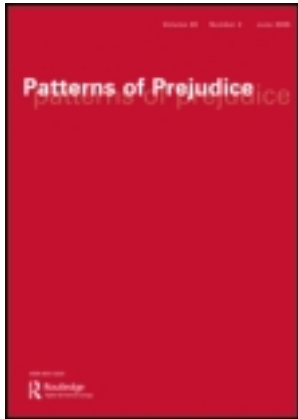


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Eva-Maria Ziege

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Patterns within prejudice: antisemitism in the United States in the 1940s

EVA-MARIA ZIEGE

Translated from the German by Felicity Rash

ABSTRACT Ziege compares two field studies on ethnocentrism, racism and antisemitism among American workers during the Second World War: 'Antisemitism among American Labor' (1945) by the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research (ISR) in exile and *Wartime Shipyard* (1947) by Katherine Archibald at the University of California at Berkeley. The former was a large-scale team project headed by Friedrich Pollock, Theodor W. Adorno and Paul Massing, who had at their disposal a large number of fieldworkers as well as the support of the trade unions. Archibald worked in complete isolation. Yet, in spite of this and major differences in design and theory, the European Marxists and the American liberal came to similar conclusions: hostility towards Jews at that time had to be analysed in connection with hostility towards other groups (including women, Blacks, labourers from the American South and other ethnic and social minorities) and within the context of the war and the Holocaust. While aware of the innovations achieved in research by means of public opinion polls, both studies were pioneering in their ambition to improve on quantitative research by means of non-quantitative procedures and qualitative-participatory observation. Ziege links these studies to a third study, *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), conducted by the ISR, particularly Adorno, which poses the question of how relevant the ISR's critical theory was for the innovations achieved in studies of prejudice, when Archibald's study, which eschewed social theory, arrived at similar conclusions regarding antisemitism.

KEYWORDS American labour, antisemitism, empirical research, Frankfurt School, Institute of Social Research, Katherine Archibald, Max Horkheimer, prejudice, racism, Theodor Adorno

During the Second World War, two field studies were undertaken to examine ethnocentrism, racism and antisemitism among American workers: 'Antisemitism among American Labor' (1945) and *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity* (1947). The first of these was carried out by a group of Marxist exiles from Europe, and the second by a young liberal

The author would like to thank Susan A. Glenn, Professor of History at the University of Washington in Seattle, who first alerted me to the existence of Katherine Archibald's study.

American from Berkeley, Katherine Archibald.¹ Neither the first group nor Archibald knew about the other's work. Both studies looked at the repercussions of the war in the United States; and both applied the Marxist notion of class, according to which the distinction between rich and poor was dependent on politically generalized categories of capital and labour. Independent of one another, the European Marxists and the American liberal came to very similar conclusions, and both became pioneering works in the study of 'workplace ethnography' and prejudice.

'Antisemitism among American Labor' was a large-scale team project undertaken by the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung (IfS) in exile, known as the Institute of Social Research (ISR), led by Max Horkheimer. In 1944 Theodor W. Adorno, Arkadij R. L. Gurland, Leo Löwenthal, Paul Massing and Friedrich Pollock, along with a large team of American fieldworkers and trade unionists, and the support of the whole 'machinery' of the Jewish Labor Committee, investigated contemporary antisemitism and attitudes towards Jews in the United States in the context of the Allies' war against National Socialist Germany and reports in the mass media about the acts of genocide against European Jews. This project was one of the ISR's major achievements, as it developed from being a specific investigation of attitudes towards Jews into an analysis of prejudice against Jews, women, Blacks and other ethnic and social minorities or groups. The investigation into antisemitism became a study of the entire syndrome of prejudice. The change of perspective introduced in this 1944–5 study prepared the ground for the ISR's 1945–7 classic study of prejudice, *The Authoritarian Personality* (published in 1950 in the series *Studies in Prejudice*), which dealt with the 'potentially fascist' individual and the structure of his or her personality.² This specific personality structure, it was claimed, could be explained by the particular conditions of late capitalism, and produced an 'authoritarian character' that was especially susceptible to anti-democratic propaganda and ethnocentrism.³

At the same time, Katherine Archibald was investigating the syndrome of 'race, class, gender and ethnicity' for her project *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in*

1 Institute of Social Research, 'Antisemitism among American Labor: A Report on a Research Project Conducted by the Institute of Social Research (Columbia University) in 1944–1945', 4 vols, May 1945: copies in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt-on-Main, Horkheimer-Pollock Archive, MHA IX 146, 1–23; and in the Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University, New York, Records of the Jewish Labor Committee (U.S.), Holocaust Era Files, Box 53. Katherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity*, introd. Eric Arnesen and Alex Lichtenstein (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press 2006) (first edition Berkeley: University of California Press 1947).

2 T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, in collaboration with Betty Aron, Maria Hertz Levinson and William Morrow, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper 1950).

3 See Eva-Maria Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie: Die Frankfurter Schule im amerikanischen Exil* (Frankfurt-on-Main: Suhrkamp 2009), ch. 6.

Social Disunity.⁴ This was neither a large-scale project nor did it involve teamwork; it was the sole endeavour of an American researcher who, between 1942 and 1944, worked as a 'worker-observer' in a war-time dockyard on the West Coast of the United States. Her study did not set out to focus specifically on antisemitism or on the persecution and extermination of Jews in Europe. In the course of her investigation of the syndrome of prejudice in war-time class society, looking at women, Blacks, Americans from the South and the whole panoply of ethnic and social minorities, Jews emerged inadvertently as a distinct group.

As the shipyard group conceived them, all Jews were grinders of the faces of the poor, the Lord and Lady Moneybags who grew rich upon a worker's toil and burgeoned on the flesh and blood of his children. They were the crooked gamblers of the land, embezzlers, grafting politicians; they were a people utterly lacking in scruple, who coiled serpent-like round the heap of their ill-gotten gains and destroyed all who challenged their possession. The ills of the world were almost entirely the product of Jewish trickery. Time and again I have heard the statement that, whatever crimes Hitler had committed, his ruthless pursuit of the Jewish evil was praiseworthy and in the best interests of the Christian world. 'You got to hand it to Hitler for taking the money away from the Jews the way he did,' one worker said; 'somebody ought to do the same thing in America.'⁵

Unlike *The Authoritarian Personality*, which came to be regarded as a classic study of prejudice, *Wartime Shipyard* and 'Antisemitism among American Labor' received little attention. A new edition of *Wartime Shipyard* in 2006 changed this and, although 'Antisemitism among American Labor' remains unpublished, it has also received increasing attention in recent years.⁶

4 Eric Arnesen and Alex Lichtenstein, 'Introduction', in Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, ix–lxxiv.

5 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 109.

6 On 'Antisemitism among American Labor', see Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*, 7–18, 180–228. See also Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* [1973] (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press 1996), 224–66; Wolfgang Bonß, *Die Einübung des Tatsachenblicks: Zur Struktur und Veränderung empirischer Sozialforschung* (Frankfurt-on-Main: Suhrkamp 1982), 208–10; Rolf Wiggershaus, *Die Frankfurter Schule: Geschichte, Theoretische Entwicklung, Politische Bedeutung* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch 2008), 409–12; Mark P. Worrell, *Dialectic of Solidarity: Labor, Antisemitism, and the Frankfurt School* (Leiden: Brill 2008); Emil Walter-Busch, *Geschichte der Frankfurter Schule: Kritische Theorie und Politik* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2010), 126; and Catherine Collomp, "'Anti-Semitism among American Labor': a study by the refugee scholars of the Frankfurt School of sociology at the end of World War II", *Labor History*, vol. 52, no. 4, 2011, 417–39. This literature contains two major strands. Bonß and Ziege see 'Antisemitism among American Labor' as a study of particular value for understanding the work of the IfS/ISR: Ziege's thesis is that the study is the 'missing link' between Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's 1944 *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*) and *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950); Bonß

This article compares the two studies and in its final section examines how the questions that informed them were further developed in *The Authoritarian Personality*.

‘The wonderful metallurgy of the melting pot’

The background to all three studies—*Wartime Shipyard*, ‘Antisemitism among American Labor’ and *The Authoritarian Personality*—was the Second World War and its repercussions not only in Europe but also in the United States. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and America’s entry into the war at the end of 1941, there was an escalation of antagonism between ethnic and social groups at home. The Japanese immigrants interned on the West Coast were hardest hit, and many lived in real fear for their lives. In the notorious Sleepy Lagoon affair in 1942, American teenagers of Mexican descent were wrongly accused and found guilty of murder. The Los Angeles Zoot Suit Riots of the following year, in which Hispanic youths became the target of extreme violence from American marines, were further proof of animosity towards Mexican Americans. The Los Angeles riots triggered similar attacks on Latinos in Chicago, New York and elsewhere. Violent acts of terror on the part of so-called ‘Christian Front hoodlums’ in Boston in October 1943, which caused a serious police scandal, provided more evidence of a dramatically worsening situation, as did the racially motivated ‘hate strikes’, like the Alabama Dry Dock strike in Mobile that even led to the temporary closure of vital dockyards and the deployment of US troops.

constructs a clear line connecting it to early IfS/ISR studies, especially Erich Fromm’s 1931 study of blue- and white-collar workers on the eve of the Weimar Republic and the 1936 *Studien über Autorität und Familie* (see notes 14–15), seeing it in the context of the programme of the ISR since 1931. Worrell, on the other hand, presents the empirical research of the ISR as if it was carried out more or less against the ISR’s own programmatic position at the time. It was ‘the other Frankfurt School’, he argues, represented by Franz L. Neumann, Paul Massing and A. R. L. Gurland, who continued in the 1940s what had been ‘critical’ about ‘critical theory’ in the 1930s, whereas, according to Worrell, Horkheimer and Adorno abandoned dialectical thinking altogether. According to Worrell, the empirical research by ‘the other Frankfurt School’ ‘ran, in important ways, contrary to the well-known and pessimistic conclusions of Horkheimer and Adorno in the mid-40s yet were suppressed by the Institute’s inner circle for intellectual and political reasons’. He claims that, among members of the inner circle, perceptions of American antisemitism remained simplistic and unaffected by the results of the empirical research. Horkheimer, in particular, is said to have thought that ‘literally, Detroit antisemitism was identical with Frankfurt antisemitism’ (see Worrell, *Dialectic of Solidarity*, xvi–xvii, 281). For this interpretation, Worrell gives little factual proof as well as including some misleading information.

