

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Judith Ann Seid entitled "Attitudinal and Behavioral Assimilation in the Jewish Community of Knoxville, Tennessee." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Social Work.

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ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL ASSIMILATION IN THE
JEWISH COMMUNITY OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science in Social Work
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Judith Ann Seid

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of Stanislaus Greber.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between attitudinal and behavioral assimilation. Fifty adult Jews living in Knox County were chosen at random and interviewed. The respondents were asked about Jewish languages spoken in their childhood homes, amount of formal Jewish education, rituals observed in their childhood homes, and length of contact with the dominant society. They then responded to questions on Mirels and Garrett's Protestant Ethic Scale.

Findings indicated that language, formal Jewish education, and generation in America and the South had no relationship to Protestant Ethic scores, although in some sub-groups a relationship appeared. Ritual behavior correlated positively with Protestant Ethic scores, and the percent of their lives the respondents had spent in the South correlated negatively with Protestant Ethic scores. Women and those who had spent under the median amount of their lives in the South were affected least by the other variables.

Conclusions are drawn and recommendations made to Jewish communal agencies in the South. These include encouraging Jewish neighborhoods and the use of a Jewish language, including men in home-centered rituals, and encouraging the confluent education model in Jewish schools.

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CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AREA

Assimilation is the process whereby "when two peoples of divergent cultures come into contact as a result of immigration, the culture of the alien group is modified by that of the native" or dominant population (Galitzi, 1929, p. 164). Immigrants are "expected to shed their own ethnic individuality and accept the established cultural and social standards" of the dominant society (Sherman, 1960, p. 13). Through the process of assimilation, ethnic identity is abandoned and the population is rendered homogeneous. This had been the ideal for American society until recently, when pluralism began to be valued.

In a speech at the Fifth Biennial Symposium of the International Federation of Social Workers, NASW president Arthur Katz urged that efforts be made to maintain and strengthen ethnic diversity, and noted that minority group identification serves important psychological and social functions. Minority groups are endeavoring to preserve their heritages as well as nominal identities, to achieve "meaningful survival . . . attached to a vital tradition (of) . . . values and standards" (Gordis, 1966, p. xxvii).

The phenomenon of assimilation has been studied by numerous theorists and researchers. Major theories of the process itself have been advanced by Marcus Hansen, in his three-generational hypothesis, and by Milton Gordon. Recent authors, such as Gordon, have seen

assimilation as a multi-dimensional process, rather than as a single continuum, and it is this perspective that will be examined in this work.

Milton Gordon (1964) has postulated a seven phase model of assimilation, each phase after the first inevitably leading to the next. The first subprocess of assimilation, and the only one which Gordon says can take place without leading to the others, is cultural assimilation, or acculturation. The second subprocess, from which "all of the other types of assimilation will naturally flow" (Gordon, 1964, p. 81) is structural assimilation, in which social boundaries are crossed. Third is marital assimilation, or amalgamation, and is characterized by free intermarriage. The fourth subprocess is identificational assimilation, which follows from the first three. Fifth and sixth are absence of prejudice (attitudinal receptional assimilation) and absence of discrimination (behavioral receptional assimilation). The final subprocess is civic assimilation, which occurs when there are no more value or power conflicts between the dominant society and the members of the previously alien group.

Cultural assimilation is broken down into extrinsic and intrinsic trait acculturation. Extrinsic traits include dress, manner, and language. Language, religion, and values are intrinsic traits. Language appears variously as intrinsic and extrinsic in Gordon's discussion. Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968) generally consider it to be extrinsic, as do Robert Park (quoted by Gordon) and C. B. Sherman (1960). Galitzi (1929), however, also considers it both intrinsic and extrinsic (in her terms, "economic" and "cultural").

In one other instance in Gordon's model an item of assimilation appears in two categories. This item is values, and it occurs under intrinsic acculturation, and also under civic assimilation. It is curious that the same item should be seen as both the first and last to assimilate. This can, however, be interpreted to mean that cultural values are tenacious, that they are subject to assault from the beginning of the assimilation process, but do not succumb until the end. This is one of the assumptions that the present study addresses.

Gordon's framework has been used and generally upheld by a number of researchers testing a variety of assimilatory dimensions. Duncan and Liebson (1959) and Anderson (1968b) were able to uphold the general relationship between heightened assimilation and lowered ethnic communality. The effect of language on the trend to assimilate was studied by Doroshkin (1969), and Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968), who concluded that the maintenance of the ethnic language is a factor in continued ethnic communality. Ethnic religious practice was studied in relation to communality, and was seen as an antiassimilatory force by Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968), Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972), and Himmelfarb (1975). Fathi (1972), Parenti (1967), and Heitzmann (1975) were able to show a relationship between ethnic identity and social attitudes.

Although theories which seek to assess the relationship between external cultural assimilation and attitudinal assimilation have been proposed, little objective research was found in the literature. Campbell and Fukuyama (1970) have indicated that church participation

can influence social attitudes, however, the denomination they studied was not one to which a large number of "ethnics" belong, and it is difficult to equate church participation with a clinging to ethnic religious behavior. Glock and Stark (1965) discuss a number of studies which found questionable or no correlation between nonethnic related religious behavior and social attitudes. This study concentrates on ethnic behaviors and social attitudes.

This study helps to determine if there is necessarily a correlation between external acculturation and attitudinal assimilation. The question is one of interest to many of America's ethnic groups, which are struggling with the problem of how much assimilation should be encouraged or allowed for the good of the specific ethnic community and of the individuals who compose it. This study focuses on the Jewish community as an example of minority groups in the throes of this struggle, and because it is the ethnic group in which the researcher has interest.

The 1972 Task Force report on the future of the Jewish community in America recommends for the 1970's research on building Jewish identity and programmatic innovation by Jewish agencies to enhance Jewish identity. This study helps point the direction that such innovation might take by exploring the question of whether in order to maintain Jewish attitudes, values, and ethics, it is necessary also to maintain Jewish cultural behaviors.

