THE DYNAMIC OF JEWISH SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

A Case Study of Three Cities, Budapest, Cluj-Napoca and Timişoara

By

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Abstract

The focus of this research is the dynamic of Jewish Stereotypes in Budapest Cluj-Napoca and Timişoara in the last 50 years taking into consideration the historical background of the cities, using a combined methodology form the field of social-psychology and history.

The thesis aims at the testing of the contact Hypothesis from an imagologic and historical point of view, thus contributing to previous studies on the subject that mostly focused on only the social and economical variables in a limited timeframe. The particular view point of this approach will lead to the possibility of getting an insight into the more historically conditioned variables that.

1. Introduction

-The position and the speed of a particle cannot be measured simultaneously. The more precisely we try to measure one the less precisely will be able to measure the other
-Heidelberg's principle of indeterminability[1] –

The goal of my project is to research the structure of Jewish social representations in Budapest, Timişoara, and Cluj-Napoca detecting the ways in which these have undergone changes, in the last 50 years, in response to historical events, and informational input to which the target population (secondary school students and late middle aged people) had access.

The target population of the study is composed of teenagers in high schools and people above 50. The motivation behind this option is that as social representations are phenomena with a certain degree of stability, as a result we need a certain age distance between the two components of the social group to see any kind of change in their structure. By surveying the opinion of the two categories mentioned above we may be able to get an insight into the dynamic of social representations as they change over time.

The study has two dimensions: a socio-historical one in which I will be able to see the attitude of the population towards Jews, and an imaginary one which will allow me to observe the differences between the images, which are the result of the particular historical destinies of the three cities.

In Timişoara and Cluj-Napoca the Jews were an important part in the social fabric in the past but now these communities live on only in the social-imaginary (Bazko, Gavreliuc) of the population. In contrast to this, Budapest, according to the census of 2004, has a fairly large population of Jews (9468), compared to Romania for instance, where today in the whole

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[1] Steven Hawking, *Universul intr-o coajă de nucă* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2005), p.207

country are only 5000 Jewish inhabitants. In addition to their concrete physical presence the Jews of Budapest are a more vocal community than their counterparts who live in Romania. The interplay of these variables is an important factor in the study of the dynamic of social imaginary, as physical presence or absence reflected by an active or passive participation in society is decisive in determining the mechanisms of the social imaginary, influencing the way in which the image itself is constructed. The three cities are also compatible from a historical point of view as they shared a common history being part in their formational period of the Habsburg Empire thus being exposed in some degree to common legislation which regulated Jewish life in the city. The comparison also maintains its validity after the fall of the empire as all three cities were more and more integrated into an ever shrinking Europe, a process of which's effect were equally felt by the Jewish communities that lived inside them. There is also a differentiation factor of historical origin, a variable that I use in the study of the dynamics of social representations, which is the result of the combination of the local identity that is started to form during the Habsburg Empire with that of the more general national identity that was reshaped after the fall of it.

The main objective is to observe historical events (like the holocaust, or demographic changes), and social factors (schooling, age, gender) affect the social image of the identity in question, in the perception of the local community (the inhabitants of Budapest, Cluj-Napoca, Timişoara), and whether there are general rules that can be deduced from these interactions.

The hypothesis presupposes that as the result of the permanent contact between the Jewish community and the main body of the inhabitants of Budapest, imgalogically I will not register a discontinuity in the representation of the "Jew" between generations, in contrast to Timişoara and Cluj-Napoca. This presupposition is builds upon the contact hypothesis firs conceived by

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Muzafer Sherif in the well known Robbers Cave social experiment[2]. In the last years there were a series of experiments that did further research into the effects of social contact but there were only a few that tried to test it from an imagologic point of view. With my research I am trying to fill this gap and I start of by assuming the complete opposite of the original contact hypothesis.

As the topic of the thesis is the dynamic of the Jewish social-image viewed from a socio-historical perspective, the methods used are a combination of the two fields. The historical part consists in a short comparison of the history of the Jewish communities in the three cities, outlining how the events and legal reforms that affected the political entities in which they were integrated, created three different types of social representations. The sociological method used in the research is the questionnaire, which incorporates two sub-methods. The first such method is the Bogartus scale (E.S Bogartus 1925, Chelcea 1994, Gavreliuc 2002, 2003), used to determine the attitude of different ethnicities towards each other, while the second one is the free association technique (Chelcea 1994, Gavreliuc 2002, 2003) which is constructed as an open question, "forcing" the subject to let his stereotypes lead his answers. The combination of the data obtained from the field research is compared with those from the previous two cities, but never losing sight of the local historical and social context.

But before undertaking any journey that takes us into the turbulent waters of the social imaginary, first we have are in need of the "chart" of it which clarifies the different ways of navigating it, and also a guide of its "nature". The first chapter has this precise function by giving a definition of the social imaginary and of its components (social representations, stereotypes, and attitudes), the numerous perspectives from which it can be studied

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[2] Muzafer Sherif, O.J Harvey, B. Jack White, William R. Hood and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment* (Oklahoma: The Institute of Group Relation, 1961), pp.197-212S

(anthropological, -historical, -literary, -psychological imagology). After the completion of this objective, in the third chapter I will describe my research methods which are used in the research

After having a somewhat linear structure in the theoretical and methodological chapter the thread will be split into two, focusing on the dimensions of the research, the historical and the imagologic. In chapter four I will proceed to do a short comparative history of the three Jewish communities, to analyze the social dynamics that indirectly cause the change in the nature of social-representations, this being the historical dimension. The fourth chapter will illustrate the different faces of the Jewish stereotype which will serve as a model of comparison, for the obtained data, this being the imagologic dimension.

The fifth chapter will contain the statistical interpretation of the field data. The sixth chapter constitutes the "grand finale" of the thesis it being the place where the threads reconnect, by analyzing the obtained data in accordance to the principles I laid out in the first chapter, using the socio-historical framework defined in the second and third chapters.

My research will contribute to previous studies of identity construction and representation conducted by Alin Gavreliuc Serge Moscovic, Robert M. Farr in broadening the understanding of how Jewish social representations and social representations in general, are formed and work. The attainment of this objective is particularly enhanced by the fact that the Jewish people constitute an ethnic group which is constant in modern times and have maintained a presence in almost every country in western civilization and beyond. The stakes of the study are high as it may lead to a constructive critique of current public policies that put too much pressure on different groups and ethnicities among the population with result contrary to the original objective.

Another contribution of the research is a more theoretical one, as it tries to bring sociology and history closer together by "uniting the best of both worlds", the positivistic approach of sociology, combined with the temporality of history.

2. How to approach social representations?

After a brief introduction in the concept of "the other" in the study of the social imaginary, I will proceed to give an epistemological framework in which my research can be integrated, continuing with a short description of what social imaginary is, and how it interrelates with social representations, followed by the formulation of a definition of the latter concept an its components as used in the study.

A fundamental component in the formation of someone's identify (person or a group), besides the reference group (which is a reflection of what I am) is the concept of the "other"[3], which acts as a "negative mirror" reflecting everything that someone is not, a psychological mechanism which is essential in differentiating, "us" from "them".   The phenomenon of the significant other is complex being composed of, attitudes, images, stereotypes that not only create a mental representation of the other, but also determine our actions towards this group.

The preoccupation of human communities with what I anachronistically describe as the representation of the other, can be traced back to the beginning of human civilization and culture and can be found in all expressions of human creativity (the differentiation of us from them was the main purpose of history, a purpose which even today manages to linger on) . The Greeks parted the world in two opposite categories, them and barbarians bipolarity that later was adopted by the Romans, but this time with their empire as the reference point. With their fall the world was once again split into two by the newly founded Christian church into

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[3] Robert Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1968), pp.335-440

Christians and pagans. What we can conclude from this short review of the importance of "the other" is that it constitutes an important concept for human culture and civilization; however a discipline that focuses on the study of it emerged only in the 1960 under the name of imagology.

The discipline is the product of the crises experienced by social sciences and history during the 60-es, and when as correctly observed by Patrick Joyce "The categories of the material and the social"[4] created by social history -but also other social sciences- were "...revealed to be idealized and essentialized foundations, unable to bear the weight resting upon them"[5]. The chrysies had it's origin in the attacks directed against the historical paradigm by poststructuralist authors like Foucault and Derida, Hayden White, orientations that literary blew the firmness of the soil on which the discipline stood, something that greatly disturbed the other practitioners of history.

The word Imagology is composed from the Latin "imago" (portray, representation,) and logos meaning science. In a very broad sense we can define imagology as the science that focuses on social representations[6]. In a much more restricted sense it can be described as the discipline that studies self-images and the image of the other. Their fields of study are categorizing representations, which are the result of social cognitive processes that takes place in the Braudelian "long durée".

As the concept of the image of the "Other" is a very vast one it can be approached from numerous fields, like psychology, history, anthropology, sociology and literature.

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[4] Patric Joyce, "The End of Social History?" in Keith Jenkins's *The Postmodern History Reader* (London:Routhledge,1997), p324
[5] Ibid.,
[6] Alin Gavreliuc, *Mentaliate si societate* (Timişoara: Editura Universităţii de Vest, 2003), p. 312

The theoretical approach used by me in this research is a combination between historical and socio-psychological imagology, but with a slightly bigger accent on the latter one. My reason for which I make this choice is that, as in the case of social-history, historical imagology, focuses itself too much on the analysis of "discursive fields" based upon, as Alan .Munslow explains, on the theory of "representation in language"[7]. This approach as in the case of the categories of social history has too much weight bearing down on it as its foundations are "in the air". Language has no independent existence outside human psyche and serves to expresses a reality, but not to perceive it. Perception happens through the blurry field of social imaginary, which is regulated by the socio-psychological phenomena, described in the next part of this chapter. By accenting the socio-psychological approach in my research I focus more on the human element perceived as a socio-psychological construct, which after all is the moving force behind all historical process.

2.1 The Social Imaginary

Up until now we have seen that the study of the social imaginary is an important part of the new historical orientation, but what is the social imaginary, how can we define it?

Bazko defines social imaginary "as the labor of a society to imagine its own or the others identity, elaborating a series of representations of itself or of the alterity[8]". Through this, it creates an imaginary construct which becomes a distributor of social statuses and roles. Historians as Taylor see social imaginary not as a set of ideas but as the background that enables their existence, or as Patrick Joyce has explained, the concept does not refer to

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[7] Alun Munslow, "Michel Foucault and History" in *Deconstructing History,* edited by Alun Munslow (London: Routledge, 2006), p.128
[8] Bazko Gavreliuc, *Mentalitate si Societate,* 2003, quoting Bazko, 1984, p.31

particular representations or practices in the first place but it is something that can describe "the most basic conceptual conditions of possibility for a society's operation"[9]. Taylor further elaborates the concept emphasizing that social imaginary is something much broader and deeper than the "intellectual schemes" that people entrain when conceptualizing social reality in a disengaged way. He, paraphrased by Miguel A. Cabrera, explains:

has in mind instead the ways in which people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go between them and fellows, and their expectations that we have to one another, the kind of common understanding which enables us to carry out the collective practice […] social imaginary is not only that common understanding that makes common practices possible, but a widely shared sense of legitimacy as well. It is […] both factual and normative, since it provides us not only a sense of how things usually go but also an idea of how they ought to go, of what missteps would invalidate the practice [10]

Social imaginary is the active part of a supra-identity which is in close connection with the social memory always reinterpreting the past from the point of view of current events, and because even thou its surface that appears calm, its depth hide an very active internal dynamic. Historians following the footsteps of G.Sorel, approach the social imaginary through analyzing and interpreting its larger components which are myths, or take the route paved by history of ideas based on the postmodernist paradigm pioneered by Michel Foucault, as preferred by Lery Wolff, Maria Todorova or Edward Said, which work with the analysis of the discursive fields meaning to:

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[9]Miguel .A Cabrera. *Postsocial History. And Introduction* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004), p.24
[10] Ibid.,

grasp the statement in that exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may connected with it, and show what other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statements it excludes[11]

However as myths or discourses are almost as complex and blurry as the social imaginary itself, this approach can hardly ever lead to a more positivistic interpretation, it being forever trapped in hermeneutics. A more fruitful perspective is the approach, which I also choose, that focuses on its "atomic and subatomic components" which are social representations, stereotypes and attitudes.

To be able to research social representations one must firs define it's nature and subcomponents (stereotypes and attitudes), and the role that it plays, in keeping a supra-identity together, it being the building block of the social imaginary and social memory

2.2 Social representations

Each social actor is positioned in a certain space and time, which equips him/her with certain symbolic capital and inserts him in a network of social relations. The evaluation of the surrounding world is in the same time a process, and a construct of the perceived reality, reuniting the dimension of the social and the personal. The result of this process is what we can call a social representation.

Sociologists especially those following the footsteps of Durkheim and Marx view approach social representations from a deterministic way viewing in them as an objective network, of

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[11] Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p.28

social and economic factors[12]. However for the purpose of this research which is interested more in their imagologic composition it is more productive if I adopt a psycho-social approach adopting the definition given by Claudine Herzlich.

She defines social representations as a mediating instance between perception and information, attitudes and images, without being able to completely reduce it to neither of them[13]. They have an intermediary position between concepts and images, manifesting themselves as an immanent duality: attributing a sense to each image and an image to each sense. As any other psychological construct they are not frozen in time, as believed by the Durkheimian theories which conceived them as invariable logical categories of the spirit, on the contrary they poses a turbulent internal dynamic[14]. Representations constitute almost natural acquisitions, which seem to be part of a "weltanschaung", which we assimilate with our integration into society having a large autonomy from the individual conscience. Being implicit and communicable social representations become a shared reality, being conceived and molded during interpersonal and inter-group relations.

A. Palmolari attributes two vital functions to social representation. They conventionalize objects events with which the social actor is confronted by circumscribing, and classifying them. Their role is to transform the unknown into something familiar, so we don't have to restudy the concept which we already met[15]

As theorized by R.M Farr, they are not simple reproductions, as they contain a large amount of creativity meaning an idea (concept, mental operator), and an action (a certain thinking style, action model) united into a whole. All these social constructions, having a mobile, changing,

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[12] Claudine Herzlich, "La représentation sociale", in *Introduction à la psychologie sociale,* vol.1, edited by Serge Moscovici (Paris: Libraire Larousse, 1972), p.311
[13] Ibid.,p.311
[14] Ibid., p.303
[15] Alin Gavreliuc, *Mentalitate şi societate*, p.117 quoting A. Palmolari, "*Caractéristiques des représentations sociales*" (Paris: Delachaux et Nielsé, 1986), p.31,

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diffused structure, fuel the processes of behavior formations and of social communication orientations and can come to life influencing the surrounding world. They are powerfully prescriptive, imposing a certain way of thought. As a result collective memory has a defining importance in the attitudinal orientation, by processing and arranging the clichés and images inoculated to the subject by its surroundings, in consequence being quite resistant to change and also socially conditioned[16]. All of the mentioned characteristics of social representation are the main structural characteristics that will be taken into consideration when analyzing the Jewish social representation that will result from the research. For a better insight into the nature and dynamic of representation I will deconstruct it into more easily measurable indicators, which according to the definition adopted are stereotypes and attitudes.

2.3 Attitudes

As my research focuses more on the stereotypical component of social representations, I will not insist too much on the characteristics of attitudes which are not important for my research question.

In 1908 W.Allport defined attitudes as a state of mental readiness, organized through experience which has a conducting or activating effect on the answer the subject can give to all the objects and situations with which he/she is in contact with[17]. A more recent definition of the psycho-social phenomenon is given by Alice H. Eagly and Shelly Chaiken in the Handbook of Social Psychology where they define attitudes as a "psychological tendency that is expressed by

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[16]Ibid., p.115 quoting R.M Farr, "*Psychologie sociale*" (Paris: PUF, 1984): p.386
[17] Floyd H.Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Hughton Miffin 1908), p.320

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evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor"[18]. What we can deduce after reading both definitions is that the animating concept behind the phenomenon, which is the associations between an object and the subjective evaluation of it still, remained unchanged. The subjective evaluation usually can be described as an internal state of mind of a negative or positive tonality. The object toward which the state of mind is directed can be of anything from simple objects, persons, or more abstract constructions as social groups. What has changed considerably since Allport gave the first definition of attitudes are the theories that concern the dynamic, and structure of the process.

Attitudes can be analyzed on two levels intra-attitudinal and inter-attitudinal. The inter-attitudinal level focuses on how attitudes connect with each other as the phenomenon is not an isolated one, it being integrated in a wider attitudinal structure, and can be formed as an implication or a deduction from a more general attitude.