Antisemitic violence was also a part of everyday life in the United States between 1941 and 1944.⁷ Jewish cemeteries and synagogues were defiled and daubed with swastikas or slogans, and antisemitic literature was widely available. Youths reportedly physically attacked Jewish children. The most serious crimes occurred in New York and Boston, and antisemitic incidents in the army and in Congress were made public. According to polls carried out on behalf of the American Jewish Committee by the Opinion Research Corporation between 1938 and 1941, one-third of respondents believed that Jews had too much power in the United States. This rose to 56 per cent during the war years, and to 67 per cent in 1945, supporting Adorno's philosophical speculation that the weakest victim is always the most hated.

Antisemitism had increased massively in the country since Franklin Delano Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, although it had already been present in the mass media in the 1920s. The *Dearborn Independent* in particular, a widely circulated antisemitic publication, had contributed to its spread since 1919. Until the paper was banned in 1927, it was published by Henry Ford, the founder of the Ford Motor Company, who had revolutionized automobile production by means of conveyor-belt technology and, with the production methods that Gramsci later dubbed 'Fordism', prepared the way for important elements of Roosevelt's New Deal: an easing of the class struggle by means of the welfare state. To begin with, Roosevelt's National Recovery Act and the New Deal were criticized for being a fascist idea by, for example, one of the eventual partners of the ISR, Charles S. Zimmerman of the Jewish Labor Committee, a left-wing union umbrella organization founded in 1934. Antisemites, however, did not see the New Deal as fascist but as a Jewish conspiracy: they called it the 'Jew Deal'.

Following Roosevelt's assumption of office, a broad spectrum of pro-Nazi organizations was formed that enjoyed some widespread support. Organizations sympathetic to the Ku Klux Klan, such as the Knights of the White Camelia, also benefitted from increased popularity. The Silver Legion of America was founded on 30 January 1933, and in 1936 the German-American Bund organized the growing number of American National Socialists into *Gaue* (regional districts). The Catholic priest Father Coughlin reached millions of listeners with his radio addresses, especially those

7 See ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 12, 699; ISR, 'Studies in Antisemitism: A Report on the Cooperative Project for the Study of Antisemitism for the Year Ending March 15, 1944, Jointly Sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Social Research', August 1944: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt-on-Main, Horkheimer-Pollock Archive, MHA IX, 57–67; Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994), 131; David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York: Pantheon Books 1984), 10; Charles H. Stember *et al.*, *Jews in the Mind of America* (New York and London: Basic Books 1966); Arthur Hertzberg, *The Jews in America: Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter* (New York: Simon and Schuster 1989); and Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*, 52–94.

among his audience of Irish and Polish descent. In 1944, eleven years after the start of Roosevelt's presidency, Thomas E. Dewey, a Republican presidential candidate running against Roosevelt, used undisguised anti-semitic rhetoric against him with impunity. The Jewish workers' movement monitored this development closely and, during the Second World War, the Jewish Labor Committee set up the Committee on Racial Tensions under Zimmerman's leadership. After the Harlem and Detroit race riots of 1943, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) passed resolutions on the political function of anti-semitic agitation, which they saw as a harbinger of fascism.

Antisemitism, in the opinion of the ISR, was the spearhead of fascism: 'The liberal order has developed into a totalitarian order and the new antisemitism is its envoy.'⁸ For the chiefly Jewish exiled Europeans at the ISR this type of antisemitism was much more than a prejudice or a form of active group animosity: it had the status of an omen (*Geschichtszeichen*). For this reason, they embarked on research projects on antisemitism, and all of them worked in co-operation with American-Jewish organizations: 'Antisemitism among American Labor' was co-financed by the Jewish Labour Committee, and *The Authoritarian Personality* was financed by the American Jewish Committee.⁹ As Leo Löwenthal put it: "'Antisemitism among American Labor'" was an academic project, but its motivation was political.'¹⁰ Katherine Archibald, too, was politically motivated with regard to her project, but she did not see antisemitism as the harbinger of fascism or totalitarianism or as a result of events in Europe but, more prosaically, as a failure of the utopian American model and the result of the 'problem of social disunity' in the New World.

A unique poignancy attaches to the problem of social disunity as it exists in the American scene. For three centuries America gladly played host to the

8 Max Horkheimer, 'Die Juden und Europa', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 8, 1939–40, 115–37 (115): 'Der neue Antisemitismus ist der Sendbote der totalitären Ordnung, zu der die liberalistische sich entwickelt hat.'

9 See also the following ISR publications in the series *Studies in Prejudice*, produced in co-operation with the American Jewish Committee: Leo Löwenthal and Norbert Guterman, *Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator* (New York: Harper 1949); Paul Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper 1949); Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans* (New York: Harper 1950); Marie Jahoda and Nathan W. Ackerman, *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York: Harper 1950).

10 Leo Löwenthal, quoted in 'Stenographic Report to the National Executive Committee of the Jewish Labor Committee on The Susceptibility of American Labor to Antisemitic Propaganda', paper presented by the ISR at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, 10 March 1945: Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, New York University, New York, Series I: Administrative and Organizational Records, Subseries 3: Correspondence, Box 9, Folder 13: Institute of Social Research, Columbia University, 1944–7, 12.

discontented and oppressed . . . The vision arose of this land as the crucible into which many elements of an old world could be melted, to emerge at last an alloy in one piece and of one quality. The conviction was widespread that the difference between classes, the ancient burden of those who came to America, would prove no lengthy problem to the wonderful metallurgy of the melting pot. . . . As the approach of World War II reemphasized America's disunities, they became a subject of increasing concern . . . In the frantic search for a unity of thought and action America discovered the depth of its social canyons. Regional antagonisms, race riots, class distinctions—these physical facts rudely disturbed the dream of One America. . . . To the facts which are the basis of social disunity, to the deeds and attitudes which produce and maintain it, the academic liberal whose anxieties are centered in society and its fate must somehow find his way. With a sense of urgency befitting the time—for as the techniques of mass destruction grow more effective, the menace of disunity increases—he must pursue his search for the facts which are significant to analysis, explanation, and solution of the problem. These facts . . . are not primarily to be found in the writings of social theorists and philosophers . . . but rather in the obscure depths of society . . . and in the ordinary relationships of ordinary folk.¹¹

The 'obscure depths of society'

How does one fathom the 'obscure depths of society'? Since the middle of the 1930s, opinion polling had been professionalized in the United States. Elmo Roper, who originally used polls for market research, was the originator of Fortune Surveys, and George Gallup—founder of the American Institute of Public Opinion, which later became the Gallup Organization—also came from a market research and advertising background. Gallup's face-to-face interviews during Roosevelt's 1936 election campaign, and his spectacular prediction of the result using random sampling, brought the 'polls', which were increasingly conducted according to scientific criteria, to the attention of the political world. Fortune surveys and Gallup polls became important features of American media, to say nothing of Roper's column, 'What People Are Thinking', in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Polling was also used to measure attitudes towards Jews. The ISR followed these polls regularly and collected the results carefully in folders. Nevertheless, new and qualitative methods were also explored, ways of getting to the 'true' facts, and not only because of the problematic proximity of polling to market research.

It [antisemitism] is too complex a psychological phenomenon to be successfully compressed into the straight-jacket of rigid questionnaires of the 'check-one-out-of-five-answers' or the 'check-yes-or-no' variety. . . . Many individuals who feel,

11 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 7–10.

think and act as convinced antisemites can be expected to display considerable inhibitions when asked frankly to state their opinion on the 'Jewish question'. In consequence, the habitual method of gauging public opinion by polls seemed inadequate for measuring the nature, depth and extent of antisemitic feeling. New methods had to be introduced into the field. . . . The aim was to make people openly discuss their prejudice in relation to issues which they themselves felt to be of importance.¹²

The methodological refinements being introduced in major empirical studies at the time provided new models for social research, as had earlier innovations from Europe, especially the pioneering 1933 study *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, which examined unemployment in an Austrian village.¹³ These new European and American methods shared a preference for non-quantitative procedures and qualitative-participatory observation.

Researchers at the ISR themselves had already gained experience in empirical methods, with the *Studien über Autorität und Familie* of 1936,¹⁴ for example, or, from the pre-1933 period in Germany, with a large survey of the social and political attitudes of blue- and white-collar workers towards the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany (which remained unpublished until 1980).¹⁵ The latter study asked whether the 'personality' of the manifestly left-wing respondents, such as members of the German Communist Party, could provide any insight into their true capacity to resist National Socialism. The researchers who conducted the survey in 1931 could not have known how pressing a question this would become after the Nazi Party's accession to power in 1933. What was innovative about the study was that, under the leadership of Erich Fromm, who had studied Freudian psychoanalysis as well as the sociological theories of Max Weber and Alfred Weber, the project aimed to ascertain what people 'really' thought, and it proceeded from the assumption that what people thought was frequently the opposite of what they said (or were able to say). Against a backdrop of the Freudian *terminus technicus* of 'ambivalence', Fromm took as his starting point the simple rule 'that a person's claims about his thoughts and feelings cannot be taken at face value, however objective he tries to be, but must be interpreted'.¹⁶

12 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 16.

13 Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Marie Jahoda and Hans Zeisel, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal: Ein soziographischer Versuch über die Wirkungen langandauernder Arbeitslosigkeit* [1933] (Frankfurt-on-Main: Suhrkamp 1975).

14 Max Horkheimer, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse *et al.*, *Studien über Autorität und Familie* [1936] (Lüneberg: Dietrich zu Klampen 1987).

15 Wolfgang Bonß published a reconstruction under Erich Fromm's name, to whom Horkheimer had given publication rights as the main author at the beginning of 1940: Erich Fromm, *Arbeiter und Angestellte am Vorabend des Dritten Reiches: Eine sozialpsychologische Untersuchung* [1980], ed. Wolfgang Bonß (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch 1983).

16 *Ibid.*, 54.

