely grateful. Her essay and its companion piece, Tom Smith's *Jewish Attitudes Toward Blacks and Race Relations* recently published by the American Jewish Committee, together do much to clarify how Jews and blacks feel about each other.

David Singer *Director*
Department of Research and Publications

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM?

Scholars tell us that anti-Semitism in the United States is on the decline but the majority of American Jews do not accept that judgment. Charles Stember in his 1966 study *Jews in the Mind of America* concluded that Anti-Semitism in all its forms massively declined in the United States between the prewar or war years and the early 1960s.¹ Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark, writing in *Anti-Semitism in the United States* published in 1982, point to the overall decline in anti-Semitism since 1964.² Still more recently Earl Raab has cited data indicating that Americans are much more likely than they once were to express favorable attitudes about Jews.³ Despite all this, however survey research indicates that American Jews remain alarmed over what they perceive as the currently high level of anti-Semitism in the United States. Thus Steven Cohen has noted that in three surveys conducted among American Jews for the American Jewish Committee between 1983 and 1986, about half the respondents disagreed with both of these statements: Anti-Semitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews and "Virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews."⁴ In 1988, the proportions disagreeing rose to 76 and 65 percent, respectively.⁵

American Jewish concern about anti-Semitism is especially focused on fundamentalist Protestants.⁶ At the same time, however 46 percent of the respondents in Cohen's 1988 survey considered most or many blacks to be anti-Semitic.⁷ Moreover while 41 percent of the respondents saw 1988 presidential candidate Pat Robertson as anti-Semitic, 59 percent saw Jesse Jackson as such.⁸ Adding to Jewish concern about black anti-Semitism in recent years has been a series of incidents, including Louis Farrakhan's anti-Semitic speeches the assertion by Steve Cokely (a Chicago mayoral aide) that Jewish doctors in that city were injecting black babies with AIDS, and the anti-Semitic lyrics of the rap group Public Enemy.

Two notions about black anti-Semitism have gained broad acceptance

in the popular press and have helped fuel Jewish anxiety. The first, to take one example, was given expression in a *Baltimore Jewish Times* article that stated, "By 1974 surveys began to show a sharp increase in anti Jewish feelings among blacks."⁹ The second was articulated, among other places in an article in the *Economist* that described the general decline in American anti-Semitism since World War II and then mentioned one startling exception. Among young college-educated black Americans prejudice is on the rise. The article continued "Why should education make blacks, contrary to every other ethnic or religious group in the United States, more, and not less, prejudiced in their stereotyped attitude toward Jews?"¹⁰ In short, many observers have come to believe that blacks have become more anti-Semitic since the 1960s, and that the best educated blacks are the most anti-Semitic.

What, then do we know about black anti-Semitism its characteristics and development? To help clarify the matter this essay will examine one key body of data survey research on anti-Semitism published since the 1960s. The concern here will be with anti-Semitic beliefs and the degree to which they manifest themselves among American blacks. Have anti-Semitic beliefs increased or decreased in the black community? How does the trend line for blacks compare with that for whites? Are there distinctive patterns to black anti-Semitism? Finally to what degree is anti-Semitism among blacks an expression of more general antiwhite feeling?

Concern about black anti-Semitism dates back at least as far as the Harlem riots of 1935. In the aftermath of that event, the *Jewish Frontier* observed

[the riots] have brought to the surface a latent anti-Semitism on the part of the Negro masses and some of its leaders. The Jew [runs] many of the small establishments in Harlem. Bible-beating preachers use the crucifixion story in gory detail. The patriotic Negroes, especially those who descend from the servants of the first families of Virginia, consider the Jew a foreigner. [M]any ambitious Negroes resent the stranglehold which the Rosenwald Fund has over every phase of Negro cultural life. [Many Negroes believe] that Rosenwald philanthropies are a cheap bait for Sears, Roebuck business. The discrimination practiced by this huge concern against the employment of Negroes in white-collared positions lends sharp credence to this bizarre interpretation. The refusal of Jewish shopkeepers [in Harlem] to employ Negroes for other than menial positions is the thing which rankles most in the mind of the Negro.¹¹

Here we find adumbrated many of the key themes -- beliefs about Jewish economic exploitation, racial insensitivity and discrimination, liberal

hypocrisy and cultural domination that recur in discussions of black anti-Semitism.

In 1946, Kenneth Clark published an important article, *Candor About Negro-Jewish Relations* that touched on the theme of black anti-Semitism.¹² Clark argued that the confused nature of anti-Semitism among blacks resulted in part from their awareness that Jews have seemed, in general, less negative toward [them] than have other whites combined with the suspicion that the more positive attitude is motivated by a desire on the part of [Jews] to use [blacks] as a shield. Among the other points that Clark made was that anti-Semitism among blacks may canalize and put into words [their] feeling against whites in general. Often the term 'dirty Jew' in a Negro's mouth means essentially 'dirty white.'¹³

From the late 1940s through the mid 1950s the subject of black anti-Semitism disappeared from the public eye. In 1957 however *Negro History Bulletin* published an article entitled "Do I Like Jews?"¹⁴ which was followed by a pair of articles by two black leaders in the *Anti Defamation League Bulletin* under the title "What Negroes Think About Jews"¹⁵ In the preface to those pieces the editor observed

Negroes represent more than ten percent of the national population. The Negro's emergence raises many questions of immediate interest to Jews. Will it increase areas of conflict between Jew and Negro? Do Negroes consider Jews another minority group -- or do they identify them exclusively with the white majority? Do Negroes single out Jews as a vulnerable part of the white race as an outlet for their own hostilities? Or do they believe that Jews are sympathizers in their present struggle?¹⁶

By the summer of 1964 black riots in many American cities led some observers to perceive a sea change in black attitudes toward Jews. As Gary Marx put it, the view began to emerge that anti-Semitism was burgeoning along with Negro resentment and the civil rights struggle.¹⁷ Concern about black anti-Semitism now shifted increasingly though not exclusively -- to the political sphere. Nathan Glazer analyzed this phenomenon in "The New Challenge to Pluralism,"¹⁸ pointing to such developments as the increased militancy of the black masses, black anger at Jews who opposed preferential treatment and the primacy of integration over all other educational objectives, the movement of blacks into positions directly beneath Jewish professionals with the tensions this entailed, and the conflict between Jewish homeowners and the new black middle class.