Gordis (1966) proclaims as a goal of Jewish life in America "integration without assimilation; acculturation without absorbtion."

Likewise, Marshall Sklare judges that "acculturation is acceptable, assimilation should be prevented" (1969, p. 105).

C. B. Sherman (1960) expects change in "inner culture" to follow naturally from change in "outer culture" as Galitzi (1929) expects cultural (internal) assimilation to follow economic (external) assimilation. Guttman (1969) concurs: "Theoretically, the ultimate consequences of acculturation is assimilation." Gordon, however, says a group may acculturate without assimilating in any other dimension. "It is possible for separate subsocieties to continue their existence even while the cultural differences between them become progressively reduced and even in greater part eliminated" (1964, p. 158).

The researcher proposes that it is not possible for cultural assimilation to occur externally, while internal traits are not assimilated. The researcher hypothesizes that as communal behavior increases, attitudinal assimilation decreases.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Population

The population of the study is the Jewish community of Knox County, Tennessee. After Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972), the researcher considered a "community" to be a group of people who live in a particular geographical area and who have at least one other commonality. The geographical area chosen was Knox County. Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972) had defined boundaries at the city limits, however, since that time much westward residential expansion into the county has occurred. Numbers of Jews who previously resided within the city have moved to this area. Concurrent with this expansion, a growing sentiment of public opinion proposes a city-county merger at the time of writing. Consequently, the researcher feels justified in defining the area within Knox County as a "real" geographical community.

The group of people chosen to study is the adult Jewish population of Knox County residing in their own households. Although in Jewish practice a young man is an adult at age 13 and a young woman at age 12, for purposes of this study, adult will be defined as anyone both over age 18 and maintaining a separate household, because those younger than 18 are usually living in the homes of their parents, and are not necessarily practicing the behavior they may wish to, in the areas to be studied.

Rather than enter into the age-old question of מי יהודי, who is a Jew?, a Jew was defined as one who identifies him or herself as Jewish,

and in addition, who has not embraced another religion, this latter to prevent the inclusion of those who claim not to have forsaken their Jewishness when they adopted other religions. Normative Judaism does not recognize adherents of other religions as Jews (Mark, 1972; Katz, 1977; Gordis, 1966; Yaffe, 1968; and see the "Brother Daniel" decision of Israeli courts).

The additional feature necessary for communality is public identification of oneself as Jewish. This feature was determined by using the community list of all residents who have joined or identified themselves as Jews to any Jewish organization in Knoxville. This list was obtained from the Arnstein Jewish Community Center.

Sample

The master list of all identified Jews in the county was obtained from the Arnstein Jewish Community Center. The sample was chosen randomly from the population list, and consisted of fifty individuals. Forty-seven of these were born to Jewish families, and only these were used in the study.

Method

Private interviews were arranged with each respondent at his or her home or other quiet location convenient to the respondent. Demographic and cultural assimilation data were collected on a questionnaire completed by the respondent, and the attitude scale was administered orally by the researcher. Responses were noted on a standardized interview schedule.

Demographic Data

Respondents were asked age and sex, years of residence and generation in the South (after Lowi, 1973). Southern states were considered to be: Northern Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Percent of life spent in the South was obtained by dividing years lived in the South by age.

Items of Cultural Assimilation/Communality

According to Anderson, "Total communality and complete assimilation constitute polar ends of a single dimension" (1968a, p. 87). Thus, measures of communality imply measures of assimilation; the two types of measures can be interchanged. Four items of communality were examined. High communality was then interpreted as low assimilation.

Contact with Core Society. Respondents were asked generation in America. This was combined with the question on generation in the South but was coded separately. Several researchers have indicated that length of contact with the core society is an influence on assimilated behaviors (Duncan and Lieberman, 1959; Beshers, et al., 1964; Hansen, 1938; Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968; Lazerwitz and Rowitz, 1964; Rose, 1969; Galitzi, 1929). Although this item would not be subject to manipulation by agencies seeking to enhance Jewish identity, it was included because it was thought that it may prove to be an intervening factor, and deserve attention in differential programming. Generation in America, generation and percent of life spent in the

South were chosen as the temporal measures. Lavender (1976) has shown all temporal measures to be equally reliable.

Language. Respondents were asked if any Jewish languages were spoken in their families of orientation, and in their current households. Jewish languages were considered to be Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, and Hebrew. Language, and specifically Yiddish, has been used as a factor of communal identity by numbers of researchers, including Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968), and others noted in Sanua's compilations (1964). The role of language, again, specifically Yiddish, as a force of communality is explained by Doroshkin (1969), Dubnow (1958), Landis (undated reprint), Mark (1972), Ruchames (1969), Goldner (1959), and Sherman (1960). Gordis attributes to the decline of Yiddish, with its "value-laden words" (Landis, undated reprint), which is "drenched in religious and cultural values" (Gordis, 1966), a major part in the assimilation of America's Jews.

Language is not merely a measure of cultural assimilation, but also affects the perceptions of the speakers themselves, or, as Landis puts it, "Language is not only shaped by life, but is also in turn a shaper of life" (undated reprint, p. 16). Psycholinguist Benjamin Whorf (1956) states that speakers of different languages will actually have different perceptions of concepts, that without a word for a concept, that concept cannot be thought.

Education. Amount and type of formal Jewish education was the third item of cultural assimilation to be scrutinized, since

familiarity with basic tenets and concepts of Jewish life may slow assimilation of attitudes known to unJewish (Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968; Gartner, 1974; Ackerman, 1969; Yaffe, 1968; Gordis, 1966, Kiddushin 40b). Sanua reports a number of studies which employed this item of communal identity with conflicting findings on the influence of education on identity. Jewish education was measured in terms of intensity (numbers of days per week) and amount (number of years). Adult education or college courses were not considered.

