OY VEY! HAS TELEVISION DEPICITION REALLY COME A LONG WAY? A CONTENT

ANALYSIS OF JEWISH DEPICTION ON TELEVISION

by

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DEDICATION

In memory of my loving grandmother, biggest cheerleader and the world's best editor, Barbara

Atkinson. Barbara always believed in my ability to be successful in the academic arena and

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ABSTRACT

The use of stereotypes against Jews is rooted in the false notion that they have distinguishing physical features, but also distinctive personality traits that tend to set them apart from the idealized Aryan persona (Byers & Kreiger, 2005). Stereotypes are not cultivated through personal experiences, rather they are perpetuated through media, and both malevolent and benign stereotypes can have pernicious effects on how the stereotyped community is viewed (Stember, 1966). A significant amount of stereotyping in the media studies place focus on racial and ethnic minorities, however, this study examines an understudied minority group in the media— the Jewish community. Further, little research has explored the power of streaming and the use of stereotypes within streaming content despite the shift steaming has brought in viewing demographics and behaviors (Li et al., 2015). With this in mind, this thesis employs a content analysis critically comparing comedies and dramas within streaming shows *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel and The Man in The High Castle*, and broadcast shows *Friends* and *Grey's Anatomy,* in order to understand how Jewish stereotypes, differ between platforms, genres, and scene tones. It was found that Jewish stereotypes are significantly more common in comedies, and in scenes with a humorous tone. While there is not a significant difference of overall use of stereotypes in streaming and broadcast networks, there is a significant difference in types of stereotypes used within varying platforms.

This thesis contributes to media stereotyping scholarship by demonstrating that the same patterns of marginalization via humor applies to a group that is both a religious and ethnic minority, in this case, the stereotyping of Jewish people. In addition, it was found that the Jewish community is subject to the same power structures as other minority groups, in which media continues to reinforce and perpetuate stereotypical narratives of the community.

       Keywords: hegemony, Jews, multiculturalism, stereotypes, streaming services, television

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1: Introduction

Stereotypes

A stereotype is a predetermined and oversimplified narrative that refers to a specific

subset of people (McLeod, 2015). Stereotyping is a time-saving technique that reduces "the

amount of processing" required when meeting new people (McLeod, 2015, p.1). While

stereotypes do not necessarily carry a negative connotation, most of the time when they are used

the subject is depicted negatively (McLeod, 2015). Stereotyping in the media is a type of

shorthand to get a fast grasp on understanding the character, a way for people to communicate

with each other without fully knowing all the intimate details of the person.

Stereotypes are generally not crafted from an individual's personal experiences, but

instead are cultivated through mass media representations (Babad, Birbbaum, & Benne, 1982).

Studies have found that media have the power to shape audiences' perceptions by utilizing

stereotypes, and the media's stereotyping power is heightened when viewers have minimal

interactions with the group being stereotyped (Mastro, 2005). In other words, research has found

that media have the ability to spread and enforce stereotypical narratives of people from various

minority social groups (Scharrer & Ramasubramanian, 2015).

When it comes to how one particular minority group, Jewish people, are depicted in

television and film, the media often turn to two forms of stereotypes—malevolent and benign,

both of which can influence how audiences perceive Jewish people. Malevolent and distinctly

anti-Semitic stereotypes include those that depict Jews as aggressive, greedy, cliquey, impolite,

cruel, heartless, domineering, messy, obnoxious, money-hungry, and uncivilized (Wilson, 1996).

Benign stereotypes depict Jews as wealthy, determined, diligent, smart, and devoted to family

(Wilson, 1996). While malevolent stereotypes are blatantly negative, Stember (1966) highlighted that any use of stereotypes (benign or malevolent) is in fact harmful to Jewish people, as these stereotypes can have underlying malicious attitudes that are merely perceived as positive compared to explicitly negative stereotypes. Wilson (1996) argued that benign stereotypes in fact are not complimentary or appreciative of a group, but rather allude to underlying prejudices. Adrono and his collogues (1950) found that "contradictory stereotypes are often held simultaneously," leading people to subscribe to any and all stereotypes (benign or otherwise) to justify their prejudices against a group (p.466). In other words, the use of stereotypes of any group is reductive, thus inherently harmful.

While the inclusion of malicious Jewish stereotypes in the media has declined since its peak in 1940, a new wave of anti-Semitic rhetoric and actions have risen to the forefront of the news (Bozarjian, 2019). There has been an uptick in hate crimes targeting the Jewish community, including the October 27, 2018, shooting at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a crime that resulted in 11 deaths; the April 27, 2019, attack at Chabad of Poway in Poway, California, that killed one women and injured three others; the December 10, 2019, murder of six Jewish grocery shoppers at JC Kosher Supermarket in Jersey City, New Jersey; and most recently, the stabbing of five Jewish people celebrating Hanukkah at a Hasidic rabbi's home on December 28, 2019, in Monsey, New York (Cowan, 2019; Beauchamp, 2019; Armstrong, 2019; Liebson et al., 2019).

The use of stereotypes against Jews is rooted in the false notion that they have distinguishing physical features, but also distinctive personality traits that tend to set them apart

from the idealized Aryan persona (Byers & Kreiger, 2005). Entertainment media outlets use

stereotypes to perpetuate and create easily recognizable characterizations of Jewish people by

emphasizing large noses and highlighting characteristics such as greediness and neurotic

tendencies (Byers & Krieger, 2005). Byers and Krieger (2005) highlighted the correlation

between the ways Jews are depicted in the media and the way Jews are viewed within society:

viewers ingest the stereotypical characterizations of Jews and then apply these beliefs to their

interactions with the members of the Jewish community. This is especially worrisome when

portrayals are malevolently interpreted characteristics, as these negative, stereotypical portrayals

can harm the public's view of the Jewish community as a whole. According to Bandura's social

learning theory (1977), people learn through observing others' behavior, observing the outcomes,

encoding the data, and retrieving the information for future applications. As such, media

messages are consumed and "interpretive frameworks" of Jews are formed, creating depictions

that affect the way that Jewish people are perceived and "Jewishness is interpreted," thereby

potentially creating a poor public perception of the Jewish community (Byers & Krieger, 2005,

p.136). In addition, scholars have found that bias can be reduced through interactions (Allport,

1954; Dovidio 2011). Allport (1954) stated that under the contact hypothesis theory, appropriate

and positive interpersonal interactions can lessen prejudice of minority groups. Dovidio's (2011)

indirect intergroup contact theory highlighted that various forms of indirect contact also can

influence perceptions of and behaviors toward other groups. While this study does not look at the

effects of representation, this study provides an in-depth understanding of how Jewish people are

depicted in broadcast and streamed television shows.

Understanding the history of stereotypes and the effect they can have on society is critical for this thesis. This thesis aims to understand how anti-Semitic and harmful Jewish stereotypes are cultivated and perpetuated through fictional entertainment media. Specifically, this thesis examines television shows in the comedic and dramatic genres produced and distributed via the streaming service Amazon Prime Video, and the broadcast networks NBC and ABC. Using a content analysis of scenes from *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, *The Man in The High Castle*, *Friends*, and *Grey's Anatomy*, this thesis aims to identify how Jewish stereotypes differ between comedies, dramas, and platforms. This thesis furthers our understanding of how Jewish characters are currently depicted. Understanding depiction is essential, as media messages create interpretative frameworks that affect public perceptions (Byers & Kreiger, 2005), meaning stereotypical Jewish depictions could have the power to create an overall negative attitude toward Jewish people. This thesis offers two main contributions to scholarship and practice: (1) by comparing content from streaming and broadcast platforms, this thesis enhances our understanding of how different genres and platforms depict Jewish stereotypes, a comparison which in turn highlights the perpetuated discrimination, even in this new age of streaming and production; and (2) by acknowledging and highlighting the use of stereotypes, this thesis emphasizes the need for practical solutions to ensure streaming shows avoid using anti-Semitic and harmful stereotypes, and instead make positive shifts toward media depiction and inclusion of Jews. This thesis also provides insight into the current power structures that rule Hollywood.