The most widely spread model of analyzing the intra-attitudinal level is the cognitive-affective-behavioral model, the cognitive part of attitudes referring to cognitions (beliefs) and thoughts, the affective one to feelings, moods, emotions and sympathetic nervous system activity, and the behavioral one to the actual action towards the object towards which the attitude is directed to.[19]

In this particular research I focus especially on the cognitive/affective component of the attitudes this being the level on which the psychological process connects with stereotypes which as Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) theorized, are one of the main building blocks of beliefs.

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[18] Alice H. Eagly and Shelly Chaiken, "Attitude Structure and Function" in *The Handbook of Social-Psychology,* 4th ed., vol. 1. edited by, Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske and Gardner Linzey (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), p.269
[19] Ibid., p.271-272

Another important characteristic of attributes which is an important variable in my research is related to their formation process. They are created trough direct contact and experience especially the ones relating to simpler objects. Those that relate to more abstract concepts are also greatly influenced by the social learning process; the positive, negative or neutral tonality of an attitude toward a certain constructed category is greatly influenced by the social environment in which one develops[20]. There is also the possibility of them developing without any kind of direct contact, which is the case of what Yehuda Bauer defined as antisemitism without Jews[21].

2.4 Stereotypes

When first defining stereotypes, the father of the concept, Walter Lippman compared them with printing clichés[22]. Recent approaches focus more the processes through which stereotypes shape social perception. These are based on the theories developed by Gordon W. Allport (1954) and Henri Tajfel (1978), which define stereotypes as cognitive shortcuts[23]. In the following few paragraphs, I will try to summarize in a nutshell the main characteristics of the stereotypes that resulted from this particular line of research.

Stereotypes function as filter between the individual and the surrounding world, being able to save large amounts of cognitive energy by rapid and automatic categorization[24]. The latter characteristic is one of the main reasons of their persistence.[25]

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[20] Alin Gavreliuc, *O călătorie alături de celălalt* (Timişoara: Editura Univeristăţii de Vest, 2001), p.113
[21] Yehuda Bauer, "In Search of a Definition of Antisemitism" in *Approaches to Antisemitism* (New York, Jerusalem: American Jewish Committee, 1994), p.17
[22] Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1946), p.59
[23] Fiske, "Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination" in *The Handbook of Social Psychology,* p.359
[24], Ibid., p.364
[25] Gavreliuc, *O călătorie alături de celălalt*, p.95

Their construction is not an individual process, but it basis itself on cognitive apriorism without any direct contact between the subject and the object to which the stereotype is referring and they are also transmitted through social learning. The object of social stereotypes is formed by certain groups based on social, religious, political criteria[26], which are labeled as members of an out-group. The members of an out-group are described as being more similar then the members of the in-group[27].

They are emotionally charged, charge that can be positive or negative, this being the level on which they connect with attitudes. They are socially conditioned, people are not born with them but acquire them through socialization. Also they help categorize the environment thus making it much easier to handle[28].

An important hypothesis in the study of the dynamic of stereotypes is the contact hypothesis, based upon the famous experiment of M. Sheriff[29], which states that direct contact between social groups can lead to the dissipation of the stereotypes with negative content (prejudices). Further research on the subject (R.Tsukashima, D.Montero 1988) also pointed out that the dissipation of negative stereotypes is greatly influenced factors like economic development, the quality of social contact and if the involved social groups are in some kind of competition[30].

However when Lippman first theorized the concept of stereotypes, besides well known printing cliché analogy he also compared stereotypes with photographs, in other word images[31], targeting the content of the psycho-social phenomenon. This particular dimension, as

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[26] Henri Tajfel, *Introducing Social Psychology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p.303
[27] Fiske, *Handbook of Social Psychology,* p.367
[28] Tajfel, *Introducing Social Psychology*, p.305
[29] Muzafer Sherif, O.J Harvey, B. Jack White, William R. Hood and Carolyn W. Sherif, *Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment* (Oklahoma: The Institute of Group Relation, 1961), pp.197-212S
[30] Roland Tadao Tsukasima and Darriel Montero, "The Contact Hypothesis: Social and Economic Contact and Generational Changes in the Study of Black Antisemitism" in *Error without Trial: A Psychological Research on Antisemitism,* edited by W.Bergmann (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988), p.431-447
[31] Lippman, *Public Opinion,* p.69

Stephanie Madon observed[32], was almost abandoned after the intriguing experiments known in social-psychology as the Princeton trilogy[33]. My research also adheres to this new wave of approaching stereotypes but with a methodology that tries to remove some of the limitations that I believe some of affect some of the more recent studies, like the follow up of the Princeton Trilogy.

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[32] Stephanie Madon, Max Guyll, Kathy Aboufadel Eulicies Montiel, Alison Smith, Polly Palumbo, Lee Justin, "Ethnic and National Stereotypes: The Princeton Trilogy Revisited and Revised", *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* (2000) :997

[33] The Princeton Trilogy is the generic name given to three separate researches conducted among the students of Princeton University researching how the content and consensus of stereotypes changed over time. The first research was conducted by Katz and Braly in 1933, then repeated in 1951 by Gilbert and in 1969 by M. Karlins, T.L. Coffman and G-Walters

3. Approaching Social Representations through Combined Methodology

To be able to trace the dynamics of the Jewish social representation first we have to do a short comparison of the three communities, so that we can set up the precedents of which's continuity can then be tested on a present sample population, which will constitute the independent variable of the research. To test the accuracy of the precedent I will use a control group formed by the group of the elderly. The dependent variable of the research is the demographic mobility of the Jewish community the effect of which will be tasted on the experimental group of composed by the sample of high school students.

The experimental design of the research is the following:

Table 1	Nature of social representation	Control group(elderly people)	Continuity of Jewish community	Experimental group(high School Students)
Timisoara	Stereotype		Absent	
	Attitude			
Cluj-Napoca	Stereotype		Absent	
	Attitude			
Budapest	Stereotype		Present	
	Attitude			

Independent variable   **Dependent variable**

The precedent will be described by the means of comparative history. Even if the perspective of the whole research is a nomothetic one (the deduction of regularities in the dynamic of social representations, which then can be applied on a larger scale) for the definition the independent

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variable I have to use a method that does the contrary focusing on the particularities of the three case studies. This is especially true in the case of setting a precedent for the attitudinal indicator which will be outlined through comparing the relations through out a 500 year period between the Jewish community and the rest of the citizen body, using *histoire croisée,* focusing on the effects of different reforms that were implemented by the political units in which the communities were integrated, and how these were implemented on a local level, indirectly resulting in the creation of three different local social environments. For the definition of the stereotypical indicator I will adopt a Weberian approach by creating an ideal stereotype of the Jew using the material collected by previous imagologic studies. The working assumption behind these choices is that attitudes are a more local phenomenon, while stereotypical images are constructs that are shared by larger geographical areas.

3.1 Methods for framing a Precedent

Even if comparing something to something at first seems like a very simple and also almost natural operation, it is never objective not even on an interpersonal level. The reason being the very nature of the studied psycho-social concepts defined earlier in this chapter. Attempting to compare much larger social and cultural concepts it is even more tenuous and before setting out on such an endeavor one must define the methodological process to minimize the interference of subjectivity.

Geoffrey Barraclough defines comparative history as the "conceptualization and study of the past according to political, social, economic, cultural and psychological paradigms and

categories, rather than according to national divisions or artificial periods"[34]. When giving this definition he identified two main trends of approaching comparative history: the fist one was by trying to establish uniformities, recurrent series, or sequences of as practiced by Toynbee and Spengler, or approaching it from the point of view of historical structures and their components which gained much popularity among historians in the last decades[35]. This particular research also adheres to this latter trend.

It is quite difficult to integrate this particular approach into any of the existing trends as it quite unorthodox, not focusing on a certain social constructs but on the history of the formation of a certain psychological phenomenon, that results from the interaction between a large political entity, first the Hapsburg Monarchy then the Hungarian and Romanian state, and two local identities, Jewish and non Jewish citizens confined into the social space of the three studied cities.

 I set up the general framework of the comparing process after the model theorized by Heniz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka who advise us to consider the following issues: a.) What are the appropriate units necessary for our comparison; b.) What and whom are we to compare; c.) Are the selected units comparable; d.) is a diachronic comparison necessary[36]. In the case of this research the answers are the following: a.) the appropriate units are the three cities: Budapest, Cluj-Napoca and Timisoara; b.)I am comparing the processes of interaction between the Jewish community and the rest of the body of citizens whiting a timeframe of 300 years ; c.) for this particular purpose the units are comparable, as the dependent variable (the continuity or lack of continuity of the Jewish community) is present in all three cases; d.) diachronic

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[34] Geoffrey Barraclough, *Main Trends in History* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979), p.168
[35] Ibid., p170
[36] Heniz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, "Comparative History and Methods, Aims, Problems" in *Comparison and History:Europe in Cross-National Perspective* edited by Deborah Cohen and Maura Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), p.27

comparison is necessary because the precise reason of the whole comparison is to examine the development process of three different set of attitudes between the two entities that interact. Within this established framework, because of the diachronic perspective and because the reason for the entire process is to detect dissimilarities, the method which I will use can be described more or less as *histoire croisée*. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman place *histoire croisée* into the family of relational approaches that in the manner of comparative history, focus on examining the different links between certain historically constructions. The difference that they identify is that the latter approaches

….mainly take the perspective of "reestablishment/rehabilitation" of buried reality, the stress laid by *histoire croisée* on a multiplicity of possible viewpoints and the divergences resulting from languages terminologies, categorizations and conceptualizations, traditions, and disciplinary usages, adds another dimension to the inquiry. In contrast to the mere restitution of the "already there", *histoire croisée* places emphasis on what, in a self-reflexive process can be generative of meaning[37].

To create the ideal stereotypical image of the "Jew" the method is fairly uncomplicated. I will draw together the most common images that are associated with the Jews in the region of Europe structured on three levels the first one being the exterior/physical appearance, the second one psychological/occupational traits and third one the abstract/magical portray.

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[37] Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmerman. "Beyond Comparison: Histoire croisée and the Challenge of reflexivity", *History and Theory,* 45(Feb.2006) 1, p.31

3.2 Measuring and depicting Social Representations

The sociological part of the research that focuses on the quantitative-qualitative probing of the components of the present social representations will use two methods: the Bogardus scale and the technique of free association, but with a slightly different approach than other researches that approached the question of Jewish social representations and social representation is general.

3.2.1 The Bogardus Scale

As my research focuses on the cognitive/affective component of attitudes, it will use a method that focuses exactly on these attitudinal dimensions, the Bogardus scale.

The scale is one of the main sociological techniques used for measuring the ethnical attitudes of a target population. The method is extremely flexible being able to measure attitudes towards different social groups defined on ethnical, regional, sexual orientation, occupational, religious etc. basis.

The scale itself focuses more on the latent attitude of rejecting or accepting of different target groups. What it does not do is the measuring of the inclination of suppressing aversive attitudes, or the behavioral effect that attitudes can take, focusing more on aversive racism than dominative/aggressive racism. The lower the rank given to a specific target group, the smaller are the possibilities of integrating then into the social fabric of the studied community. The indexes as stated by Delbert C.Miller, also can help "determine the extent of the trend toward conflict or towards cooperation between groups"[38]

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[38] Delbert. C Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement* (London: Sage Publications, INC., 1991), p.379

It is constructed from a series of statements that express different degrees of acceptance/rejection starting from complete acceptation (ex. being married to a representative of the respective group) to complete rejection (ex. complete expulsion of the respective group from the country) ordered in a pyramidal structure.

The indexes that are calculated with the help of the Bogardus scale are: the distance of social contact index (DSCI), the social contact index (SCI) and the quality of the social contact index (QSCI).

DSCI and SCI reflect the quantitative dimension of relations existing between groups (the number of accepted social contacts and the number of social contacts from which the studied groups are excluded). DSCI represents the closeness towards the target groups with values between 0(the most positive attitude) and 5(the most negative value). SCI is the opposite of DSCI representing the openness towards the target group 0 being the most negative attitude and 5 the most positive attitude. As E.S Bogardus observed between the two indexes exists a reversed correlation: the higher the DSCI the lower the SCI, and vice versa[39].

The most interesting index of the Bogardus scale and the one that I am using for the analysis of the obtained data is the quality of the social contact index, which reflects de qualitative dimension of the social contact. The values taken by the index are between 25(intense positive) and 1(intense negative). It is calculated by summing up the value of the positive or negative answers.

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[39] Septimiu Chelcea, *Personalitate şi societate în tranziţie* (Bucharest: Editura Technică, 1994), p.233

The structure used recommended By C.Miller to be used in the U.S is the following[40]:

Tab.1	Category	Targeted social group
1.	To close kinship by marriage	
2.	To my club as personal chums	
3.	To my street as neighbors	
4.	To employment in my occupation	
5.	To citizenship in my country	

The structure of the variant used by myself in the gathering of data is illustrated in table 2.

Tab.2	Would you except….	The targeted social group
1.	To be married with….	
2.	To have as close friends a…	
3.	To have as neighbors….	
4.	To have as an employee	
5.	To have the same citizenship…	
6.	To have them only as visitors in your country…	
8.	To expel them from your country….	

The structure of the Bogardus scale used in the Budapest study is the following

Tab.3	Would you except….	The targeted social group
1.	To be married with….	
2.	To have as relatives…	
3.	To have as a roommate…	
4.	To have as an employee…	
5.	To have as a neighbor…	
6.	To expel him from my town/village…	
8.	To expel them from your country…	

These modifications were necessary as the Bogardus scale to be effective must be tailored, to fit the values of the region in which it is used, in this case Romania, and Hungary. Both types were used in previous successful studies in the mentioned regions (Romania: A. Gavreliuc[41], S. Chelcea[42]; Hungary: P. Lukács), and are highly compatible as both of them work with the same number of items, this resulting in a same type of scoring. Both of the structures used in this

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[40] Miller, *Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement,* p.382
[41] Gavreliuc, *Mentalitate şi societate,* p.200
[42] Chelcea, *Personalitate şi societate în tranziţie,* p.211

study were conceived to focus on QSCI, having a wider perspective between the two extremes (complete rejection and complete acceptation).

3.2.2 The free association technique

The second technique used by my research is the technique of free association, which is essentially, an opened ended question in which the person is asked to characterize a certain social group, which in this research are the Jews, in a series of affirmations (more exactly seven).

The technique itself is quite controversial as the data obtained compared those that work with pre generated answers as in the case of the checklists, like the one used in the case of the Princeton trilogy and its follow-ups[43], is almost limitless, the subjects answers being framed only by the topic, and form of the question asked. There are however three distinct advantages of the method especially when focusing on the content of social-representation rather than the way in which these shape social perception. The fist one is that it does not project the researchers own social matrix on the subject, that can happen in the moment conniving the questionnaire. This is not such big of a problem when trying to measure only attitudes, but can prove potentially fatal in the study of social imaginary, as in the case of this research, which by it's nature is an extremely and wide, dynamic and blurry domain. The second advantage is that it targets and mobilizes the reproductive processes of the memory, which is limited by the checklist which uses mainly the recognizing processes, this way the questioned person is forced to mobilize the whole palette of stereotypical images that would be limited by the latter method and also avoids the attribution of such attributes that the questioned person would have never

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[43] M. Kalins, T.L Coffman and G.Walters, "On the Fading of Social Stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students" in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 13,* 1969, pp.307-308

thought of[44]. The possible negative effect of the free association technique mentioned before which is most evident in the quantification phase of the research, is minimized by the precise and also restrictive nature of the question itself. The third advantage that open ended question has is that it explores those areas of the social areas of stereotypes which are not necessary of physical or psychological nature but non the less they are still part of the phenomenon

What my used methodology experiment with is that, as it has also a generational perspective, it will try to interpret the statistical data taking into consideration the regional peculiarities of the inter-group relations, resulting from local and regional dynamics of the historical events.

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[44]Eagly and Chaiken, *The Handbook of Social Psychology,* p.246

4. A short Comparative History of the Jewish Communities in Timişoara, Cluj and Budapest

This chapter focuses on the historical presence, of the Jewish population, and of the attitudes towards them in the cities of Timişoara (Temesvár, Temesvar), Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), and Budapest. The first part will focus on a short general-description of the status of Jewish communities in the region where the cities are situated, and then it will proceed to a comparative depiction of them.

We cannot talk about social-history of Europe, without what historians, politicians and intellectuals of the last three centuries called the "Jewish question" or the "Jewish problem". The existence and universality of the "question" is proof to the fact that not only they were present in almost every European region, but that they were an important "element" in the "problem" that empires, than nation-states had to solve in one way or another.