Ritual. The fourth dimension of assimilation examined was observance of Jewish ritual. Although a number of religious involvement scales have been developed (Goldstein and Goldscheider, 1968; Himmelfarb, 1975; Weller, et al., 1975; Fathi, 1972), it was decided to modify for use one of the measures found in the Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968) and Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972) studies, a measure related to Himmelfarb's scale of ritual behavior (1975). Five rituals, celebration of the Seder, lighting of Chanukah candles, lighting Sabbath candles, serving only kosher meat, and keeping separate milk and meat dishes, were used in these studies. These were grouped in yearly (Seder and Chanukah), weekly (Sabbath candles), and daily (kosher meat and dishes) observances. Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972) found that lighting Chanukah candles was closely tied to the presence of children in the home, Chanukah being used to replace Christmas. Observance of Chanukah was eliminated from this study since the results show that observance of this holiday may reflect assimilatory trends as well as communal trends.

In addition, the daily observances were collapsed into a single question regarding whether or not the home's kitchen is kosher. This yields one measure each for yearly, weekly, and daily ritual observances. As would be expected, Himmelfarb (1975) and Robinson and Tuchfeld (1972) found these to be cumulative, as in a Guttman scale, with those observing the daily rituals also tending to observe the less frequent ones.

Attitudinal Assimilation

The Protestant Ethic scale was administered to the respondents. It is to be noted that the Protestant Ethic is only one of many attitudes that may be studied in this manner. It was chosen because it is based on a specifically non-Jewish set of attitudes, because it is a reliable test, and because the study is being done in the South, where the Protestant Ethic is strong and is the ethic of the majority culture.

It is not necessary to subscribe to Weber's theory that the Protestant Ethic leads to capitalism. This view has been thoroughly discussed by Gary Bouma (1973) and Hammond and Williams (1976). Indeed, Jews, too, are taught to "love work" (Pirke Avoth 1:10) and not to scorn physical labor (Silver, 1956) and might be expected to prosper under capitalism. It is enough that the items on the Protestant Ethic Scale do reflect the values of Protestantism, and do not reflect the values of Judaism. A review of the literature reveals Jewish thought which directly contradicts items 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, and

17 on the scale. Since the internal consistency is good, the other items may be presumed to measure the same set of traits.

The Protestant Ethic Scale was formulated in 1971 by Herbert L. Mirels and James B. Garrett, both then of Ohio State University. They reported that the scale has internal consistency of .79, which is satisfactory, and that it is uncontaminated by an approval-seeking or acquiescent response set (Mirels and Garrett, 1971). MacDonald (1973) reports a three week interval test-retest reliability of .90.

In 1972 the scale was used in four separate studies. A. P. MacDonald demonstrated the construct validity of the scale by showing that scores vary with scores on related tests (1972). David J. Brown (1972) employed the scale to study correlates of the fear of death. Mr. Brown questioned the validity and reliability of the scale, but his doubts were not supported by a reading of his results. John H. Wooster (1972) studied the relationship of Protestant Ethic scores to attitudes towards poverty and social services, and found that high Protestant Ethic scores were related to demands for perceived worthiness of a social service recipient, thus supporting the construct validity of the scale. In an unpublished study, James Marshall, James L. Gillings, and Wade H. Andrews (1972) compared scores on the Protestant Ethic scale with attitudes on leisure.

In 1975, Matthew R. Merrens and James B. Garrett attempted to predict repetitive work performance from Protestant Ethic scores, and found that indeed they could do so. This study measured nontest behavior against a test score, the two measures conducted by different

researchers and separated by at least seven weeks time. One author replicated the study and was able to demonstrate again the accuracy of the scale in predicting compatible behavior (Merrens and Garrett, 1975).

Finally, in June of 1977, Bernard Goitein and Mordechai Rotenberg attempted to predict from nationality (Israeli vs. American) and scores on a shortened version of the scale, a tendency to "post-judge" the probability of a person's "election" or "damnation" from a knowledge of the person's current status. They were not able to demonstrate a correlation, but did not indicate that either the scale or their construct might be invalid.

In its various tests, high Protestant Ethic scale scores have been found to correlate significantly with high scores on the Mosher Guilt Scale, Hogan's ethic of social responsibility, Mosher Morality Conscience Guilt Scale, Rokeach F-scale, internal locus of control, preference for occupations demanding a concrete, pragmatic approach to work, as opposed to those demanding more theoretic, emotional or humanistic talents, the MacDonald Poverty Scale, and certain of Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values which are conceptually tied to the Protestant Ethic (Merrens and Garrett, 1975; MacDonald, 1971).

Only one of the studies found in the literature had included Jews, and none employed the scale as a measure of assimilation to American society.

The scale was modified in two ways for this study. First, all gender identification was removed, and second, one item which proved unreliable was eliminated.

Analysis

Analysis of variance was used in all cases to determine the probabilities of the distributions. A probability of .05 was considered to be significant, although, since the sample was small, note should be made that real correlations may exist, but be too small to appear significant in a sample of this size.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

Description of the Sample

In order to obtain a random sample of 50 respondents, it was necessary to select 66 names. The response rate is 76%. Two potential respondents had left the county, four were not Jewish but were listed in the population because their spouses are Jewish, seven indicated they were ill (these were all elderly people), and three others refused to participate. This results in a substantial underrepresentation of the elderly in the sample.

The sample included three married couples, whose names were chosen separately at random.

The sample was composed of 18 women and 32 men. This imbalance reflects two factors. First, the Jewish community in Knoxville includes many single men of working age. Second, as is usual, there are many more older women than older men. Since a substantial number of the people who refused to participate were older women, this contributed to the underrepresentation of women in the sample.