Broadcast television and streaming services

Don Ohlmeyer, president of the West Coast Division of NBC, noted in an interview with *Los Angeles Times* reporter Brian Lowry that there is not one target audience, but rather "there

are 200 different segments of the audience." This separation of audiences means network

programs must attempt to unify audiences with a collective interest (Brook, 2001, p.270). With

the emergence of streaming, whereby users consume media on demand via a website, audiences

are further divided, which makes it more challenging to provide a collective experience (Li et al.,

2015). Over-the-top (OTT) alternatives to traditional television programming refers to "internet-

based multimedia content sources" or streaming or downloading platforms (Li et al., 2015, p.19).

With so much content so easily available, viewing demographics are shifting, and content is

being consumed constantly, a practice that simultaneously broadens and narrows potential

audiences (Li et al., 2015). While viewing behaviors have shifted with the emergence of

streaming, it is important to understand how/if Jewish depiction has changed. Understanding

how Jews are depicted provides insight into the current media and power structures within both

broadcast and streaming. In addition, while this study does not look at media effects per se,

examining stereotypes is a first step toward understanding differences in how streamed vs.

broadcast content portrays minority groups, as media portrayals influence public perceptions and

could be contributing to the anti-Semitic hate crimes we are seeing today.

Study impact and implications

Feminist research in the 1960s and 1970s helped reveal television as a reflection of social

standards and as perhaps the foremost mode of socialization in American society (Byers &

Krieger, 2005). Research has found that the way minorities are depicted on television can

directly impact audiences' attitudes, thoughts, and opinions of a specific group (Byers & Krieger,

2005). This study aims to understand how streaming platforms and broadcast networks are

utilizing stereotypes to portray Jewish characters in the shows *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel,*

which follows Jewish housewife Miriam "Midge" Maisel as she pursues her comedic career and

goes through a divorce; *The Man in the High Castle,* based on the 1962 book by the same name

that answers the question "what if America would have lost World War II?" (Amazon, n.d.);

Friends, which follows three female and three male friends as they face life, love and everything

in between in New York City; and *Grey's Anatomy*, which follows the personal and professional

lives of surgeons in Seattle. The media play a powerful role in shaping audiences' perceptions;

thus, it is vital to recognize how fictional media depict minorities. In addition, as a member of

the Jewish community and a consumer of *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, *The Man in the High

Castle, Friends* and *Grey's Anatomy,* I am interested in better understanding how my community

is being represented.

Other studies examining Jewish stereotyping have focused on cable and network

television programs (Schrank, 2007; Leebron & Ruggieri, 2004; Topic, 2014), but not streaming

services media. However, given their rising popularity, it is important to understand how

streaming services' use of stereotypes differs from that of network television programs, and what

that could mean for shifting viewer perceptions. While most critical and cultural scholarship

takes a qualitative approach, this study uses a critical and cultural framework to quantitatively

analyze, identify, and compare the stereotypes used in these shows, and to analyze how the use

of stereotypes differs between shows according to platform, genre, and tone. This study expands

on existing literature that analyzes modern entertainment media under Stuart Hall's (1992)

multiculturalism and hegemony lens. Previous studies (e.g., Molina-Guzmán, 2018) have used

Hall's (1997) framework to analyze depiction of racial and ethnic minorities. This study builds

on that work by analyzing portrayals of Jewish people— an ethnic *and* religious group. Hall's

(1992) multiculturalism and hegemony lens is used to understand the role of power dynamics

and structures in the use of Jewish stereotypes in streaming and broadcast television shows.

Chapter 2: Literature

The emergence of streaming

Streaming is shifting how, when, and what audiences consume on TV (Banerjee et al.

2013). In addition, with the popularization of streaming services has come binge-watching,

which is the practice of audiences consuming all of a show's episodes in a short amount of time

(Matrix, 2014). Digital advances, such as high-speed broadband and multi-functional devices and

the invention of portable devices like smart phones, tablets, computers, and game consoles, allow

viewers to consume content away from fixed locations like television sets, movie theaters, and

desktop computers (Banerjee et al., 2013). The OTT demographics include younger, independent

consumers, low-income consumers who cannot afford to subscribe to traditional or multi-tiered

television services, as well as higher-income consumers who are financially able to buy multiple

devices and multiple subscriptions (Banerjee et al., 2013, p.20).

Being able to binge-watch eliminates "FOMO" (the fear of missing out) due to prior

obligations during peoples' favorite shows' airtimes (Matrix, 2014). Streaming services have

taken away the need for audiences to set a specific time aside to stay up-to-date with their

favorite shows (Matrix, 2014). As a result of this changing perspective, audiences are watching

television more often and for longer periods of time (Matrix, 2014, p.120). Thus, binge-watching

can potentially increase cultivation effects, meaning that media exposure can affect the way

audiences view the real world (Gerbner, 1980). The popularization of binge watching potentially

increases audiences' exposure to the use of harmful stereotypes, which could have increased

negative effects on audiences' perceptions about the community being stereotyped (Byers &

Krieger, 2005).

The typical "binge watchers" are Gen Y (Millennials), Gen Z, and young viewers, also

referred to as "screenagers," who are "not content to abide by traditional weekly and seasonal

programming schedules" (Matrix, 2014, p.120). In 2013, the majority of Generations Y and Z

streamed shows when they wanted, often utilizing multiple screens at once (Matrix, 2014). It is

possible that Millennials (in an estimated five million homes) will become "zero-TV

households" and that the younger generations will care less about owning a television and having

cable than previous generations do (Matrix, 2014, p.124). While studies have proven viewing

behaviors have shifted with the popularization of streaming, few studies have compared the use

of stereotypes of specific minorities between platforms. Scholars have hypothesized that the

emergence of streaming would bring about a positive shift in depiction and inclusion, as the new

medium would shift Hollywood power structures (Bedoya, 2015), and in turn Jewish people in

production would have the ability to reclaim and reshape Jewish narratives. With this

assumption in mind, it is important to understand whether media portrayals of Jews have

changed with the onset of streaming. By understanding how Jewish people are stereotyped in

today's digital media era, we can gain insight into the current media and power structures within

both broadcast and streaming. In addition, it is important to note that prior to the emergence of

streaming, cultivation effects were limited to what was available to view on television at that

specific moment in time. With the emergence of streaming, viewers are able to watch content at

any time and choose content that aligns with their preconceived beliefs, which could increase

cultivation effects and reinforce biases (Weaver, 2017). In addition, it is important to consider

the effects of repeated viewing of the same content, a practice that is easily possible with the

emergence of streaming. The ability to re-watch the same content numerous times could also

increase cultivation effects.

Based on the preceding literature, I pose the following research question:

RQ1: How does the use of Jewish stereotypes differ between streaming and broadcast

television shows?

Stereotypes and the media

A stereotype is a "structured set of beliefs" placed on members of social groups and that

influence "how people attend to, encode, represent, and retrieve information

about others, and how they judge and respond to them" (MacRae, Stangor & Hewstone, 1986,

p.122). Such stereotypes are common in entertainment media (MacRae, Stangor & Hewstone,

1986). It is widely recognized that entertainment media aids in the creation of cultural identities,

meaning the inclusion of stereotypes on TV can play a part in the crafting of identities (Byers &

Kreiger, 2005). Moreover, entertainment media affects "image creation and the shaping of

values, as such, media messages can educate and convince viewers of particular worldviews"

(Topic, 2014, p.14). There is a debate between scholars about whether media impacts societal

opinions, or if public opinions affect the way media messages are crafted and interpreted (Lewis,

2005). Research has found that "TV influences consciousness" (Topic, 2014). For example,

Gerbner and colleagues (1980) found that viewing fictional media is directly correlated with how audiences perceive the world, which is known as the mean world syndrome. According to the mean world syndrome, the type of content that is viewed can directly impact how consumers view the world (Gerbner et al.,1980). For example, according to mean world syndrome, consuming violent content contributes to violent perceptions of the world (Gerbner et.al, 1980). Lewis (2005) highlighted that TV plays a pivotal role in setting up the information climate that enables people to deduce meaning in the world, a practice that is "central to the formation of public opinion" (p.446). While some researchers have claimed that audiences can make conscious decisions based on the information they consume, scholars agree that the media play a role in influencing public attitudes, perceptions, and opinions, to some degree (Topic, 2014).