During the Middle Ages beside their economic function (being able to practice trades that were, considered not respectable for the Christian man), they also had an even more important imagologic and social function. Imagologicaly, as defined by Saint Augustine, they constituted a pariah community that served as negative example, to those who would dare to stray from the Christian path, and from a sociological point of view, they served as the prefect scapegoat on which in time of crisis of unknown origin the community could focus their anger.

With the rise of the modern age, and of the nation state in which homogeneous "imagined community of citizens"[45], as defined by Benedict Anderson, became a desired objective, the

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[45] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, New York: Verso, 1991), p.6

perceivable difference of the Jewish communities –difference in creation of which Christianity played no small role- became a problem. As a result of its presence, antisemitism, as Shulamit Volkov concluded, grew into a cultural code[46]. Both of these factors led to what I call a flailed sociological experiment that lasted almost two centuries and had its "grand finale" during the Holocaust/Shoa.

The Hungarian case is a good example, for the above mentioned statement, being one of the regions in Europe where the formal (institutional) integration of the Jewish population reached one of its highest level (Jewish religion being recognized as an equal counterpart of the of other religions of the Austro-Hungarian empire), but still on the informal level anitsemitic feelings were on the rise (being part of a larger movement that took place all over Europe), culminating during the second world war.

The three cities of my research have a common background; all being important centers in the Hungarian kingdom during the middle ages as a result the laws that regulated their status were more or less the same (as cities in the middle ages were mostly autonomous entities). With the invasion of the ottomans, Budapest and Timişoara fell under Ottoman influence and administration, but Kolozsvár, became one of the main urban and cultural centers of the Transylvanian principality. With the defeat of the Ottomans, by the Hapsburgs all three regions once again came under common administration (Timişoara being the last to be retaken 1718). With the creation of the Dual Monarchy all three cities became part of the Hungarian part of the Empire (Timişoara being the last one to be integrated as it was under direct imperial control until 1759). The situation changed again after the First World War when Transylvania and Banat became part of Romania, this meaning that Timişoara and Cluj came under Romanian law and administration. During the Second World War as the result of the Vienna treaty,

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[46] Shulamit Volkov, *Antisemitism as a Cultural Code* (Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, XXIII. 1978), pp.25-45

northern Transylvania became once again part of Hungary, just to be given back to Romania after the war. From this short narration of events we can see that the "destinies" of the three cities are connected being affected by the same larger political processes, but in quite different ways, this difference being main reason for this particular comparison.

4.1 The Jews of Buda and Pest from the 10th Century until the Battle of Mohács

The history of the Jewish population on the territory that was under Hungarian influence is a very interesting one, they being able to claim, having the archeological evidence to back it up[47], that from all the ethnic groups that bring forth the argument of "the first one to settle" they are the most entitled to do so. During the Middle Ages there were several Jewish communities on the territory of Hungary. Their legal status was regulated, by a series of decrees, the first one being promulgated in 1096 by the council of Szabolcs[48]. The laws that defined the status of Jews and their relation with Christians during 12-13th centuries, were not as harsh as those adopted in the rest of Europe, but these were not always respected (ex. even if high official positions were restricted by law to Christians it is not uncommon that they in fact were occupied by people of Jewish fate).

From all the three cities Budapest was first one that had a Jewish community which can be dated back to 1241/42. Their settling was part of the modernization program of King Béla IV. The first location of the Jewish quarters was on today's Castle Hills.[49] He granted them the right to practice their religion, to choose their own rabbis and Judges to build Synagogues. In

[47] Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary* (Detroit: Wayne University press 1996), pp. 17-30
[48] ibid., p.41
[49]Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Kormoczy, Victoria Pusztai and Andrea Strbik, *Jewish Budapest: Monuments Rites, History* (Budapest: Central European University Press 1999), p.3

return for these freedoms the Jewish community was expected to pay a special tax.   As other Jewish community in Europe the Jews from the Kingdom of Hungary were considered to be under the direct rule of the King (who could sometime delegate this task to one of his functionaries), and this offered the community a certain amount of protection, from random violence. Their legal status remained more or less stable until the fall of the Hungarian Kingdom; however there were some periods of uncertainty, like the transitional moments, between the death of the King and the naming of his successor, when their legal status was in limbo. Also it was not uncommon for kings to practice the procedure of letter killing which consisted in the annulment of all debts that Christians owned to non-Christians, practice that frequently put Jews in an unpleasant financial situation.

Their "physical existence" as a community, in Hungary and in Buda, during the Middle Ages is considered by the historian Raphael Patai safer than those form the other regions of Europe[50], the reason being the strange habit of some Hungarian Kings to be more tolerant to the Jews on what was considered Hungarian territory, than to those that they recently occupied. This was not always the rule however as proved by their expulsion from the kingdom in 1360 during the reign of King Lajos the Great. Nonetheless the edict was revoked four years later in 1364. Historians give two possible explanations for this expulsion, one being the outbreak of the black plague Jews being considered direct culprits in it, the other being their unwillingness to convert to Christianity. The reason of the revocation of the edict was the increasing financial difficulties the Kingdom encountered after their expulsion. On their return their resettling was quite problematic as their estates were sized by the nobility, who were quite reluctant to relinquish their newly gained property. The new Jewish quarter was organized around the lower

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[50]Patai, *The Jews of Hungary*, p.55

part of Tancsics Mihály street, in the vicinity of the old Magna Curia Regis also named Kammerhof[51].

After the battle of Mohács most of the original community, that inhabited the city, since the 11th century was scattered in the Balkans but after 1541 when Buda officially was occupied by the Ottomans, some of the members of the former community started moving back, to the former Jewish quarter. Under the Ottoman rule, the community grew into one the largest one on the territory of the former Hungarian Kingdom. As in the rest of the Ottoman Empire in Budapest the community was granted autonomy in their communal affairs but this status meant certain restrictions on their personal freedoms[52]. Their tranquil existence was however abruptly terminated with the recapture of Buda by the forces of the Habsburg Empire in 1686, which completely destroyed the community that existed here for almost 400 years[53].

4.2 Jewish Population in the Transylvania Principality and Cluj during the 17th Century

Sources that contain information about Jewish populations in Transylvania before the battle of Mohács, after which the region became an autonomous principality, are very scarce. There are some financial complains filed by the Romanian Princes against the Jewish inhabitants of Brașov in the years of 1495 1535[54]. From the scarceness of the sources we can presuppose that the Jewish population in this region, during the Middle Ages until the proclamation of the Transylvanian principality in 1568 by Szapolyai János, was almost non existent or at least they didn't fulfill any important role.

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[51] Frojimovics, *Jewish Budapest,* p.7
[52] Ibid., p.26
[53] Ibid., p.40
[54] Mose Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria Evreilor din Transilvania* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994), p.7

The situation changed in 1623 when in an effort to financially stabilize the region, after the events that took place in the principality at the beginning of the 17th century, Prince Betlehen Gábor, started a policy of colonization which targeted especially Jewish and Greek merchants[55]. He granted them a charter of 11 privileges that gave Jews the right to settle in the principality, and to travel without any restriction. The charter also gave them the right to practice their religion, and to wear Christian garments without any distinctive sign, to be punished according to the laws that applied to the rest of the population, the crime of the individual not affecting the rest of the community. The charter was also approved also by the Diet of Transylvania and became the legal basis for the Jewish status in Transylvania for over two centuries, with the condition that it should not interfere with the privileges of the free towns, and followed by the reintroduction of the obligation to wear the specific distinctive Jewish clothing in 1650[56]. The result of the former stipulation was that Jews were kept out of most Transylvanian cities with the exception of Alba Iulia. The XVII century was also the period when the first Jews settled in Cluj County, but it was impossible for them to live in the city until the very end of the XVIII century, as it was forbidden for them to own any kind of property on the territory of the city.

4.3 The Jews in Banat and Timişoara under Turkish domination in the 16-17 Centuries:

The Banat region was originally was under Hungarian rule most part of the middle ages, but its ownership was uncertain after the battle of Mohács, until the Ottomans captured the citadel of Timişoara. The province was reorganized according to the ottoman model and together with

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[55] Ladislau Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Insitutul Intercultural Român, 2004), p.13
[56] Ibid., p.14-15

Belgrade becoming *elayet*'s, and keeping this status under the 160 yeas of Ottoman administration.[57]   This is the context as Victor Neumann states that the first Jewish communities settled in the region, the first Jewish cemetery in Timişoara that dates back to 1636 effectively proving this[58]. The first Jews who settled here belonged to the Sephardic community. It is supposed that the Jews from Banat as those from Budapest and the rest of the territory under ottoman administration, enjoyed communal autonomy, in exchange having to pay certain protection tax to the Sultan.

4.4 The Habsburg takeover in the 18th Century: Jews under Maria Teresa and Joseph II

The three cities and the regions in which they were situated faced again major political change during the XVIII century as the Habsburg Empire slowly retook control of most of the territories that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages. The process actually started with the capture of the city of Buda in 1686. Transylvania came under Habsburg influence after the peace treaty of Karlovitz in 1699, however the principality manifested strong opposition, which led to the armed opposition of the newly elected Transylvanian prince Ferencz Rákoczi II. After the defeat of the prince in 1711 Transylvania, was reorganized as grand principality under the administration of a Habsburg governor. Banat was the last of the three regions to come under Habsburg rule after the siege of Timişoara in 1716, and was separately administered by the Empire until 1779. As a result the Jewish communities fell under common administration, which under the rule of Maria Theresia,

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[57] Victor Neuman, *The End of History: The Jews of Banat from the Beginning till Nowadays* (Bucharest: Editura Universității, 2006), p.13
[58] Ibid., p.13

became more and more restrictive, one of the reasons being her strong, Catholic convictions, convictions which as in the case of other pious emperors/kings lead to series of edicts that do not bode well for religious minorities. To facilitate the supervision of the Jewish communities in Transylvania and Banat, the institution of the Ober Rabin was created[59], which even if went against their usual internal autonomy survived until the mid 19th century and it was specific only to these two regions.

Emperor Joseph II in his effort to transform the various ethnicities under Habsburg control into one nation under the banner of German culture drew up the decree of *Systematica Gentis Judaica Regulatio*(1783). The decree was an attempt to integrate the Jewish population into the attempted "Habsburg identity", and was in fact the first great emancipatory act of modern times that affected the Jews in Europe, predating the one that had its origin in the French revolution[60]. The decrees lifted numerous restrictions against the social group that were in use since the Middle Ages. The Jews were given the right to settle in any part of the empire, and practice any trade of their liking,-most of which were previously prohibited. The Jews were also permitted to enter into Christian schools and better themselves up to university level.

Under the Rule of Joseph II and the enactment of the Systematica Genits Judaica Regulatio the status of the Jewish communities under Habsburg rule radically changed. The main goal of the decree was in fact the social integration of Jewish population. To achieve this, they were forbidden to ware any degrading distinctive marks (specific clothing, signs of Jewisness, etc.) to which previously they were obliged to. Military service was made compulsory and theoretically al positions and ranks were opened to them. Their family names went trough a

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[59]Neuman, *The End of History*, p.25
[60] Victor Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era: A Socio-Historical Outline* (Budapest: Central European Press, 2004), pp.158-159

process of germanification. The emperor even attempted to force Jews not to ware beards, but this measure, provoked a vehement protest from the Orthodox Jews[61].

The main goal of all these measures was to considerably lessen the social distances between the Jewish population and the rest of the ethnicities that inhabited the territories under the rule of the Habsburg Empire thus making their integration smoother. With the death of Joseph II however the emancipation process stopped, and many of the rights which were given to the Jews were, not necessarily retracted, but overlooked by the governing councils of different towns, and they were not "fully emancipated" until the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867.

The Jewish Community in Budapest during the 18th Century

With the destruction of the Jewish community in Buda after the city was taken by the Habsburg forces, and also because of the restrictions instated by Maria Tereza, they were only allowed to resettle in O-Buda, on the manorial estate of the Zichy family. Within three centuries they became one of the larges communities in the country. They were allowed to elect public officials, have their own juridical institutions, and build institution, in exchange of a tax that they had to pay to the landowner. The Jews and Christians in O-Buda lived side by side and had equal rights[62]. Being under the protection of a landowner, they were less exposed to the usual Jew-hatred. It was one of the first modern communities in the region of Budapest. There were no separate communities; Jews were living among the rest of the inhabitants, being separated only by the organization of their communal life, which had its center on Lajos street.

In Pest the Jews were allowed to settle in 1786-untill than they were forced to live outside the former city walls in the developing quarter of Terézváros- as the result of the reforms

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[61] Ibid.,
[62]Frojimovics, *Jewish Budapest*, p.44

introduced by Joseph II, however they had to subject to a number of restrictions. Even if they could rent permanent apartments, and maintain bookshops and stores, they were not allowed to advertise the latter, or engage in wholesale trade.

The Jewish Community of Timişoara in the 18th Century

The situation of the Jewish community on the territory of Banat, constitutes a special case in the Habsburg Empire, as its legal status was regulated by a decree named "*Judenordnung*" (1776) which aimed to control their number, an increase being considered as a threat to imperial interests in the region[63]. The decree also forced the existing Sephardim and Ashkenazi community to merge into a single one having a rabbi as the head of the community, and German official in charge of administrative problems[64]. The other interesting fact was that from the three cities Timisoara was the only one that permitted Jews to live inside the city.

The main question that we should ask about the Judenordnung is that did it have it's origin an anti-Jewish attitude of the Hapsburg empire, or was it part of a bigger that applied to al the populations in the Banat region as an attempt to stabilize the region, it being an important borderland between the Habsburg empire and the Ottoman Empire. Victor Neuman argues for the latter one, making the point that the Judenordnung was part of a larger reform process initiated in the same year (1776), which was aimed at the heterogeneous population of the region and originates form Vienna's suspicion towards it [65]. Most of the imposed constrains are due to the fact that the province was under the administration of the Provincial Headquarters of War which usually resulted in a much stricter military administration. Neuman points out that" the measures taken against the Jewish population (...) belong to the same mercantile Austrian

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[63]Neuman, *The End of History*, p.25
[64]Ibid., p.29
[65] Ibid.,

system yearning to change the region's attitude, to create a new type of solidarity, and to integrate the groups badly needed for carrying out its policy, socially and economically"[66]. The rules regulations of the Judenordnung remained in practice until 1778, after which their status was regulated by the newly enacted Systematica Gentis Judaica Regulatio.

As the result of the "special treatment" of the region the Jews of Timişoara were relatively free to organize themselves without to much fear from persecution they being assimilated into the social category of merchants, however there were still some religious restrictions they had to obey. The first house of prayer was located in an arched hall under the Eugen de Savoy Gate, and functioned there from 1739 to 1754 and from 1755 to 1762. In 1760 there were contracts for the building of two Synagogues; however they were inaugurated around the 1860's. The reforms of Joseph II also provided possibilities for the opening of Jewish schools, but these measures met a lot of resistance from the part of the more traditional part of the community, as it went against the traditional educational system.

The Jewish Community of Cluj in the 18th Century

The situation of the Jews in Cluj was more dire that that the ones in Budapest or Timişoara, as most of the Imperial edicts were bogged down by the privileged status of the free Transylvanian towns in fact 88.9% of the Jewish population in Transylvania lived in Alba-Iulia[67].

In 1784 the Council of Cluj voted in spite of the imperial edicts not to allow any acquisition or renting of property to Jews[68]. The first Jews settled in the part of the city called Mănăştur. Jewish merchants were permitted to participate to local fairs but could sell their merchandise

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[66] Ibid.,
[67] Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania,* p.49
[68] Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria Evreilor din Transilvania*, p.89

only in specially assigned places[69]. The first conscription of the Jewish population was realized in 1753 from where we can see that in Cluj county there was only one Jewish family, and in 1785 on the territory of the city lived one family with 2 members[70].

Even if al the three regions in which the studied cites were situated, were reunited under the rule of the house of Habsburg, as the result of the particular relation of all the three regions with the ruler, (explained by the structure of the social relation characteristic for the ancient regime)[71], what started to develop was three unique situations of inter-group relations that indirectly had a long term effect on the relations between the local and Jewish communities, that in the end conditioned the implementation of more centralized reforms on the local level.

4.5 Jews in the Reform Period

During the reform period "the Jewish question" became again an important subject in parliamentary discussion, and also in the media of the day. One of the social reasons behind the sudden fervor with which the Jewish question made its début can be found in the polarization of the Hungarian society caused by the increasing importance of the national question that dissolved the multi structured society characteristic for the anicente regime. The consequence was that from a society in which every social groups status was defined by social contract between the ruler and itself, the Jewish communities found themselves in one where uniformity among citizens was emphasized and they as a group which was the most socially distant from the others became alienated and started taking on the characteristics of a ethnic-religious

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[69] Mose Carmilly-Winberger, *Kolozsvári zsidóság emlékkönyve* (New-York: Sepher-Hermon Press INC.1988), pp.13-14
[70] Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania,* pp.19-21
[71] Roger Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,1992), p.38

minority. This is the precise moment in which the "Jewish question" debuted as a problem in contrast to which the Hungarian national identify started to define itself.