Against a background of mounting concern about black anti-Semitism

James Baldwin published "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti White" in the *New York Times Magazine* in 1967.¹⁹ Baldwin wrote "The Jew does not realize that the credential he offers, the fact that he has been despised and slaughtered, does not increase the Negro's understanding. It increases the Negro's rage."²⁰ Baldwin added that "[i]f one blames the Jew for not having been ennobled by oppression, one is not indicting the single figure of the Jew but the entire human race, and one is also making a quite breathtaking claim for oneself."²¹

Until the 1960s, survey research on anti-Semitism completely sidestepped the question of black views, every scholarly study -- whether sociological or historical in approach -- mentioned blacks only by way of comparing racial oppression with anti-Semitism. Stember's *Jews in the Mind of America* (using data from 1937 through 1962) was the first study to examine anti-Semitism among blacks as a separate group. Stember however had insufficient data for a substantial analysis of the subject, noting only that "[i]n the 1962 survey with Negroes represented in their true proportions, Southern attitudes toward Jews strongly resembled those in the rest of the country and that [i]t is at least conceivable that this change may reflect a level of anti-Semitism among Negroes that is higher than among whites."²²

The detailed analysis of anti-Semitic beliefs among blacks originated with Gary Marx's *Protest and Prejudice* published in 1967 as part of the Anti Defamation League's "Patterns of American Prejudice" series.²³ This was followed in 1969 by Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Steinberg's *The Tenacity of Prejudice* also part of the same series.²⁴ In 1973 Ronald Tsukashima completed a doctoral dissertation at UCLA on "The Social and Psychological Correlates of Anti-Semitism in the Black Community."²⁵ William Schneider's unpublished manuscript, "Anti-Semitism and Israel: A Report on American Public Opinion" was written for the American Jewish Committee in 1978.²⁶ The last major survey dealing with black views was Gregory Marture and Ruth Clark's *Anti-Semitism in the United States* funded by the American Jewish Committee and published in 1982. Additional information pertinent to the study of black anti-Semitism is to be had in a 1978 Louis Harris survey conducted for the National Conference of Christians and Jews,²⁷ the *National Survey of Black Americans* published by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in 1985,²⁸ and various Roper polls conducted for the American Jewish Committee since 1984.²⁹

Definitions and Measures

In assessing survey research on anti-Semitism, the difficulty arises of comparing analyses that assume entirely different definitions of anti-Semitism. In one survey the researcher may look at the popularity of specific items in the general population and among various subgroups, as well as changes in the popularity of these items over time. In another survey the researcher may want to assess the depth of anti-Semitic feeling among individuals by studying the number of items that they accept. In this approach, the researcher sets a cut-off point beyond which -- i.e. when a respondent accepts more than a certain number of items -- a respondent may be identified as anti-Semitic. The distinction between these two approaches is crucial. Without an attempt to reconcile them, any statement about an increase or decrease in anti-Semitism lacks completeness.

Another important consideration in this context is the various uses of the term anti-Semitic. The fact that a respondent agrees with five or more items on an eleven item scale (the cutoff point set by Selznick and Steinberg and by Marture and Clark) does not necessarily mean that he or she is a hard-core anti-Semite. The latter as Earl Raab indicates, is "someone actively committed to hatred of the Jews. Whether the product of ideology or pathology anti-Semitism is a constant and significant part of such a person's life."³⁰ In an important discussion, Raab stresses that only 5 percent of the American public can be characterized as hard-core anti-Semites. In contrast, 23 percent of the respondents in Marture and Clark's study accepted five or more anti-Semitic items.

Other complexities exist that prevent any airtight assessment of anti-Semitism. Thus in 1985 the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) published guidelines listing the most important factors relevant to measuring anti-Semitism and only one of them consisted of survey data on beliefs. The guidelines entitled "Assessing Anti-Semitism," began by noting "those objective conditions in society that traditionally have created a risk for the growth of anti-Semitism: notably economic breakdown, intergroup or interclass conflict, the propensity to violence, and general breakdown of the democratic process."³¹ In the context of these objective conditions, NJCRAC recommended the assessment of ten factors -- prevailing attitudes toward Jews, acts of aggression, overt or covert, against Jews, discrimination against Jews, expressions of anti-Semitism by public figures, expressions of anti-Semitism by religious figures, responses to conflict situations, official reactions to anti-Semitism, anti-Semitic mass movements, personal

experience with anti-Semitism, and anti Zionist and/or anti Israel manifestations Clearly then, any examination limited to anti-Semitic beliefs tells only part of the story with regard to anti-Semitism.

Another point that needs emphasis is the distinction between objective and subjective anti-Semitism. Schneider distinguishes between the two in the following way

The principal difference between the two varieties of anti-Semitism is their causes - either group tension between Jews and others ["objective"] or grievances which do not arise from conflicts with Jews but are transformed by psychological and ideological mechanisms into anti-Jewish aggression ["subjective"]³²

Schneider goes on

Black anti-Semitism clearly involves both objective and subjective components. Many black militants and black power organizations have attempted to exploit anti-Semitism for political purposes. In doing so, they have gone beyond actual conflicts with Jews and revived the image of the abstract, alien, powerful Jew who keeps blacks down and manipulates them for profit. To this extent, black anti-Semitism fits Reichmann's definition of subjective anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that the core of black anti-Semitism relates to actual conflicts between blacks and Jews. To deny that there are real conflicts of interest is to assume that all black expressions of anti-Semitism are sham and founded on misunderstanding.³³

Linked to this is the thorny issue of the relationship between anti-Semitism and antiwhite feeling. Some analysts have sought to argue that the former is nothing more than a manifestation of the latter Raab however reflects this position

Negroes trying to reassure Jewish audiences repeatedly and unwillingly make the very point they are trying to refute: "This is not anti-Semitism they say "The hostility is toward the whites. When they say Jew they mean 'white.'" But that is an exact and acute description of political anti-Semitism. "The enemy" becomes the Jew the man becomes the Jew the villain who is not so much the actual Jew who stands on the corner as the corporate Jew who stands symbolically for generic evil. "Don't be disturbed, the Jews are told, "this is just poetic excess. But the ideology of political anti-Semitism has precisely always been poetic excess, which has not prevented it from being murderous.³⁴

With the foregoing issues in mind, we may now turn to a review of the

major data sources relevant to an examination of anti-Semitism among blacks, focusing in particular on the definitions and measures used.