There is a considerable amount of media and minority stereotyping literature available, although a significant portion of it focuses on racial minorities. Ford (1997), who conducted a study to measure the effects of the inclusion in television of African American stereotypes, coded for a plethora of stereotypes, including Blacks in servant roles, and as "fun loving, clownish, and poor," and found that when white people viewed content featuring these stereotypes, they had a higher likelihood of partaking in stereotyping behavior (p.267). Lee (2009) found that heavy viewers of television used more negative stereotypes in their daily lives and held more negative beliefs about non-whites, including beliefs that African Americans, Asians, Latinos, and Native Americans were all more introverted, neurotic, and cold compared to whites. Mastro & Greenberg (2000) found that African Americans were more likely to be stereotyped, specifically as lazy, relaxed, and unintelligent compared to Latinos and Whites, and these depictions can impact audiences' thoughts and perceptions of the community. Besides races and ethnicities, stereotyping research also has focused on religion. While there is limited

research on the stereotyping of the Jewish community, it is important to note that there is a substantial amount of research in the past two decades that examines the stereotyping of Muslims. For example, Hirji (2011) found that Muslim women are often depicted as "problem people and invisible." While the context may change, the rhetoric is common across racial, ethnic, and religious stereotyping in the media.

As the aforementioned studies illustrated, minorities are more likely to be negatively stereotyped than their white counterparts, and minorities are often times put in demeaning roles, and these depictions can impact society's perceptions of minorities. With this realization in mind, it is imperative to understand how Jewish characters are being depicted, as these media portrayals could be contributing to the anti-Semitic rhetoric and hate crimes currently occurring.

Minority roles in the media

Whether minority characters in entertainment media are featured in menial roles or not at all, they fall "victim of an industry that relies on old ideas to appeal to the 'majority' at the expense of the insignificant minority" (Horton, Price & Brown, 1999, p.1). The majority of main roles are portrayed by Caucasians, leaving minorities to play supporting roles (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). According to a study that analyzed minority representation in prime time television shows (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000), 80% of characters were Caucasian (52% of them in main roles), 16% African-American (56% of them in main roles), 3% Latino (44% were in main roles), 1% Asian American, and there were no native Americans. In other words, minorities were included significantly less than Caucasians, and when they were included, more than half of the time they were not in main roles. While there has been an increase of minority-led shows, including *Black-ish*, *Jane the Virgin*, *Dear White People*, and *One Day at a Time,* most minority characters are still pigeonholed into stereotypical story lines. Historically, African Americans

play supporting roles, and their characters are either battling segregation, part of rags-to-riches

storylines, or are portraying the "thug" life" (Horton, Price, & Brown, 1999). For the Latinx

community, characters are depicted as poor, law-breaking, oversexualized and uneducated

(Smith et al. 2019). It is evident that within entertainment media, minorities are often depicted as

stereotypical and inferior to their Caucasian counterparts and often are the token minority

character.

Tokenism

Tokenism refers to the inclusion of one minority character within a group (Hirschfield,

2015). Examples of tokenism include "the solo black member of an all-white fraternity, a blind

or disabled person in a group of able individuals, or a women police cadet in a class of all men

cadets" (Hirschfield, 2015, p.1). Tokenism is used as a mechanism to appear more inclusive.

While tokenism is often used in organizations, it can also be seen in fictional media. Tokenism

stipulates that when a group has less than 15% of representation in a social group, the minority

group, also known as the token, is susceptible to three disadvantages: 1) increased visibility,

where tokens are extremely noticeable and under performance pressure, meaning minorities

work harder for acceptance and are scolded for mistakes; 2) informal segregation, which occurs

when the majority group highlights group differences and intensifies cultural boundaries, a

division that results in lack of opportunities for minorities; and 3) role encapsulation, where

minorities mirror stereotypes placed on them, an obstacle that in turn can limit opportunities

(Perez & Strizhko, 2018). In addition, the inclusion of a token minority reinforces the

characteristics of the majority group and pits the majority groups against the tokens while

highlighting specific characteristics of members of the token group into a stereotypical token

minority (Grant, 2017). Examples of token characters in entertainment include the character

Token Black in *South Park*, Carl Carlson in *The Simpsons,* Fez in *That 70's Show*, Stanley

Hudson in *The Office*, Charlie Wheeler in *Friends*, and Jackie Chiles in *Seinfeld,* to name a few.

Token Jewish characters include the Saperstein Family in *Parks and Recreation*, and Sidney

Friedman in *MASH TV*.

Jewish roles and stereotypes in the media

      While there is an abundance of stereotypes surrounding Jewish people, most stereotypes

can fit under two distinct umbrellas— stereotyping based on physical appearance and

stereotyping based on personality traits and conduct. These stereotypes are often exaggerated to

create token Jewish characters.

      Jewish nose and voice. Although the prominent Jewish nose is not an "infallible marker"

(Schrank, 2007, p.21), it is still perhaps the most prevalent stereotype used to "other" the Jewish

community or discriminate against the community due to their "different" appearance compared

to those of Aryan lineage. Discourse surrounding the Jewish nose dates back to the thirteenth

century but rose to prominence in the eighteenth century when a Dutch doctor, Georg Heinrich

Wachter, conducted a study on the Jewish skull (Hoedl, 2000). Wachter described the Jewish

skull as "having a strange, unnatural form, and he concluded that it accounted for the lack of

ability of the Jews to talk properly" (Hoedl, 2000, p. 2). In 1850, anthropologist Robert Knox

stated that the distinguishing feature of Jewish people was "a large, massive, club-shaped,

hooked nose, three or four times larger than suits the face," making it impossible for Jewish

people to be attractive (Preminger, 2001, p. 2161). In this same vein, Wachter claimed he found

an abundance of abnormalities, including the exaggerated nasal structure (Hoedel, 2000). These

perceptions have followed the Jewish population and have been used to identify and discriminate

against the community as the Jewish nose is seen as a deformity (Preminger, 2001).

Historically, light-skinned Black people have been referred to as "passing" as white (Piper, 1992). Similarly, Jews with non-Jewish noses have been able to "pass" as non-Jewish, thus steering clear of the blatant discrimination and the negative effects associated with being Jewish (Schrank, 2007). As a result, surgical intervention in the form of rhinoplasty was the primary plastic surgery procedure undertaken by Jewish women in the 1940s and 1950s (Schrank, 2007), and even into the 1960s, Hollywood studios were still trying to erase the Jewish nose by encouraging actresses to get nose jobs in order to be hired (Schrank, 2007).

The Jewish nose has also fed other Jewish stereotypes, including the perpetuation of the Jewish voice (Hoedl, 2000). The sound of the Jewish voice is said to be very similar to a "New York" accent (Nosowitz, 2016). In addition, some anti-Semites claim that Jewish people tend to talk fast in order to deceive, specifically within business deals (Hoedl, 2000). Examples of well-known people with a "Jewish voice" include Larry David, Woody Allen, Mel Brooks, Barbra Streisand, Bette Midler, and Fran Drescher (Nosowitz, 2016).

Gendered stereotypes. In an attempt to categorize Jewish people (specifically men) as "the other," characteristics were highlighted by anti-Semites to emasculate Jewish men and further separate them from the idealistic Aryan male image (blonde, blue eyes, slim but muscular, tall). Height came to the forefront of the anti-Semitic movement during the holocaust; however, the othering of Jewish people began long before then (Hoedl, 2000). In 1876, a study examining the physical features of Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews reported that Jews were significantly shorter than Ukrainians or Poles (Kiefer, 1991). Similarly, a few years later, in 1881, a study conducted in Bavaria found that about half of Jewish men were under the national average for height (Jacobs, 1991). Subsequent studies in the early 1900s also reported that Jews were shorter than non-Jews (Elkind, 1906), and their arms were shorter than those of non-Jewish

people, a difference that further othered the male Jewish body (Singer, 1904). A narrow chest has

also been associated with Jewish people. An 1876 study found that among Jews, Poles, and

Ukrainians, Jews' chests measured on average 31.26 inches compared to those of Poles, who

measured at 32.72 inches and Ukrainians 33.20 inches (Steida, 1882, p.71). These slight

proportions were used to support the notion that Jewish men were more effeminate than other

men, and thus not suited to serve in the military (Hoedl, 2000).

In the 1950s, stereotypes about Jewish women gained popularity (Cooper, 2013). Two of

the most common stereotypes of Jewish women are the Jewish American Princess ("JAP") and

Jewish mother (Cooper, 2013). As defined by Cooper (2013), a "JAP" is depicted as an

egocentric, materialistic woman with an affection for over-the-top apparel. A JAP is a woman

who combines both "frigidity and sexual exploitativeness," specifically in her refusal to be

intimate after matrimony, while being completely dependent on either her father or her husband

(Cooper, 2013).