This hypothesis that respondents, though manifestly opposed to authoritarianism and fascism, were latently predisposed to submit to both, would be supported by the turn of political events in 1933. According to Paul Lazarsfeld, such studies were able to transform historical situations into empirical analyses.¹⁷ This was achieved by Fromm's project as well as by *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, and indeed by the innovative studies of prejudice that were *Wartime Shipyard* and 'Antisemitism among American Labor'.¹⁸

Workers and saints

Katherine Archibald's *Wartime Shipyard* was published by the University of California Press in 1947. She was born in 1916 in Seattle on the northern West Coast of the United States. Between 1938 and 1942 she studied at Berkeley in the Department of Social Institutions, where a multidisciplinary precursor to sociology was taught. She gained her doctorate there with a thesis on 'The Literature of African Voyage and Exploration' (1944), and later taught the sociology of religion at Stanford and the University of Pittsburgh, her topics including Saint Thomas Aquinas and the English Reformation. Her best-known work, the 1955 essay 'Roman Catholic Sainthood and Social Status', authored jointly with her husband Charles H. George, was republished in the 1960s in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset's canonical reader, *Class, Status, and Power*.¹⁹ She was the only female author represented in the volume. Her attempt at an analysis of the correlation between social status and sainthood in the *longue durée* of the history of the Roman Catholic Church looked at religion as a functional subsystem of society.²⁰

17 Paul F. Lazarsfeld, 'Vorspruch zur neuen Auflage', in Lazarsfeld, Jahoda and Zeisel, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, 11–22 (22).

18 Many further examples of this revolution in social research could be cited, culminating in the late 1940s and early 1950s in studies often conducted independently of each other, including: Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce 1944); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, 2 vols (New York and London: Harper 1944); Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1946); Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier*, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1949); and David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1950).

19 Katherine George (*née* Archibald) and Charles H. George, 'Roman Catholic sainthood and social change: a statistical and analytical study', *Journal of Religion*, vol. 35, no. 2, 1955, 85–98, reprinted in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds), *Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective*, 2nd revd edn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1967), 394–401.

20 See Niklas Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt-on-Main: Suhrkamp 1997), 731.

In certain respects the questions raised in this study of sainthood had previously formed the basis of *Wartime Shipyard*. This, too, looked at social stratification and the inherent dynamics of functional subsystems. *Wartime Shipyard* was a report on the dynamics of the 'great wartime demographic reshuffling' of American society.²¹ Between 1940 and 1947, some 25 million people, 21 per cent of the population as a whole, relocated to another part of the country to find work.²² 'The shipyard, then,' Archibald wrote in her introduction, 'was a laboratory for the student of society'.²³ In June 1942 Archibald began a two-year period working at Moore Dry Dock, one of the largest dockyards in Oakland in the San Francisco Bay Area and crucial for the war effort. *Wartime Shipyard*, the resulting report of some 240 pages, was based on her notes and the research diary that she kept during her time there as a 'worker-observer'.

The army of workers in the Bay Area rose by 52 per cent from 573,000 in 1940 to 875,000 in 1944.²⁴ Almost overnight, migrant workers, mostly from the southern states, set up camp in tents and caravans, or slept in public parks and cars.²⁵ Blacks lived in ghetto-like slums. There were no bloody race riots in the San Francisco East Bay on the scale of those in Detroit or racially motivated strikes like those in Alabama, but social tensions escalated in and around the docks.

War-time manufacturing involved every section of the Bay Area's economy and revolutionized the economy of the whole region. This became the most important shipbuilding centre in the United States, with its expansion of established yards, such as Moore Dry Dock, which traditionally employed highly qualified skilled workers. There were, in addition, massive new 'instant shipyards', such as Kaiser Shipyard, which took up shipbuilding as a highly profitable war-time industry, and around which urban centres and slums shot up. Masses of unskilled workers, women, Blacks and so-called 'Okies' (a derisive term for white migrant workers from the Dust Bowl states of Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri and Arkansas) streamed into both types of shipyard, often met by active resistance from trade unions and union members, who sought to drive out their ambitious competitors.

With very few exceptions or qualifications the account of the actual practices of the trade unions in the shipyard is a tale of narrowness and prejudice, similar to that which might be told of any established and privileged elite and efforts to protect its vested interests from the claims of the disinherited mass.²⁶

21 David M. Kennedy, *The American People in World War II* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999), xiv.

22 See Marilyn S. Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1993), 2.

23 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 12.

24 See ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1436.

25 See Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush*, 101.

26 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 129.

The yard managers adopted Ford's mode of production. Faced with an exceptional need for workers during the war years, they replaced highly skilled workers with automation and conveyor belts, introduced shift work and a high degree of division of labour, and employed unskilled workers. The extreme simplification of procedures made the industry and its high wages accessible to Blacks, women, young people and the 'white trash' from the Dust Bowl.²⁷ For the majority of workers, Archibald wrote, 'the war was an experience of opportunity rather than limitation'.²⁸ The number of black workers alone rose from 5,000 in 1940 to over 40,000 in 1944 in the Bay Area. Two-thirds of these worked on the docks because Blacks were barred from working in many other industries due to race discrimination on the part of both unions and employers.²⁹

The point of departure for *Wartime Shipyard* was the problem of 'social disunity': vertical conflict between the classes, antagonism between labour and capital, and a loss of social unity that threatened social order. Archibald's liberal academic's 'tale of pilgrimage' (her self-ironizing designation)—having set out to fathom the 'obscure depths of society', she would, now that she was working in the real world, gradually throw the ballast of her preconceptions overboard—told of how she experienced the conflicts in the American dockyard, the 'melting pot in its most dramatic function': 'Difference was flung against difference, localism against localism, and prejudice against prejudice.'³⁰

Archibald was referring discretely to the relevant traditions of American sociological research, particularly William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* (1906).³¹ Sumner had coined the term 'folkways' as well as 'ethnocentrism', and influenced a generation of eminent anthropologists that included Franz Boas, whose student Ruth Benedict later coined the phrase 'patterns of culture', and Bronislaw Malinowski, who made it one of the most important tasks of ethnographic field studies to overcome the ethnocentrism of the ethnographer. Archibald had herself studied under Robert H. Lowie, among other people, who (himself a student of Boas) had taught anthropology at Berkeley since 1925. She wrote:

I had come to the shipyards as an academician and a liberal whose experience with the social problems of America had been gained in libraries and the occasional

27 See Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush*, 62.

28 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 188.

29 The San Francisco Bay Area—with its rapid social change and the severe effects of the post-1945 recession, in which the yards declined as quickly as they had expanded during the boom years—was also to provide the main geographical focus of the empirical research for *The Authoritarian Personality*. The Bay Area was profoundly affected by both war and post-war social change.

30 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 11–12, 13.

31 William Graham Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals* (Boston: Ginn 1906).

concourse of like-thinking minds. . . . When I stepped from the world of theory into the wider world of fact, it was as if I had suddenly passed from the dimness of a monastic cell into the glare of an outdoor noon . . . Where logic and liberal theory had promised some sense of unity among the shipyard workers, derived from their common interests and common status, I found in actuality differences and gaps—social abysses so deep that the possibility of spanning them never occurred, apparently, to right-minded people reared after a righteous custom. I found intolerance of slight linguistic and cultural differences so great that the ghosts of feudal snobbery seemed to have come alive. . . . Even among these people, for whose sake the liberal had contrived his dream of equalitarianism, I found that the lesser inequalities were cherished, and the weaker suppressed by the less weak. Where I had confidently expected unity of purpose and of action, I found only antagonism and turmoil.³²

Archibald had entered Moore Dry Dock as a solitary female worker and was researching 'the ordinary relationships of ordinary folk'. As such, she learned to listen and even to eavesdrop.

My technique of investigation was simple. . . . I talked, and learned also to listen. After a period of difficult adjustment I acquired the shipyard language and idiom. I discovered how to ask questions without arousing hostility or obtaining answers that were stilted. . . . I became proficient in selective eavesdropping. . . . I copied into a notebook the significant comments and conversations which I had gathered, preserving as much of the original freshness and flavor . . . The method had no formality. . . . What I sought and what I obtained was depth rather than breadth of observation.³³

What immediately struck Archibald in relation to her own position when she entered the field as an observer, however, was not the matter of her membership of a particular national or racial group or of a particular class (not even the educated elite).

In shipyard relationships, the difficulty of which I was earliest aware pertained neither to scorn of a people nor to affirmation of the fixed and wholesale inferiority of a class. I was first aroused from my vision of equalitarianism by the need to defend, against the resentment of the masculine majority, my personal right as a woman to be where I had chosen to come.³⁴

Archibald described three groups, women, 'Okies' and Blacks, as well as 'lesser minorities'—Irish, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, American Indians and Jews—as follows: 'The Negro was at the bottom of the white shipyard

32 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 5–6.

33 *Ibid.*, 13.

34 *Ibid.*, 15.

worker's order of races, and the man of Teutonic, Scandinavian, or Anglo-Saxon stock—the unequivocal white man—was at the top.³⁵

Despite the differences in their design, the two projects, *Wartime Shipyard* and 'Antisemitism among American Labor', shared the same methodological conviction: polls cannot uncover what people 'really' think. Archibald's method of active-participatory, unstructured field observation in the 1940s already relied on a strong earlier tradition. As early as 1890 the German theology student Paul Göhre had researched the mentality of workers in a tool factory in the German Reich. Participant observation had developed into a valuable research methodology in the late nineteenth-century in England and, above all, in the United States. There it flourished within the disciplines of ethnology and anthropology and in the field of sociology, influenced by the so-called Chicago School, as demonstrated in famous studies like *Middletown* and *Street Corner Society*.³⁶ These methods were used later for classic studies such as *Kitchen-Table Society* by the Norwegian anthropologist Marianne Gullestad.³⁷

Action research and critical theory

Our method, simply, is this: Our interviewees are workers, our interviewers are workers, and our interviews are not interviews in the usual sense, but are rather 'guided conversations', that is, discussions in which the interviewer raises certain questions which have been previously decided upon, and which are the same for all interviewers.³⁸

This was the guiding principle for the ISR fieldworkers in 1944 when they started their work on the West Coast on 'Antisemitism among American Labor'. The interviewers were instructed as follows: 'We want to know what working people honestly are thinking about the whole "Jewish question" and why they feel that way. Polls will not tell us. Interviews won't either. Friendly conversations will.'³⁹

Workers were asked to act as 'hidden' participant interviewers in 'screened interviews', and initiate apparently spontaneous conversations with seven groups of respondents ('clusters') according to a simple questionnaire:

35 Ibid., 100.

36 Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York, Harcourt, Brace 1929) and Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York: Harcourt, Brace 1937); William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1943).