Gary Marx's *Protest and Prejudice* part of the ADL-sponsored University of California five-year study of anti-Semitism in the United States, examined black views on civil rights, militancy the Black Muslim variety of nationalism, and attitudes toward whites and Jews. Marx found that despite deep anger and frustration in the black community [m]ost Negroes favor integration in principle, are loyal to the United States are opposed to indiscriminate violence, and are not consistently anti white or anti-Semitic.³⁵

Why the inclusion of a specific study dealing with blacks in a series on anti-Semitism? The key factors here, as noted above, were the riots that took place in the summer of 1964 Marx observed

Rumors and reports were current that anti-Semitism among Negroes was rampant, that the riots were directed specifically against Jewish shopkeepers, that anti-Semitism was burgeoning along with Negro resentment and the civil rights struggle. In view of these rumors and reports, and the events of the summer of 1964 it became increasingly apparent that so-called Negro anti-Semitism could no longer be studied apart from Negro attitudes toward their own situation, the whites, the community and the civil rights movement³⁶

Marx based his analysis on 1 119 interviews conducted in October 1964 492 were with respondents representative of metropolitan areas outside the South, and the remainder with respondents from four major urban centers of the black population -- Chicago New York, Atlanta, and Birmingham. In discussing differences between black and white attitudes toward Jews which played a minor role in his analysis Marx used data from a National Opinion Research Center (NORC) national survey of the same year with 1 913 respondents, including 244 blacks.

Marx combined the following nine items into an anti-Semitism index:

- Jews have too much power in the United States.
- Jews are warm and friendly people.
- The more contact a person has with Jewish people the more he gets to like them.
- Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.
- Jewish businessmen are so shrewd and 'tricky' that other people don't have a fair chance in competition.
- Jews stick together too much.
- Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.

Jews are just as honest as other businessmen.
Jews have too much power in the business world.

These items, Marx noted include beliefs about Jewish economic behavior clannishness and power all components of traditional anti-Semitism. In addition, the Anti-Semitism Index includes two items on Jewish sociability.³⁷ The latter two items together with the positively worded statement about the honesty of Jewish businessmen, helped control for acquiescence the contamination of the anti-Semitic sample by individuals who tend to agree with all statements in surveys Marx assigned one point for each anti-Semitic response and zero points for every "don't know" or non-anti-Semitic response. Marx noted that [t]he "don't know" for most people seemed to represent a genuine lack of opinion rather than evasiveness. This is inferred from the fact that the "don't know" had much less contact with Jews and had less knowledge about them.³⁸

Marx divided the respondents into three categories, as he explained

Those with scores of zero or one on the index were considered non-anti-Semitic. Those with scores of two, three, or four were classified as low in anti-Semitism. Only those with scores of five or more were considered to be anti-Semitic. At times, this last group will be separated into those high on anti-Semitism (scores of five or six) and those very high (scores of seven, eight, or nine). In order for an individual to be considered anti-Semitic, he had to have agreed to five or more items, well above the average number of items agreed to. These people are anti-Semites in the sense that they were more likely to acknowledge anti-Semitic beliefs than was the average respondent, and gave an anti-Semitic response a majority of the time. They also are anti-Semitic in the sense that they tended to accept negative statements about Jews in a wide variety of areas.³⁹

Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Steinberg's *The Tenacity of Prejudice* sought to explain why among members of the same society some accept and others reject the ethos of anti-Semitism. The main conclusion of the study was that [a]nti-Semitism is widespread and pervasive, but not in a dangerous form, with over one-third of Americans scoring as anti-Semitic, with social-club discrimination "widely accepted, and with over a third of the respondents expressing indifference to a political candidate's hypothetical anti-Semitism.⁴⁰ Selznick and Steinberg stressed the importance of education as the key factor in reducing anti-Semitism.

The survey that Selznick and Steinberg analyzed was conducted with a national sample in late 1964 -- this is the same body of data that Marx drew upon in his discussion of black-white differences with field work

done by NORC. The authors analyzed a total of 1,913 cases including 244 black respondents. While Selznick and Steinberg did not specify that the sample of blacks was representative of the national black population it can be assumed that it was at least a fairly accurate representation.

Selznick and Steinberg constructed an anti-Semitism index of eleven items including seven of the nine used by Marx (too much power in America and in business shadiness, dishonesty and shrewdness/trickiness of businessmen, Jews only caring about their own and Jews sticking together too much). The other four items were Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America, Jews have a lot of irritating faults, International banking is pretty much controlled by Jews and Jews always like to be at the head of things. Like Marx, Selznick and Steinberg placed their cutoff point above the average score. However rather than requiring that respondents accept a majority of items in order to score as anti-Semitic, they chose a cut-off point of five out of eleven items, at which point acceptance rates [began] to exceed acceptance rates for the sample as a whole. Selznick and Steinberg labeled those scoring 8 through 11 as extreme those scoring 5 through 7 as "high" and those scoring 0 through 4 as non-anti-Semitic. In addition those answering "don't know" at least four times were called unconvinced non-anti-Semites and those answering "don't know" less than four times convinced non-anti-Semites.⁴¹

Again like Marx, Selznick and Steinberg assigned points only for acceptance of beliefs not for "don't know" responses. Whereas however Marx argued that respondents answering "don't know" simply tended to have less contact with Jews or less knowledge about them Selznick and Steinberg commented that such respondents reveal a failure to reject anti-Semitism in principle, and therefore manifest a certain susceptibility to anti-Semitism.⁴² Their own reason for not assigning points for "don't know" had to do with clarity of presentation -- to enable their readers to recognize the number of items accepted by respondents on the basis of their scores.

For the most part in their discussion of blacks, Selznick and Steinberg divided the general index into two smaller ones -- an index of economic anti-Semitism, which consisted of the five economic stereotypes and an "index of noneconomic anti-Semitism, which consisted of the six other beliefs. They did not specify the score at which they identified a respondent as anti-Semitic" according to these smaller indexes.

Ronald Tsukashima's "The Social and Psychological Correlates of Anti-Semitism in the Black Community" focused on two issues the extent to which black hostility toward Jews consisted of general antiwhite feeling;

and the factors correlating with higher levels of anti-Semitism Tsukashima concluded that most blacks with the exception of a "sizable handful, did not see Jews and whites differently and that youth, higher education, and economic contact were associated with higher levels of anti-Semitism.

Tsukashima studied 317 black respondents in 1970 including 159 representative of a working-class neighborhood and 158 representative of a middle-class neighborhood. He noted that "the more affluent [blacks] in the [middle-class] district are over represented since they do not reflect the entire Black population in Los Angeles nor do all Blacks in Los Angeles reside in these two communities. Conversely then, those in the [working class] area are under represented."⁴³ These considerations must be kept in mind in assessing Tsukashima's study particularly in terms of generalizing from the data.