A "JAP" is a source for jokes within entertainment media; this stereotype usually

highlights the characters' decision to not be productive in the homemaker's domain (Riv-Ellen,

1998), or the fact that the character is ignorant of her unattractive appearance or aggravating

personality (Cooper, 2013). The JAP is a coddled Jewish woman whose whole existence relies

on marrying well (Siegel, 1986).

Another prominent Jewish women's stereotype is the "Jewish mother." As defined by

Baum, Hyman, and Michel (1977), the Jewish mother is categorized as a woman who coddles

her children and refuses to leave them alone by employing numerous strategies, including

"interfering, cajoling, advising, and manipulation" (p.236). Whether the matriarchal character is

force feeding her children another meal or guilting them in to visiting her, the Jewish mother is

omnipresent in all aspects of her children's life. Within the Jewish mother stereotype, what could

be seen as positive personality traits are overdramatized and conveyed as unfavorable. For

example:

> Whether the Jewish mother is represented as protecting her children or demanding their
>
> loyalty, she is seen as exceeding prescribed boundaries, as being excessive. Her claims to
>
> affection, her voice of opinions, her expressions of maternal worry are perceived
>
> threatening in part because she acts as a free agent, not as a subordinate female according
>
> to mainstream cultural ideals. Even when she is represented as self-effacing, cast as the
>
> martyr, she should be interpreted as being manipulative or passive-aggressive, secretly
>
> striving to impose her will on others. (Ravitis, 2000, p.4)

Over the past 100 years, popular Jewish women on television have often served as a

satirical version of ethnic traits connected to Jewish culture (Leebron & Ruggieri, 2004). These

stereotypes are most prominent in humorous content (Ravitis, 2000). Ravitis (2000, p. 4) claimed

that by utilizing "humor and ridicule, the stereotype acts to silence ethnic women by warning

against their zealous energy and hidden agendas."

Jewish guilt. Unlike other stereotypes, Jewish guilt is actually deeply entrenched in

Jewish rhetoric (Dein, 2013). Imbedded in both "Jewish tradition" and literature is a Jew's ability

to feel guilty (Dein, 2013). Halberstam (2005) noted that, unlike other Jewish stereotypes, Jewish

guilt is perpetuated by Jews themselves:

> How, then, did this bromide about Jewish guilt attain its status as a distinctive Jewish
>
> disposition? Unlike jokes about kishke (intestines), which Jews actually ate (and eat), and

such slurs such as the Jews' association with money—originally propounded by non-Jews—the Jewish guilt syndrome is a Jewish creation, the invention of the previous generation of assimilated American Jews. When these Jews became untethered and estranged from Jewish tradition and the established forms of expiation, they created a psychologized specter of guilt as a "Jewish condition," a Judaism so lite, it fits on an HBO laugh track and on your friend's T-shirt. (p.1)

Studies have found that guilt is prevalent across cultures but is predominantly found "in the western world and hypochondriacal ideas are at the core features of depression in non-Christian cultures" (Dein, 2013, p.2). One example of Jewish guilt in fictional media is the 1972 film *Portnoy's Complaint*, which is based on the book by the same name. In a monologue between the main character Andrew Portnoy and his psychotherapist Dr. Spielvogel, Portnoy expresses feeling extremely guilting for his actions and feelings and discusses the idea of guilt as a part of his Jewish identity (Pinsker, 1977).

Neurotic and complaining. In television and film, Jewish characters' neuroses are often spotlighted (Topic, 2014). Jews are portrayed as "neurotic, obsessive, a tad narcissistic. Someone who in the real world might be grappling with a fairly serious mental health issue" (Lipman, 2016, p.3). Grace Adler (*Will and Grace*), Monica Gellar (*Friends)*, and Janice Litman (*Friends*), all are portrayed as the neurotic Jew (Byers & Kreiger, p.136).

Additionally, Jewish people are depicted in television and film as complainers who blow situations out of proportion. Through ethnographic interviews, Boxer (1996) found that complaining is at the center of Jewish culture, specifically indirect complaining, meaning complaining about a someone or something that is not present.

Jews and finances. According to 2016 Pew Research data, Jewish people are the wealthiest religious group in the U.S., with over 44% making $100,000 a year, compared to 19% of the overall population making that amount. Jewish television characters are overwhelmingly depicted as cheap and greedy, materialistic, consumed with "getting a deal" and making a profit, and will take advantage of the socio-economic status for personal gain, disregarding the potential harm of the collective (Lipman, 2016). Jews are seen as "untrustworthy, but good with money... a Shylock" (Lipman, 2016, p.2). The perpetuation of this stereotype in television and film has caused the widespread belief among non-Jewish people that the narrative of greediness is accurate (Lipman, 2016). A global survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League found 41% of respondents believed that "Jews have too much power in international financial markets [and] Jews have too much power in the business world" (Goodman, 2015, p.1).

In television, the depiction of cheap Jews is a prominent feature. One example is Ross Gellar in the popular television show *Friends*. In one episode, Ross is seen stealing large amounts of basic toiletries (tampons, shampoos, salts, toilet paper, soaps, etc.) to get his money's worth from the hotel where he was staying, despite his wealth (Topic, 2014).

Stereotypes in comedies and dramas

Comedies. Despite comedy's being a staple in American entertainment media, media effects scholarship has mostly neglected to study the effects of the stereotyping of minorities within comedies (Martinez & Ramasubramanian, 2015). Nevertheless, comedy has the ability to influence "real-world stereotypes as it is broad, often integrated into many formats, and not meant to be taken seriously" (Martinez & Ramasubramanian, 2015, p. 211). Zupancic (2008) asserted that comedies use stereotypes because they disregard the psychological depth and rationale of characters. In comedies, stereotypes are often tied to a single trait, race, ethnicity,

gender, or socio-economic class (Wunsch, 2016). Because stereotypes are easily simplified and

easily digestible, they are often featured in comedies as a way to get a quick laugh, with little

attention paid to the impact continuous exposure can have on thoughts and perceptions (Wunsch,

2016). In other words, because stereotypes are a type of shortcut to understanding a character,

they are frequently used in comedies, with little thought given to keeping within the personality

of a character or to the impact they can have on audience perceptions.

Research on stereotypes in comedies has mostly focused on racial minority stereotypes,

specifically African Americans in situation comedies. While there is literature on the

stereotyping of religious minorities, most is centered on Muslims. Research has found that

sitcoms are the least diverse genre and are the only genre to have exclusively Black casts (Mastro

& Tropp, 2004). As the disposition theories of humor claims, amusement of sitcoms is based on

viewers' desire to increase positive feelings of one's self. These positive feelings are achieved by

power hierarchies portrayed in comedies that place one group at a disadvantage while benefitting

another (Zilmann, 1983). Within this framework, character development is insignificant, as these

shows can rely on cheap shots and the use of stereotypes to evoke comedic reactions (Zilmann &

Bryant, 1991). As such, the "fundamental requirement for success is merely that viewers are not

indifferent towards the characters" (Mastro & Tropp, 2004, p.121). That is to say, comedies

place importance not on accurate or fair portrayals but focus on eliciting laughs and will do so at

the expense of characters with no regard to the societal ramifications. This study places

importance on understanding how stereotypes are used in comedic content depicting Jewish

characters compared to dramatic content, to understand how different the use of stereotypes is

between the genres. Understanding these differences is important as the programming is placing

importance on humorous response, with little regard to potential negative societal ramifications and mean world effects.

Dramas. Significant research has been done on dramatic television's (soap operas, crime dramas, etc.) impact on audiences; however, few studies have been conducted that place focus on stereotypes within dramatic shows (L'Pree, 2008). One study on stereotypes in dramatic media conducted by Valentino (2002) found that the use of racial stereotypes in crime television shows activated racial biases in viewers. Parrott and Parrott (2015) conducted a study that focused on crime dramas and found that stereotypes were most commonly used to depict white women in a way to portray them as the ideal victims. Ultimately, research in this vein has found that the use of stereotypes is included within dramatic media but is not necessarily the main tactic used to elicit responses. For this study, it is important to understand the construction of dramatic media, to understand how and why the genre may be utilizing stereotypes, within the context of developing characters, setting the scene, etc., in order to contrast it with the use of stereotypes in comedies.