37 Marianne Gullestad, *Kitchen-table Society: A Case Study of the Family Life and Friendships of Young Working-class Mothers in Urban Norway* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 1984).

38 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1297.

39 Ibid., 1262.

- 1 Do Jewish people act and feel different from others?
What do people say about them?
- 2 Can you tell a Jew from non-Jew?
How?
- 3 Do you mind working with Jews on the job?
Why?
Have you ever worked with any?
(a) How about working with Negroes?
(Of course, this question cannot be asked a Negro worker.)
- 4 Did you know any Jews before you started in your first job?
At school or in your hometown?
What were they like?
- 5 How do you feel about what the Nazis did to the Jews in Germany?
- 6 Are there people in this country who would like to see feelings against the Jews grow?
What groups?
Why do they want it?
- 7 Do people think the Jews are doing their share in the war effort? What do you think?⁴⁰

All volunteers were given an additional questionnaire in order for them to gather demographic information about the interviewees (gender, marital status, age, education, place of birth, original nationality, religion etc.) and for them to record their personal assessments. The volunteers were prepared individually or in groups by the fieldworkers who debriefed them in follow-up discussions after they had handed in their provisional notes.⁴¹

The field survey began while Horkheimer and Adorno were still working on the chapter 'Elemente des Antisemitismus' for *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*) in the spring of 1944.⁴² The ISR conducted the survey with the Jewish Labor Committee, the body representing the Jewish workers' movement. Some 4,500 questionnaires were distributed to organizations and individuals, and around 1,000 workers were interviewed by fieldworkers either directly or indirectly. In the end, 270 interviewers presented usable records of 613 interviews, which were almost always based on several conversations. The results of these 566 interviews with workers and 47 with housewives and businessmen (categories on either side of the target group), as well as 25 interviews that had been conducted as controls—these control interviews were typically different from the other interviews and were, in certain respects, sometimes more and sometimes less

40 Ibid., 1259.

41 For an example of before and after versions of a questionnaire, see *ibid.*, 1344–9.

42 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung: Philosophische Fragmente* [1944, 1947], in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften. Band 5: 'Dialektik der Aufklärung' und Schriften 1940–1950*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Frankfurt-on-Main: Fischer 1987).

productive—were supplemented by information from some 350 union and other officials who had been interviewed by Friedrich Pollock.⁴³

This level of access to respondents was made possible through the offices of the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and, in particular, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination; it was further facilitated by independent unions and unions affiliated to these umbrella organizations. A. R. L. Gurland, Franz Neumann and Paul Massing established the first contacts with the unions in 1943. Following the race riots of 1943, it was intended that the AFL and CIO, which had the task of assessing racism and discrimination against Blacks, should work more closely together to find a solution to the problem.

The ISR orchestrated the project on the East Coast and in Detroit under Massing's leadership, and on the West Coast under the supervision of Pollock (with the support of Adorno and Daniel J. Levinson). All the authors of 'Antisemitism among American Labor' were Europeans, and all but one had been at the IfS during the Frankfurt years. They all knew and shared a commitment to 'critical theory', the core Marxist notion of the Horkheimer circle. Only Gurland, who had lived in the Weimar Republic in Leipzig and Berlin, and had only worked on a few ISR projects in the United States during the 1940s, was an outsider and remained so. Massing, who, despite his longstanding association with the Frankfurt IfS, never subscribed to critical theory, became nevertheless an increasingly important associate; he held a key position during the 1940s, and remained in close contact with Horkheimer. The empirical work was supervised and lead by Herta Herzog, also a European in exile, who, like Lazarsfeld, had learned her trade from Karl and Charlotte Bühler in Vienna, and who was already then well known for her conception of 'borrowed experience', based on her research into American broadcasting and the empirical study of the mass panic that followed Orson Welles's 1938 radio adaptation of *The War of the Worlds*.⁴⁴

The only American to have a prominent role on the project was the Jewish social philosopher Horace Meyer Kallen. Kallen, a student of William James and belonging to the so-called Cambridge School of Pragmatism, taught at Columbia University. With his notion of 'cultural pluralism' and his criticism of the assimilation and 'Americanization' of the 'melting pot', he was an exception among Jewish activists in the United States. His views were, however, in accordance with the key tenets of the Jewish Labor Committee, which sought to keep Yiddish as a language of everyday use, and which had been politically untenable before Roosevelt's

43 See ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1336.

44 Herta Herzog, Hadley Cantril and Hazel Gaudet, *The Invasion from Mars: A Study in a Psychology of Panic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1940); Herta Herzog, 'On borrowed experience: an analysis of listening to daytime sketches', *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, vol. 9, 1941, 65–95.

Yiddish Writer's Guild (linked to the Works Progress Administration of the New Deal). The willingness to speak English was, from this perspective, understood to be an approval of the concept of social self-assimilation.

Another noteworthy American fieldworker on the project was Daniel J. Levinson, from Berkeley, who became the architect of the famous F-scale in *The Authoritarian Personality*. Two of his colleagues who later worked on *The Authoritarian Personality* were also involved in the earlier study as fieldworkers: Maria Hertz Levinson, author of a full chapter in *The Authoritarian Personality*,⁴⁵ and the social scientist Rose Segure.

From May/June until November 1944 the field study continued in the industrial centres of the West, the Midwest and the East, including New York City, Philadelphia-Camden, Newark, a few smaller communities in New Jersey, Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Detroit, San Francisco and towns and cities in Massachusetts, Maryland and Wisconsin. The situation in Boston was so tense that the CIO and AFL withdrew their support, and interviews that had already been arranged had to be cancelled. Getting caught up in social conflict was probably to be expected because the ISR had concentrated on industries that were vital to the war effort, that had been the most heavily affected by the changes resulting from war, and to which most new workers had been drawn: motor vehicles and aircraft as well as shipbuilding were by far the most important industries, almost twice as important as iron, steel, machinery, metal or, to a much lesser extent, public services and so on.

A team of 4 research assistants, 2 secretaries and 14 associates communicated with the fieldworkers (almost all of whom were women) and volunteers. The most important contacts at the Jewish Labor Committee were Charles B. Sherman, without whom the project probably would not have been possible, and, later, the above-mentioned Charles S. Zimmerman. A total of around 30 researchers and 270 volunteers were involved, collecting data in factories, workshops and shipyards. In May 1945 the research was concluded with a report consisting of 1,449 hectographed pages, to which Massing and Gurland had each contributed two chapters, and Löwenthal and Pollock one each. Adorno wrote all of the memoranda for the qualitative evaluation of the report, and gave it a unified face with succinct and often laconic headings.⁴⁶ Until 1953 Lazarsfeld worked on an edited version of the report that was advertised as a monograph due to be published by the Free Press of Glencoe; however, although a great deal of time and effort was invested, it was never published.⁴⁷

45 Maria Hertz Levinson, 'Psychological ill health in relation to potential fascism: a study of psychiatric clinic patients', in Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 891–970.

46 See the detailed table of contents in the appendix to Ziege, *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie*, 325–37.

47 On the reasons for the failure of the publication, see *ibid.*, 166ff.

'Antisemitism among American Labor' drew on the same programmatic model used by the IfS in Fromm's study of blue- and white-collar workers in the late Weimar Republic and in the *Studien über Autorität und Familie*.⁴⁸ In his inaugural lecture in Frankfurt in January 1931, Horkheimer had presented this model as an interdisciplinary approach to social research that sought a systematic link between theory and empiricism. This he later called 'critical theory', a practice whose aim was understood to be the transformation of society.⁴⁹ The developments within critical theory in the 1940s, from *Dialektik der Aufklärung* to *The Authoritarian Personality*, have been interpreted as breaking with this aim. Yet 'Antisemitism among American Labor' forms the missing link between these two works. What they did share—as did *Wartime Shipyard*—was an interest in qualitative rather than quantitative results, in 'the nature, not the extent' of antisemitism, and a belief that understanding the structure of prejudice and its political content, which had become murderous in Europe, might be a means of creating a more humane society.

A method had been sought for understanding the social psychology of groups in the pioneering 1933 study *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* in which empirical data were combined with direct experience of the situation: 'It was our constantly held view that none of our researchers should take on the role of a reporter or an observer in Marienthal.'⁵⁰ By means of semi-structured, active interviews, the European researchers in the United States also sought to transcend the bias of the reporter and outside observer. Male and female factory workers were to act as interviewers in an attempt to overcome the social distance between interviewers and interviewees. Even so, some worker-interviewers still went on subsequently to criticize the 'intellectuals' in 'the "practical" labor man's half condescending, half contemptuous attitude to the endeavors of "professors"'.⁵¹ The overcoming of social distance by means of workers interviewing workers was intended not only to produce more 'genuine' data; the ISR also hoped that it would help overcome problems of cultural anthropology, à la Ruth Benedict or Robert Lowie.⁵²

As in the Marienthal project, one of the principal aims was to study social interaction, indeed to develop 'action research'.

48 Bonß, 'Kritische Theorie und empirische Sozialforschung', in Fromm, *Arbeiter und Angestellte*, 9.

49 See Max Horkheimer, 'Die gegenwärtige Lage der Sozialphilosophie und die Aufgaben eines Instituts für Sozialforschung' (24 January 1931), in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften. Band 3: Schriften, 1931–1936*, ed. Alfred Schmidt (Frankfurt-on-Main: Fischer 1988), 20–35.

50 Lazarsfeld, 'Einleitung', in Lazarsfeld, Jahoda and Zeisel, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal*, 28.

51 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1273.

52 See Robert H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (London: George Harrap 1934); and Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, 33.

It is certainly not the purpose of this project to prevent the volunteer-interviewers from discussing their own opinions with those whom they interview. But in some cases it proved impossible to prevent the interviewers from starting arguments of a personal nature, arguing violently and accusing the antisemitic fellow-worker of being a bad character, a traitor to the union, etc. This necessarily sometimes marred the spontaneity and genuineness of the response elicited.⁵³

The bringing together of groups of fieldworkers and volunteers to discuss the European Marxist view that connected antisemitism and anti-union politics was intended not only to help train the volunteers and assist in the discussions of interview results, but also to form 'kernels of resistance to racial prejudice'.⁵⁴

The role of the unions was later described somewhat ambivalently in 'Antisemitism among American Labor'. Many union representatives and even groups of trade unionists obstructed or actively held up interviews, sometimes because they were antisemitic themselves, and sometimes because they wanted to play down the antisemitism that existed within their ranks. Interview notes were therefore occasionally withheld from fieldworkers because they were 'so vile that [they] couldn't be told to . . . anyone'.⁵⁵ Participant interviewers and fieldworkers inevitably became actively involved.