The persons, who pleaded for the emancipation of the Jews, were the great landowners, who valued them for their commercial enterprise and economic utility. The opposition's voice was primarily represented by, as Tom D. Kramer, named them "theological and fiscal reactionaries"[72]. The debate was also joined by the liberal factions, who saw in the integration of the Jewish population a potential way to increase the numbers of Magyars, who, as a number of historians state, because of the turbulence of the past centuries had a real problem in maintaining the status of majority[73].

During the revolution of 1848 Jews played an important part, providing logistical and economic support for the revolutionary government, and even taking part in the fighting, expressing their will (especially the reform oriented communities) to assimilate in the Hungarian nation, however the emancipation was proclaimed only on July 28 1849, when the defeat of the Hungarian forces was inevitable. Even thou the Hungarian Jews manifested a strong will to integrate into Hungarian society, there was a strong anti-Jewish feeling from the part of the Hungarian population, manifested in the sudden pogrom like phenomenon across the country.

The Jewish community as such also had to embrace against storm that was growing from inside the community between the Orthodox and enlightened factions as the result of the haskalah, and which led to its implosion and segregation after their emancipation. The defeat of the revolutionary forces thwarted the emancipating process, but still especially the reform oriented Jews remained faithful to the integration into the fabrics of Hungarian society.

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[72] T.D Kramer, *From Emmancipation to Catastrophe: The rise and Holocaust of the Hungarian Jewry* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2000), p.3
[73] Ibid., p.4

The Jews of Cluj-Napoca from 1800 till the Emancipation

With the growth of the Jewish community in Cluj which in 1838 numbered 120 souls[74], the first attempts to build a synagogue appeared, but these were rejected by the local council, religious life taking place in the houses of the members. In 1818 the community succeeded in building a prayer house, in what today is known as the Mănăştur district[75]. Other institutions that were typical to traditional Jewish communities were established like the Chevra Kadisah which was inaugurated in 1837[76]. Jakab Elek in the "History of Cluj" states that harassment of Jews ended in1842 with the lifting of the interdiction that stopped them settling in the city by the City Council[77].

Im.1 the Orthodox Synagogue in Cluj Napoca(photo by Author)

From a confessional point of view, during the reform period community is drawn into the clash between the Orthodox and reformist movements of the faith. The conflict debuted when after the death of Oberrabin Ezechiel Paneth, in 1844. The Jewish community from Cluj which was rather an adept of Orthodoxy did not accept the authority of the newly appointed reformist Abraham Frideman. Their position was also strengthened by the enlargement of the community to 479 souls and the building of the new synagogue (im.1). Also as a final act of resistance they

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[74] Ladiszlau Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania in the Age of Emancipation* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 2000), p. 33
[75]Carmilly-Winberger, *Kolozsvári zsidóság emlékkönyve,* p.98
[76] Ibid.,
[77] Ibid., p.33

invited the controversial Orthodox rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein to be the head rabbi of the community[78].

The first school of the community was opened in 1840. The curriculum contains German, Hungarian, Hebrew, biblical history, geography, arithmetic, and calligraphy[79]. Another school was opened in 1853, through the efforts of Oberrabin Fridemann based on a reformist model, but Lichtenstein managed to persuade the community to close it, as he considered the new type of education the "killer of religion"[80].

The Jews of Budapest from 1800-untill Emancipation

Form the three studied cities the Pest part was the second one to have a numerous Jewish community inside the city after Timişoara, but the relations between them and the rest of the city were far from being as harmonious as in the latter case.

One of the most important sites of the Jewish life in Budapest became the Orzcy House the patron of which was József Orczy a member of the enlightened nobility of Hungary. The Orcys allowed Jews in their city houses practicing their rights as landowners, but in an urban center. The Jews living here were in an official contractual relationship with the city of Pest. The Orcy house and its surroundings became a kind of safe haven for the Jewish population who until now was restricted mostly outside the city limits. Because with time most of the inhabitants were Jewish the house was called Judenhof.[81] It not only became a safe haven for them but also started to look like a permanent Jewish community, with all the specific institutions that the community should have: a ritual bath, and synagogue, schools etc. Soon a committee of 12

[78]Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania*, pp.55-56
[79]Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania in the age of Emancipation,* p.101
[80] Ibid.,
[81]Frojimovics, *Jewish Budapest,* pp.71-72

Jewish tenants was formed that became the mediatory instance between the tenants' city and also the Civil Merchant's corporation of Pest[82]. The moment from which we can define the Jewish tenants as a community is with the employment of the first Rabbi in 1802[83]. They were legally defined by the city in 1812. There were two prayer houses inside the building the first opening in 1796 and the second one in 1830 which was used by the Jews orientated towards the Haskalah community which became the seed of the Neolog community after the rupture in 1867[84].

During the revolution of 1848 the Orcy house was the place of anti-Jewish revolts by the population, the participants blaming them for the high rents in the city, and demanding their expulsion, from the city and from the National Guard[85]. The anti-Jewish manifestation during the revolution of 48-49 can be linked to the emigration waves that started during this period, from the cities in which most of the violence occurred[86].

Under the effect of the haskalah the gap between the Orthodox and the reform oriented Jews continuously widened after the failure of the revolution. The reform movement followed the German pattern, not just copying it but adapting it to local conditions its results being very visible in the building of the Dohány Street(im.2) synagogue, finished in 1859, which was planed according to the needs and beliefs of the reformers[87].

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[82] Ibid., p.75
[83] Ibid.,
[84] Ibid., p.79
[85] Ibid., p.100
[86] Ibid., p.104
[87] Ibid.,, p.107

The Jews of Timişoara and Banat from 1800 until the Emancipation Period

The Jewish community of Banat and Timişoara where, comparing them with those existent in Cluj, primarily reform oriented. Services were often held in German language, this causing a negative reaction from the Hungarian government which tried to introduce mainly Hungarian as the language in which the services were held[88], as in the eyes of the parliament Jews were to be assimilated in the ranks of the Magyars this way being able to increase their dwindling number on the territory of Banat and Transylvania. The relations between them an the rest of the citizen body was surprisingly good, in fact interethnic relations in general were peaceful fact proven, as Victor Neuman remarks, by a joint prayer for peace at the outbreak of the revolution, in what today is known as Piața Libetății.

Im.2 Neolog Synagogue on Dohány Street, Budapest (photo by author)

Im.3 Status Qvo Synagogue on Rombach Street, Budapest(photo by author)

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[88] Neuman, *The End of History,* p.69

4.6 Jews during the Emancipation period

During the second half of the 19th century, the Monarchy had to face a very unusual situation, caused by its internal diversity a diversity which because of the spreading of the national ideal, threatened to rip it apart. To ease the internal pressure some concession had to be made, by recognizing the national status of the larger ethnical groups as the Magyars. But even if the Magyars were a significant part of the ethnical fabric of the Monarchy they could not claim the majority status on the territories that were under their administration. As Victor Karady states the Hungarian Noble class had to seek allies in their program of nation-building and modernization[89]. The Jewish population turned out to be almost perfect allies as not only their numbers were significant enough to tip the ethnic balance in the favor of the Hungarians, but they also showed willingness to be integrated, in the ranks of the Magyars.

The defeat suffered by the Empire at the battle of Koniggratz, can be considered as a fortunate event for the Jewish communities across the territory of Hungary, as it led to the fundamental revision of the administration of the empire which materialized in the Ausgleich, which indirectly caused the emancipation of the Jews. In December 1867 the process of institutional emancipation was virtually completed with the approval of the bill sponsored by the Minister of Education and Religious Affair, proposed by Eötvös József[90]. The bill however had three unexpected side effects. The first one was bringing to the stage of the Hungarian public life the internal conflict of the Jewish fate that was brewing since the reform attempts of Moses Mendelssohn, between the Orthodox factions and the reform oriented ones (a conflict that in Transylvania was already well known).   As a result the Hungarian Jewish community was split into three factions: Ortodox, Neolog, and Status Qvo. Regardless off their orientations however

[89] Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era*, p.170
[90] Kramer, *From Emmancipation to Catastrophe,* p.9

all three factions manifested strong will to assimilate into the Hungarian society, considering themselves as Hungarians of Mosaic fate. The final act of the emancipation was the acceptance of the Mosaic fate as a religio recepta, this lifting it to an equal status with the other two main religions on the territory of Hungary, Catholicism and Presbiterinaism[91].

The second side effect, which in the long run was devastating for the communities across the Hungarian territory, was the rise of the anitsemitic tendencies. I argue that this had it's origins in the in the incapability of the receiving identity to adapt and itself and assimilate, what can be described from it's point of view, as an assault of another identity that was through out the century served as the significant other, against which it defined itself. The more assimilated the Jewish population became the more vehement and organized the anitsemitic movement became.

The third effect was the rise of Zionism, inspired by the romantic idea of the nation that was extremely popular during the 19th century. The fathers of the concept were Teodor Herzl a Max Nordau, and they were the first to argue for the Jew as a nationality, and militated for the creation of a National Jewish State. The new orientation was not well received by neither the Jewish communities (the Orthodox wanting to stay out of politics, and the Neologs trying to assimilate into the Hungarian nations), or by the state which through the emancipation of Jews and their inclusion into the ranks of the Magyars, managed to become the national majority of Hungary.

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[91] Ibid., p12

The Jews of Budapest in from the Emancipation period until the First World War

If in the fiftieth of the nineteenth century the number of the Jewish population in Buda and Pest was of 17618 until the ninetieth this number rose to 1000000 and until 1910 to 203678[92]. This increase of population, contrary to the theories of the time which attributed it to the immigration of Galician Jews, was the result population movements on the territory of the Empire primarily from the countryside, which caused great concern –as any other irregular demographic changes- at the time. The inhabitants of Budapest felt that they were under a "Jewish siege", feeling that was based primarily on "optical illusions". The fist one was that the Jews from the countryside were Orthodox which made them "stand out of the crowd" and the second one was that contrary to the expectations of the time the newcomers did not disperse equally in to the population of the capital but tended to settle into the areas that hosted the local Jewish population –fact that should not surprise us considering the newcomers congregational preferences- which were Terézváros and Lipótváros[93].

By the middle of the 19h century Jewish quarter of Pest grew, and can be geographically localized in the "Jewish triangle" having as points of reference the Synagogue in Dohány street, the Synagogue in Rumbach Sebestyén (im.3) street and the Ortodox Synagogue in Kazyncy street (im.4)[94].

In the second part of the 19th century Budapest as the capital of the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, became the place where the debate concerning the Jewish emancipation and interconfessional split took place, in which the Jewish community of the city had an important role.

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[92] Gyurgyák János, *A zsidó kérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), p.78
[93] Ibid., p.79
[94] Frojimovics, *Jewish Budapest*, p.105

With the building of the new Neolog synagogue the Orthodox community, which was now "restrained" to the synagogue in the Orcy house set out to build their own synagogue. The result was the Synagogue from The Sebestyén Rombach street, but because there were some minor deviations from the traditional way the building was never accepted by the Orthodox community, and it became identified with the Status Qvo congregation[95].

Im.4 Orthodox Synagogue on Kazyncy Street, Budapest(photo by Author)

The Ortodox community managed to build its own Synagogue in 1913; however they incorporated the surrounding buildings forming an enclosed Jewish quarter according to the Orthodox traditions incorporating all the initiations that were necessary for a traditional way of life[96].

The relations between the Jewish community and the population of the city were generally harmonious on the surface, however as the Blood Label Trial of Tiszaeszlár showed the locals could be easily antagonized into open riots against the Jews. As a result of the not guilty verdict in the Blood Label Trial, violent ate Jewish demonstrations raged in the capital, Jewish stores were broken in and Jews were attacked in the streets. The government could only restore order by bringing in on the 11th of August 1883 several army units to restore order[97].

[95] Ibid., p.134
[96] Ibid., p.147
[97] Patai, *The Jews of Hungary*, p.50

The Jewish community of Cluj after from the emancipation until the First World War
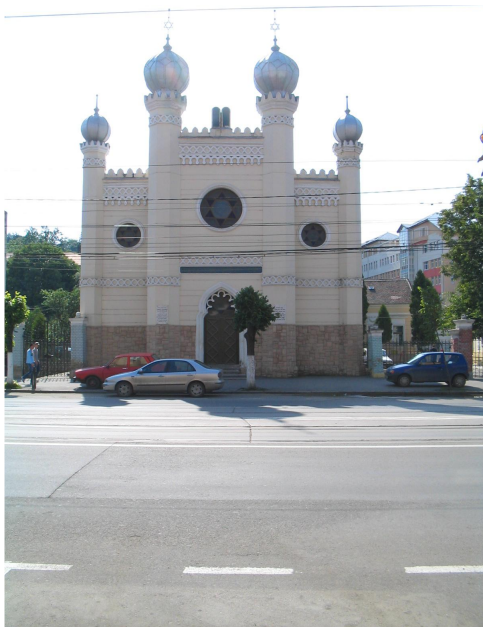
Im.5 Neolog Synagogue Cluj-
Napoca(photo by Author)

The case of Cluj is quite the opposite of Timişoara, here the community being predominantly Orthodox, which resisted for a long time any attempt of reformation. The community is well organized opening a school for boys in accordance with their traditions in 1875[98] followed by the opening of a school for girls in 1908[99].

The Neolog community is officially organized in 1881, followed by the building of the Synagogue in 1884(im.5). The primary school of the community is established in 1903 having 2 teachers and 5 classes. The cit also becomes an important religious learning center with the establishment in 1871 of the Talmud Torah[100]. The Zionist movement was unusually popular in both Jewish communities of Cluj, being intensely promoted by the rabbis of each congregation[101].

There is no direct indication of how the Jewish population of Cluj reacted towards the policy of magyarization however the drastic change in the statistics can give us a general idea about it. According to the numbers given by Laszlo Gyémánt the number of Jews in 1869 was of 3008 just to fall in 1880 to 1061 and in 1890 to increase again to 4313[102]. Now this fluctuation in their numbers can only be explained by their inclusion (forced or voluntary) in the ranks of the Magyars, as during this period there was no radical event that could cause such a radical fluctuation in their population.

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[98] Gyémánt, *The Jews from Transylvania*, p.97
[99] Ibid., p.211
[100] Ibid., p.97
[101] Carmilly-Weinberger, *Istoria Evreilor din Transilvania,* p.150
[102] Gyémánt, *The Jews from Transylvania,* p.94

The Jews of Timişoara from the Emancipation until the First World War.

From all the three studied cities the Jewish community of Timişoara was the most fortunate one, as the region of Banat as characterized by Victor Neuman was actually the only region in which the Habsburg experiment functioned, creating a multi ethnic and multi-religious melting pot in which tolerance was at home[103].

The Jewish population in Timişoara between 1860-1910 tripled from a number of 2360 to 6728, this also being illustrated by the fact that there were six synagogues built during the mentioned period. The main language used by the Jews in the city was predominantly Hungarian, and there was a high percent of intermarriages, the phenomenon of magyarization being more intense in the case of the Neolog community; however this as Victor Neuman argues, does not necessarily mean assimilation, but can be characterized as integration.

The governments policy to assimilate the Jewish population during the reform period from an institutional point of view was a success, managing to tip the ethnical scales in the favor of the Magyars, however on the level of inter group relations the situation was far from being a success. If we tried to create a graphic measuring the level of integration of the Jewish population into the ranks of the citizens in the three case studies the two extremes would be Timişoara, and Budapest, the first one representing the most complete level of integration, and the latter one being the negative example, with Cluj-Napoca occupying the middle position.

4.7 The Jewish community during the interwar period

The period after the first world war was a very turbulent one for the people of Jewish faith as the antisemitic movements intensified all over Europe which led to the tragic unfolding of the

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[103]Neumann, *The End of History,* p. 59

Holocaust. These were directly expressed in different legislations that led to their increasing segregation annihilating all the progress made toward their social integration, and even if we it could not state that these measures were part of a great master plan concerning their elimination but in any case they did made the implementation of the final solution much easier as the target population was more easily identifiable.

For the members of the three studied communities life was also complicated by the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and the territorial changes that took place after the peace treaty of Versailles. Hungary became an independent state, but lost most a huge part of it's territories to the neighboring states, which included also Transylvania and Banat the latter two becoming part of Romania. As a result Timişoara and Cluj fell under Romanian legislation and Budapest being the capital of Hungary under Hungarian legislation.