Based on the preceding literature regarding stereotypes in entertainment media, this thesis poses the following research questions:

RQ2: How does the use of Jewish stereotypes differ between comedies and dramas?

RQ3: How does the use of Jewish stereotypes differ according to a scene's tone?

Background
The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel

   Soon to air its third season, *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* is an American Amazon original comedy series created, written, and directed by Amy and Dan Sherman-Palladino. The show,

which has won eight Emmy Awards, takes place in 1950s New York City and centers on a

Jewish housewife, Miriam "Midge" Maisel (Rachel Brosnahan), who discovers her passion and

talent for stand-up comedy while trying to help her husband, Joel Maisel (Michael Zeagen) with

his comedic material, a talent that turns her life upside down (Amazon, n.d.).

While the show has received critical acclaim, it has also been heavily criticized by those

who are members of the Jewish community. From characters ordering pork chops at a Kosher

butcher, to emphasizing characters' neuroses, characters' ignorance regarding anti-Semitism

(Sobel, 2019), and mentioning historical dates that have yet to happen in the timeline of the show

(Cohen, 2017), the show is being scrutinized for getting Jewish customs, cultures, and religion

wrong. At the same time, the show also has been praised for Jewishness being at the forefront of

numerous characters' identities. In fact, it is surprising how much Jewish identity is at the heart

of the show, as it is set in late 1950s/early 1960s, which is shortly after the holocaust. The show

is considered the most popular Jewish show currently available (Cohen, 2017). Because the show

is comprised of predominantly Jewish characters and has been praised for its inclusion of Jewish

customs and culture, but criticized for its inaccuracy and inclusion of stereotypes, the show is

ideal to analyze to understand how Jewishness is being depicted in streamed sitcoms.

The Man in the High Castle

Based on the novel by Philip K. Dick of the same name, *The Man in the High Castle* is a

dramatic sci-fi Amazon original series. Now in its fourth season, the show explores what it

would be like if Germany and Japan had won WWII and ruled the United States (Amazon, n.d.).

While the show's main character is not Jewish, Jewish culture, religion, and fear surrounding

Jewishness all play a notable role. Set in the same time period and released by the same

streaming service as *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel, The Man in the High Castle* is dramatically

different. The show has been applauded for being chillingly accurate with its depiction of the

culture surrounding Jewish people at the end of WWII (Berlatsky, 2015). The show was selected

for this study as a way to compare how the same platform depicts Jewish characters in different

situations and genres, but within the same time period (Berlatsky, 2015).

Friends

Created by David Crane and Martha Kauffman in 1994, *Friends* follows the life of six

friends in New York City as they face everyday tribulations, including romantic relationships,

career changes, and everything in between (Amazon, n.d.). Airing 10 seasons and now being

revived by HBO for a limited series, *Friends* is arguably one of the most popular shows of

modern television (Goldberg, 2020). The show was created by two Jewish people and the

majority of the writers were Jewish (Pazornik, 2010). In an interview with JWeekly, creator

David Crane stated, "When we were creating the show, we were not thinking about Jewish

characters. In the initial character breakdowns, we never mentioned religion. We wanted funny,

caring, and real characters with stories you invest in. But a lot of it has to do with the actors you

cast." Crane also stated that the writer's room was mostly Jewish, so that writers "told stories

from their lives," a shared experience that contributed to characters' Jewish identity and

performance (Pazornik, 2010, p.1). *Friends* has been applauded for its inclusion of Jewish

characters, such as Monica, Ross, Rachel and their parents, but scolded for its lack of Jewish

identity and religion. The show was selected as it is a extremely popular broadcast sitcom

featuring Jewish characters.

Grey's Anatomy

Grey's Anatomy follows both the personal and professional lives of a group of young

surgeons in Seattle as they start their intern year at a local hospital. Airing its first episode in

2005 with showrunner and creator Shonda Rhimes, the show is one of the longest running shows

on television and is currently airing its 16th season. One of the main characters in earlier seasons,

Cristina Yang, is an Asian Jewish convert. In later seasons, a new character is introduced, Levi

Schmidt, who identifies as culturally Jewish. *Grey's Anatomy* was selected because of its

popularity and inclusion of Jewish characters in main and reoccurring roles in a broadcast drama.

Theoretical Framework

Critical and cultural theory

Scholars argue that culture is a crucial component of communications (Sha, 2006). As

such, it is nearly impossible to study critical and cultural communications separately, because to

interrogate history is an act that necessitates the reflection of cultural and societal norms and

customs. At the same time, to study variances within cultures unavoidably requires the

consideration of hierarchies across cultural groups and successive questioning of how the

differences befall, persevere, and can steer away from the current structure (Vardeman, 2016).

Critical and cultural theory is rooted in a "production society" in which those who regulate

production "control the way in which we think about ourselves and society" (Curtain & Gather,

2005, p.95). What this understanding means in relation to this study is that those who are

creating content featuring stereotypes are able to shape audiences' views of various populations.

This study uses a critical and cultural lens to identify the way in which the Jewish community is

being depicted and shed light on how these stereotypical depictions can be construed as negative

and harmful, with the goal of rallying positive shifts in minority portrayals.

Multiculturalism and hegemony

As Stuart Hall (2000) posited, the "multicultural question addresses how we are to

envisage the futures of those many different societies now composed of people from very

different backgrounds, cultures, contexts, experiences, and positions in the ranking order of the world; societies where difference refuses to disappear" (p. 209). This is important to keep in mind as this study examines television shows that feature those who are part of the Jewish community, a community whose differences are regularly emphasized, and whose place in society has shifted dramatically overtime. Multiculturalism inevitably crosses with the politics of incorporating or excluding various cultural identities (Ponzanesi, 2007). Hall (1992) urged scholars to take a (multi)cultural approach to researching television and film, as:

> cultural studies have helped me to understand that the media play a part in the formation, in the constitution, of the things that they reflect. It is not that there is a world outside, "out there," which exists free of the discourses of representations. What is "out there" is, in part, constituted by how it is represented. (p.14).

In his studies, Hall recognized Hollywood's refusal to shift to more inclusive narratives. Molina-Guzmán (2018) noted that there is a constant reproduction of othering and exclusive narratives through the "stereotypic binary hegemonic push and pull of power" within Hollywood production (Molina-Guzmán, 2018, p.440). "Thus the unchanging nature of the media is a result of the fatal coupling of difference and power as various racial and ethnic subsects attempt to preserve some cultural and political control in a changing world" (Molina-Guzmán, 2018, p.441). In other words, the media content that is produced reflects who is in power at the time of production.

The exclusion of diverse narratives is rooted in "implicit and explicit racial, ethnic, and gender biases by those in control of the production of popular images and narratives" (Molina-Guzmán, 2018, p. 441). As such, Hall (1997) noted the difficulty of altering these problematic

narratives, because to do so, society must shift power structures and amend political, social, and economic structures to allow the leveraging of the marginalized other before a representational change can occur. Recognizing the power structures and inequalities in Hollywood representation "as ethically important to democratic societies" (Molina-Guzmán, 2018, p.441), Hall (1992) urged critical and cultural scholars to muster all the educational resources they can to make sense of the culture we live in, as society is "profoundly and deeply anti-humane" with an inability to live with differences (p.22).

This thesis uses Hall's (1997) theories about the power structures within entertainment media production as a lens to understand the perpetuation of othering of Jewish people through stereotypical portrayals in modern entertainment media. Understanding power structures and Jewish depiction is important to understand because how Jewishness is depicted can potentially impact society's perception of the Jewish community.

Chapter 3: Methods

This study used a content analysis of scenes (n=800) from *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel, The Man in the High Castle, Friends, and Grey's Anatomy* to understand the portrayal of Jewish characters in broadcast network and streaming services content. It is important to note that while both *Grey's Anatomy* and *Friends* are broadcast network shows, they have both become available on streaming platforms. For this study, the unit of analysis is scenes and the unit of sampling is episodes. The scenes were identified and divided by the changing of setting or the screen fading to black (Vasiliauskas, n.d).

Content analysis, as defined by Stemler (2001), is "a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding"

(p.1). Content analysis allows researchers to easily analyze large amounts of data systematically (Stemler, 2001). As such, it is a technique that allows researchers to "discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional or social attention" (Stemler, 2001, p.1).