Eighty percent (40) of the respondents were married. This number also reflects refusals of older people, who are more likely to be widows and widowers, as well as the lack in the sample of 18-26 year olds, who are more likely never to have been married.

The ages of the respondents ranged from 27 to 85. Respondents were divided into those 52 and younger, and those 53 and older. This

point was close to both mean and median, was a natural breaking point in the sample, and also separated those who were adults during World War II from those who were children or not yet born.

Eight percent (4) of the respondents were first generation Americans (born in Europe). Thirty-four percent (17) were born in America of European parents. Forty-four percent (22) were third generation (at least one parent born in America, but all grandparents born in Europe). Fourteen percent (7) had at least one grandparent born in America, and are at least fourth generation Americans.

Sixty percent (30) of the respondents were first generation Southerners (born in the North). Twenty-four percent (12) were second, ten percent (5) third, and six percent (3) fourth generation Southerners. Table 1 illustrates the breakdown by generation in America and the South.

Table 1. Generation of Respondents in America and the South

	First	Second	Third	Fourth
America	8%	34%	44%	14%
South	60%	24%	10%	6%

Thirty percent (15) of the respondents have spent less than one-third of their lives in the South. Twenty-six percent (13) have spent one-third to three-quarters of their lives in the South, and 44% (22) have spent over three-quarters of their lives in the South, including 12 (24%) who have lived in the South 95 to 100% of their lives. The median is 62%.

Sixty-two percent (31) of the respondents were members of Knoxville's conservative synagogue, 26% (13) were members of the reform temple, and 12% (6) were members of neither. The synagogue serves just over 60% of the city's congregation members, so the sample accurately reflects the population distribution.

The sample included three respondents (6%) who were not born into Jewish families. All these were fourth generation Americans.

Protestant Ethic Scores

Protestant Ethic scores, on a scale of 0 - 108, with 0 being the least and 108 being the most adherence to the Protestant Ethic, ranged from 21 to 96. The mean score was 61.18, and the median was 62.5.

Childhood Language

It was hypothesized that those in whose childhood homes a Jewish language was spoken would have lower Protestant Ethic scores than those who lived in homes where no Jewish language was spoken. Yiddish was spoken in the childhood homes of 30 of the 47 respondents who were from Jewish families, though not necessarily by the respondent. In 17 childhood homes, no Jewish language was spoken. No families spoke Hebrew, Ladino, or Judeo-Arabic. Table 2 illustrates that the Protestant Ethic scores of the Yiddish-speakers and non-Yiddish-speakers are not significantly different. The probability was .5142.

When the variables of sex and age were introduced as test factors, no significant relationship appeared. It should be noted, however, that although among those 53 and older, Yiddish-speakers had higher Protestant

Ethic scores whereas among those 52 and younger, Yiddish-speakers have lower scores than do non-Yiddish-speakers. See Table 3.

Table 2. Protestant Ethic Scores of Yiddish-Speakers and Non-Yiddish-Speakers

	Score
Yiddish-speakers	62.50
Non-Yiddish-speakers	59.18

Table 3. Protestant Ethic Scores of Yiddish-Speakers and Non-Yiddish-Speakers of Different Ages

	52 & under	53 & over
Yiddish-speakers	53.93	71.67
Non-Yiddish-speakers	60.14	54.67

The percent of the respondents' life spent in the South was controlled for as was generation in the South. Again, the differences between Yiddish-speakers and non-Yiddish-speakers were not significant, however, among first generation Southerners, Yiddish speaking was associated with higher Protestant Ethic scores, while among second and third generation Southerners, Yiddish speaking was associated with lower Protestant Ethic scores (see Table 4).

Table 4. Protestant Ethic Scores of Yiddish-Speakers and Non-Yiddish-Speakers by Generation in the South

	First Generation	Second and Third Generation
Yiddish-speakers	59.78	67.33
Non-Yiddish-speakers	53.42	73.00

The probability of the above distribution is .1152 and may well have occurred by chance. The probability of the effect of language eliminating generation in the South is .6536.

Controlling for generation in America showed that within each generation, the differences in mean Protestant Ethic scores between Yiddish-speakers and non-Yiddish-speakers were not significant. For first and second generation Americans, however, Yiddish speaking was associated with higher Protestant Ethic scores; for third and fourth generation Americans, Yiddish speaking was associated with lower Protestant Ethic scores (see Table 5).

Table 5. Protestant Ethic Scores of Yiddish-Speakers and Non-Yiddish Speakers by Generation in America

	First and Second Generation	Third and Fourth Generation
Yiddish-speakers	69.44	52.83
Non-Yiddish-speakers	47.33	73.00

When two control variables were introduced, it was found that among those who had spent more than 62% of their lives in the South, and were under 53 years old, Yiddish-speakers tended to have lower scores than non-Yiddish-speakers (see Table 6), however, the differences were not statistically significant at the .05 level.

This relationship was not seen in older people or among those who had lived 62% or less of their lives in the South.

Table 6. Protestant Ethic Scores of Yiddish-Speakers and Non-Yiddish Speakers Who have Spent over 62% of Their Lives in the South

	Score
Yiddish-speakers	51.00
Non-Yiddish-speakers	71.60

No significant relationship emerged when other combinations of variables were controlled. The analysis was somewhat hampered by the small sample, which, when broken down by three variables often exhibited empty cells, or cells composed of only one individual. Thus, potentially real differences may exist, but would not appear as significant with this small sample size.

Jewish Education

It was hypothesized that the more formal Jewish education a respondent reported, the lower the Protestant Ethic score would be. Education was figured on a full-time equivalent basis. One year of Jewish parochial school was said to equal one full time year. After-school classes and Sunday classes are commonly two hours. One afternoon or Sunday class a week is 1/15 of the full time 30-hour week, so each year of Sunday school equals 1/15 of a full time equivalent year, as does each afternoon per week, per year.