The status of the communities in Banat and Transylvania was defined by the Minorities Treaty signed by the Romanian delegation at Saint Germain. The treaty guaranties equal rights to all the citizens of the state indifferent of religion or ethnicity, and also emancipates the Jews of Romania granting them citizenship, which was until now restricted to Jewish inhabitants as the Romanian constitution of 1868 states that a citizen must be of Christian faith. There were some parts of the original treaty that are not accepted by the delegates like the inclusion of the Sabath as a state holiday and the state financing of Jewish schools[104].

 The Mărzescu law(1924) concerning citizenship had an unexpected side effect for the Transylvanian Jews. It required that for the granting of citizenship one must prove his/hers nativity meaning that they had to prove that they were living in the province prior to 1 of December 1918 and were registered in the Town Hall rows in the locality of origin[105]. 3000

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[104]Gyémánt, *The Jews from Transylvania,* pp.104-105
[105] Ibid., p.249

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Jewish families failed to comply with the requirements set forth by the law and as a result lost their citizenship[106]. Other laws that affected the Romanian Jewish communities were the public worship law of 1928, concerning the status of the communities[107], and the bill of private education of 1925[108]

As the result of the failure of the elections in 1937 in which no party managed to obtain the majority necessary to form the government king Carol II charged the National-Christian party led by A.C Cuza and Octavian Goga with the task of creating it. The new government enacted the bill of citizenship in which those Jews who could not present the documents required by the Mărzescu law in 30 days would loose their citizenship.

For Hungary the status of the Jewish population became increasingly difficult, as the country emerged with a scarred national identity affected by what Attila Pók calls the "Trianon syndrome"[109], caused by the loosing the war and a huge part of its territory, which now had to redefine itself. In the chaotic years after the Treaty of Trianon as R.Pathai states suddenly Jews became almost the only minority on the territory of the new state and fulfilled the role of the "significant other"[110] for the new Hungarian identity that now was being built in line with the new racial theories that were spreading in Europe in the interwar period.

Their situation was also worsened by the fact that between the supporters and organizers of the October revolution of 1918 a large number was of Jewish fate. Of the twenty members of the "National comity" 11 were Jewish (even thou they refused to identify with their confession which is understandable as theoretically communism and religions are two self-excluding

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[106] Ibid.,
[107] Ibid., 106
[108] Ibid., p.249
[109] Attila Pók, "The Politics of Hatred: Scapegoating in Interwar Hungary" *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics Nationalism in Central and South Eastern Europe,* edited by Marius Turda and Paul J. Windling (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), p.375
[110] Patai, *The Jews of Hungary,* p.511-512

concepts)[111]. Even if as J.Gyurgyák states that the October Revoluiton is far from being some kind of a Jewish conspiracy, as there was considerable opposition against it from a large number of Jewish communities throughout the country[112], still the Hungarian public opinion attributed it to them.

The first law that affected the Hungarian Jewish communities was the "numerus clasusus" enacted under the government led by Bethlen István. The law limited the access of students in higher education according to the national and racial proportions of the population of the country[113]. The law itself was not expressly formulated as an anti-Jewish law, but because the Hungarians of Jewish fate were practically the only minority in Hungary, indirectly it very much targeted them.

The redefinition of the legal status of the Jewish community happened with the passing of the first of a series of measures that continuously segregate them form the Hungarian population, in 1938 which was then again modified a year later in may 1939. What the second Jewish law brought new was the more concrete definition of the Jewish status based upon racial criteria (Jew is considered every person born to at least one Jewish parent or two Jewish grandparents, except those who were wounded or decorated during the in World War I)[114], but still what tried to do as R.Patai states was "only" to exclude the Jewish elements from the economic life of the country[115].

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[111] Gyurgyák, *The Jewish Question in Hungary*, p.98
[112] Ibid., pp.100-101
[113] Ibid., p.117-118
[114] Patai, *The Jews of Hungary*, pp.538-539
[115] Ibid., p.549

The Jewish community of Cluj during the interwar period

The antisemitic movements of the 20s did not leave Cluj untouched. In November 1922 the extreme right students of the Faculty of Medicine organize a protest demanding the introduction of the "numerus clasusus" principle. The protest disperses over the whole community, the rioters devastating several Jewish owned shops, the dorm of the Jewish Students and the redaction of the "Új Kelet" newspaper[116]. The riots repeat themselves at the General Press Conference organized in the city. In 1927 the students members of the Iron Guard, participating in the Student Congress organized in Oradea start a series of anti-Jewish riots, traveling from here to several other cites including Cluj repeating the violent acts[117].

In spite of this phenomenon the community continues to grow, solidifying its position in the city with the inauguration of several institutions and organizations, as the state of the art Jewish Hospital built during 1927-1929, enlarged in 1931, or the Small Credit Bank opened with American the help of the American JOINT organization in 1920. There are several local Jewish cultural and social organization like the Marple Lofenes (soul helper) in 1921, the Hagibor sport club having football as it's main specialization in 1920, or the Goldmark philharmonic society opened in the same year. In 1930 the community numbers around 4000 families[118].

This is also the period in which Zionist movement is officially organized with the establishment of National Jewish union in December 1918, which also edits the Új Kelet newspaper this becoming one of the main channels through which Jewish public opinion expresses itself. Even if the Jewish community flourished there were tensions between them and the local population as Jews were identified by Romanians as Magyars with whom also beause of a uneasy history the relations were not the best.

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[116]Gyémánt, *The Jews from Transylvania,* p.120
[117] Ibid., p.121
[118] Carmilly-Weinberger, *Kolozsvári zsidóság emlékkönyve,* pp.139-144

The Jews of Timișoara during the interwar period

The city of Timișoara represents as in the rest of the periods a special case because due to a particular historical background, its population was a tolerant one, in fact the city and the region was as Victor Neuman states, very resistant to antisemitism or any other kind of extreme nationalistic behavior.

The political changes that took place after the war created a peculiar identity problem to the Jewish communities of the city as they were very integrated in the social fabric of the Monarchy. The change of administration forced not only to adopt another language and culture, but also to reorganize their community according to Romanian law. As in the case of Cluj the Zionist movement intensified, due to the new political conditions, with the establishment of the local branch of the National Jewish Union, and the launching of the Neu-Zeit newspaper[119].

The Jews of Budapest during the interwar period

During the interwar period Budapest housed 44.9% of the countries Jewish population[120], but in concordance with the rest of its territory during 1920-1941 there was a continuous decrease in their number from a population of 215 512 to 184 453[121].

As the capital of the country Budapest was one of the centers of anitsemitic movements and organizations and as a result Jewish population of the city was one of the prime targets of the new wave of antisemitism that spread in the county. A terrorist attack was carried out in April 1922 against the Budapest Liberal club most of the members of which were Jews, there were

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[119] Neuman, *The End of History,* p.70
[120] Gyurgyák, *The Jewish Question in Hungary,* p.191
[121] Ibid., p.189

also plans to blow up the Great Synagogue on Dohány Street[122]. The wave of antisemitism faded a bit during the late 20s only to rise again from the middle of the 30s. The community came under direct attack again in 1938 when the members of the Arrow Cross threw a grenade into the crowd of people coming out from mass at the Great Synagogue[123].

In spite of the unfavorable atmosphere of the time the community managed to complete a series of impressive projects like the Heroes Temple, the Museum, The Cultural Centre the Boys and Girls high-school, the Synagogue on Betlehen Gábor ter and the Jewish hospital[124].

The capital was also the primary place were the Zionist movement organized itself with the foundation in 1920 of the Palestine Office which had its principal mission to organize the aliyah[125].
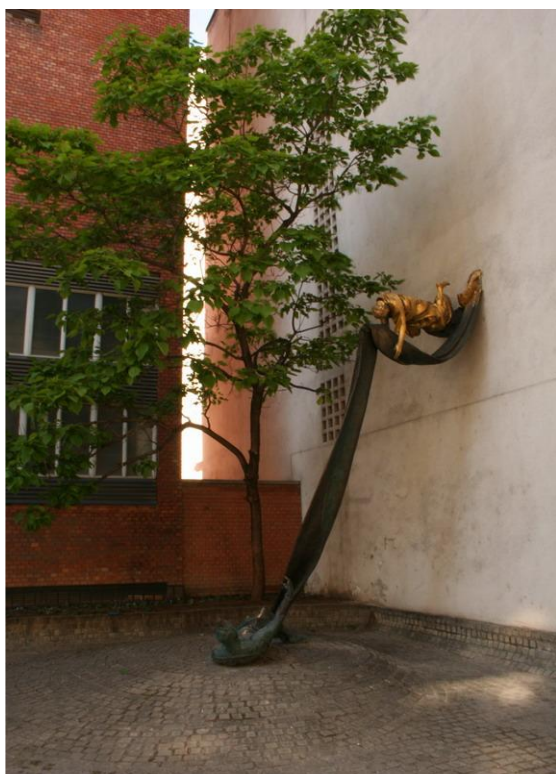
Im.6. the monument erected in the memory of those who in the Seccond World War rescued thousands from certain death. The qute from the Talmud saiz:
Whoever saves a life is considered as if has saved an entire World(photo by author)

4.8 The Jewish communities during the Second World War

With the start of the Second World War and the Treaty of Vienna the Northern part of Transylvania fell again under Hungarian rule. This briefly reunited the communities of Cluj and Budapest under a common destiny bearing the full force of the Nazi racial politics, while the community of Timişoara was more or less sheltered, remaining under Romanian

cy and Legislation, 1920-1943 (Ramat-Gan-Bar-Ilan

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administration, which first of all focused their attention on the Jews from the eastern part of the country. The Jewish communities of Romania were more "lucky" as the result of the shifting policy of the regime led by Ion Antonescu after the defeat of the German army at Stalingrad, the country becoming an escape rout for Jews.

In both countries a series of laws were enacted expressly targeting Jews (Hungary 2 laws) on a racial basis, which now concretely targeted the social segregation of the Jewish population from the rest of society.

The Jews of Cluj Napoca during the Second World War

The Hungarian rule of Cluj was fatal to the city and it effectively sealed their existence in the city. Because of the application of the Jewish laws Jews were almost entirely removed form the public life of the city. However they managed to organize themselves under these harsh conditions trying to live their life as normally as possible, like reopening the Jewish schools. The failed attempt of Hungary to deflect from the Axes powers caused the accelerated implementation of the final solution. Because of Eichman's plan to commence with the deportation starting from the border regions, from all three communities the one From Cluj experienced the most horrific losses.

The German army entered the city on the 24 of March and started arresting the members of the rich families, the Neolog Synagogue was destroyed[126]. The ghetto was established in the Iris brick producing plant under the command of dr. Balázs Endre, close to the train station, to facilitate the deportation process to Auschwitz-Birkenau[127]. The 16148 Jews of Cluj were deported in 6 groups: 3130 on 25 of may, 3100 on 31 of may, 3100 on 2 of June, and the

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[126] Carmilly-Weinberger, *Kolozsvári zsidóság emlékkönyve,* p.220
[127] Ibid., p.224

remaining 1447 on 9 of June. 90% of them die in concentration the concentration camps[128].

After the end of the war less then 1000 make their way back to the, city[129].

The Jews of Timişoara under the Second World War

Timişoara together with south Transylvania had the "luck" to remain under Romanian administration, so because the policy of Antonescian regime started to change after the victory of the Axes powers was not so obvious the prospect of deportation of the Jews from the western, (as a large part of the Jewish population especially from Moldova and the occupied territories by the Romanian army after 40 was deported to Transnistria) part of the country grew dimmer every day. The city because its particular historical background as V. Neuman states was the place where the local population actually resisted against the execution of the anti-Jewish legislation[130]. Most of the deportation that actually took place from the Timişoara and the region of Banat, were made under the accusation of sympathizing with the communist ideology[131].

The story of the Jewish population in the city is best described by First Rabi dr. Ernest Neuman: "the danger for us was not the deportation into Auschwitz but to Transnistria: "a part of them (a very small one) were deported because they were involved in the communist trials, the other part was deported because they requested a transit visa through the Soviet Union, to get to the Unite d States […] we started in the beginning of 1941 with 12000 Jews, in a city like Timişoara which had a population of 80000, and at the end of the war we were still 12000"[132].

[128] Ibid., p.224
[129] Ibid., p.250
[130] Neuman, *The End of History*, p.21
[131] Smaranda Vultur, *Saved Memory* (Iaşi: Polirom 2002), p.21
[132] Vultur, *Saved Memory*, p.22

The Jews of Budapest during the Second World War

As in the case of Cluj during the war the life Jewish community of Budapest being situated in the capital of Hungary was regulated according to the series of Jewish Laws that were enacted in the years before the war, and two of them during the war. With the entering of Hungary into the war forced labor service was introduced, and moved to the eastern front, or to other strategic places that required force labor. The unsuccessful attempt of Hungary to change sides brought the occupation of Hungary by the German forces which resulted in the implementation of the accelerated version of the Final Solution under the command of Eichman. But because his plan stated that in the first phase the deportations should commence from the eastern region of Hungary, Budapest being the final act, this gave the foreign authorities like Sweden and Switzerland, time to organize a rescue mission that actually managed to save more than 30% of the Jewish population

4.9 Closure and conclusion: Jewish communities after the war

With the end of the Second World War all three communities emerged profoundly changed by horrors that they experienced during the 5 years of armed conflict. The community of Timişoara was the one that was the least affected by the war managing to keep its self intact, but with a strong newfound Jewish identity and when the possibility arose all the majority of them left to the newly founded state of Israel. Today as the late Ernest Neuman stated there are no more than 500 people of Jewish fate in the city[133]. Attitude vise Timisoara at least until the massive demographical changes still maintained some of its aura of multiethnic cooperation that was outlined during the comparison of the three cities. For the purpose of this research Timisoara will constitute the *positive attitude but no contact* case.

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[133] Vultur, *Memorie salvată*, p.23

The most massive destruction was suffered by the Jewish community of Cluj as 90% perished in the concentration camps of Auschwitz and Birkenau. In 1945 their number did not reach more then 1000[134]. Today based on the data of the official site of the City Hall only 250 people declare themselves as Jewish. Cluj-Napoca was always a hot-bead of interethnic tension which also emanated against the Jewish community as a result of a twofold event. The firs it identifying the Jews with Hungarians this causing discomfort for the Romanian component of the population. The second is that the as we could observe from this chapter Jewish population in the city leaned more towards Orthodoxy which also inhibits inter-group relations. Because of these longitudinal factors, Cluj-Napoca will constitute the *negative attitude but no contact* case in the experimental design.

The case of Budapest is very different from the other two cities, as there is a continues Jewish presence after the war, 30% of its community surviving the war as a result of the peculiarities of Eichman's plans and the diplomatic interference of foreign embassies, their number after the Census of 2001 reaching 9000. Their coexistence with the population of the city was more or less tranquil during communism any form concrete form of antisemitism being restrained by the communist ideology, however 50 years of Communism could not erase more than 300 years of bad blood, and after the fall of Communism the latent tensions started to reappear. In the experimental design Budapest will constitute the *negative attitude plus contact case*.

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[134] Gyémánt, *The Jews from Transylvania* , p.250

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5. The Classical Jewish Stereotypical Images

This chapter will describe and explore the different faces of the imaginary Jew as it appeared and appears in European culture starting from concrete ones that target the Jew as a concrete physical being to abstract representation of them, in other words it will define the stereotypical image item of the experimental design. The purpose is to create an ideal image of the "Jew", describing as many characteristics, from the imaginary palette as possible, focusing not so much on a particular timeframe, but on the internal structure of this ideal image. The obtained ideal image will serve as a model to which I will compare the imagologic data obtained during field research. As source material on this particular subject is scarce, and a more thorough exploration of the subject could constitute a separate thesis on its own, I will base myself on the work of Andrei Oişteanu and the book edited by Julius H. Schoeps and Joachim Schlör. After a brief introduction I will structure the chapter in three main sections. The first one focuses on the Jew as a concrete physical being, discussing the different physical and psychological attributes that are usually associated with them in literature, folklore etc. The second section will focus on the occupational profile that is associated to this particular group. The last section will discuss the image of the Jew as an unidentifiable, abstract presence.

For the European Christianity, and also for the Nation State role of the significant other, was fulfilled by the "Jew", which in the Middle Ages represented what Christianity is not, but in the same time, they also becoming the "prefect" example of the decadence in which somebody

could fall if he/she strays from the righteous pass as they were defined in Saint Augustine's philosophical [135]thinking. In the age of the nation state, this transformed, into the concept of the foreigner, who because of its unified, and surprisingly coherent image, became some kind of a "fifth column", a constant threat against whom you could rally and unify the mass of people, and by giving them a common imaginary enemy, made them also into one coherent group. Another characteristic of the image of the Jew, that in spite their internal diversity, their image that was formed in the social imaginary of the European is very coherent and homogeneous, reducing them to one concrete representation.