This study utilized a random cluster sampling method of episodes featuring Jewish characters. Cluster sampling is a method that is utilized to effectively represent an entire population using statistical inference (Christman, 2001). To have a statistically sound representative sample, 200 randomly sampled scenes were coded from each show. Shows were selected based on personal knowledge of inclusion of Jewish characters, and Jewish characters were confirmed from official statements released from show creators about characters' ethnicity/religion, and quotes from the shows. From the confirmed list of Jewish characters I identified, I found episodes including these characters using the episode lists in the Internet Movie Database (IMBD). These episodes then were inputted into an Excel file, and episodes were separated by show. For example, I first identified and confirmed Frank Frink's Jewish identity and then sampled all episodes from *The Man in the High Castle* that included Frink, as specified in the IMDB episode lists. Once all the episodes that were applicable to the study (n=576) were in an Excel file, four separate sheets were created (one for each show), and a new column was created titled random_sample. Utilizing the random number formula on Excel =RAND(), each episode was assigned a random number, and episodes from each show were sampled until the desired study sample size was reached (200 scenes per show, n=800).

Because I was utilizing broadcast episodes that were already released, all episodes of *Friends* and *Grey's Anatomy* were accessed via streaming services. Through my own personal subscriptions, I streamed *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *The Man in the High Castle* from Amazon Prime Video; *Grey's Anatomy* was streamed via Netflix. *Friends* was unavailable to

stream free of charge through a subscription service, so I purchased the episodes through my cable provider, Xfinity.

Because content analysis must be replicable and systematic, intercoder reliability is necessary to achieve before the official coding process begins. In order to calculate intercoder reliability, I and another person underwent three codebook training sessions before proceeding to code a sample equal to 10% of the final sample (80 scenes), using data that was not included in the final study sample. Once intercoder reliability was reached, I coded all of the data for the study myself. Intercoder reliability was tested using Krippendorff's alpha, which was the best test to implement because it allows coders' contributions as independent, controls for agreement, and is applicable to variables (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007). The average Kripendorf's alpha for the variables was α: 0.905.

The variables are defined below:

Television show

Scenes were identified as being from *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, *The Man in The High Castle, Friends, or Grey's Anatomy* (α:1). During analysis, shows were recoded to create two new variables: genre and platform. The genre variable was created by combining *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *Friends,* which were labeled as (1) comedy; and *The Man in the High Castle* and *Grey's Anatomy,* which were combined to create a (2) drama category. The platform variable was created by creating a (1) streaming category by combining *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *The Man in the High Castle,* and a (2) broadcast category by combining *Grey's Anatomy* and *Friends.*

Season

The season of the scenes was also coded (α:1). There are currently three seasons of *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*, four seasons of *The Man in the High Castle,* 10 seasons of *Friends,* and 16 seasons of *Grey's Anatomy*.

Episode

The episode of the scene coded was also marked (α:1). The episode number within the season was coded (ex. episode 3 of season 5). Episode numbers fell between one and 24.

Length of scene

Length of scene was recorded (α:1). A scene's length was coded as one of the following: (1) 0-5 minutes, (2) 6-10 minutes, (3) 11-15 minutes.

Tone of scene

Scenes were coded to understand the overall tone of the scene (α: 0.867). While there can be humorous moments in angry scenes, only the predominant tone was coded, so that categories were mutually exclusive. Predominance was determined by how the majority of the dialogue was presented, and the reaction the scenes were attempting to elicit. As stated by Moran (2016),

> Tone is more than just the words [a person] chooses. It's the way in which [one] communicates… personality. Tone of voice is the way [people] tell users how *they* feel about [a] message, and it will influence how *[others]* feel about a message, too (p.1).

The following tones were coded for, and only one tone could be chosen per scene:

Humorous. Humorous tones can be identified by a lack of seriousness within the text, and by facial expressions, including smiling or laughing (Moran, 2016). Characters may attempt

to make a joke or use humor to lighten the subject. Examples of a humorous tone are those that include jokes such as this example from *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel*: "It's downtown. If you have underwear on, you're overdressed."

Angry. An angry tone may present text that is considered to be aggressive, direct, use obscene language, express a grievance, or is irate or hostile (Osborn, 2018). Scenes that include a raising of voice or harsh wording were coded as angry scenes. In addition, balled fists or furrowed brows alluded to an angry tone. The following is an example of an excerpt from an angry scene in *The Man in the High Castle,* in which one character angrily calls out another: "You don't need anybody to keep you down because you got your own inner fascist right there telling you what you can and cannot do. That's how you let them win."

Joyful. A joyful tone will convey a sense of euphoria or great elation (Osborn, 2018). The overall purpose of the scene could be to share a happy experience with the audience. Characters presented with smiling or happy facial expressions, but did not use jokes within the scene, distinguishing it from the "humorous" variable. For example, in one scene in *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* Midge exclaims, "We got the Rabbi!" to convey her accomplishment of securing an honored guest for dinner.

Sad. Sad tones may be identified by gloomy or dejected language that expresses sadness from the character or is perceived as sad by the audience (Osborn, 2018). Characters in sad scenes tend to have frowns, or tears in their eyes. For example, while he is being executed in *The Man in the High Castle*, Frank sheds a tear and states the Shema (one of the most important and common Jewish prayers): "She-ma yisrael adonai eloheinu, adonai echad," which translates to "Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One." In another scene, Frank attends the

funeral of his sister, niece, and nephew and weeps in the pews because he feels responsible for their deaths.

Suspenseful. Suspense is defined as "a kind of emotional arousal associated with uncertainty about an important outcome" (Langer, 2014, p. 8). Scenes coded as suspenseful included those that depict characters as fearful or uncertain, or in nerve wrecking situations. For example, in *Grey's Anatomy*, doctors must remove a pole that is attaching two patients in an emergency situation.

Use of Stereotypes

Scenes were coded for their inclusion of the following stereotypes: Jewish nose, cheap/greedy, materialistic, neurotic, guilty, short men, Jewish American Princess (JAP), Jewish mother, Bubbe, intelligent, ambitious, and wealthy. The stereotypes each were coded as dichotomous variables [presence: yes (1), no (0)]. During analysis, a dichotomous presence of stereotype variable was created by recoding data; if any stereotypes were present, it was coded as (1) yes, and if none were present it was coded as (0) no.

Jewish nose. As defined by Robert Knox (1850), the Jewish nose is "a large, massive, club-shaped, hooked nose, three or four times larger than suits the face," making it impossible for Jewish people to be attractive (Preminger, 2001, p.2161). Often times the punchline of a joke, the Jewish nose is considered by anti-Semites to be a distinguishing physical feature (Schrank, 2007). Scenes that are coded as including the Jewish nose featured discourse or action regarding a character's nose (α: 0.937).

Cheap/Greedy. Jewish television characters are overwhelmingly depicted as cheap and greedy, materialistic, consumed with "getting a deal" and making a profit, and taking advantage

of the socio-economic status for personal gain, disregarding the potential harm of the collective (Lipman, 2016.). Scenes that feature this stereotype depicted Jewish characters bargaining for a discount or reference a character's unwillingness to purchase something because of the price (α: 0.827).

Materialistic. Jewish characters are frequently portrayed as extremely materialistic, with an obsession with having nice things while still being reluctant to pay top dollar (Topic, 2014). Scenes that present as materialistic are those with an increased importance on owning an abundance of material possessions with an emphasis on purchasing more than necessary. An example of the materialistic stereotype in practice would be a character expressing the need to purchase another pair of magenta shoes when she owns 15 pairs because they were just released (α: 0.835).

Neurotic. Anxiety is at the heart of Jewish depiction (Lipman, 2016). Oftentimes characters' main personality traits are their inability to live their daily lives absent of the fear of the unknown (Byers & Kreiger). Scenes that mention fear and worry multiple times were coded as featuring this stereotype (α: 0.924).

Jewish American Princess. A JAP is commonly depicted as a spoiled young woman who refuses to contribute to society unless it personally benefits her (Cooper, 2013). A JAP is seen as dependent on the men in her life, and her core objective is to shop and gossip (Cooper, 2013). Scenes that reference or feature characters spending others' money, or depict women who are solely dependent on others, fell under this variable (α: 0.834).

Jewish mother. Frequently shown as manipulative, the Jewish mother places importance on her children, frequently shown as meddling, impeding, or aggravating them in the process.