Enthusiasm in many cases influenced the selection of the interviewees. Desirous to get at the root of the evil, our volunteers in many instances are inclined to pick out outspoken antisemites as interview subjects. They also tend to select cases of well-known non-antisemitism; they apparently rejoice in the rational approach displayed by such subjects and seem to draw some moral strength from interviewing them.⁵⁶

Although it was originally intended that only non-Jewish workers should carry out the interviews due to fears about personal attacks, at the end of the day Jewish fieldworkers and seven Jewish interviewers took part on condition that they should not be identified as Jews: '[The Jewish interviewer], in talking to the anti-semitic worker, almost came to blows with the fellow when the latter said Hitler did a good job with the Jews.'⁵⁷ Many interviewers tended to choose extreme examples of tolerance or intolerance, while the fieldworkers were careful to steer them towards an 'average' individual. In other cases it could not be ruled out 'that some antisemites took advantage of the situation to let "the Jews" know what people think about them. Nor is it impossible that a few antisemitic workers

53 ISR Labor Research Group, 'Interim Memorandum on Progress of Project on Antisemitism within Labor': Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt-on-Main, Horkheimer-Pollock Archive, MHA IX 146, 5-23 (7, 6).

54 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1352.

55 *Ibid.*, 1284.

56 'Interim Memorandum on Progress of Project on Antisemitism within Labor', 6.

57 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1325.

genuinely believed the project to be sponsored by people who prepared a case against the Jews.⁵⁸

What sort of person, then, volunteered to be an interviewer? Antisemites and anti-antisemites, trade unionists who hoped for more 'educational input' from their unions or who were interested in social issues. Yet it was precisely these interviewers 'of the enlightened, crusading kind' who were most likely to limit the spontaneity of the ISR's qualitative evaluation of the interviews. Nevertheless, Massing judged their 'trial and error' approach to have been largely successful,⁵⁹ a piece of 'action research' that he, Löwenthal and Horkheimer evaluated fairly positively. Horkheimer in particular envisioned further possibilities for a political link with the unions and their educational work.

We fully agree that Labor is the key group in the fight against antisemitism. Under the sponsorship of the Jewish Labor Committee we have now in progress our own small-scale project on antisemitism among Labor groups. We have special hopes of one aspect of this project—the endeavor to combine active re-education with research—which may be capable of very fruitful development on a large scale.⁶⁰

Some unions freely welcomed the ISR initiatives, some rejected them. 'This was the first time that labor unions as such in this area [the West Coast] had been asked to even consider the problem of antisemitism or its relation to unity on the home front.'⁶¹ One fieldworker reported: 'All . . . had done some thinking about discrimination, usually about the Negroes', yet hardly about Jews.⁶² How did black union members view this? A black education officer of a branch of the Ladies' Garment Workers said:

The reaction I would get in most instances if I tried to win some of our members as volunteers for your project would be this: 'Why should we care about the Jews or about what happens to them? Who cares about Negroes? The union had better start a survey on anti-Negro feeling instead of worrying their heads off about the Jews. The Jews can take care of themselves, and they do so pretty much at the expense of the Negroes.'⁶³

Thus, criticism of the project was often based on the fear that the study

would be used to create racial difficulties; that nothing could be gained with such a study since the hatred of the Jews is as old as Christianity . . . that if the results of

58 *Ibid.*, 1317.

59 See *ibid.*, 1308ff.

60 Letter from Max Horkheimer to Ralph E. Samuel, 11 July 1944, in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften. Band 17: Briefwechsel 1941–1948*, ed. Alfred Schmidt and Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Frankfurt-on-Main: Fischer 1996), 555.

61 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1270.

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Ibid.*, 1135.

this study should be ever published in the papers the Communists would take it up and begin their usual crusade and that the unions would be blamed in the end.⁶⁴

The one most frequently quoted objection, which we will return to below, was 'why the study singled out antisemitism instead of dealing with all minority problems'.⁶⁵

'Fine distinctions'

Although polls from the 1930s onwards had focused on antisemitic opinions and mindsets, none had investigated the effects of the war and the reports of the persecution and extermination of Jews in Europe on attitudes towards Jews in the United States. This, of course, was of great interest to the European researchers, and the questionnaire for 'Antisemitism among American Labor' contained two key questions, namely, 5 ('How do you feel about what the Nazis did to the Jews in Germany?') and 7 ('Do people think the Jews are doing their share in the war effort?'). In the later evaluation of the interviews, the researchers differentiated between an 'antisemitism favoring extermination' in Europe,⁶⁶ and a 'cultural pattern' of social antisemitism in the United States,⁶⁷ adopting Benedict's term 'pattern of culture'. The hypothesis was as follows: the degree of antisemitism in North America did not decrease in response to reports of Jewish persecution and extermination in Europe but, rather, significantly increased.

'Capital started this war', says a plumber in a shipyard on the East Coast. . . . 'They owned too much. . . . If it hadn't been for this war, the country would have cracked up. . . .' He distinguishes between 'two kinds of Jews'—capital Jews and working Jews. But his 'class consciousness' leaves him right there and he continues in the best antisemitic fashion: 'The Jews own most everything and they won't share'—and '[Hitler] got rid of the capital Jews.'⁶⁸

The ISR analysis of American antisemitism identified as a major cause the social change caused by the war-time economy, since this had radically altered the social composition of the workforce. The effects of the Second World War on society were profound, including mass emigration from the countryside to industrial centres, the securing of traditionally working-class jobs by 'lower-middle class and middle-class people, partly Jewish', and the influx of women into traditionally male jobs, and of Blacks from the South

64 *Ibid.*, 1272.

65 *Ibid.*, 1273–4.

66 *Ibid.*, 790.

67 *Ibid.*, 1160.

68 *Ibid.*, 633–4.

into the East and West. Antisemitism therefore had to be viewed within the context of overall attitudes towards the war. 'Antisemitism among American Labor' investigated this without directly asking whether workers were for or against the war. The attitudes that emerged in the interviews were ambivalent. As Americans and democrats who did not wish to appear unpatriotic, interviewees viewed the causes of and reasons for the war with mistrust, especially because of negative experiences following the First World War. The vast difference between the war-time economy and the Depression, and the jobs and high salaries created by the boom for war-time industries, bringing with them massive wastage of materials and poor organization, caused many to fear even more serious social upheaval during the coming post-war period. The study looked at attitudes towards the war not merely in relation to antisemitism; it also encountered objections to the war on pacifist grounds and, even more frequently, 'fragments and evidence of a "class-consciousness"' that, often vehemently, objected to the war 'as a "capitalists" or "'rich men's" war' and that tended 'to tie up war resentment with antisemitism'.⁶⁹ Above all else, however, *Wartime Shipyard* and 'Antisemitism among American Labor' exposed widespread cynicism in attitudes towards the war and politics.⁷⁰

The ISR study found that reports about the genocide in Europe had increased rather than reduced the intensity of antisemitism. According to its quantitative findings, 18 per cent of respondents supported the National Socialist persecution of Jews and Hitler's antisemitism (Group I); 10 per cent were in favour of limiting the genocide but believed that terrorist persecution was justified (Group IIA); 14 per cent (Group IIB) were against genocide but supported the exclusion or segregation of the Jews; and 56 per cent (Group III) condemned the Nazi persecution of the Jews.⁷¹ Groups I and II contained a disproportionate number of foremen.

The violent antisemitic prejudice exhibited by those we interviewed underlines the paramount importance of drawing this group into the orbit of the unions, of winning them over to the side of the workers, of impregnating them with genuine democratic philosophy.⁷²

Antisemitism

The mere fact that Jews were hunted down, slaughtered, burned alive and suffocated in gas chambers, and that all this was done on a scale never before witnessed nor held possible, has separated the Jews from the human race. . . . One

69 Ibid., 624.

70 See Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 203.

71 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 710–19.

72 Ibid., 777–8.

cannot emphasize this point too strongly. The American worker, as he appears in this survey, shows little if any understanding of the purpose of totalitarian antisemitism. He tries to make sense of what he hears about it in terms of his own experience. The result of his thinking processes often is that 'you don't just torture or kill a man, unless there is a reason.' The less comprehensible the Nazi actions are, the more the explanation of their motives is looked for and found with the Jews.⁷³

Whereas 'the whole "Jewish question"' was the focus of 'Antisemitism among American Labor', *Wartime Shipyard* was chiefly interested in women, Blacks, 'Okies' and many numerically less significant minorities such as the Irish, Portuguese, Mexicans, Chinese etc. The two projects coincided in the San Francisco Bay Area, and both also coincided geographically with the site of field research conducted later for *The Authoritarian Personality*. All three studies came to the same conclusion, namely, that prejudices and the animosity of one group for another could not be investigated without taking into consideration attitudes towards other groups.

The various minority groups in the shipyards, the groups against whom attitudes of antagonism were cherished or policies of discrimination maintained, were with one exception racial or pseudoracial units. Women alone stood outside the category of race, though the characteristics which made them unfit ... were assumed to be innate and biologically determined... All these groups were bound, moreover, by uniformities in the reactions which they aroused, by uniformities in the whole structure of prejudice and policy which was built around them. Whether the minority in question was composed of women, Jews, Okies, or Negroes, much of what might be said concerning one of them ... would hold for any other, or for them all. These several companies of people were not reduced, of course, to a common level of value. Rather they were dispersed along a loose and often self-contradictory scale of better and worse, the topmost place on which was occupied by the arbiting elite.⁷⁴

Archibald spoke of a 'pattern of status' rather than a 'pattern of culture'. Within the system that she described, every 'minority' was seen as inferior. According to Archibald's definition, minorities were 'not so much groups of minor size as groups which have a minor share in the privileges of a given society'.⁷⁵ In the dockyards as in American society as a whole, groups that did not belong to the elite of 'male workers of Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic stock' were considered minorities, even if they made up a quantitative majority. The 'pattern of status', according to Archibald, was determined by the relationship between the constitutive parts within a hierarchical structure. Each minority had what she called an 'inferiority index' that was silently

73 *Ibid.*, 780–1.