5.1. The Jew as a Physical Entity

The first time when we meet someone the first thing we observe is the persons look, and we characterize them with attributes like, nice, beautiful, ugly, cute, etc. Most of these remarks are much more than simple remarks of that certain person, containing also an affective dimension, attributing to him/she a series of psychological characteristics, without the judged person saying a word. There are certain signs that appearances can reveal like, musical, or sexual orientations, or even ethnicity (if the observed is dressed in cloths that are specific to a region and the observer is an ethnologist/anthropologist), but we also tend to attribute on the external appearance a series of psychological attributes (he is a rocker so he must be a drunkard, he is a Scottish he must be cheap), thus creating a virtual image that will determine our attitude in the moment we decide to interact with the person.

The belief that the external appearances reflect psychological attributes is deeply embedded in human culture, proved by a numerous popular sayings that state that hitting slapping a person

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[135] Karl-Erich Grözinger, "Gottesmörder" *Antisemitismus: Vorurteile und Mythern* edited. Julius Scoeps and Joachim Schlör (München: Zweitausendieins 1995), p.62

on the face is equivalent of slapping his soul, or that eyes are the mirror of the soul. These popular beliefs also became institutionalized by sciences like physiognomy, popular in antiquity and the Middle Ages, which stated that the face reveals the character of a person. Nothing was neglected, everything being important: the width of the forehead, distance between the eyes, and position of certain moles[136]. The most important elements were the lips and the nose. In the 19th century took a step forward, basing their explanations on a biological foundation, the most widely known theory was that of Cesare Lombroso who held that delinquents can be identified after the shape of their skull. He didn't deny some effect of the education, but in the same time considered al criminals as mentally disabled[137].

The External appearance of the Jew

Through history the image of the Jew in the consciousness of Europe became not only very well defined, but also played an important role in creating it. The robot picture of a Jew can be described as: "silenus" profile, that consists of thick, sensual lips, big, curved nose, red hear, sometimes with picketed face, and big eyes that are coming out of their orbit[138]. Most of these elements can be found in representation of Jews from the early middle ages, until the anitsemitic representations of the 19th-20th century. Different elements of the physical representation of Jews can be also found in different folk sayings. In South-Transylvania, a curved nose is called a "Jew nose", or in English language the cartilaginous formation that grows on a pigeon's peak is called a "Jewing"[139]

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[136] Andrei Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó* (Bucharest, Editura Kriterion, 2001), p.41
[137] Goodman, *Introduction into Sociology* (Bucharest: Editura Lider 1999), p.191
[138] Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó* , p.38
[139] Ibid., p.39

The robot picture of the Jew is also reproduced by a series of literary works. Iţic Ştrul the north-moldavian Jewish innkeeper from Fălticeni in the Romanian novelist's Liviu Rebreanu's work appeared as "with his face filled with, very red pock mark like pimples", "with rare, dirty red, hair" and "from the middle of his hairy, red face, his slim, curved nose stands out dominating"[140].

It is interesting to analyze what kind of psychological characteristics are attributed to the different components of the Jewie face. Davies Rodney (a modern version of physiognomists) in his book "What does the face reveal us", states that the nose is very important in revealing someone's character as, because as dr. Roger Rogerson believes, that from all the characteristics of the human face, the nose playes the most important role in the uncovering of the face.[141]

The curved nose was for a long time Rodney argues, associated with the possession of good financial and business skills, intelligence, and vitality. He also makes a difference between a short and convex nose, and a one that is more round and fleshy. The first type depicts a person, who even if energetic, he cannot sustain the effort for a longer period. He has a natural inclination to play and to take risks, which can work out sometimes, but can also lead to the accumulation of debts. The true Jewish nose is a pronounced one, which symbolizes, a stable, optimistic and ambitious nature, traits which are necessary to succeed in all domains[142].

The lips are the most mobile part of the face, and as in the case of the nose it also plays an important part in defining ones nature. Fleshy lips show that someone is a sensual, romantic

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[140] Ibid., p.40
[141] Rodney Davies, *Ce ne dezvăluie faţa* (Bucharest: Editura Polimark, 1997), p.157
[142] Ibid., p.169

person, for whom the satisfaction of the primary needs is of main concern. Cesare Lombroso states that rapist and assassins usually poses these kinds of lips[143].

It is interesting to observe that the moral characteristics that result from the attributes that are associated with the mentioned parts of the face are very close with the moral portrait that is usually described by the "classical stereotype". The real question is that how much of these characteristics which are attributed to the Jewish nose and lips are a result of them being attributed mainly to Jews.

Another important element of the external image of the Jew, are those that are connected to their beard and hair, and the beliefs that relate to them. The social imaginary usually attributes Jews long beard. Marcel Emerit in his visit to Galicia, gives us this picture when describing the Jewish population "their beards are long, of red or black color, which they shield from any attempt of shaving as they would shield themselves from being cursed"[144]

The beard and the hair of the Jew give them a demonic image in the folkloric culture. In 1985 a Polish informer describes them as devils because "they dressed in black, had long beards and carried bags on their backs"[145]. An old Polish proverb that can be found in Germany also contains completes this image stating that "he believed that he grabbed the Jew by the beard, instead he grabbed the devil by the horns". The beard of the Jew had also a contagious magical relationship with his owner[146]. A popular belief held that if you manage to rip out three hairs out of a red mans beard, you instantly kill three Jews[147]. When we talk about the "hair" of the

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[143]Ibid., p.180

[144]Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó*.,p.47 citing Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România*, 1996, p.156

[145] Ibid., p.50

[146] The anthropologist James Frazer describes in the Golden Bough three types of magic, the contagious magic being a part of this and it supposes a magical relation between the owner and an object, or a body part that belong to him.

[147] Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó*, p.50

Jew, we also must mention the traditional whiskers, which are constantly associated with them by novelist, and popular beliefs.

The last saying also takes us to the next characteristic that popular beliefs state about the Jew meaning that not only a "classical Jew" was supposed to have a specific hair cut and beard but these also had to be red. This is proved by a questionnaire sent out by B.P Haşedeu in the late 19th century, researching legends and beliefs in the rural region of Romania[148]. The red man, or in other words people with red hair, beard and freckled, was believed to be a Jew, or to be of Jewish descent. These persons were considered "marked" or "bad" whom were in league with the devil[149].

Freckles also have an important role in the classical image of the Jew. Legend has it that these were caused by the sudden resurrection of the different animals that, they were eating celebrating the crucifixion of Jesus, which splattered them with the hot boiling water. The freckles were than passed down to each generation as a curse and also a constant remainder of their deed[150].

The red man could also put a hex on persons, superstition that can also be found in Western Europe. In the more extreme case the red not only can put a hex on somebody, but can be the cause of al kinds of epidemics, especially if he is an alien to a certain region.

The Dirtiness and the Bad Smell of the Jew

These characteristics associated with the Jew by popular belief occupy a transitory character between the physical and psychological traits attributed to them, these constituting an invisible

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[148] Ibid., p.62
[149] Ibid., p.60
[150] Ibid.,

stigma, which in contrast to the other characteristics attributed to them could not be shed, or hidden.

The "bad smelling and dirty Jew" is a common concept in Eastern Europe, proved by the numerous sayings and proverbs that refer to these particular traits: (ex. Clean as the water in which the Jew washed himself, He scratches as a Jew, Wipe a Jews ass with honey and it still stinks). In the Bukovina a particular stinky bug is named "jidan" or "jidov" (Jew)[151].

The Traditional Jewish Outfit

Classical stereotypical representations of the Jews also focus on their "traditional clothing", which usually appears in images as a long black caftan and a hat of some kind. The hat has a very long tradition in the representations of Jews as they were obliged to ware them in one form or another since the middle ages, as mean of differentiating between them and Christians, and slowly they became part of their own representation of identify.

If we put all these stereotypical representations together which refer to the external appearance of the Jew what we will actually get is the image of what European especially in the central-European culture starting from the second half of the 19th century (but not only) became known as the "Ostjuden"[152] which is very close but not exactly the same with the image of the Orthodox Jew.

5.2 The Psychological Traits of the Stereotypical Jew

As I have stated before, there is always a strong tendency to associate certain psychological traits with certain physical characteristics. If we observe which are the psychological traits that

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[151] Ibid., p.68
[152] Ludger Heid, *Antisemitismus,* p.242

are attributed to the different elements of the stereotypical representation of the Jews we will see that they coincide very much with the main psychological traits attributed to the Jews. The main psychological traits that are associated with the Jews are: intelligence/shrewdness sexual lavishness, cowardliness.

The Intelligent Jew

One of the most common psychological traits associated with the stereotype of the Jew is their fabled intelligence, as demonstrated by the numerous sayings like: "there is no such thing as a generous Greek, stupid Jew, and honest gypsy" or "have you ever seen a green cow or a stupid Jew?" or "smart as a Jew"[153] etc. But the intelligence of the Jew, as Oişteanu observes, is very much a double bladed sword, as it was associated with shrewdness, hence social mentality always suspected them of using their intelligence to cause mischief, to trick "honest Christians", and of course to avoid any kind of physical work. The stereotype is very well represented in the writings of different thinkers and novelists. In 1840 Alecu Russo wrote that national characteristic of the Jew is that they use their intelligence "for mischief and plotting"[154]. A.C Cuza a raging antisemit in interwar Romania stated that "the intelligence of the Jew is entirely materialistic and is preoccupied only with finding the right combinations that without any physical effort, meaning without engaging in any decent occupation, can lead to the increase of his property"[155].

Andrei Oişteanu also points out a very ironic side effect of the Jewish intelligence which is their dumbness found very rarely but if present, it is present in an exaggerated way. A present

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[153] Oişteanu *A képzeletbeli zsidó* , p.198
[154] Ibid., p.204 quoting Russo *Iassy es Habitants*,1942, p.109,103
[155] Ibid., citing Wilhelm Filderman, *Un avocat al etniei sale,* 200, p.518

day Romanian newspaper states that "if a Jew is smart he is smarter than ten Romanians but if he is dumb than he is dumber than 100"[156].

The Cowardliness and Clannish Nature of the Jew

The second main physiological characteristic associated with the Jew is their cowardliness, which can be traced back to the middle ages, and originate in their passiveness when facing histories blows. This trait also became incorporated in the Jewish self-image, with the difference that while gentiles interpreted as cowardliness, they themselves saw it as the futility of resisting faith. Shakespeare's character Shylock explains this to us "Still have I born with a patient shrug/For suff'rance is the badge of my tribe."[157] With the development of the national idea and the reform movement of Judaism however, this self attributed passives was resented by the Jews themselves, and seen as an act of cowardliness.

This trait was amplified by in the periods of the formation of the nation state by a high degree of suspicion regarding their commitment to the cause of the cause of the nation which was also combined with the belief that because of their clannish nature, they are prone to betray the nation in which they were integrated. The Hungarian antisemite Kolosváry-Borcsa Mihály writes the following "the Magyars fighting on the battlefield suddenly realized that in the ranks of the front line solider they rarely met Jews, but their presence is much more frequent in more secure positions behind the front lines or in the ranks of those who were excepted from military duty. Most of the war suppliers, traitors, or those who profit from the war almost whiteout exception are Jews"[158]. The stereotype of the cowardly Jew was also shared by some of the

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[156] Ibid., p.200

[157] Shakespeare, "The Jew of Venice" ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Calderon Press 1998), p.430 Act one scene 3

[158] Gyurgyák, *The Jewish Question In Hungary* (Budapest: Osiris 2001), p.88

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leftist movements. Ágoston Péter writes "the opinion of the public is that the Jews always find a way to escape military duty, is very much a reality, but the fact is that so does the non-Jew also, with the difference that he doesn't have al the connections, that a Jew has"[159].

The stereotypical representation of the cowardly Jew, since the establishment of Israel is al but gone, but the belief of their clannishness is far from being extinct, on the contrary it is one of the most present conception in present day, and can be found in the concept of the Israeli lobby, to which I will refer in the section discussing the Jewish conspiracy.

The Promiscuity of the Jew

The promiscuity of the Jew is again of the traits of the imaginary Jew that, as I argued at the start of this chapter, can be deducted from its appearance. Even if the Jews were considered cowards who would "chicken" out of a fair fight, still they were always considered a threat to Christian, as they used much more sublime, indirect methods to corrupt the good faithful, like charming the individual. Jewish women are considered to be very beautiful, thus a danger to Christian man, who might be enticed to sin with them, and in the process condemning their soul to eternal torment[160].

With the spreading of racial theory the corruption that in the case of the religious antisemitism was confined to the area of the individual choice started to be depicted in conspirative manner as a century's long fight between races, in which the lower ones try to corrupt the pure blooded ones as depicted in the theories of Lanz von Liebenfel, who wrote that all human existence centered around the struggle between the Aryans and the Harry ape man (the Jews), the latter

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[159] Ibid., p 89
[160] Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó* , p.88

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continuously trying to rape the Aryan women thus polluting the Aryan race[161]. The middle road

was represented by those who did not really adhere to the racial theories but still suspected the

Jews for trying to corrupt the nation's morality by encouraging prostitution, and promiscuity[162].

In a very paradoxical way in popular culture we can also find the complete opposite of the

promiscuous Jew, in which the Jews are held as a model for Christians for their faithfulness and

peace in which they live their family life[163].

The Jew as a Race

The image of the Jew as race is a creation of the 19th century, charmed by the pseudo theories

of social Darwinism, uniting almost all the physical and psychological representations and

reinterpreting them from a racial point of view. It is interesting to note that first the Jews were

not considered a separate race but more of a mixture of different races, a mongrel, or a

subcategory of what racial scientist called the "negro race"[164]. Not until the second decade of

the 20th century and interwar period especially in the Nazi pseudo-anthropology an period did

the Jews reached the "privilege" of being a separate but inferior race. It is interesting to note

that in both circumstances they were considered as a direct threat of the "Arians".

5.3 Typical Jewish occupations/trades

In the creation of the image of the other the ethnic mentality also created a series of

occupational profiles of the target group. In the case of Jews the three main occupational

vocations are: trade, loaning money, inn keeping. What we can observe is that all of the

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[161] Lucy Dawidowich, *The War against the Jews* (New York: Holt Reinhard, Winston 1989), p.9
[162] Oişteanu , *A képzeletbeli zsidó*, p.101
[163] Ibid., p.98
[164] L.Gilman ,*Antisemitismus,* p.168

occupation that are associated with this group are liked to the motive of the money, which has a special relation with through the attributed psychological characteristics enabling the, that I described in the previous part.

The Merchant

One of the most common professional stereotypes that can be traced back to the Middle Ages is of the Jewish merchant. In 1600 after the end of the thirty years war that engulfed all of Europe to financially stabilize the participate Betlehen Gábor, issued an invitation concerning groups that had a reputation as good traders and merchants, specifically targeting Jews[165]. Also if we look at the legal codes of the free cities in Transylvania we can see that there are several measures specifically targeting Jews, who were considered to be fierce competitors of the local merchants.

As trade was already considered as a dishonorable way of making a living in the traditional Christian way of life, its association with Jews accented even more the already negative image of the latter. This led to the emergence of the Jew as a dishonest trader prone to cheat Christians. In the ranking of the groups that are proficient in the tricks of trading the Jew occupies the first place as it can be seen in a Romanian saying, "a Greek cheats two Romanians an Armenian two Greeks, and a Jew two Armenians". Different variants of the saying, as Andrei Oişteanu points out can be also found in polish, Macedonian, Russian folklores[166]. Folklore also states that not only that Jews cheat Christians but it is their holly duty to do so[167].

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[165]Gyémánt, *The Jews of Transylvania* (Cluj-Napoca: Insitutul Intercultural Roman, 2004), p.13
[166] Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli zsidó*, p.121
[167] Ibid., p.127

The Banker/Extortioner

Another typical Jewish stereotype concerning a "typical Jewish occupation", which is as Freddy Raphael argued a constant in the west from the middle ages up till today, is the banker/Extortioner, a stereotype that frequently is combined with that of the merchant. The difference is that the former one is more frequent in Western Europe, and the latter one in Eastern Europe, but both of them have the same central motif which is the ability of the Jew to handle money in a dishonest way. The best representation of the extortioner/merchant is the Shakespearean figure of Shylock figure that took a life of it's one[168]. The Jew as an extortioner contains all the moral characteristics that are associated with that of the merchant. The difference is that the extortioner has also a demonic side, as it goes against the order of things destroying societies balance as he makes money out of time, time in western culture belongs only to God[169]. The fact that the merchant Jew in Eastern Europe lacks a demonic attribute does not mean that the Jew as a total lacks it altogether, this function being fulfilled by the Jew as an Inn keeper and by the Blood label accusations which I will describe in the next part.