This analysis used only the 47 respondents who were born into Jewish families.

Formal Jewish education ranged from none, to 12 years full time. Five respondents had no formal Jewish education. Thirty-four had two

full-time equivalent years or less. Eight had over two full time equivalent years. The Protestant Ethic scores of each group can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7. Protestant Ethic Scores of Those Having No, Some, or Much Formal Jewish Education

Years of Education	Score
None	55.40
1/15 to 2	60.56
2.1 to 12	69.25

Although the scores raise as amount of education increases, the probability associated with Table 7 is .3505 and is not significant.

The middle group includes those of quite varied amounts of education, from one year of Sunday School to the equivalent of 7-1/2 years of 4 afternoons a week. Accordingly, this group was broken down further, and it was found that there was a jump in scores when education reached 1.5 full time equivalent years. See Table 8.

Table 8. Protestant Ethic Scores of Those Having Some Formal Jewish Education

Years of Education	Score
1/15 to 1.49	58.17
1.5 to 2	74.10

This finding did not show significant differences between the two groups, but probability was .0728. The direction of the change remains

the same. More formal education correlates with higher Protestant Ethic scores.

This seeming correlation disappears, however, when sex is controlled for. It appears that boys have commonly been given more formal Jewish education than have girls, and it is the difference in sex rather than in amount of formal Jewish education which really causes the difference in Protestant Ethic scores (see Table 9).

Table 9. Protestant Ethic Scores of Men and Women with Differing Amounts of Formal Jewish Education

Years of education	Women	Men
0-1.49	51.38	63.44
1.5 to 12	0	71.23

No women have had as much as 1.5 full time equivalent years of formal Jewish education. The difference between the men with more and less amounts of formal education is not significant. When age is controlled for as well, the probabilities become even higher. Age and sex cause the differences in amount of education which seem to correlate with differences in Protestant Ethic scores.

Ritual Observances

It was hypothesized that as the number of rituals observed in the childhood home increased, Protestant Ethic scores would decrease. Ritual observance was scaled 0 - 3 depending upon the number of measured rituals observed in the respondent's family of orientation. The rituals

which were measured were: celebration of the Pesach Seder (yearly), lighting of the Sabbath candles (weekly), and keeping a kosher kitchen (daily). As would be expected, those who kept kosher also tended to light Sabbath candles and celebrate the Seder. Those who did not keep kosher, but did light Sabbath candles tended also to celebrate the Seder. The scale is cumulative.

This analysis also used the 47 respondents who were born to Jewish families. Nine of the respondents observed none of the three measured rituals in their childhood homes. Fourteen observed one ritual (Seder only), eight observed two rituals (generally Seder and Sabbath candles), and sixteen observed all three measured rituals. Their mean Protestant Ethic scores are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Protestant Ethic Scores of Respondents Observing Different Numbers of Rituals in Their Childhood Homes

Number of Rituals Observed	Score
0	49.22
1	63.14
2	58.88
3	68.25

Even with the small numbers of respondents, and four categories, the probability of this distribution occurring by chance is just .0772. The difference between those observing none and those observing 3 rituals is significant. No other pair differences are significant. When those who observed one, two, or three rituals as

children are combined, and compared with those who observed none, significant results are obtained. Table 11 shows a probability of .0215.

Table 11. Protestant Ethic Scores of Those Who Did and Did Not Observe Rituals in Their Childhood Homes

Number of Rituals Observed	Score
0	49.22
1-3	64.39

Controls for sex show that the correlation occurs significantly in men but not in women. The probability of the distribution of men in Table 12 is .0189, while for women, although the direction of change is the same, the probability of such results occurring by chance is .2606.

Table 12. Protestant Ethic Scores of Men and Women Who Did and Did Not Observe Rituals in Their Childhood Homes

Number of Rituals Observed	Women	Men
0	39.67	54.00
1-3	54.08	69.76

Controls for age demonstrated that younger and older respondents differed in reaction to amount of ritual observed (see Table 13). The probability of the distribution of younger respondents is .0387, and of older respondents is .0549.

Table 13. Protestant Ethic Scores of Older and Younger Respondents Who Observed Different Numbers of Rituals as Children

Number of Rituals Observed	Age 52 and Under	Age 53 and Over
0	44.33	59.00
1	66.60	54.50
2	58.88	empty
3	49.60	76.73

When both age and sex are controlled for, the correlation is even stronger, yielding significant results for both younger and older respondents of each sex.

Within the group of younger respondents, men's scores were affected much more than were women's; among the older respondents, empty cells and cells containing only one respondent rendered analysis less conclusive. This also prevented analysis controlling for age and for the variables which assess contact with core society.

Amount of the respondents' lives lived in the South was introduced as a test factor; again those who had lived more than the median percentage of life in the South (62%), were separated from those who had lived a smaller percentage than the median of their lives in the South. Protestant Ethic scores of those over and under the median age are shown in Table 14. As can be observed in Table 14, numbers of rituals observed in the childhood home has no effect on those who have lived less than 63% of their lives in the South. Such a distribution is practically certain to have occurred by chance; the probability is .9128. Among those who have lived over 62% of their lives in the

South, however, the probability of the distribution is .0217, showing statistical significance. Combining all observances and comparing to no observance as has done with the whole sample above, still yielded statistically significant probabilities of .0327.

Table 14. Protestant Ethic Scores of Those Who Have Lived Over and Under 62% of Their Lives in the South and Observed Different Numbers of Rituals as Children

Number of Rituals Observed	62% and Under	63% and Over
0	52.60	45.00
1	58.00	82.00
2	55.25	62.50
3	54.00	74.73

Controlling for age or sex as well as percent of life in South resulted in numbers too small to achieve statistical significance, but upheld the finding that only those over the median percentage are affected by ritual behavior. It should be noted that women over this percentage, while still affected by ritual behavior, do not react as strongly as men. Protestant Ethic scores of men raise upon even one ritual being observed, while scores of women do not raise quite as dramatically until two or more rituals are observed.