Scenes with mothers interfering in their children's personal affairs, or nagging about how infrequently she sees her children, or referencing this behavior were coded as featuring this stereotype (α: 0.822).

Bubbe. The Bubbe stereotype is understudied in academia. It is understood to be similar to the Jewish Mother stereotype, but refers to older women, or grandmothers. "While still unschooled, food-obsessed, doting, loving, anxious, and a working class *balabusta* (good homemaker), the Jewish grandmother is more mellow than her Jewish mother antecedent" (Dein, 2013, p.2). Scenes depicting Jewish grandmothers as overly worried, and helpful constantly seeking their grandchildren's approval were coded as featuring this stereotype (α: 0.935).

Guilt. Imbedded in both "Jewish tradition" and literature is a Jew's ability to feel guilty (Dein, 2013). Guilt is defined as: "feelings of deserving blame especially for imagined offenses or from a sense of inadequacy" (Banmen, 1988, p.22). Scenes in which characters expressed feeling guilty or attempted to place guilt on others were coded as featuring this stereotype (α: 0.851).

Intelligent. Broadly this variable included individuals who hold degrees beyond a bachelors, those with an expansive vocabulary, or who fall under stereotypical nerd umbrella (big glasses, suspenders, greased hair, etc.). In addition, if a character was referenced as being intelligent compared to others in the show, they were coded as intelligent (α: 0.873).

Ambitious. Ambitious is defined as "having or showing a strong desire and determination to succeed" (Osborn, 2018, p.7). Characters that exhibited entrepreneurial traits or were depicted as hard working compared to others for a specific goal (staying up all night for a project deadline) fell under this category (α: 0.854).

Wealthy. For this study, the term wealthy refers to a person with a great deal of disposable income and assets. Characters were coded as wealthy based on discussions regarding income or determined based on lifestyle such as housing and traveling behaviors (α: 0.932).

Analysis strategies

To answer RQ1, which looked at the differences in stereotypes between broadcast and streaming services, chi-square tests were run comparing platform with presence of stereotypes and individual Jewish stereotypes (nose, JAP, Jewish mother, short men, cheap, materialistic, neurotic, guilt, wealthy, intelligent, ambitious, and Bubbe). To answer RQ 2, which questioned the differences in stereotypes that appear in comedies and dramas, chi-square tests were run comparing genre with presence of Jewish stereotypes and individual Jewish stereotypes. RQ3, which questioned the differences in stereotypes in scenes with differing tones, used chi-square tests comparing the tone variable with presence of Jewish stereotypes and individual Jewish stereotypes.

<div align="center">Chapter 4: Results</div>

Overview of data

Overall frequencies showed that across the entire sample (see Table 1), the tone of most scenes was suspenseful (37.6%, n=301) or humorous (34%, n=272). About 11.4% (n=91) of scenes were angry, followed by sad (9.8%, n=78), and joyful (5.4%, n=43). Nearly half (46.6%, n=373) of all scenes included at least one Jewish stereotype. The most frequently used stereotypes were neurotic 32.6% (n=261) and guilt 28.4% (n=227). The stereotypes that were featured less frequently were short men 0.5% (n=4), and nose 1.1% (n=9). Because of sampling procedures, an equal number of scenes were within the drama (50%, n=400) and comedy (50%, n=400) genres, as well as across streaming (50%, n=400) and broadcast (50%, n=400) platforms.

Table 1: Sample overview

Variables	N	%
Show		
Marvelous Mrs. Maisel	200	25%
The Man in The High Castle	200	25%
Friends	200	25%
Grey's Anatomy	200	25%
Season		
1	132	16.5%
2	212	26.5%
3	190	23.8%
4	20	2.5%
5	57	7.1%
7	110	13.8%
9	63	7.9%
10	16	2.0%
Length of Scene		
0-5 minutes	779	97.4%
6-10 minutes	21	2.6%
Tone		
Humorous	272	34%
Angry	91	11.4%
Joyful	43	5.4%

Sad	78	9.8%
Suspenseful	301	37.6%

Stereotypes

Presence	373	46.6%
Absence	427	53.4%

Nose

Presence	9	1.1%
Absence	791	98.9%

JAP

Presence	83	10.4%
Absence	717	89.6%

Jewish mother

Presence	85	10.6%
Absence	715	89.4%

Short men

Presence	4	0.5%
Absence	796	99.5%

Cheap

Presence	35	4.4%
Absence	765	95.6%

Materialistic

Presence	74	9.3%
Absence	726	90.8%

Neurotic

	Presence	261	32.6%
	Absence	539	67.4%
Guilt			
	Presence	227	28.4%
	Absence	573	71.6%
Wealthy			
	Presence	74	9.3%
	Absence	726	90.8%
Intelligent			
	Presence	161	20.1%
	Absence	718	79.9%
Ambitious			
	Presence	82	10.3%
	Absence	718	89.8%
Bubbe			
	Presence	16	2%
	Absence	784	98%
Genre			
	Drama	400	50%
	Comedy	400	50%
Platform			
	Streaming	400	50%
	Broadcast	400	50%

Streaming vs. broadcast

Answering RQ1, which questioned how Jewish stereotypes differ in streaming vs. broadcast television shows, results of a chi-square test showed no significant differences (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = .005. $p = 0.943$) in overall presence of stereotypes. However, there were significant differences when it came to individual Jewish stereotypes (see Table 3). Significantly more streaming scenes than broadcast ones used the JAP stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 11.305. p <.001, 14.0%, n=56], the Jewish mother stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 52.245. p <.001, 18.5%, n=74], the cheap stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 8.635. p <.05, 6.5%, n=25] the materialistic stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 28.829. p <.001, 14.8%, n=59], the wealthy stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 77.195. p <.001, 18.3%, n=73], and the Bubbe stereotype [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 12.500. p <.001, 3.8%, n=15]. In contrast, the intelligent stereotype (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 13.072. p <.001) appeared significantly more in broadcast (25.3%, n=101) than streaming (15%, n=60). There were no significant differences in use of the nose (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) =1.001. $p = $ .315), short men (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 4.020. $p = $ .045), neurotic (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 0.416. $p = $ .497), guilt (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 1.384. $p = $ .239), and ambitious (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 3.478. $p = $ .062) stereotypes across platforms.

Table 2: Crosstabulation comparing platform and use of Jewish stereotypes

	Streaming (n, %)	Broadcast (n, %)	Total (n, %)	Chi-Square
Stereotypes				.005
Presence	187 46.8%	186 46.5%	373 46.6%	
Absence	213 53.3%	214 53.5%	427 53.4%	
Nose				1.011
Presence	6 1.5%	3 0.8%	9 1.1%	
Absence	394 98.5%	397 99.3%	791 98.9%	
JAP				11.305**
Presence	56 14.0%	27 6.8%	83 10.4%	
Absence	344 86.0%	373 93.3%	717 89.6%	
Jewish Mother				52.245***
Presence	74 18.5%	11 2.8%	85 10.6%	
Absence	326 81.5%	389 97.3%	715 89.4%	
Short Men				4.020
Presence	4 1.0%	0 0%	4 0.5%	
Absence	396	400	796	

	99.0%	100%	99.5%	
Cheap				8.635*
Presence	26 6.5%	9 2.3%	35 4.4%	
Absence	374 93.5%	391 97.8%	765 95.6%	
Materialistic				28.829***
Presence	59 14.8%	15 3.8%	74 9.3%	
Absence	341 85.3%	385 96.3%	726 90.8%	
Neurotic				0.461
Presence	126 31.5%	135 33.8%	261 32.6%	
Absence	274 68.5%	265 66.3%	539 67.4%	
Guilt				1.384
Presence	106 26.5%	121 30.3%	227 28.4%	
Absence	294 73.5%	279 69.8%	573 71.6%	
Wealthy				77.195***
Presence	73 18.3%	1 0.3%	74 9.3%	
Absence	327 81.8%	399 99.8%	726 90.8%	
Intelligent				13.072***
Presence	60	101	161	

	15.0%	25.3%	20.1%	
Absence	340 85.0%	299 74.8%	639 79.9%	
Ambitious				3.478
Presence	49 12.3%	33 8.3%	82 10.3%	
Absence	351 87.8%	367 91.8%	718 89.8%	
Bubbe				12.500***
Presence	15 3.8%	1 0.3%	16 2.0%	
Absence	385 96.3%	399 99.8%	784 98.0%	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Dramas vs. comedies