Tsukashima constructed an anti-Semitism index of six items. If Jews really want to be more accepted, they should stop being so showy" Jews are just as honest as other businessmen. Jews are more loyal to America than to Israel. Jews are too pushy" Jews have a lot of irritating faults and "The Jews have very little power in the business world. Four of these items: dishonesty, national loyalty, irritating faults, and business power were similar or identical to items used by Marx and/or Selznick and Steinberg. Assigning one point for acceptance of each item unfavorable to Jews and for rejection of each favorable item, Tsukashima categorized those scoring less than 3 as "low" and those scoring 3 or more as "high" on the index.

William Schneider's *Anti-Semitism and Israel* examined survey data from the 1930s through 1977. Schneider's broad conclusions pointed to a consistent decline in anti-Semitism, generally favorable views of Israel, a strong link between increased education and decreased anti-Semitism, and a reverse in the effects of ideology with young conservatives becoming more pro-Israel than young liberals, and young conservatives no longer being more anti-Semitic than young liberals.

For his discussion of anti-Semitism among blacks, Schneider used the 1964 NORC survey (used by Selznick and Steinberg as well as Marx) and an unpublished 1974 Louis Harris report entitled *A Survey of Attitudes of Americans Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Toward Jews in the United States*. The Harris study interviewed more than 3,000 respondents and like Selznick and Steinberg's study employed an index measuring five economic and six noneconomic stereotypes. Since the wording in the Harris and NORC studies differed, however, Schneider compared only those items that were fairly similar.

Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark's *Anti-Semitism in the United States* offered an in-depth examination of anti-Semitism. The authors concluded that it was still a serious problem in the United States but that support for Israel [was] quite widespread among Americans.⁴⁴ Their original survey research consisted of interviews with 1,215 respondents in 1981 including 127 blacks and was conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White. The authors used the same eleven item index and the same scoring system that Selznick and Steinberg employed in their study.

Key Findings

In examining the survey research data on anti-Semitism among blacks three key questions stand out: What are the components of black anti-Semitism? Is anti-Semitism among blacks increasing or decreasing? Does anti-Semitism manifest itself among blacks to a greater or lesser degree than among whites? Let us consider each study in order.

Marx, in *Protest and Prejudice* found that blacks offered anti-Semitic responses to the nine items on his anti-Semitism index in the following proportions:

- Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want. 59 percent
- Jewish businessmen are so shrewd and tricky that other people don't have a fair chance in competition. 44 percent
- Jews stick together too much. 43 percent
- Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind. 38 percent
- Jews are just as honest as other businessmen. 29 percent negative
- Jews have too much power in the business world. 26 percent
- The more contact a person has with Jewish people the more he gets to like them. 14 percent negative
- Jews have too much power in the United States. 12 percent
- Jews are warm and friendly people. 11 percent negative

Marx noted that beliefs about Jewish economic behavior were most prevalent, so that acceptance of economic stereotypes characterized many respondents who scored just 2 or 3 on his index, while [t]hose with scores of four or more were likely to go on and accept beliefs about Jewish clannishness. In contrast, he wrote, the [NORC] national study of anti-Semitism found that whites were most likely to accept statements about Jewish clannishness and less likely to accept statements impugning Jewish business ethics. Marx added: Only among those with scores of six or more was the traditional conspiratorial item about Jewish power widely

accepted, and only those with scores of seven or higher tended to go out of their way to reject the positively worded items about Jewish sociability⁴⁵

To determine whether blacks were more anti-Semitic than whites Marx compared the two groups employing his nine-item index, while controlling for education and region. He found

no consistent pattern of differences. Of the five comparisons possible, Negroes are a bit less likely to be anti-Semitic in two, slightly more likely to be anti-Semitic in two, and in one Negroes and whites are tied. When only the proportions scored as very high on anti-Semitism are considered, Negroes are less likely than whites to be extreme anti-Semites in four of the five comparisons. On the other hand, in three of the five comparisons, Negroes are less likely to score as non-anti-Semitic. All in all, however no case can be made for the prevalent notion that anti-Semitism is more widespread among Negroes than among whites.⁴⁶

An examination of the separate items on his index, however pointed up more definite distinctions

[The] lack of an over-all pattern of differentiation obscures the differences between whites and Negroes that did emerge when comparisons were made with respect to separate items included in the index. Negroes were more likely to accept negative economic stereotypes about Jews than were whites. On other negative stereotypes, however such as that Jews stick together too much, the percentage giving the anti-Semitic response was about the same regardless of race. On still others, such as thinking that Jews have too much power Negroes were less likely to appear as anti-Semitic than whites.⁴⁷

In the course of his discussion Marx pointed to a number of factors that had the potential for mitigating anti-Semitism among blacks. On key items related to discriminatory behavior

Negroes consistently emerge as less anti-Semitic. Compared with whites, they more frequently opposed passage of a law to stop further Jewish immigration, more frequently said they would vote against a congressional candidate who declared himself against the Jews, and more frequently said they would not mind if their party nominated a Jew for President. In addition, Negroes expressed greater opposition to occupational and social club discrimination against Jews than did whites. It seems that their position as a persecuted minority leads black Americans to reject discrimination against Jews, if not always negative stereotypes.⁴⁸

Selznick and Steinberg stressed the difficulty of making any definitive judgment about black anti-Semitism in comparison with that of whites. On the one hand, on their eleven item general index, which identified those scoring at least 5 as anti-Semitic, they found that 47 percent of blacks and 35 percent of whites scored as such. On the other hand, while 45 percent of blacks as compared to 28 percent of whites scored high on the index of economic anti-Semitism, 20 percent of blacks and 26 percent of whites scored high on noneconomic anti-Semitism.