74 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 111–12.

75 *Ibid.*, 125.

recognized and acknowledged by all parties, and according to which the status of each and every member could be precisely identified within a complex system of distinctions that were very fine indeed.

Almost all minorities, then, were debited with a general inferiority of endowment, of which their social ineffectiveness and economic dependence were adequate testimony. The degree of this inferiority varied, however. Negroes were at the bottom of the scale, practically akin to beasts. Women's inferiorities . . . were only emphasized in the context of the economic rivalry with men. Some Okies, though belonging to an inferior class, could improve . . . But whatever the inferiority quotient might be, nature having decided it, society affirmed it with appropriate lack of riches, prestige, and position. Only the Jew stood apart from this just and logical plan and served to mar the harmonious linkage of natural and social judgment; for although, in the shipyard view, the Jew was racially inferior to the Gentile, his cleverness, arrogance, deceit, and greed had made him the undeserving master of power and wealth. In contradiction to righteous principle, the magnitude of his sins was matched, not by failure, but by the magnitude of his success.⁷⁶

According to the 'commonsense' view, the inferior status of the minorities was legitimized by their inferior economic and social position, which was seen as appropriate and just. Only antisemitism differed fundamentally from this pattern. With their real or supposed power, Jews were seen as superior. They were the only minority that deviated from the formative principle of racist and hierarchical attitudes: they did not threaten the elite workforce from 'below'—as did women, Okies and Blacks—but from 'above', yet without disturbing the principle of a homogeneous and hierarchical interpretation of social groups. Hostility towards Jews seemed thus linked to a revolt against society's ruling class, the capitalists, because, as a member of the elite among the disadvantaged, the white male worker, as compared to women or Blacks,

was nonetheless also aware of his weakness as a propertyless individual before the oppressive power of wealth. David, the stranger to heavy industry, confronted the Goliath of capitalism, and stood there alone without his slingshot. How prevalent and deep-seated an enmity resulted from this sense of personal impotence was evident in the hatred of the Jew, who was capitalism personified.⁷⁷

In the language of critical theory this was designated not as revolt but 'rebellion': a fantasized insurgence against domination that (in psychoanalytic terms) satisfied the individual's ambivalent desire to fight authority while at the same time submitting to it, thus not only *not* affecting the true

76 Ibid., 112–13.

77 Ibid., 142.

chasm between the classes but actually safeguarding its existence while seemingly fighting it. One ISR memorandum stated:

It clearly appears that American workers, as a rule, just do not know that 'the Jew' in Nazi language stands for democracy, organized labor, etc. As long as antisemitism is not openly discussed, the misconception is bound to prevail that it was merely 'the Jews' whom the Nazis butchered and that this may be regrettable but need not be of immediate concern to labor. The effect is that the Nazis, in the workers' minds, are being established as an anti-capitalistic movement and appear at least intriguing to the American workers.⁷⁸

Gurland analysed this finding in relation to 'Jewish power', 'Jewish bosses', 'Jewish tradesmen', 'Jewish workers' and 'Jewish middle-men'. His analyses corresponded to two of Horkheimer and Adorno's theses in the *Dialektik der Aufklärung* that identified one of the functions of antisemitism as that of 'representation': the exploitation that is a structural necessity of capitalism is personified in one social group, the Jews. Antisemitism was thus a 'socialism of fools' that was used by the ruling classes to manipulate 'the dumb rebel'. Adorno later concluded on these grounds that, for the 'true proletarian', the Jews stood for, above all else, the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the economic sphere, the executors of capitalism.⁷⁹ This was what the European refugees in the United States feared. Revealing a European researcher-bias, Massing wrote: 'Their rebellion against "Jewish business" may easily reenact the rebellion of the SA man against the "Jew Republic" of Weimar, "Jewish" finance capital and "Jewish" labor organizations. Not to recognize this is to invite moral and organizational disaster.'⁸⁰ Some workers that sympathized with the Soviet Union suspected 'that Germany had attempted to institute a similar change and that it was through these efforts she had fallen afoul of moneyed interests and Jews and had become embroiled in a disastrous war'.⁸¹ They were aware of the hierarchical structure of society.

Yet they thought of this structure in terms not of economic differences or diversities of economic function, but of biological or racial distinctions, and interpreted the particular economic and social status of each group as a secondary consequence of biological equipment. . . . because emphasis was placed upon the narrow consciousness of racial caste, the distinctions drawn were antipathetic to the . . . consciousness of economic class.⁸²

78 ISR Labor Research Group, 'Interim Memorandum on Progress of Project on Antisemitism within Labor', 6-7.

79 See Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 638.

80 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 635.

81 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 209.

82 *Ibid.*, 153.

Disregarding their differences in design and social theory, both 'Antisemitism among American Labor' and *Wartime Shipyard* came to the same conclusion: verbal and physical violence against Jews could be misinterpreted as a revolt from below against those above.

Antisemitism and racism

Little of a religious tone existed in the shipyard attitude toward the Jew. Occasionally . . . reference would be made to the 'fact' that the Jews showed their colors early by 'killing Christ.' But the principal issues were economic and social. 'Jew' was the readiest word at hand for summing up the villainy of any man of wealth and influence whose power was envied and whose activities were disapproved. According to some, Franklin Roosevelt was a Jew, and in the 1944 election campaign one Roosevelt supporter felt it necessary to request refutation of this slander from an official source and to carry the answering letter about with him. Notable men of wealth, such as the Morgans, the Rockefellers, and the Vanderbilts, were also alleged to be of Jewish stock; however, an Italian lad, whose Judophobia was extreme, excepted Henry Ford from this infamous company, 'because he shares his money with the poor.'⁸³

Both 'Antisemitism among American Labor' and *Wartime Shipyard* compiled comprehensive inventories of the antisemitic stereotypes that were circulating at the time: 'clannishness', a commitment to the family that is only one step away from world conspiracy; Yiddish as the language of conspirators, shady characters, wheeler dealers, 'Shylocks' and usurers; distinct physical characteristics (nose, feet, hair, physiognomy etc.); 'shirkers' on the home front of the factory as on the military front in the war.

Mr. Brown, electrician in one of Kaiser's shipyards in California . . . thinks the Jews are different from other people, 'they are clannish' . . . minds working with Jews, and 'to hell with the Negroes'. He does not comment on why he will not work with them, but he knows one thing: 'The Jews and Negroes should be run out of the country'. He has known Jews before he went to work—'peddlers, rotten and insulting'. Commenting on what the Nazis did to Jews, he says . . . : 'Damn good job. We should have let them finish it, and the Poles too'. . . . Jews 'have all the business and good jobs'. . . . He also knows that Jews fail to do their share in the war effort. They are 'growing richer at the expense of the war.'⁸⁴

Were antisemitic stereotypes encountered that were not to be found in Europe? Indeed, disease, sexuality and the so-called *Rassenschande*, the sin of racial mixing or bastardization, which were 'the stock in trade of antisemitic propaganda in Europe', certainly did not play the same role in

83 Ibid., 108.

84 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 73ff.

the United States.⁸⁵ When they were found, which was rare, 'unlike the usual Nazi pattern, [they] rarely are constructed to mean Jewish attacks on the virtue of gentile womanhood'.⁸⁶

In the United States, it was not Jews but Blacks who were the object of sexual projection: 'a rumor was almost always afloat of some attempt by a Negro to satisfy his presumably constant sex hunger for the woman of white skin.'⁸⁷ Preoccupation with the sexual act was omnipresent, as Archibald was to find out: 'Sex was his [the male worker's] great avocational interest.'⁸⁸ Archibald, the female academic, described this quite benignly and with her own brand of fine irony:

As the women infiltrated the hulls and the remoter shacks of the yard, the men amiably removed their galleries of nudes and pornography from the walls and retired them to the gloom of the tool box. . . . The taboo against improprieties of speech within earshot of women was so extreme as to be amusing, particularly since the women themselves frequently gave audible proof that the forbidden words were neither unfamiliar nor disturbing to them.⁸⁹

According to Archibald, the ever-present emphasis on sexuality kept the biological differences between men and women to the fore; its social function lay in the perpetuation of the traditional boundaries between the sexes. It was, for example, impossible for a white woman to communicate with a black man without this causing a serious disturbance at the dock: 'White workers would admit no halfway point between the Negro's allotted role of servile, silent distance from the white woman and the intimacies of sexual union.'⁹⁰ Descriptions of black men were sexualized. They were ascribed attributes that were common in European antisemitism: Blacks were accused of suffering from sexual diseases (especially syphilis), of being carnal, lazy, dirty, aggressive, violent and criminal animals. 'Nigger lover' was the worst conceivable insult for a white woman.

Responses to the question on the ISR questionnaire that asked workers whether they would prefer to work with Jews or Blacks accorded with Archibald's findings. The large majority of white workers considered working with Jews to be the lesser evil. According to the interpretation of the Europeans, in the United States the racism of Whites against Blacks did not, in contrast to antisemitism in Germany, fulfil the specific psychological function of a (misdirected) rebellion by the exploited against the exploiter.⁹¹

85 Ibid., 1017.

86 Ibid., 1023–4.

87 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 70.

88 Ibid., 18.

89 Ibid., 16–17.

90 Ibid., 73.

91 According to their own *terminus technicus*, ultimately a variant of the notion of a 'false consciousness' (*falsches Bewusstsein*).

Blacks were “much more harmless than the Jews”, says a 52-year old nurse in a New York shipyard. . . . “The main thing is that the Negroes don’t care to take the government over as the Jews do. They are harmless as compared to the Jew”.⁹²

Yet one of the most significant innovations of ‘Antisemitism among American Labor’ and *Wartime Shipyard* was that they investigated antisemitism, ethnocentrism and sexism not only as the prejudices of the ‘unequivocal white man’; they took the views and prejudices of *all* groups and minorities into account: Blacks, Latinos, Irish, Portuguese etc., as well as the prejudices of Jews and Muslims, of men and women, of Southerners and Northerners. They examined the stereotypes of the stereotyped. Despite major differences in their research design, both projects showed that social inequality, differences and the formation of stereotypes developed *within* class dimensions but also according to environment, religion, gender, national origin, age-group, immigration cohort, educational background and regional differences.