4.3 The Innkeeper

One of the typical occupations that are associated with the Jews in Eastern Europe is that of the innkeeper. If in western culture, regarding the occupational portray it is the banker/extortioner, who is associated being the agent of the devil, in Eastern Europe this function is fulfilled mostly by the innkeeper Jew, who because of the nature of the job is selling alcoholic drinks which are the invention of the devil[170]. A.Oişteanu points out citing Daniel Barbu that in the mentality of

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[168] Anat Feinberg-Jütte. *Antisemitismus*, p.119
[169] Freddy Raphael, *Antisemitisus,* p.103
[170] Oişteanu, *A képzeletbeli Zsidó* p.158

the Romanian village the inn is the house of the devil in which the Jew innkeeper is holding mass[171].

The Jew innkeeper in Romania is also suspected in poisoning their drinks (a belief that Oişteanu believes to be a spin-off the well-poisoning myth of Western Europe)   with the mysterious almost alchemical substance of "vitriol" (a substance that Romanian mentality of the 19th century associated to a various unidentifiable substances). Even if this accusation was frequently used in the press and political debates of the mid 19th and at the beginning of the 20th [172] century today is all but gone from the social imaginary, of the studied region.

5.4 The Jewish Conspiracy

If in the fist section I described the concrete image of the Jew, that usually can be attributed to them as a physical presence, and are more related to them as distinguishable entities, the last section focuses on the more shady, abstract image which can be described in general terms as "the Jewish conspiracy" that in the 20th century became the most widespread matrix of Jewish representation. The abstract image of the Jew is very well reflected in the phenomenon of antisemitism without Jews, or in a more tangible form in the exclamation that can be summarized in the following way: "I have no problem with the Jew as an individual but I hate them as a group". The abstractedness of the idea can be explained through the fall of the social barriers created by the Christian world view, giving the possibility for Jews to "infiltrate" into society which now was robbed of the means to have a well defined physically present entity that could fulfill both the roles of the escape goat and of the significant other. The images that describe Jewish conspiracies are sometime hard to differentiate as different elements of it are

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[171] Ibid., p.160
[172] Ibid., pp.170-175

sometimes overlapping (the capitalist and Israel) and also essentially contradictory (capitalist and communist), the supra category itself (the Jewish conspiracy) some situations taking up an existence of its own.

The motif itself was used for the first time during the reformation by Martin Luther himself, but he was also far from being original as he made use of the previous devil=Jew motif. He basically accused the papacy of being under Jewish influence thus being under the influence of the devil. This first appearance was short lived and almost completely disappeared and there is no direct connection between it and latter conspiratory motifs. What the of Jewish conspiracy as a stand alone motif has, is that it, as Veronica Constantinescu argues, has a very specific objective, which wanted to rule not Europe or Earth, but something more precious which is the "conscious of humanity"[173]. In this line of thinking capitalism, communism, Zionism, are all attempts that reach towards this goal, and are all part of one single "great master plan", of destroying the exiting order.

The Jews as killer of God/Christ was the first accusation of a more abstract and collective nature which even if was associated with a concrete social presence, created over time the social distance between them and European society, that made them a prime target for the different identity creation processes that took place in Europe.

A direct "spin-of" that has its mythological explanation in the killing of Christ by the Jews[174], is the murder of Christian children (or its version in the mockery of the Eucharist), this being a renewed mockery of the passions of Christ. This infamous accusation has a unique place in Central and Eastern Europe as it was present until the mid 20th century and even today it holds a "special place" in anitsemitic discourses. The habit of accusing Jews for child sacrifices first

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[173] Viorica Constantinescu, *The Jewish Stereotype* (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu 1996), p.180
[174] Karl-Erich Grözinger, *Antisemitismus,* p.62

appeared in Western Europe can be traced back to the 12th century England, but here it slowly faded away, migrating to the regions of Eastern Europe where not only reappeared with an awkward vitality but it also became incorporated into the antisemitic discourse causing numerous pogrom like mass movements. This was the case in the blood label trial of Tiszaeszlár, caused anti-Jewish riots in several region of the Monarchy including Budapest where order could be restored only with the help of the army[175], and it is still used in the discourse of antisemitic parties in Hungary[176]. The pogroms of Chisinau of 1903 were also the caused by rumors of ritual murder, which were spread by the antisemites of the time like A.C Cuza and P.A Cruşevan[177]. The one of the most recent ritual murder accusations happened in Hungary in 1947 in Kiskunmadaras which resulted in a pogrom.

The motif of this representation, states that Jews kill Christian children –they being the symbol of incense- to use their blood in to prepare the mazzot, for the celebration of Passover. During the 19th century the motif suffered some modifications from the "original" version from the Middle Ages, the gender of the victim being changed from male to female with the emphasis on the virginity of the murdered[178].

Even if the essence of older Jewish representations slowly faded away as a result of the secularizing process that started with the enlightenment, the social distance created by the Christianity proved in the end impossible to overcome.   As a result the empty shells of the older motifs were refilled with new "essence" provided by a newly emerging representation of the World, Jews ending up once again to fulfill the function of the significant other but now from a secular perspective, which combined with the social distance created by the Christian

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[175] Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary* (Detroit: Wayne University press 1996), p.353
☐ Janos Dési, Gerő András, Szeszler Tibor and Varga Laszló, *Anti-Semitic Discourse in Hungary in 2002-2003* (Budapest B'nai B'rith Lodge 2004), p.287
[177] Oişteanu *A képzeletbeli zsidó* p.358 citing Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, *The Jew in the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University press), 1995, p.409
[178] Rainer Erb, *Antisemitismus* p.74

world view resulted in the emergence during the 19th century of two completely opposite images that first that of the capitalist Jew and than that of the communist Jew.

As Avraham Barkai states the identification of Jews with capitalism is part of the first stereotypes that belong to modern antisemitsm. It was first introduced by socially oriented thinkers, like Charles Fourier and his disciple Alphonse Toussel that identified the newly emerged bourgeoisie with Jews[179], which is not surprising as the psychological traits that were previously associated with them were considered essential to any successful capitalist.

The image of the communist Jew is a the second in a chronological order and from my point of view the strangest one as it goes against the most fundamental stereotypes that are usually associated with this group. Actually what we can find in both representations is as Peter Nidemüller argues[180], is essentially the shell of the Jew as destroyer of order but not the Christian one but the one of the capitalist nationalism for whom the mere perspective of communism is an abomination as it goes against everything it stands for.

The most recent representation of the Jew in the social imaginary is the "Israeli", which uses the motifs of the capitalist Jew combined with that of the world conspiracy (weaker or stronger versions of it). The motif of the Israeli conspiracy has yet again in the conception of Nachum Orland Russian/Soviet origin, the reason being that the new state of Israel chose it's path on the side of the Western Powers ruining the plan of Stalin to have a strong satellite state in the region[181]. One of the most recent manifestations of it is "The Israeli lobby", which put forward the question of "how can one small nation as Israel force the United States to act against its own interest".

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[179] Avraham Barkai, *Antisemitismus,* p.265
[180] Peter Nidemüller, *Antisemitismus,* p.273
[181] Nachum Orland, *Antisemitismus,* p.128

6. Data Analysis

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and interpret the collected data, and than using statistical methods research the correlations that exist between the different variables. First I will proceed to give a description of the composition of the sample population. The following part will consist in the calculation of the quality of social index for each city, than for the subgroups that compose the sample of each city according to age, gender, high school specialization, and nativity. The third part focuses on the computation of the quality of social contact index, applying the same categorization of the sample population of each city that was used in the description of it. The purpose of the fourth part is to interpret the imagologic data, repeating the same categorization operation of the previous two parts. The fifth subchapter will interpret the data taking into consideration the historical variables described in third chapter.

6.1 The description of the sample population

The purpose of this part is the description of the sample population which was surveyed during the field research, according to those statistical variables that later will be used to detect continuities or discontinuities in the social representations of Jews in the three cities. In total (control and experimental group combined) a number of 862 questionnaires were applied. From these 772 were completed by the experimental group and 90 by the control group.

The composition of the control sample

To be able to observe the dynamic of social representations in time there 30 elderly persons were questioned in each city. As their number is small, a more detailed description of the sample is futile, as their further fragmentation into subgroups will fail produce any interpretable statistical data, thus they will be used as a cohesive control group in each of the three cases.

The composition of the experimental sample

In Budapest the survey was conducted in 4 high schools, from which two had a vocational profile and two had theoretical profile. The total number of the applied questionnaires is of 282 of which 145(58%) were applied in the high schools of theoretical profile and 137 (42%) in the ones with vocational profile.

In Cluj Napoca the survey was conducted in for high schools, two with theoretical profile and two with vocational profile. The total number of questionnaires is of 348, of which 186(53%) were applied in high schools of theoretical profile and 162(47%) in high school of vocational profile.

In Timişoara the survey was conducted in two high schools one with vocational profile and one with theoretical profile. From the total of 142 questionnaires 68, were applied in theoretical high schools (48%) and 74 (52%) in vocational ones.

The survey sample cross tabulated with the birth place of the parents and the profile of the high schools is the following:

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Budapest:

Table.1	High School Profile		Birth Place of Mother		
			Budapest	other	Total
Birth Place of Father	Theoretical Profile	Budapest	84	9	93
		Other	21	31	52
		Total	105	40	145
	Vocational Profile	Budapest	87	12	99
		Other	14	24	38
		Total	101	36	137

Timişoara:

Table.2	High School Profile		Birth Place of Mother		
			Timişoara	Other	Total
Birth Place of Father	Theoretical Profile	Timişoara	28	2	30
		Other	3	35	38
		Total	31	37	68
	Vocational Profile	Timişoara	16	3	19
		Other	5	50	55
		Total	21	53	74

Cluj-Napoca:

Table.3	High School Profile		Birth Place Of Mother		
			Cluj-Napoca	Other	Total
Birth Place of Father	Theoretical Profile	Cluj-Napoca	116	20	136
		Other	7	43	50
		Total	123	63	186
	Vocational Profile	Cluj-Napoca	100	7	107
		Other	4	51	55
		Total	104	58	162

From the point of view of gender the sample population of the three cities has the following composition:

1. Budapest 119(42%) male, and 163 (58%) female

2. Cluj-Napoca 134 (39%) male and 214 (61%) female

3. Timişoara 71 (50%) male, and 71 (50%) female

6.2 The social representation of the Jew in the case of the elderly

The Quality of Social Contact Index

The fist step in solving the puzzle that is the dynamic of the Jewish social representation is the computation of the quality of social contact index.

For the case of elderly people the QSCI index is the following:

1. Budapest: 15.4

2. Timişoara: 17.03

3. Cluj-Napoca: 18.02

The stereotypical image of the Jews

To be able to capture the full extent of the Jewish stereotype maximum freedom was allowed to the correspondents regarding the possibility of association, they being limited only by the number of choices and the time (10 minutest) in which they were allowed to fill in the questionnaire. The imagologic data was then classified and coded into categories according to which particular Jewish stereotype are they related to. In total, after going through the data obtained during the field study in the three cities, the answers were included in 157 categories. Each category contains words or expressions that relate to the same event, or were synonyms. For example, Auschwitz and Birkenau were included in the category of Holocaust, or clever and smart were included in the category of "intelligent".

In the case of the elderly people in Timişoara regarding the second question from the questionnaire there were a total of 145 answers. From these 33 characterize Jews as merchant

12 as intelligent. Also there are 12 answers that relate Jews to the Holocaust, 9 characterizing them as bankers and 7 characterizing them as honest.

In Cluj-Napoca elderly people characterize Jews as first as intelligent (24 answers), secondly as merchants (20 answers) and thirdly as fair people. In total there were 129 answers given.

In the case of Budapest from the total of 134 answers the words that were related to Jews are bankers (30 answers), 23 relate to their clothing, and 20 answers characterize them as intelligent. There are also 15 answers that connect them with the Holocaust.

With the analysis of the control group sample we can start filling out the research design

Table. 4	Nature of social representation	Control group(elderly people)	Continuity of Jewish community	Experimental group(high School Students)
Timisoara	Stereotype	Present	Absent	
	Attitude	Positive		
Cluj-Napoca	Stereotype	Present	Absent	
	Attitude	Negative		
Budapest	Stereotype	Present	Present	
	Attitude	Negative		

We can observe from the obtained data that the social representation of the control group is attitude vise in tune with the indication of the historical analysis. The stereotypical image contains attributes that were listed in the ideal model especially those that relate to the psychological/occupational dimension in case of Timisoara and Cluj-Napoca, and to the occupational/physical dimension in case of Budapest.

6.3 The social representation on Jews in the case of the high school students.

The Quality of Social Contact Index

| Table.5	City	Budapest		Cluj-Napoca		Timişoara	
General QSCI		11.71		13.20		14.83	
High School Profile		Theoretical	Vocational	Theoretical	Vocational	Theoretical	Vocational
QSCI		13.33	9.98	13.97	12.31	18.74	11.55
Gender		Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
QSCI		11.37	11.97	15.05	12.04	12.61	17.06
Birth place of parents		Both in the City	Both Outside the City	Both in the City	Both Outside the City	Both in the City	Both Outside the City
QSCI		11.05	13.37	12.94	15.04	15.91	14.89

The QSCI takes the following values: Budapest 11.71, Cluj-Napoca 13.20, and Timişoara 14.83. Categorized according to city, high school profile and the parents' birth place are illustrated in table 4.

A first summary conclusion that can be seen from table 4 is that the schools with theoretical profile have a more opened attitude towards the Jews, and that the QSCI of those students that have both parents born in the city are lower that in the general QSCI except Timisoara in which it is higher.

The Stereotypical Image of the "Jew"

In case of Budapest the answers given to the free association question belong to 65 distinct categories. From the total of 779 answers given 157 relate to different aspects of the Holocaust (set 4.) adding up to 20.2% of the total, 81(10.4%) characterize Jews as bankers (set 9), 57 (7.6%) identify the target group with their religion (set 37), 47 (set 2) as merchants, and 46, 46 attribute to them concrete external characteristics regarding to their clothing (set 68) and the shape of their nose (set 143). We can conclude from here that the social representation of Jew is primarily related to the Holocaust, but a representation which is very closely followed by the

typical Jew as a banker/merchant representation (set 2+set 9) composing 16.4% of the answers. Thirdly Jews are associated with their religion but they also appear as a concrete physical entity shown by the numerous mentioning of their nose, hair style (set 12, mentioned 19 times), and beardedness (set 64 mentioned 14 times) and their clothing which combined compose 14.8% of the stereotype. The dispersion of the imagologic data in Budapest is represented graphically is
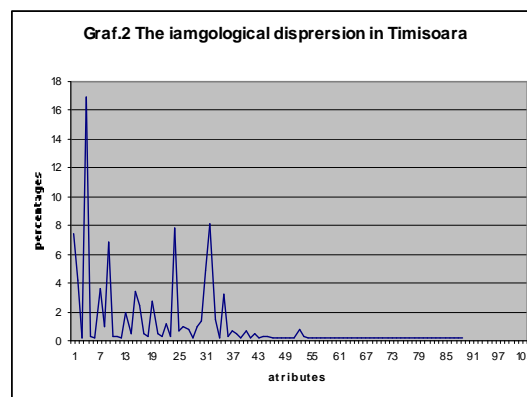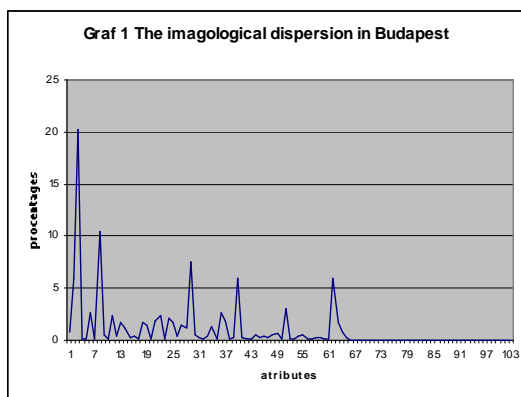
The Y. axes represents the percentage of a certain set, X axes represents the number of stets associated with the word "Jew". Every spike represents a set which has a more frequent recurrence in the answers given by the students. The more compact (fewer sets, with larger frequency) the graphic is the more centered the Jewish stereotype is.

represented graphically in graph 1. Relating only to the concrete sets of words that were associated with them the Jews appear in the minds of the students as: *big nosed and religious merchant/bankers*

In Timişoara the total of 574 answers given by the students referred to 92 categories of the 157 that were mentioned by the participants of the study. The first thing that comes to the mind of the students of this city when hearing the word Jew, are *words relating to the Holocaust* (set 4) their total number being 100 composing17.4% of the answers. Secondly they identify Jewish people as *somebody defined by their religion* (set 37) this particular characteristic being mentioned 48 times adding up to 8.4% of the answers. The third category associated Jews are *different forms of discrimination* (set 26). This latter category appears 46 times (8% of the

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answers). The fourth set of words associated with them is their *intelligence* (set. 1) this being

mentioned 44 times (7.7% of the answers). However if we sum up the number of answers that

characterized Jews as merchants (25) with those that characterized them as bankers (40) the

representation of the banker/merchant stereotype takes priority over religion and discrimination

containing 11.4% of the stereotype. Taking into consideration only the concrete attributes that

were associated with this particular Ethnic group the social representation that appears before

us is the following: *the Jews are religious and intelligent merchant/bankers*. The imagologic

dispersion of the Jewish image in Timişoara is represented in graph 2.