Selznick and Steinberg indicated that Negroes continue to be higher on economic anti-Semitism even when compared to whites at the same educational level.⁴⁹ A small part of that disparity they suggested, might have resulted from the inferior quality of black education. "However Selznick and Steinberg went on, educational differences would not explain why Negroes overselect economic rather than noneconomic stereotypes.⁵⁰ The primacy of economic stereotypes they hypothesized, resulted from the interaction between blacks and Jews in the ghetto

The figures for the separate items like those for the indexes, prevented any absolute comparison of black and white attitudes toward Jews. Selznick and Steinberg wrote

On eight of the eleven beliefs the ratio [of black to white acceptance] is greater than 100, indicating overacceptance of these beliefs by Negroes. However the extent of overacceptance depends on the content of the belief. Of the five beliefs most overaccepted by Negroes, four are clearly economic in content, and the other -- that Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind -- is consistent with the image of Jews as economically exploitative. However on the remaining six beliefs in the Index, Negro-white differences are small or reversed. The data in other words, allow no blanket comparison between whites and Negroes. In the economic area, Negroes are more anti-Semitic than whites. In the noneconomic area, no consistent differences exist.⁵¹

Selznick and Steinberg did observe that a belief about Jewish economic power appeared to be gaining popularity particularly with young blacks

In view of the recent emergence of the Black Power movement and the demand for ghetto autonomy these beliefs -- especially the belief that Jews have too much power in business -- may now be more widespread than they were in 1964. It is interesting to note that young Negroes were as likely as young whites to say that Jews have too much power in the business world. It was only elderly Negroes who greatly underselected this belief -- only 11 percent accepted it.⁵²

Table 1
Responses to Five Identical or Comparable Items on 1964 and 1974
Surveys of Anti-Semitism among Whites and Blacks (in percents)

Statements and respondents	1964 Responses			1974 Responses		
	Accept	No Reject opinion		Accept	No Reject opinion	
1 Jews are just as honest as other businessmen.						
Whites	65	27	8	71	17	12
Blacks	57	35	8	52	24	24
2 Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want. (1964) Jewish businessmen will usually try to pull shady deal on you. (1974)						
Whites	40	49	11	19	66	15
Blacks	58	28	14	33	35	32
3 Jews have a lot of irritating faults. (1964) Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive. (1974)						
Whites	40	45	15	32	52	16
Blacks	44	34	22	25	42	33
4 Jews stick together too much. (1964) Jews always stick to their own and never give an outsider a break. (1974)						
Whites	53	37	10	26	60	14
Blacks	48	45	7	32	36	32
5 Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.						
Whites	30	49	21	33	44	23
Blacks	32	31	37	34	24	42

Like Marx, Selznick and Steinberg found that blacks were less likely than whites to endorse discriminating practices against Jews. While the views of blacks with regard to an anti-Semitic candidate and an anti-Jewish immigration law were not markedly different from that of whites they indicated that

Negroes are a good deal less likely than whites to hold discriminatory attitudes. Almost all Negroes – 91 per cent – said that the members of a club

do not have a right to exclude Jews, the figure for whites was 69 per cent. Moreover while only a third of whites (31 per cent) indicated a willingness to combat social club discrimination in practice as well as in principle, twice as many Negroes (68 per cent) did so. More Negroes than whites (68 per cent versus 51 per cent) said they would not be disturbed at all if their party nominated a Jew as President. Even when Negroes scored as extreme anti-Semites, 89 per cent said that employers should hire the best man whether he is Jewish or not. The corresponding figure for whites is 70 per cent.⁵³

Schneider in *Anti-Semitism and Israel*, took note of both Selznick and Steinberg's and Marx's conclusions that greater "black anti-Semitism was discernible only in the case of economic stereotypes."⁵⁴ This was largely confirmed, he indicated, in the 1974 Louis Harris survey in which blacks were twenty five percentage points more anti-Semitic than whites on an index of economic items but only seven to ten percentage points more anti-Semitic on an index of noneconomic items. Schneider observed [T]he 1974 evidence is consistent with that of 1964 in the sense that black anti-Semitism is most pronounced in the case of economic stereotypes. The noneconomic difference is smaller and probably due mostly to differences in education.⁵⁵

Schneider also confirmed the finding of earlier research that blacks were more sensitive than whites to anti-Jewish discrimination

Thirty five percent of blacks said that Jews are discriminated against in the United States, compared with only 19 percent of whites and 18 percent of Hispanics. Blacks were also more likely to feel that Jews have to work harder because they are discriminated against in so many places (43 percent of blacks agreed, compared with 32 percent of whites).⁵⁶

These figures he observed may partly reflect a stronger conviction among blacks that discrimination exists in the United States, [but they do] show that black anti-Semitism affects certain but not all attitudes toward Jews.⁵⁷

Schneider indicated that for the five items that were roughly comparable in the 1964 NORC survey and the 1974 Harris survey acceptance decreased both among whites and blacks for each item except the one regarding Jewish loyalty to Israel (Table 1).⁵⁸ Except for the last item Schneider wrote, it appears that blacks and whites shared in the overall trend of *gradually declining anti-Semitism*.⁵⁹ At the same time however he stressed, the "relative difference between blacks and whites was greater in 1974 than in 1964 which is to say that the decline in white anti-Semitism was substantially greater than the decline in black anti-Semitism."⁶⁰ Even controlling for education the relative difference increased. As a result, "blacks and in particular blacks outside the South,

were *relatively* much more anti-Semitic than the rest of the population in 1974 a fact which had not been true ten years earlier⁶¹

An important point suggested by the data but not developed by Schneider concerns the proportion of blacks and whites with no opinion on the various questions. In 1974 those without an opinion increased only slightly among whites so that the proportion hovered around 15 percent, with the exception of the item on Israel, on which 23 percent were opinionless. But a dramatic change occurred among blacks with opinionlessness increasing from five to twenty five percentage points the proportions ranged from 32 to 33 percent for three items, with 42 percent having no opinion on the item on Israel and 24 percent no opinion on the dishonesty item.

The point to be noted here is that for whites declining acceptance of anti-Semitic beliefs was accompanied primarily by increasing rejection of these beliefs whereas for blacks declining acceptance was accompanied mainly by increasing opinionlessness. Why this should be the case is not at all clear

Schneider also dealt with attitudes toward Israel, a subject that has become increasingly important in discussions of black anti-Semitism. He noted

In twelve of the thirteen surveys taken between 1970 and 1977 asking respondents whether they sympathized with Israel or the Arabs, blacks were less sympathetic to Israel than whites – by an average of 13 percent. Black support for Israel was, moreover lower than that of whites at every level of education and at every age level.⁶²

Schneider stressed however that it would be incorrect to argue that blacks are, on balance hostile toward Israel. Their net response on each question is in fact pro-Israel only less so than [for] other groups.⁶³

In the period from 1964 to 1974 he indicated

sympathy [for Israel] increased in every major category including blacks (who went from 19 percent sympathetic to Israel in 1964 to 31 percent sympathetic to Israel in 1974). But the difference between blacks and whites increased over these ten years. In 1964 whites were only 7 percent more sympathetic to Israel than blacks. In 1974 the racial difference was 24 percent.⁶⁴