When generation in the South was used as a test factor, results were close to those obtained when controlling for percentage of life lived in the South (thus supporting Lavender's, 1976, contention that all measures of contact with core society are adequate). As seen in

Table 15, first generation Southerners are not affected by numbers of rituals observed in their childhood homes. Probability is .7293.

Table 15. Protestant Ethic Scores of First Generation Southerners Who Observed Different Numbers of Rituals as Children

Number of Rituals Observed	Score
0	52.86
1	55.90
2	58.00
3	62.86

Controls for sex and age upheld the findings of no effect. For those first generation Southerners who had lived less than the median percentage of their lives in the South, the probability of the difference in scores was .9408. Although those first generation Southerners who had lived over the median percentage of their lives in the South showed a slightly stronger effect, the probability of the differences in their Protestant Ethic scores according to rituals observed was still .4909.

Second and third generation Southerners do show some effects on Protestant Ethic scores of numbers of rituals observed in childhood homes. Table 16 contains these scores. The probability of the distribution of .0187. Because the number of respondents in this category was small, two control variables at a time were not introduced.

The effect of generation in America on those who observed different numbers of rituals as children is shown in Table 17.

Table 16. Protestant Ethic Scores of Second and Third Generation Southerners Who Observed Different Numbers of Rituals in Their Childhood Homes

Number of Rituals Observed	Score
0	36.50
1	81.25
2	61.50
3	72.44

Table 17. Protestant Ethic Scores of Different Generation Americans Who Observed Different Numbers of Rituals as Children

Number of Rituals Observed	First	Second Generation	Third	Fourth
0	79.00	49.00	44.33	empty
1	77.00	49.67	68.25	56.00
2	47.00	empty	57.40	68.50
3	37.00	75.42	50.00	empty

As can be observed, different generations tend to react differently to numbers of rituals observed in the childhood home. The difference in scores of both third and fourth generation Americans was found to be due entirely to percent of life lived in the South.

Both first and second generation Americans tend to have different scores dividing those who observed 0 or 1 ritual, and those who observed 2 or 3. When first generation is divided this way the probability is .0195. For second generation, the probability is .0032. Some of this variation may also be due to percent of life lived in the South. (See Table 18). First and second generation Americans who have spent

less than 62% of their lives in the South are not affected by ritual observances, but the probability of the over median group differences being accidental is just .0703. Only first and second generation Americans who have lived over 63% of their lives in the South may be affected by rituals observed as children, and this is not statistically significant in this analysis.

Table 18. Protestant Ethic Scores of First and Second Generation Americans Who Have Lived Over and Under the Median Percentage of Life in the South and Who Observed Different Numbers of Rituals in Their Childhood Homes

Number of Rituals Observed	62% and Under	63% and Over
0-1	59.20	53.50
2-3	52.75	77.80

Contact With the Core Society

It was hypothesized that as contact with the core society increased, so would Protestant Ethic scores. Contact with the core society was measured three ways: generation in America, generation in the South, and percent of life spent in the South. Table 19 shows Protestant Ethic scores of respondents of different generations in America. This distribution is not significant. Generation in America does not affect Protestant Ethic scores. When sex and age were controlled for, the probabilities remained high. Likewise, no correlation exists among those who have spent under or over the median percentage of their lives in the South and each generation.

Table 19. Protestant Ethic Scores of Different Generation Americans

Generation	Score
1	60.00
2	67.76
3	56.77
4+	62.25

The second measure of contact with the core society was generation in the South. The Protestant Ethic scores of first, second and third generation Southerners are shown in Table 20. The difference is still notable when sex and age are controlled for, although the younger are less affected than the older (see Table 21).

Table 20. Protestant Ethic Scores of Different Generation Southerners

Generation	Score
1	57.23
2	67.83
3	71.80

Table 21. Protestant Ethic Scores of Older and Younger Different Generation Southerners

Generation	52 and Under	53 and Over
1	55.48	61.33
2 and 3	60.75	76.33

However, an additional factor clouded the results. All but two of the second and third generation Southerners had spent all or nearly all

of their lives in the South, while only 7 of the 30 first generation Southerners had spent over the median amount of their lives in the South. Accordingly, all those who had spent 62% or less of their lives in the South were disregarded. The mean Protestant Ethic scores of those who have lived 63% or more of their lives in the South are found in Table 22, broken down by generation in the South. The probability that the differences in mean scores occurred by chance is .9007—almost certain. All the apparent difference was due to percent of life lived in the South. Generation in the South does not affect Protestant Ethic scores.

Table 22. Protestant Ethic Scores of Different Generation Southerners Who Have Spent 63% or More of Their Lives in the South.

Generation	Score
1	67.14
2	66.90
3	71.80

The third measure of contact with the core society was percent of life lived in the South. The respondents were divided into two groups, at the median (62%). The Protestant Ethic scores of the two groups are shown in Table 23. The differences are highly statistically significant, with a probability of .0169. When the three respondents who were not born into Jewish families were considered, as well, the difference remained significant (probability = .0272), however, in order to be consistent with the rest of the analyses, above, these respondents were disregarded.

Table 23. Protestant Ethic Scores of Those Who Have Lived Over and Under the Median Percentage of Their Lives in the South

Percent	Score
under median	55.68
over median	68.09

Controlling for sex indicated that percent of life lived in the South affects only men. The probabilities of the differences seen in Table 24 for women is .9748, while for men the probability of such a difference occurring by chance is just .0018. It should be noted also that the table illustrates that the usual difference between the scores of men and women is much less among the under-median group than among the over-median group.