In a report of June 1944 the ISR stated: ‘The relationship of Jewish workers to other minority groups among labor (Italian, Polish, Irish, etc.) deserves particular attention. It may well be that these other minority groups play a definite role in antisemitism.’⁹³ According to *Wartime Shipyard*, every minority tended to identify with the attitudes and animosities of the elite class as far as the boundaries of their respective actual or imagined biologies allowed it, and as long as they themselves were not the target: ‘The Negro, for example, was most bitterly feared and hated by the Okies and was feared and scorned by the white woman.’⁹⁴ Blacks were especially despised by the Portuguese, who were, in turn, for other white workers ‘second in lowliness only to that of the Negroes’.⁹⁵ For example, Archibald described

the excited whispering of two dark-skinned Portuguese girls (whose minority status was twofold) . . . ‘I can’t stand niggers. I can’t stand their looks, I can’t stand their smell.’ . . . The Negroes, meanwhile, were prone to despise the ‘white trash’ from Oklahoma and other states of the backward South and Southwest and to hate the Jews with an intensity peculiar to their own group and its suppressed resentment of persecution. Women were disapproved by the men of all races and strata who worked beside them. Each minority in its turn stood alone . . .⁹⁶

In ‘Antisemitism among American Labor’ the relationship between minorities was examined with particular regard to ‘Negro-Jewish relations’.

92 ISR, ‘Antisemitism among American Labor’, 517.

93 ‘Antisemitism and American Labor. A Research Project of the Institute of Social Research (Columbia University). January 1944, revised June 1944’: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Frankfurt-on-Main, Horkheimer-Pollock Archive, MHA IX 219.18, 8–9.

94 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 121.

95 *Ibid.*, 101.

96 *Ibid.*, 121.

Pollock's and Gurland's evaluations demonstrate the only significant difference in the empirical findings of *Wartime Shipyard* and 'Antisemitism among American Labor'. Whereas *Wartime Shipyard* described antisemitism among Blacks as being just as strong as among Whites, 'Antisemitism among American Labor' described it as distinctly less pronounced. One reason for this striking discrepancy between the two studies could be that Archibald's data relied only on Moore Dry Dock whereas the ISR had a much more extensive and geographically widespread sample at its disposal. 7.2 per cent of the interviewees in 'Antisemitism among American Labor' were black, a percentage not too far removed from the overall number of black citizens in the country, this being thus a fairly good sample. The results were unequivocal: 'Negroes among our interviewees . . . reacted more favorably to working with Jews than other national or ethnic groups.'⁹⁷

Among interviewees, only half as many Blacks as Whites objected to working with Jews. The difference between Blacks and Whites was equally pronounced in the answers to question 7 ('Do people think the Jews are doing their share in the war effort?'). While only 53.1 per cent of Whites spoke out decisively against the Nazi genocide, 65.9 per cent of black interviewees condemned it; 17.9 per cent of Whites agreed with Nazi racial policy but only 9.7 per cent of Blacks.⁹⁸ In comparison with all other national, cultural and ethnic minorities, the stance of black workers towards Nazi antisemitism was clear: almost two-thirds condemned the genocide unreservedly. Yet negative opinions by Blacks were expressed if Jews were being portrayed as especially persecuted. 'I didn't feel very sorry about them because I thought about what happens to Negroes in the South every day and the lynching and horrible things that have happened down there—and nobody is interested.'⁹⁹ While not being entirely free of anti-Jewish attitudes, according to 'Antisemitism among American Labor', Blacks expressed opinions like these without a 'mythical concept of "the Jew"':

A Negro maintenance worker . . . said: 'This is very difficult for the Negro people to understand. Ninety per cent . . . are anti-Jewish. They do not regard the Jews as a persecuted minority group but as overlords. In Los Angeles this feeling is not as bad as in other places, particularly New York. Generally . . . the Negroes sympathize with the Jews in Germany because there they see them as a group which is receiving actual physical persecution which they understand from their own experience. This they do not relate to the potential and actual plight of the Jews in America. It is a separate thing because they have no abstract concepts of International Jewry. Jews to them are the storekeeper on the next corner and the pawnbroker on Main Street, and the money-lender in Harlem.'¹⁰⁰

97 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 519.

98 *Ibid.*, 521.

99 *Ibid.*, 540.

100 *Ibid.*, 529.

According to 'Antisemitism among American Labor', anti-Jewish sentiments could not fulfil the same psychological function for Blacks as for Whites, namely, a rebellion against the class structure, because Blacks were allocated a different place within this class structure. But it was also the teachings of the Old Testament that gave black Americans a different attitude towards Judaism. Blacks saw themselves as God's second chosen people and were convinced that the next messiah would be black and not Jewish. This gave them a sense of solidarity with the first chosen people, the Jews.

What was the attitude of Jews towards Blacks? Jews were not interviewed, but Pollock's supplementary interviews with Jewish union officials provide a picture. While Blacks expressed tolerance of and solidarity with the Jews, many Jews interviewed by Pollock demonstrated the same type of racism as other white people.

There are many instances of anti-Negro attitudes on the part of Jewish people. In depression time, when it was hard for a Negro to get a decent job, Jews on the examination boards of civil service applicants made it especially tough for Negroes to pass the examination. Jews keep aloof of Negro contacts. Up to three or four years ago, Negroes had to demonstrate in the streets and to picket Jewish stores in order to move the Jewish bosses to hire Negro personnel.¹⁰¹

This was confirmed by a female Jewish trade unionist: 'A former Jewish ILGWU [Ladies' Garment Workers] organizer, who says she "has not come across antisemitism among Negroes", emphatically "regrets that Jewish people not rarely are quite callous and insensitive about colored people".¹⁰² One black union representative formulated it thus: 'The Jews are responsible, they share the anti-Negro prejudice of the Gentile.'¹⁰³

According to the ISR survey, 'antisemitism' and 'antinegroism' on the part of white workers served different political functions in contemporary America. Black civil rights were a marginal topic in 1944, and the ISR's perspective was determined by the genocide of the Jews in Europe. 'Antisemitism among American Labor' was influenced by a fear of fascism in the United States. It seemed to these Europeans that the opinions of the greater part of the American population were dominated by 'totalitarian' stereotypes comparable to those in Europe. They feared that, with the end of the war, the social and economic conflicts smouldering under the surface would escalate into outbreaks of violence, and antisemitism would start to serve the purpose of fascist groups. They believed that European antisemitism had been a means of dividing the working class (*divide et impera*) and indeed of undermining trade union opposition to National Socialism, and

101 Ibid., 1134.

102 Ibid., 1134–5.

103 Ibid., 1134.

that, in the United States, this 'totalitarian' strategy could develop in a similar manner.

Using the concept of 'disunity', *Wartime Shipyard* adopted a different but related perspective, related in so far as the consequences of social tensions were also seen as having the potential to undermine American democracy.

Historical manifestations of social disunity have been twofold: vertical conflict has existed between competing classes, hierarchically arranged within a given social unit; and horizontal conflict has existed between separate groups which, while standing on a plain of relative equality, have marked their borderlines with fire and blood. In the course of centuries of restless struggle, sectors of the conflict have quieted in a partial settlement of their differences; the processes of democracy have begun to solve the difficulties arising from class distinctions, and expansion of the state has relieved several of the severest tensions of intergroup antagonism. But the problem of disunity as a whole still finds its unequivocal solution only in the realm of Utopian fancy and the uninhibited dream.¹⁰⁴

'Ticket thinking' and the patterns within prejudice

Why the study singled out antisemitism instead of dealing with all minority problems was a commonsense question many American trade union members asked the ISR during the field phase of the project.¹⁰⁵ The issue reappeared in the guiding questions and the research design of *The Authoritarian Personality*. Between the Depression and 1947, antisemitism reached its historical zenith in the United States. It gradually decreased thereafter. In 1966 Charles Stember looked at its development on the basis of an evaluation of 83 polls that had been undertaken between 1938 and 1962, including 40 Gallup polls (1937–61), 37 polls carried out by the National Opinion Research Center, 17 by the Opinion Research Corporation (1938–1946), 4 by the Office of Opinion Research (1941–5) and 19 by Roper. On the basis of these sources, Stember was able to conclude that antisemitism had declined on a long-term basis.¹⁰⁶

This decline had already been predicted in 1947 in the *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Philosophically or in terms of social theory, every empirical study could be interpreted differently, depending on how the connections between fascism and antisemitism, on the one hand, and capitalism and democracy, on the other, were assessed. Even though, in 1943, race riots, hate strikes, the Second World War and civil-war-like violence had made it look as though a move towards fascism could not be ruled out in the United States, proof of antisemitism within the American workforce could not be

104 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 7.

105 See ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1273ff.

106 Stember *et al.*, *Jews in the Mind of America*.

used, vice versa, to predict such a development, particularly after the Allies had defeated National Socialist Germany in 1945.

Wartime Shipyard and *The Authoritarian Personality* drew similar conclusions in this respect. The system of fine distinctions within prejudice, Archibald decided, was

far from shallow, temporary, or purposeless; given the proper pressures and encouragement, they could no doubt have activated pogroms as bloody as have ever afflicted society. But it is equally probable that, under another set of pressures differently directed and skillfully applied, they might have been so weakened and diverted as utterly to have lost their force for evil.¹⁰⁷

As Adorno noted following a discussion with workers in 1944, American antisemitism was not the pogrom antisemitism of Germany. In *The Authoritarian Personality* he came to the conclusion that after 1945 antisemitism would lose its specific nature and, though no less dangerous as a syndrome of prejudice, would shape post-war society in different ways and with different functions. In 'Antisemitism among American Labor' Massing had labelled this phenomenon a 'straight-ticket approach'. In American English, a 'ticket' refers to a unified list of candidates in the electoral system; a voter chooses a 'ticket' as opposed to a single candidate. While the latter can stand for specific programmes or even concrete demands, the former is an undifferentiated and unnuanced platform.