The 1978 Louis Harris survey compared the responses of blacks and whites to eight statements about Jews including four that could be considered anti-Semitic. The findings were mixed On the one hand,

slightly greater proportions of blacks than whites accepted three of the four statements sympathetic to Jewish suffering and civil rights activism. On the other hand, relatively more blacks than whites accepted three of the anti-Semitic statements. Moreover with regard to the latter the statements became slightly more popular among blacks than they had been in 1974 without a corresponding change among whites. For Jews are irritating because they're too aggressive, the acceptance rate among whites was five percentage points lower than in 1974 while the rejection rate was five percentage points higher among blacks acceptance increased by four percentage points, while rejection decreased by five points. For Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America, acceptance among whites decreased by five percentage points while rejection increased by one percentage point, among blacks acceptance increased by three percentage points, while rejection decreased by ten percentage points. For "When it comes to choosing between people and money Jews will choose money acceptance among whites remained the same, while for blacks it increased by eight percentage points

Martire and Clark, using the same eleven item index employed by Selznick and Steinberg, showed that 37 percent of blacks scored as anti-Semitic, 22 percent as unprejudiced, and 41 percent as neutral, the corresponding figures for whites were 20 47 and 33 percent. Thus the proportion of blacks scoring as anti-Semitic decreased ten percentage points between 1964 and 1981 from 47 to 37 percent, while the proportion among whites decreased from 35 to 20 percent. Schneider we have seen emphasized that anti-Semitism declined less steeply among blacks than among whites between 1964 and 1974 causing the gap between black and white anti-Semitism to widen. The same holds true for the decline in index scores between 1964 and 1981 there was a twelve-percentage-point difference between blacks and whites in 1964 and a seventeen point difference in 1981

In assessing the level of anti-Semitism among blacks and whites Martire and Clark appear to have assigned less importance to scores on the eleven point index than to figures for acceptance of individual items -- a quite different procedure. They commented that among blacks [anti-Semitism] has risen slightly because declines in some anti-Semitic beliefs have been offset by large increases in other beliefs⁶⁵ While their summary conclusion was phrased differently -- "Unlike white anti-Semitism, which has declined somewhat since 1964 the level among blacks has remained essentially the same since 1964"⁶⁶ -- either statement points to an apparent inconsistency between declining index scores on the one hand, and rising

or unchanged acceptance of individual items on the other. However it is indeed possible for the index scores to have declined even if there were no average decrease in the percentages accepting individual items or even if those percentages actually increased. Thus those who scored high or quite low on the index in 1964 might have accepted a greater number of items in 1981 alternatively a greater number of respondents might have accepted a few anti-Semitic items.

In determining the figures for acceptance of each item, Marture and Clark excluded respondents with no opinion. This procedure resulted in an increase in the percentages agreeing/disagreeing with each item. While researchers often use this method, it is important to recognize its implications for the analysis of the data.

As indicated above, while small proportions of both blacks and whites were opinionless on most items in 1964, the 1974 and 1978 Harris data suggested a dramatic rise in "don't know" answers among blacks, from around 15 percent to approximately 30 percent. If these figures remained at about the same level in 1981 then the exclusion of those without opinions could have had a number of effects. Certainly it would have made black acceptance of anti-Semitic items appear exceptionally high. This point can be illustrated by a comparison of the figures for Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America in 1964 and 1978 -- admittedly an extreme example, given that only 51 percent of blacks held an opinion on this item in 1978. Blacks moved from 32 percent acceptance in 1964 (Selznick and Steinberg's figure) to 37 percent acceptance in 1978, an increase of five percentage points. During the same period, whites moved from 30-percent acceptance to 28-percent acceptance, a decrease of two percentage points. However excluding the opinionless yields radically different results. Of those with an opinion, blacks moved from 51 percent acceptance in 1964 (Marture and Clark's figure) to 73-percent acceptance in 1978 -- an increase of twenty two points -- while for whites the figure of 38 percent remained the same.

The percentage of those without an opinion can also affect the rank order of the individual items in terms of their acceptance. Thus Selznick and Steinberg showed Jews always like to head things as the most popular belief among blacks in 1964, with a 60-percent acceptance rate. In contrast, Marture and Clark suggested that Jews control international banking' was the most popular belief among blacks in 1964 with a 74-percent acceptance rate among those with an opinion. In fact, with the opinionless included, that belief was accepted by only 40 percent of blacks, and was only the seventh most popular belief.

With regard to attitudes toward Israel, Marture and Clark, like Schneider concluded that blacks were pro Israel but less so than whites. On the basis of four items dealing with the continuation of Israel as a Jewish state, American support for Israel, American military aid to Israel, and the direction of sympathies in a Middle East war Marture and Clark identified blacks as the group most critical of Israel.⁶⁷ Thirty five percent of whites were "highly favorable to Israel, 40 percent were somewhat favorable, and 25 percent were unfavorable in contrast, 20 percent of blacks were "highly favorable, 45 percent were "somewhat favorable, and 35 percent were unfavorable.

Since the publication of Marture and Clark's study in 1982, there has been no systematic examination of black attitudes toward Jews. However piecemeal evidence is available that sheds additional light on the matter.

Again, with regard to attitudes toward Israel, both blacks and whites have remained sympathetic in the main but blacks less so. Eytan Gilboa has summarized the data from 1981 to 1984 in *American Public Opinion Toward Israel and the Arab Israeli Conflict* taking note as well of those areas where blacks have been more positive in their attitudes than whites. He observes

In 1982, more blacks than whites opposed the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia (67 percent) and the proposed sale of weapons to Jordan (70 percent). At the same time a clear majority of 77 percent believed that the United States should maintain or increase military aid to Israel. More blacks than whites (86 percent versus 74 percent) also noted that the U.S. Israel relationship is not close enough, or the right kind of relationship.⁶⁸

During the 1982 Lebanon War a Louis Harris poll found that "while whites sympathized more with Israel by a majority of 63 to 1 percent, American blacks sympathized more with Israel only by a plurality of 44 to 29 percent. Blacks have also been more likely than whites to favor United States talks with the PLO.