Table 24. Protestant Ethic Scores of Men and Women Who Have Lived Over and Under the Median Percentage of Their Lives in the South

Percent	Women	Men
under median	51.50	58.47
over median	51.17	74.44

Age was controlled for, and the results are shown in Table 25. Within each age group, the differences are not significant, although the differences in the younger group are three times as probable as those in the older group.

When two control variables were introduced, it was found that among women, age differences did not create any effect on the similar

Protestant Ethic scores of the over-median and under-median groups, nor did generation in the South, or generation in America. In short, no matter what other demographic variables are controlled for, women are unaffected by percent of life lived in the South.

Table 25. Protestant Ethic Scores of Younger and Older Respondents Who Have Lived Over and Under the Median Percentage of Their Lives in the South

Percent	52 and Under	53 and Over
under median	54.63	59.00
over median	61.30	73.75

Among men, however, age did affect the extent to which Protestant Ethic scores depended on percent of life lived in the South. (See Table 26). The probability of the difference for the younger group was .1375, and for the older group .0055. Again, it should be seen that those in the under-median group are less affected by the age difference (which usually show a difference) than are those in the over-over-median group.

Table 26. Protestant Ethic Scores of Older and Younger Men Who Have Lived Over and Under the Median Percentage of Their Lives in the South

Percent	52 and Under	53 and Over
under median	58.62	57.50
over median	68.50	80.38

Percent of life lived in the South affects the Protestant Ethic scores of men only, and primarily of older men.

Summary

It was found that education, language, and generation in America or the South are not helpful in predicting Protestant Ethic scores. Ritual behavior correlates positively with Protestant Ethic scores and percent of life lived in the South correlates negatively with Protestant Ethic scores. Some variations were found when age, sex, or contact with the core society were controlled for. Women and those who have spent under the median percentage of their lives in the South are affected least by the other variables.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Childhood Language

Although it was hypothesized that those respondents in whose childhood homes Yiddish was spoken would score lower on the Protestant Ethic scale than those who were acquainted with no Jewish language as children, this hypothesis was not supported by the data. There are some indications, however, that the expected relationship may occur in those under 53, especially those who had lived over 62% of their lives in the South, and in third and fourth generation Americans. This may support the notion that a communal language does tend to correlate with communal attitudes among those farthest from other forms of communal life, forms in which Yiddish-speaking was a matter of course, rather than a matter of choice.

Jewish Education

It was hypothesized that the more formal Jewish education the respondent was given, the lower the Protestant Ethic score would be. This hypothesis was not supported by the data. The Task Force on the Future of the Jewish Community in America (1972) has noted that Jewish education in America has had two goals: to cultivate positive Jewish identification and to produce learned Jewish adults. The Task Force notes that "there is evidence, however, that a formal school experience is not the best vehicle for identity formation . . ." (p. 41). Formal

education can create learned Jews, but it seems learning does not necessarily translate into attitudes compatible with knowledge. It seems more likely that attitudes are formed in reaction to affective experiences. Since Jewish education has in the past been largely cognitive, rather than confluent, it is not surprising that Jewish attitudes have not tended to follow from formal Jewish education.

Ritual Observances

It was hypothesized that as the number of rituals observed increased, Protestant Ethic scores would decrease. In fact, the data demonstrated an opposite trend. More ritual observances tended to correlate with higher Protestant Ethic scores. This correlation was true, however, only among those who had spent over 62% of their lives in the South, and who were first or second generation Americans. Others showed no relationship at all between numbers of rituals observed and Protestant Ethic scores.

Three possible explanations of this phenomenon present themselves. The first possibility is that the phenomenon is a protective one. Howe (1976, p. 613) notes that Jews have found, as they move into largely non-Jewish areas, that for economic, social, political, and sometimes even physical survival, "softenings of opinion . . . might be needed" He indicates that a "normal life" in America cannot be obtained by Jews without "shattering transformations of a political-ethical character" (p. 640). Jewish attitudes are not acceptable in the South, and so Southern Jews, especially new Americans, who are not

yet accepted in American society enough to dissent from it safely, exchanged their unacceptable attitudes for acceptable ones.

Religion, on the other hand, is greatly respected in the South, therefore, observation of religious ritual is an acceptable outlet for Jewish expression. Jewish ritual behavior remains even when Jewish attitudes have been changed.

The second explanation also assumes that Jewish attitudes need to be modified for survival in the South, but attaches another meaning to the maintenance of ritual. Jewish ritual is clung to by attitudinally assimilated Jews because once traditional values are lost, there is nothing Jewish left in the lives of the Jews except for the ritual; Jewish ritual is adhered to strongly because of the absence of Jewish attitudes, as the only means left of identification with the ethnic heritage. Howe (1976) has noted in Jews who live in primarily Christian communities, the "prevalence of . . . a going-through of religious . . . motions that (have) largely lost their earlier charge of meaning." (p. 617). In the lives of Southern Jews, adherence to ritual may be taking the place of adherence to ethical standards.

The third explanation rests on the fact that the rituals measured, like most Jewish rituals, are observed in the home and are the responsibility of the woman. Since women were less affected than men by the numbers of rituals observed, it is possible that another factor, which is correlated with ritual observance, is responsible for the raise in Protestant Ethic scores, and that observance of the rituals prevents women from being as strongly affected.

Contact with Core Society

The hypothesis that increased contact with the core society correlates with increased Protestant Ethic scores was partly supported by the data. Contact with American culture did not affect Protestant Ethic scores, but contact with Southern culture did. Those who have lived over 62% of their lives in the South have sharply higher Protestant Ethic scores than those who have spent that amount of their lives in the North. Since most of those in the latter group were born in heavily Jewish areas in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio, assimilated attitudes were less necessary for survival. In some cases, there could have been little or no contact with the non-Jewish society altogether. As discussed above, however, those who have lived a large part of their lives in the Christian South have been surrounded by non-Jewish attitudes and have assimilated them partly through mere contact and partly, as mentioned above, through necessity.