To some of our interviewees antisemitism and philosemitism have become fixtures, necessary attributes of belonging to certain religious denominations, foreign nationality groups, social classes, but above all political parties. If a worker is 'progressive', he feels obliged to endorse a string of values and notions that go with the label. He then is likely to see in the Republican Party the stronghold of reaction and antisemitism. If he is 'conservative', he is apt to attack the New Deal as too friendly to the Jews. If he is an isolationist, his opposition to the war makes him vulnerable to antisemitic propaganda about the 'Jewish war'.... Of an ... antisemitic stationary engineer in a Los Angeles shipyard the interviewer reports that he 'is against the CIO, against Hillman and the Political Action Committee. Called Eleanor Roosevelt a "nigger lover". Is a Dewey man.' ... This tendency to subscribe to the whole 'ticket' has gone far with prejudiced workers as well as with unprejudiced ones. It obscures the real issues. Like all stereotypes it comfortably frees from independent, critical thinking.¹⁰⁸

The *Dialektik der Aufklärung* was finished in 1944; for the German edition of 1947, a seventh section was added to the chapter 'Elemente des Antisemitismus'.

107 Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard*, 236.

108 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 859ff.

The anti-Semitic psychology has largely been replaced by mere acceptance of the whole fascist ticket . . . Just as, on the ballot paper of the mass party, voters are presented with the names of people remote from their experience for whom they can only vote *en bloc*, the central ideological concepts have been codified into a small number of lists. . . . Anti-Semitism has practically ceased to be an independent impulse and has become a plank in the platform: anyone who gives fascism its chance subscribes to the settlement of the Jewish question along with the breaking of the unions and the crusade against Bolshevism. The anti-Semite's conviction, however mendacious it may be, has been absorbed into the preconditioned reflexes of the subjectless exponents of a particular standpoint. When the masses accept the reactionary ticket containing the clause against the Jews, they are obeying social mechanisms in which individual people's experiences of Jews play no part.¹⁰⁹

In this section, Horkheimer and Adorno translated the theses presented in the 'Elemente des Antisemitismus' of 1944 into the profoundly changed historical context of 1947. The phenomenon of 'ticket thinking' came to determine the entire approach of *The Authoritarian Personality*. The theory was that the rise of a new anthropological species, the characteristics of which were put down to the specific conditions of late capitalism, was proof of a psychological syndrome similar to the 'potential fascist' in 'Antisemitism among American Labor'. The ISR considered particular groups of members of the larger trade unions especially prone to this mindset: unskilled white workers, without education or professional training, 'of the "desperado" type which form the backbone of the CIO'.¹¹⁰ The 'potential fascist' was the rebel incapable of real revolt against class society, projecting his dissatisfaction with exploitation on to the Jews instead of fighting the exploiter. For this reason Adorno originally considered 'The Potential Fascist' as the title for the study that was eventually published as *The Authoritarian Personality*.¹¹¹

The potential fascist was described as cynical about the war and the ruling class, without values, with no feelings of solidarity or empathy, full of prejudices against minorities, and fired by an ambition to climb up the social ladder into the middle class. 'Antisemitism among American Labor' described the case of G. as an ideal-type of the potential fascist: a man from the Midwest who had lost his middle-class independence during the war and was now working in a factory that was vital for the war effort.

He wants to become rich and the idol of his daydreams is Henry Ford, the self-made capitalist. 'Take Ford—I hand it to him. I'd like to be Ford myself' . . . in G.'s opinion the American Jews are 'definitely not' doing their share in the war effort.

109 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. from the German by Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2002), 166.

110 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 1232.

111 See the letter from Adorno to Horkheimer, 26 May 1948, in Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Briefwechsel. Band III: 1945–1949*, ed. Christoph GÖdde and Henri Lonitz (Frankfurt-on-Main: Suhrkamp 2005), 225 (no. 448).

He elaborates: 'The Jews will never buy war bonds. They aren't in the Army. I know of a farm north of here that was bought up by a Chicago Jew. He sent his two boys there to keep them out of the Army. And they don't know beans about farming! Or else the Jews are officers—pull, you know. I know two Jewish majors from K. They don't deserve their jobs. Have you ever talked to soldiers? They'll tell you the same thing. My brother-in-law was in the Solomons and New Guinea. He said he never saw a Jew fight.' 'The real reason I hate the Jew', G. continues, 'is because he is a draft-dodger. And they started this war. . . . the next war, World War III, will doubtlessly be fought against the Russian Jews' . . . G. is in sympathy with Coughlin's fight for social justice. He alibis Coughlin: 'The reason Coughlin was taken off the air was because of big business' . . . In his eyes, the world is a big racket. Unions, bankers, churches are smaller rackets within the big one. 'I was a Catholic', G. says, 'but I don't go to Church anymore. I don't care what a man believes. The Jews have their religion—that's good for them. I don't want it. The Catholics and Mohammedans have theirs.' Cynicism, not liberalism, makes him say that. He does not give a damn about religion one way or the other. Once he did have a yearning for human solidarity. . . . But he does not believe that there is room for genuine human relationships in the present set-up of American society. Until something better comes up—the 'people's community' as Hitler built it or a 'Christian America'—he is out on his own and determined to get his share of the spoil.¹¹²

The proposed connection in 'Antisemitism among American Labor' between war-time experience, political convictions and antisemitism was reformulated as the main hypothesis of *The Authoritarian Personality*: 'that the political, economic and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a "mentality" or "spirit", and that this pattern is an expressions of deep-lying trends in his personality.'¹¹³ *The Authoritarian Personality* looked at the potentially fascist individual whose personality structure rendered him particularly susceptible to anti-democratic propaganda from a social-psychological point of view, using an approach that was partly orthodox and partly revisionist Freudianism. Thus, with this shift of emphasis, antisemitism, which had been the major concern of 'Antisemitism among American Labor', gradually all but disappeared from *The Authoritarian Personality*.¹¹⁴ Following the historical caesura of 1945, this study was no longer motivated by the fear of an outbreak of violence or of rising fascism but by the pacification of the class antagonism within so-called state capitalism, of a 'basically coercive society'.

Nevertheless, Adorno continued to think about the question of whether 'it was possible to establish certain differential patterns [of antisemitism]

112 ISR, 'Antisemitism among American Labor', 839–43.

113 Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*, 1.

114 *Ibid.*, 605.

within the general structure of prejudice'.¹¹⁵ He 'drew up an additional section of the interview schedule devoted to specific questions about Jews' with J. F. Brown and Friedrich Pollock, utilizing ideas from 'the Labor Study' as hypotheses for further investigation.¹¹⁶ Thus, he incorporated aspects of 'Antisemitism among American Labor' into *The Authoritarian Personality*. The decisive question was whether or not, in view of the genocide in Europe, antisemitism was indeed different from other group hostilities.

It has often been said that anti-Semitism works as the spearhead of antidemocratic forces. The phrase sounds a bit hackneyed and apologetic: the minority most immediately threatened seems to make an all-too-eager attempt to enlist the support of the majority by claiming that it is the latter's interest and not their own which really finds itself in jeopardy today. Looking back, however, at the material surveyed in this, and other, chapters, it has to be recognized that a link between anti-Semitism and antidemocratic feeling exists. True, those who wish to exterminate the Jews do not, as it is sometimes claimed, wish to exterminate afterwards the Irish or the Protestants. But the limitation of human rights which is consummated in their idea of a special treatment of the Jews, not only logically implies the ultimate abolition of the democratic form of government and, hence, of the legal protection of the individual, but it is frequently associated quite consciously ... with overt antidemocratic ideas.¹¹⁷

Adorno's conclusion in *The Authoritarian Personality* sounds like a paraphrase of the introduction to 'Antisemitism among American Labor' and of the central theme of *Wartime Shipyard*: 'the broader social significance of anti-Semitism [is] its intrinsic denial of the principles of American democracy.'¹¹⁸ Within the context of critical theory, this conclusion may seem paradoxical. Yet, as Horkheimer had already written in 1943, hatred of Jews is a hatred of democracy, itself the highest goal of civilization, and civilization cannot be exonerated of the responsibility of having produced its opposite: barbarism.¹¹⁹

From a present-day perspective, both 'Antisemitism among American Labor' and *Wartime Shipyard* strongly support each others' empirical and theoretical findings. The analysis in 'Antisemitism among American Labor' demonstrates the highly differentiated results gleaned by the European refugee researchers of the Frankfurt Institute in exile during the 1940s from their empirical work in the United States. But it also shows how much they learned from American cultural anthropology, which made possible the

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid., 653.

118 Ibid., 609.

119 Max Horkheimer, [*Zur Psychologie des Antisemitismus*] [1943], in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften. Band 12: Nachgelassene Schriften, 1931–1949*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr (Frankfurt-on-Main: Fischer 1985), 173–83 (175).

complex premises and foundations of *The Authoritarian Personality*, a study that would provide the decisive impetus for much of the international research into prejudice that has key significance to the present day.

Wartime Shipyard is little known, compared to *The Authoritarian Personality*. This might be due to the study's strong local focus, the fact that it was the project of a lone woman or that Archibald did not follow it with further studies or publications on the subject or go on to develop a new field of research, or it could be the result of the chance circumstances of reception. But that the large-scale teamwork projects of the ISR achieved a quite different and, not least, international and interdisciplinary recognition was also the result of their co-operation with powerful political organizations, the American Jewish organizations and various universities, their wider geographical distribution, the input of European and American collaborators, publicity campaigns and a prolific series of related studies, to say nothing of the importance that the philosophical works of the Frankfurt School gained subsequently. Yet Adorno was always convinced that theory could not be derived from empirical study and vice versa. And Archibald's study itself shows that the major innovations of qualitative research on antisemitism achieved by the ISR—though hardly possible without the American cultural anthropology of the 1930s and 1940s—were just as possible with as without critical theory.

Eva-Maria Ziege is Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Bayreuth. She is the author of *Antisemitismus und Gesellschaftstheorie: Die Frankfurter Schule im amerikanischen Exil* (Suhrkamp 2009), and co-editor (with Christina von Braun) of *Das 'bewegliche' Vorurteil: Aspekte des internationalen Antisemitismus* (Königshausen und Neumann 2005), and (with Richard Faber) of *Das Feld der Frankfurter Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften vor 1945* (Königshausen und Neumann 2007) and *Das Feld der Frankfurter Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften nach 1945* (Königshausen und Neumann 2008). E-mail: emziege@uni-bayreuth.de