Seven Roper polls conducted for the American Jewish Committee from 1984 to 1990 have shown the situation remaining roughly the same as before. Asked whether Israel is a reliable ally of the United States, an average of 39 percent of blacks answered affirmatively and an average of 30 percent negatively in the case of whites 31 percent answered negatively on average, while 49 percent answered affirmatively. When asked about sympathies in the Middle East conflict, an average of 29 percent of blacks and 45 percent of whites sided with Israel, while an average of 12 percent of blacks and 9 percent of whites sided with the Arab nations. In May

1990 whites preferred Israel over the the Palestinians by twenty percentage points, and blacks by eleven percentage points. That survey found 41 percent of whites supporting Israel's refusal to negotiate with the PLO and 30 percent opposing it. In contrast, 26 percent of blacks approved Israel's refusal while 27 percent opposed it. Finally the 1990 question addressing Israel's response to the *intifada* showed 31 percent of whites and 16 percent of blacks saying that it was "too harsh, 8 percent of whites and 6 percent of blacks saying that it was too lenient, and 27 percent of whites and 26 percent of blacks saying that it was about right.

The various Roper polls and the Simon Wiesenthal Center's 1985 *National Survey of Black Americans* conducted by Market Facts Inc. also provide some additional data on other aspects of anti-Semitism. In the seven Roper polls from 1984 to 1990 an item on dual loyalty appeared each time. An average of 32 percent of blacks agreed that Jews were more loyal to Israel than to the United States, while an average of 24 percent of whites agreed. (The April 1989 figures were somewhat lower than the others -- 24 percent for blacks and 20 percent for whites.) The Roper polls also presented respondents with a list of groups and asked which, if any had too much power in the United States. Consistently Jews were named less frequently than most other groups, with 7-8 percent of whites and 9-14 percent of blacks citing the Jews.

The Wiesenthal Center study found 38 percent of blacks in a representative national sample agreeing that Overall, Jews have too much power in America, with 50 percent of those respondents (19 percent of all blacks) agreeing that Jews have too much power in the media 59 percent (22 percent of the total) too much power in politics and 91 percent (35 percent of the total) too much power in business and economics.

Of the 51 percent of respondents who had heard of Louis Farrakhan, 54 percent (28 percent of all blacks) rated him as "very favorable or "somewhat favorable."⁶⁹ Eight percent of those who had heard of Farrakhan (4 percent of all blacks) when describing in their own words why they disliked him noted his anti-Semitism. In the same context, 94 percent of respondents expressed a favorable opinion of Jesse Jackson while 1 percent said they disliked his anti-Semitic comments.⁷⁰

Variables

Scholars have examined the relationships between a number of variables and black attitudes toward Jews, including religiosity region, age,

education, and economic and social contact with Jews. Age and education are especially important since they point directly to the attitudes of the newest generation. Studies have consistently shown that, among whites, youthfulness and increased education are associated with reduced anti-Semitism. However the situation among blacks is more complex. The data pertaining to age are contradictory but suggest, at the least, that younger blacks do not accept fewer anti-Semitic stereotypes than their elders. As for education, the consensus of the national studies, including those by Marx, Selznick and Steinberg, Schneider and Marture and Clark, is that it is associated with decreased anti-Semitism among blacks, however some studies have indicated that this relationship is not as strong as among whites. Tsukashima's study of Los Angeles stands alone in finding that for those under age 30 and those aged 30 to 49 the most educated blacks were the most anti-Semitic.

Marx is the only one to have gathered data on religious belief as a correlate of anti-Semitism among blacks. He found that 16 percent of blacks who identified Jews as the chosen people of the Old Testament and as God's chosen people today scored high on his anti-Semitism index; 19 percent who offered only the former identification did so and 28 percent who offered neither identification did so. Marx explained this negative correlation by noting that, despite the potential for Christian anti-Semitism, black identification with the biblical Exodus story appeared to ameliorate anti-Jewish feeling.

As for the relationship between region and anti-Semitism, Marx found that northern blacks scored higher on anti-Semitism than those in the south although he noted that his data for the latter region came from two large cities and might not offer a full picture. The figures for those scoring high on his anti-Semitism index were as follows: metropolitan sample outside the south, 28 percent, New York, 28 percent, Chicago 30 percent, Atlanta, 19 percent, and Birmingham 14 percent. Significantly those items on which southern blacks appeared as anti-Semitic as northern blacks generally involved stereotypes about Jewish economic behavior. When northern blacks appeared significantly more anti-Semitic, the items generally involved Jewish clannishness and power. One possibility is that northern blacks absorbed the anti-Semitic stereotypes of the white population, whom they encountered more intimately than in the South.

Schneider using the 1964 NORC survey and controlling for education found that southern blacks were slightly more anti-Semitic than northern blacks. Perhaps the geographical areas covered in the NORC survey were more rural than those studied by Marx, a factor that could have

contributed to the anti-Semitism of the sample, independently of lower education. In any case, Schneider showed that in 1974 northern blacks were far more anti-Semitic than southern blacks. A similar shift, Schneider indicated, had occurred with attitudes toward Israel.

As for age and education, Marx noted that [i]t is well known that the acceptance of anti-Semitic beliefs decreases with education. and that Negroes are less educated than whites.⁷¹ Still, his data suggest that increased education was less strongly associated with decreased anti-Semitism among blacks than among whites. For northern whites with a grammar-school education at least some high school, or at least some college, the percentages of those who accepted five or more anti-Semitic items were, respectively 30 20, and 8, for northern blacks the corresponding figures were 30 17 and 16.

Selznick and Steinberg pointed to the anomalous relationship between age and education, on the one hand, and anti-Semitism, on the other hand, among blacks. They did observe Among Negroes, as among whites greater education is associated with lower rates of anti-Semitism.⁷² Indeed Selznick and Steinberg's figures showed that a college education had a roughly equal effect on the proportions of blacks and whites scoring high on economic prejudice, the percentage for white college graduates (10 percent) was forty five points lower than the percentage for whites with a grade-school education (55 percent) and the percentage for black college graduates (18 percent) was forty-seven points lower than the percentage for grade-school-educated blacks (65 percent) Nonetheless they emphasized, "Negroes continue to be higher on economic anti-Semitism even when compared to whites at the same educational level."⁷³

Selznick and Steinberg stressed that young blacks did not manifest lower levels of anti-Semitism

One of the more striking findings with regard to Negroes – and one that is consistent with the view that Negro anti-Semitism is rising – is that acceptance of anti-Semitic beliefs is disproportionately high in the youngest as well as the oldest age group. Whereas only 17 per cent of whites under 35 scored as anti-Semitic, among Negroes the figure is 49 per cent. This is higher than the rate of anti-Semitism for middle-aged Negroes (34 per cent) and almost as high as the rate for Negroes in the oldest age group (53 per cent). Though young Negroes are more educated than older Negroes, they are no less anti-Semitic.⁷⁴

If Negroes as a group score so much higher than whites on economic anti-Semitism, they observed, this is largely though not entirely due to

the high level of economic anti-Semitism in the younger segments of the Negro population.⁷⁵

Tsukashima found that young blacks in his two Los Angeles samples were the most anti-Semitic element of the black population. Thus, while 73 percent of those under age 30 scored high on Tsukashima's anti-Semitism index, 59 percent of those aged 30 to 49 and 35 percent of those over 49 scored high.