In Cluj-Napoca the number of categories associated with the word Jew is of 101 summing up a

total of 1364 answers. Most answers given by the students *relate to the Holocaust* mentioned

362 times (26.5% of the answers). The

second most popular characterization of
Jews in Cluj-Napoca is *different* (set 36)
associated with them 131 times (9.6% of the
answers). The next sets associated with the
word Jew are *those that connect them with
the religion of Judaism* (set 37) mentioned

Graph 3 The imagological dispresion in Cluj-Napoca
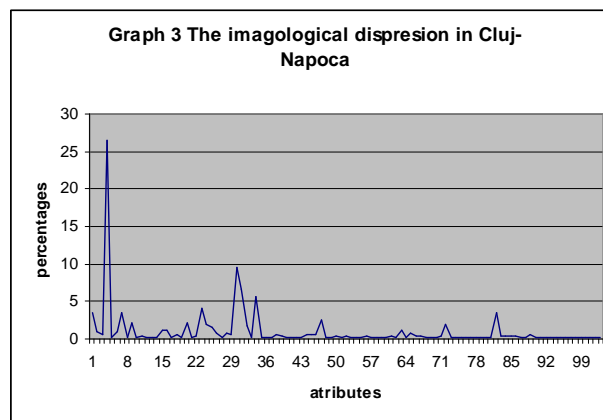
92 times (6.7%, of the answers) and *different Biblical location* (set 42) mentioned 77 (5.6% of

the answers) times. The fourth set of words associated with them is those that characterize them

as intelligent (set 1 mentioned 48 times summing up 3.5% of the answers). It is important to

mention that set 120 which contained those words that *confuse Jews with Muslims* also gathered

48 answers.   The stereotype of the Jewish merchant in the case of this city even combined

only gathers 42 answers. Graphically the dispersion is represented in graph 3. The image of the

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Jew that can be concluded from the sets of words that relate to concrete attributes is: *the different religious intelligent Jew.*

7. The Dynamic of Jewish Social Representations
-Conclusion-

After completing the preliminary analysis the experimental design can be filled out in the following way

Table. 6	Nature of social representation	Control group(elderly people)	Continuity of Jewish community	Experimental group(high School Students)
Timisoara	Stereotype	Present	Absent	*Absent*
	Attitude	Positive		*Positive*
Cluj-Napoca	Stereotype	Present	Absent	*Absent*
	Attitude	Negative		*Negative*
Budapest	Stereotype	Present	Present	*Present*
	Attitude	Negative		*Negative*

The next step is to explain in more detail the results shown in the design first starting with the attitudinal dimension of social representation.

We can conclude that the attitudes in the two cities (the independent variables) were the Jewish presence (the dependent variable) is negative, managed to persist. The attitudinal characteristic through which this particular phenomenon present in Cluj and Timisoara can be explained is the ideological context of the attitudes, antisemitism being integrated into a much more wider attitudinal complex, which in this case I believe is the local "attitudinal aura" formed during the development of the cities: positive/multicultural for Timisoara and negatively charged for Cluj-Napoca. That is why in the letter case I do not think that concrete antisemitism is present. What

causes the negative attitude towards Jews is the interethnic tension of the city. The same explanation applies in the case of the sample group of the elderly.
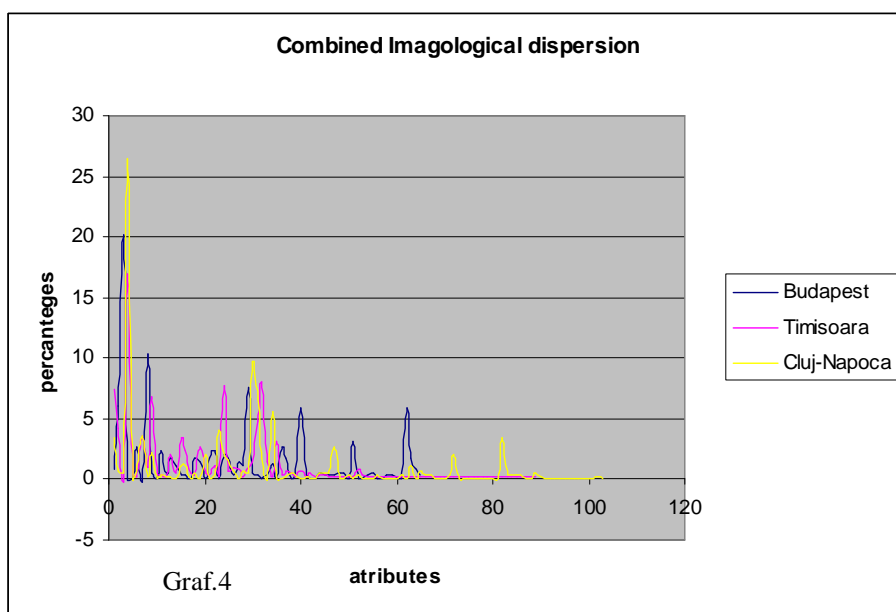
In case of Budapest we are able to observe the effect of a positive dependent variable (the continuous presence of Jews) on the independent variable (which was a pre existent negative attitude towards Jews deduced from the historical comparison, and also confirmed by the control group). For Budapest I dare to say that there is a certain degree of antisemitsm, but this also is integrated in a larger attitudinal structure, as proven by the difference between the two types of high schools, which I will discuss next.

The fact that attitudes are part of a much more complex atitudinal structure is demonstrated also by the difference present between the QSCI registered in vocational oriented high schools and theoretical oriented ones. In every case the theoretical oriented highs schools register a higher score on the attitude scale than those of the vocational high schools. The possible key reason for this differentiation is the type of information that students are exposed through their education. Students who are exposed to a vocational education from an earlier age tend to over specialize, and to develop a unipolar screening process. In the case of high schools that focus more on a theoretical education being exposed to a wider palette of information regarding the society in which they live results in a more complex evaluative process. What we can deduce from table 4 is that social distance towards Jews is influenced by the high schools profile. In al three case studies schools with vocational profile have a lower score than those that have a theoretical orientation. These differences are more pregnant in the case of Budapest (3.35 points) and Timişoara (7.55 points) and less visible in the case of Cluj-Napoca (1.66).

In the following section I will analyze the effect of presence or absence of a Jewish population on stereotypes/stereotypical images.

After looking at the results that are shown in the experimental design what we can conclude is that a positive dependent variable results in the persistence of the independent variable and it the case of a negative one it leads to the rupture of the independent variable. However the process is more complex than this simple schematic and deserves further elaboration.

What is common for all high school students of the three cities is that the one of the main image that is associated with the word Jew is the Holocaust, but after this common point the images that result from the analysis of the sample population appear to have almost nothing similar. However after looking at the obtained data and applying a historical overview, suddenly the pieces of the puzzle start to come together. The social representation of the Jew in Budapest even if closely connected to the holocaust, still retains the image of a concrete physical being, as almost all main attributes associated whit it are not only classical, as the Jew as the merchant/banker but also relate to the physical appearance of this particular category. This latter peculiarity is almost non existent in the case of Timişoara and Cluj were the physical aspect of the representation is almost non existent, the core of the image being centered on the association of the Jews with the Holocaust.

Graf.4

Another important aspect of stereotypes that emerge when comparing the samples of the three cities is that while the one from Budapest is well defined, there being only 65 categories with a well defined core that is close to the classical Jewish image. The ones that

resulted from the data collected in Timişoara (92 categories attributed) and Cluj (101 categories mentioned) are much more dispersed (graf.4). Also in case of Budapest the "imagologic spikes" are more cohesive and regular than those of Timisoara and Cluj-Napoca. Further more the categories that were associated with the studied group in the latter two cases, did not have much in common with what we can call a classical Jewish stereotype.

The cause which for this internal dynamic of the Jewish representation, I believe can be explained with the demographical change that took place in the Case of Timişoara and Cluj in the early 40s and 60s when most of the Jewish inhabitants left, leaving the younger generations without any direct reference to which they could relate, this being the main reason for which the Jewish classical stereotypes were dissolved transforming into something vague and intangible. This combined with the attitudinal dimension gives a picture of a Jewish social representation which is extremely abstract, but still followed by the echoes of the past which in the case of Timişoara is opened and multicultural, and in the case of Cluj-Napoca is tense. This process is even more visible when compared with the stereotypes of the elderly who still grew up in an environment where direct contact with Jews was still possible. The images in case of Timişoara and Cluj retain much of the "essence" of included in the classical Jewish stereotype.

In the case of Budapest the situation was quite the opposite, as during the Holocaust a large number of the Jewish population was saved, and also because Hungary itself had a better economical situation than Romania the drive to leave the country being much less powerful. By retaining an important part of its Jewish inhabitants, the younger generation could enter into direct contact with them, and so the stereotypes that developed over more than 300 hundred years of interaction could be perpetuated depicting the Jew as a very concrete and tangible entity. The fact that there was no imagologic brake in the social imaginary of Budapest is also demonstrated by the similarity between the stereotypes of the elderly and those of the high

school students. If we ad to this stereotype the attitudinal factor, we can conclude that the resulting social representation is even if not extremely negative one it still emanates an aura of rejection, suggesting a continuity in the social representation in the case of the atitudinal dimension and the stereotypical dimension.

Conclusions regarding the nature of stereotypes

The research also reveals some intriguing conclusions regarding the nature and dynamic of the stereotypes. From an imagologic point of view the data contradicts the contact hypothesis. The result shows that continuous contact between communities perpetuates stereotypes, instead of dissolving them. From the perspective of attitude change the data confirms again the findings of, R.Tsukashima, D.Montero that the context in which the contact takes place is also important, as instead of improving relations between communities it can lead to the continuation of previous unfavorable ones.

The interpretation of the data also reviles a few traits of the imagologic dynamic of stereotypes. In case of permanent contact the images contained by stereotypes are concrete ones, referring to tangible traits (merchant, intelligent, etc.) and the group which is targeted appears as a homogeneous one. However if the contact ceases the homogeneousness of the stereotype starts to dissipate and the first images that are shed by the social imaginary are those that relate to the physical appearance of the target group. What is left behind is a confuse construction that has to be built up, in historic way of speaking, without an access to the primary sources.

Methodological conclusions and thoughts

I believe that I managed to demonstrate that adopting a more opened ended methodology (using the free association technique) is necessary when researching social representations and its

components, as previous ones, like the ones used in the Princeton trilogy and its follow ups imposed an artificial grid upon the participants, failing to explore the huge variety of images that social representations have and how exactly does the change take place.

By selecting historical units as reference groups I was able in some extent to observe in more detail the dynamic of the social representations, and I also believe that this perspective is absolutely necessary when dealing with complex socio-psychological complexes that involve the social imaginary, social memory and social representations. The relation however works also the other way around; historical research should also take into consideration the psycho-social dimension when venturing in the nebulous region of the above mentioned phenomenon.

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Summary

I believe that the research achieved its goal of investigating the dynamics of Jewish social representation, by fulfilling the objective set forth in the introduction: observing how historical events, social factors, etc. affected the dynamic of the Jewish social representation. **The hypothesis was confirmed;** *lack of contact between the Jewish citizens and the rest of the citizen body does lead to the partial dissolution of the social representations, a dissolution which primarily affects the stereotypical dimension; continuous contact leads to the maintaining of the social representation.*

Furthermore the research also managed to combine, at least partially, historical and socio-psychological methodology, showing that further combined research is possible and it could lead to new methodological perspectives, useful for both disciplines. As a final general conclusion I would venture on saying that social sciences (especially social-psychology) and history do not have to behave like to trains coming from opposite directions rushing by, not stopping for a moment at a common station to share, and use the findings of the other, but on

the contrary, a development of a combined methodology, could lead to further developments in both areas.

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9.Anexes

Anex.1
Code list

1. Intelligent, or synonyms
2. Jew as a merchant
3. good friend
4. holocaust connected
5. bad behaved
6. Good
7. Hitler
8. Talmud&Tora
9. banking abilities
10. Jew
11. dark skinned
12. curly hair
13. sad
14. slaves
15. all over the world
16. cheap
17. traditionalists
18. bad people
19. people of culture
20. Jewish conspiracy
21. Bible
22. respectful
23. united
24. terrorist attack
25. large ears
26. antisemitism
27. Jesus
28. shalom
29. Jewish celebrations
30. rabbi
31. words with negative connotation
32. Schindlers list
33. Anne Frank
34. synagogue
35. hardworking
36. different
37. believers
38. people equal to us
39. big
40. Benitto Mussolini
41. Ion Antonescu
42. Biblical locations
43. Punished by Good
44. people of the old testament
45. survivors
46. communists
47. few
48. Moses
49. words with negative tonality
50. fanatic
51. fair
52. leadership potential
53. diseases
54. kidnapping of children
55. present Locations regarding to Jews
56. bad luck
57. Rotschild
58. Einstein
59. calculated
60. words with neutral tonality
61. generous
62. loneliness
63. Antichrist
64. bearded
65. history
66. devoted
67. goodness
68. traditional clothing
69. waiting
70. modern
71. lazy
72. sun
73. simplicity
74. vulnerability
75. irascibility
76. sociable
77. communication

78. happy
79. communication
80. happy
81. admiration
82. don't recognize Jesus
83. calm
84. sphere
85. ethnicity
86. polygamy
87. ugly
88. oriental music
89. lot of children
90. stupid
91. culinary habits
92. serious
93. conscious
94. good husbands
95. clean
96. brave
97. sense of humor
98. bad housewives
99. beautiful women
100. talented
101. Christians
102. Aladin
103. unjustified
104. misogynous
105. Zion
106. not to trust
107. Brown nosier
108. Goods
109. need to be helped
110. a
111. Arafat
112. inferior
113. considered inferior
114. pagan
115. Judaism
116.

117. capable
118. nervous
119. heat
120. Arabs
121. exile
122. dirty
123. medic
124. cunning
125. strict
126. annoying
127. liars
128. parasites
129. g
130. rebellious
131. disappointment
132. weird
133. black
134. special
135. underlings
136. fighter
137. profiteers
138. musicians
139. red
140. decay
141. Noe
142. Apostle
143. big nose
144. roman
145. mysterious
146. locked up
147. modest
148. entrepreneurs
149. handle themselves
150. poor
151. punctual
152. jokes
153. censorship
154. revengeful
155. Lenin

Kérem töltsék ki a következő kérdőivet, amely külömböző kijeletéseket tartalmaz, olyan nép csoportokról amelyek Magyarországon laknak. Milyen legközellebi viszonyt fogad el a felsorolt népek, népcsoportok egy-egy tagjával

	Németek	Romák	Osztrákok	Zsidók	Szlovákok	Románok	Szerbek
Elfogadnám házastársnak							
Csaladomba fogadnám							
Elfogadnám lakótársnak							
Elfogadnám munkatársnak							
Elfogadnám szomszédnak							
Egy városban-faluban sem laknék vele							
Egy országban sem laknék vele							

Melyik az első 7 szó amire rágondol amikor azt halja hogy: „német", „roma" „zsidó", „román"

1_____ 1_____ 1_____ 1_____
2_____ 2_____ 2_____ 2_____
3_____ 3_____ 3_____ 3_____
4_____ 4_____ 4_____ 4_____
5_____ 5_____ 5_____ 5_____

Statisztikai adatok
1. Kor _____
2. Vallás_____
3. Nem _____
4. Szuletési hely   a.)Budapest   b.) más(hol)_____
5. Anya születési helye _____
6. Apa születési helye _____
7. Középiskola szakosodása_____