That contact with the Southern core society affects only men is difficult to explain, although it may be due in part to the role differentiation between men and women in the Southern culture. The South tends to be socially conservative. Women have not generally been part of the formal community structures, and so have been able to escape censure for unacceptable attitudes, since these attitudes had no forum in which to be voiced.

Areas for Future Research

Several areas for further research are indicated. The possibility that the expected correlation between communal language and communal

attitudes may exist in younger Jews who have most contact with the core society should be explored. Students in schools employing confluent educational techniques should be tested for assimilatory attitudes, and these results compared with those of students from schools employing more traditional techniques. The effect of ritual on Protestant Ethic scores needs much further elucidation. It would be interesting to determine if Southern men and women in the general society differ in Protestant Ethic scores. These data would be useful in evaluating the third explanation (above) for the failure of the hypothesis that more ritual behavior leads to lower Protestant Ethic scores, and the effect of time spent in the South. Further research should also be undertaken to determine the trend of assimilation in Southern Jewish communities, and the effect on this assimilation of various interventions by Jewish communal agencies.

Recommendations

As noted by the Task Force on the Future of the Jewish Community in America (1972), Jews are migrating to the South at an increasing rate. Whether this will result in further dispersal and assimilation or in new Jewish communities where traditional Jewish attitudes will be valued and safely held, is an open question. Creation of Jewish areas and neighborhoods could be encouraged by Southern Jewish institutions.

Jewish institutions may also wish to encourage men to become involved in ritual observances formerly the province of women only, if the suggested research demonstrates that this helps to maintain Jewish

attitudes in men. Cultivation of conversational Hebrew or Yiddish, which would, of course, be easier in concentrated Jewish areas, might be encouraged, since latter-generation Americans respond to the communal language with more communal attitudes. The current trend towards confluent education in Jewish schools should be encouraged.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Where was your mother born? (state or foreign country) _____
2. Where was her mother born? _____
3. Where was her father born? _____
4. Where was your father born? _____
5. Where was his mother born? _____
6. Where was his father born? _____
7. Where were you born? _____
8. How many years total have you lived in the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North or South Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, or Northern Florida? _____
9. How many years have you lived in Knox County? _____
10. Which Jewish organizations in Knox County do you belong to?
Knoxville Jewish Community Council _____
Friendshippers _____
Arnstein Jewish Community Center _____
Young Singles club _____
Heska Amuna Synagogue or sisterhood _____
B'nai Brith _____
Hadassah _____
Knoxville Jewish Welfare Funds (women's or men's divisions) _____
Temple Beth El or sisterhood _____
11. Which Jewish languages were spoken in your home when you were a child?
Yiddish _____
Hebrew _____
Ladino _____
Judeo-Arabic _____
None _____

12. Which Jewish languages are spoken in your own home now?

Yiddish _____
 Hebrew _____
 Ladino _____
 Judeo-Arabic _____
 None _____

13. Did you ever go to a Jewish day school? yes _____ no _____

14. If you did, for how many years did you go? _____

15. Did you ever go to Sunday school? yes _____ no _____

16. If you did, for how many years did you go? _____

17. Did you ever go to an afternoon Jewish school? yes _____ no _____

18. If you did, how many afternoons a week did you go? _____

19. For how many years did you attend afternoon school? _____

20. Have you ever taken any adult courses on Jewish subjects? yes _____ no _____

21. If you did, how many such courses have you taken? _____

22. Was the Seder celebrated yearly in your family when you were a child? _____

23. Does your own family celebrate the Seder yearly now? _____

24. Were Sabbath candles lit weekly in your home when you were a child? _____

25. Are Sabbath candles lit weekly in your own home now? _____

26. Was your kitchen kosher when you were a child? _____

27. Is your own kitchen kosher now? _____

28. What is the month and year of your birth? _____

29. Were you born into a Jewish family? _____

30. Do you now (also) adhere to another philosophical belief or practice another religion, besides Judaism? _____

31. Please indicate your sex: female _____ male _____

32. Are you now married? yes _____ no _____

PROTESTANT ETHIC SCALE

1. Most people spend too much time in unprofitable amusements.
2. Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time.
3. Money acquired easily (for instance, through gambling or speculation) is usually spent unwisely.
4. There are few satisfactions equal to the realization that one has done one's best at a job.
5. The most difficult college courses would usually turn out to be the most rewarding.
6. Most people who don't succeed in life are just plain lazy.
7. The self-made person is likely to be more ethical than the person born to wealth.
8. I often feel I would be more successful if I sacrificed certain pleasures.
9. People should have more leisure time to spend in relaxation.
10. Anyone who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.
11. People who fail at a job have usually not tried hard enough.
12. Life would have very little meaning if we never had to suffer.
13. The credit card is a ticket to careless spending.
14. Life would be more meaningful if we had more leisure time.
15. The person who can approach an unpleasant task with enthusiasm is the one who gets ahead.
16. If one works hard enough, one is likely to make a good life for oneself.
17. I feel uneasy when there is little work for me to do.
18. A distaste for hard work usually reflects a weakness of character.

VITA

Judith Ann Seid was born in Los Angeles, California, on June 18, 1949. She attended U. S. Grant High School in Van Nuys, and graduated in 1967 with a major in music. She was graduated cum laude from the University of California, Riverside, in 1971 with a B.A. in Russian. She received the graduate Certificate in Jewish Communal Service from Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, in 1973. In 1979 she received her M.S.S.W. from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, with specialization in Administration and Planning.

Work experience has included extensive teaching and curricular design in the Folk Shules of the Yiddishist-Secularist movement. Ms Seid has also been employed by the Commonwealth of Kentucky Department for Human Services.