The correlation between youth and anti-Semitism Tsukashima indicated, remained constant regardless of educational background -- at each level of education those under age 30 scored highest on anti-Semitism.

Tsukashima also emphasized that for each age group except those over age 49 anti-Semitism rose with educational level through "some college. For example, of blacks under age 30 77 percent of those with some college scored high on anti-Semitism as against 68 percent of those with less than a high-school education. Perhaps the most striking finding is that those most likely to endorse anti-Jewish beliefs are those under 30 years of age with some college background, he observed.⁷⁶ This correlation, Tsukashima suggested, reflected the radical politics frequently adopted by young black college students⁷⁷

Schneider indicated that education depressed the level of anti-Semitism among both blacks and whites in the 1964 and 1974 surveys that he examined. In contrast, he identified youth as a correlate of anti-Semitism among blacks in 1974 By 1974 black anti-Semitism was inversely related to age, with education controlled the strongest anti-Semitism by far was to be found among younger blacks⁷⁸ Schneider continued

It is likely that young blacks have been strongly impressed by the civil rights and black power movements of the past two decades. The alarming shift in the anti-Semitism of younger blacks is, one would imagine political in origin, the result of heightened ideological sensitivity and awareness of the several conflicts of interest between Jews and blacks. For instance, only one-third of blacks under age thirty in the 1974 survey agreed that Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people Older blacks were more in agreement with this characterization, 43 to 17 percent. Thus, the politicization of younger blacks has apparently reversed the effects of increasing education and social mobility It has raised their level of anti-Semitism relative to that of other blacks and relative to that of whites.⁷⁹

Providing yet another perspective, Marture and Clark observed that [w]hile generational change and increased education have led to lower

levels of anti-Semitism among whites among blacks, age and anti-Semitism are not highly related [and] the effects of education are significantly less powerful.⁸⁰

Another variable affecting anti-Semitism among blacks that has been given attention is economic contact with Jews Marx noted the frequency of such contacts [S]even out of ten [blacks] report that some of the stores in the areas where they live or do their shopping are owned by Jews and "in such areas where Jewish-owned stores exist, more than nine out of ten [blacks] currently patronize those Jewish-owned stores."⁸¹ Marx pointed up the potential for conflict inherent in such contacts

To begin with, regardless of race or ethnicity or questions of dishonesty or exploitation, the merchant-customer employer-employee or landlord-tenant relationship provides a basis for conflict and tension. When this potential for hostility is buttressed by a situation where the subordinates are often of very low income and of a different race religion, or ethnic group, then the development of hostility is even more understandable.⁸²

Marx found that anti-Semitism increased with economic contact with Jews. For lower and middle-class blacks with low medium, and high levels of economic contact with Jews the proportions scoring as anti-Semitic increased from 20 to 27 to 38 percent, respectively In contrast for blacks of a higher socioeconomic status, the percentage scoring as anti-Semitic remained at 11 or 12 percent regardless of contact.

Marx also looked at the relationship between anti-Semitism and perceived economic mistreatment by Jews. He noted that "when respondents were asked whether they felt that they had ever been treated unfairly by a Jewish merchant, from 7 per cent of those in Birmingham to 21 and 25 per cent of those in New York and Chicago reported that they had."⁸³ Marx went on to note that among those who felt that Jewish shopkeepers had treated them unfairly 50 per cent scored as anti-Semitic, in contrast with only 18 per cent of those who felt that they had never received unfair treatment.⁸⁴ He added Among those who felt Jewish credit practices were worse than those of other whites 40 per cent scored as anti-Semitic against 18 per cent among those who felt they were better than or no different from those of other whites.⁸⁵ Marx combined economic contact, perceived mistreatment, and negative views of Jewish credit practices into an index that he found powerfully related to anti-Semitism.⁸⁶ He concluded

Among those with seemingly no predisposition to economically based anti

Semitism only 13 per cent scored as anti-Semitic. This figure consistently increases to a maximum of 70 per cent for those who scored highest on the index. Looking only at those scored as very high on anti-Semitism, the figures increase from 3 per cent to 31 per cent.⁸⁷

Selznick and Steinberg also focused on black contact with Jews "in work or business, noting, Since Negroes are generally employed at lower occupational levels than are whites, work contact for Negroes often means working for Jews as domestics or in some other menial and poorly paid capacity."⁸⁸ Work contact with Jews, they found, was reported by a quarter of southern and midwestern blacks, by 52 percent of northwestern blacks, and by 63 percent of northeastern blacks -- and by 28 percent of black grade school graduates and 67 percent of black college graduates Selznick and Steinberg found that 61 percent of blacks reporting work contact with Jews scored high on economic anti-Semitism, as against 22 percent scoring high on noneconomic anti-Semitism. For those without work contact with Jews, the corresponding figures were 47 percent and 31 percent.

Tsukashima developed a number of conclusions about black economic interaction with Jews finding that 58 to 62 percent of blacks who had contact with Jewish businessmen -- specifically merchants, landlords, and employers -- were anti-Semitic. While around 50 percent of those who had no contact with Jewish landlords or employers were also anti-Semitic, only 37 percent of those who had no contact with Jewish merchants were such. Tsukashima observed

[E]conomic contact is especially related to anti-Semitism when the quality of that interaction is specified. Among those who report being mistreated about 8 in 10 score high on the index of anti-Semitism, regardless of the context of interaction. But in contrast, between 4 and 5 [in ten] who [did not report mistreatment] score as high.⁸⁹

Tsukashima also addressed the issue of perceived exploitation in relation to anti-Semitism. He found that the most common belief regarding Jewish economic behavior was that Jewish store owners tended to charge [black] customers higher prices for lower quality goods,⁹⁰ to which 70 percent of the respondents agreed. Other common views included raising prices on the day welfare checks were distributed (50 percent) insufficient salaries for maids (53 percent) overpricing housing (53 percent) and unfair interest rates for debtors (51 percent) Of those who perceived Jews as exploitative, Tsukashima wrote, about 7 in 10 [scored] high on the index of intolerance toward Jews as compared with 4 in 10⁹¹