To answer RQ2, which examined the differences in stereotypes according to show genre, chi-square tests were performed. Results showed significant differences in use of stereotypes between comedies and dramas (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 291.734. $p <.001$). The total number of scenes that featured stereotypes within comedies (76.8%, n=307) was significantly higher than in dramas (16.5%, n=66). Additionally, analysis showed significant differences in which stereotypes appeared in different genres. All chi-square comparisons were significant with the exception of the short men (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 4.020. $p = .045$) and ambitious (X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 3.478. $p = .062$) stereotypes. Full results are reported in Table 2. The following stereotypes all appeared significantly more in comedies than in dramas: nose [X_2 (1, $N = 800$) = 9.012. $p <.05$,

2.3%, n=9], JAP [X_2 (1, N = 800) = 92.608. p <.001, 20.8%, n=83], Jewish mother [X_2 (1, N =

800) = 95.105. p <.001, 21.3%, n=85], materialistic [X_2 (1, N = 800) = 81.543. p <.001, 9.3%,

n=74], wealthy [X_2 (1, N = 800) = 81.543. p <.001, 18.5%, n=74), and Bubbe [X_2 (1, N = 800) =

16.327. p <.001, 4%, n=16]. There were no stereotypes that were featured in dramas significantly

more than in comedies.

Table 3: Crosstabulation comparing genre and use of Jewish stereotypes

	Comedy (n, %)	Drama (n, %)	Total (n, %)	Chi-Square
Stereotypes				291.734***
Presence	307 76.8%	66 16.5%	373 46.6%	
Absence	93 23.3%	334 83.5%	427 53.4%	
Nose				9.102*
Presence	9 2.3%	0 0%	9 1.1%	
Absence	391 97.8%	400 100%	791 98.9%	
JAP				92.608***
Presence	83 20.8%	0 0%	83 10.4%	
Absence	317 79.3%	400 100%	717 89.6%	
Jewish Mother				95.105***
Presence	85 21.3%	0 0%	85 10.6%	
Absence	315 78.8%	400 100%	715 89.4%	
Short Men				4.020
Presence	4 1.0%	0 0%	4 0.5%	
Absence	396 99.0%	400 100%	796 99.5%	

Cheap				32.538***
Presence	34	1	35	
	8.5%	0.3%	4.4%	
Absence	366	399	765	
	91.5%	99.8%	95.6%	
Materialistic				81.543***
Presence	74	0	74	
	18.5%	0%	9.3%	
Absence	326	400	726	
	81.5%	100%	90.8%	
Neurotic				194.627***
Presence	223	38	261	
	55.8%	9.5%	32.6%	
Absence	177	362	539	
	44.3%	90.5%	67.4%	
Guilt				167.447***
Presence	196	31	227	
	49.0%	7.8%	28.4%	
Absence	204	369	573	
	51.0%	92.3%	71.6%	
Wealthy				
Presence	74	0	74	
	18.5%	0%	9.3%	
				81.543***
Absence	326	400	726	
	81.5%	100%	90.8%	
Intelligent				37.022***
Presence	115	46	161	
	28.7%	11.5%	20.1%	

Absence	285	354	639	
	71.3%	88.5%	79.9%	
Ambitious				3.478
Presence	49	33	82	
	12.3%	8.3%	10.3%	
Absence	351	367	718	
	87.8%	91.8&	89.8%	
Bubbe				16.327***
Presence	16	0	16	
	4.0%	0%	2.0%	
Absence	384	400	784	
	96.0%	100%	98.0%	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Tone

RQ3 considered how stereotypes differed according to a scene's tone. Results of a chi-square analysis found significant differences between tone and use of stereotypes [X_2 (4, $N = 800$) =187.218, p =<.001], with full results in Table 4. Stereotypes were most common in humorous scenes (75.7%, n=215), and least common in suspenseful ones (19.4%, n=59). Within all significant comparisons (JAP, Jewish mother, materialistic, neurotic, guilt, wealthy, intelligent and ambitious), scenes with a humorous tone featured more of the specific stereotype.

Table 4: Crosstabulation comparing scene tone and use of Jewish stereotypes

	Humorous (n, %)	Angry (n, %)	Joyful (n, %)	Sad (n, %)	Suspenseful (n, %)	Total (n, %)	Chi-Square
Stereotypes							187.218***
Presence	215 75.7%	41 45.1%	20 46.5%	38 48.7%	59 19.4%	373 46.6%	
Absence	69 24.3%	50 54.9%	23 53.5%	40 51.3%	245 80.6%	427 53.4%	
Nose							7.591
Presence	7 2.5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 0.7%	9 1.1%	
Absence	277 97.5%	91 100%	43 100%	78 100%	302 99.3%	791 98.9%	
JAP							69.199***
Presence	63 22.2%	7 7.7%	2 4.7%	5 6.4%	6 2%	83 10.4%	
Absence	221 77.8	84 92.3%	41 95.3%	73 93.6%	298 98%	717 89.6%	
Jewish Mother							47.305***
Presence	55 19.4%	9 9.9%	5 11.6%	10 12.8%	6 2%	85 10.6%	
Absence	229 80.6%	82 90.1%	38 88.4%	68 87.2%	298 98%	715 89.4	
Short Men							4.927
Presence	3 1.1%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1.3%	0 0%	4 0.5%	

Absence	281	91	43	77	304	796	
	98.0	100%	100%	98.7%	100%	99.5%	
Cheap							11.513
Presence	19	5	3	4	4	35	
	6.7%	5.5%	7.0%	5.1%	1.3%	4.4%	
Absence	265	86	40	74	300	765	
	93.3%	94.5%	93%	94.9%	98,7%	95,6%	
Materialistic							36.732***
Presence	48	8	5	5	8	74	
	16.9%	8.8%	11.6%	6.4%	2.6%	9.3%	
Absence	236	83	38	73	296	726	
	83.1%	91.2%	88.4%	93.6%	97.4%	90.8%	
Neurotic							102.215***
Presence	151	30	12	25	43	261	
	53.2%	33%	27.9%	32.1%	14.1%	32.6%	
Absence	133	61	31	53	261	539	
	26.8	67%	72.1%	67.9%	85.9%	67.4%	
Guilt							97.116***
Presence	126	36	4	28	33	227	
	44.4%	39.6%	9.3%	35.9%	10.9%	28.4%	
Absence	158	55	39	50	271	573	
	55.6%	60.4%	90.7%	64.1%	89.1%	71.6%	
Wealthy							45.020***
Presence	49	4	6	9	6	74	
	17.3%	4.4%	14%	11.5%	2%	9.3%	
Absence	235	87	37	69	298	726	
	82.7%	95.6%	86%	88.5%	98%	90.8%	
Intelligent							40.627***

Presence	88 31%	15 16.5%	10 23.3%	17 21.8%	31 10.2%	161 20.1%
Absence	196 69.0%	76 83.5%	33 76.7%	61 78.2%	273 89.8%	639 79.9%
Ambitious							17.452*
Presence	43 15.1%	9 9.9%	7 16.3%	7 9%	16 5.3%	82 10.3%
Absence	241 84.9%	82 90.1%	36 83.7%	71 91%	288 94.7%	718 89.8%
Bubbe							13.140
Presence	12 4.2%	2 2.2%	1 2.3%	0 0%	1 0.3%	16 2%
Absence	272 95.8%	89 97.8%	42 97.7%	78 100%	303 99.7%	784 98%

*p<.05, **p<.01,***p<.001

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis explored how Jewish stereotypes were utilized across television platforms, genres, and scenes with varying tones. Using a comparative content analysis of two streaming shows (*The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *The Man in the High Castle*) and two broadcast shows (*Grey's Anatomy* and *Friends*), this study measured the frequency and use of both malevolent and benign Jewish stereotypes— nose, JAP, Jewish mother, short men, cheap, materialistic, neurotic, guilt, wealthy, intelligent, ambitious, and Bubbe. This study furthers our understanding of how Jewish characters are currently depicted in entertainment media, a depiction which is important to understand, as media create interpretative frameworks that can alter public perceptions (Byers & Kreiger, 2006), and negative portrayals of Jewish characters can contribute to a negative attitude toward the Jewish community. Given the rise in hate crimes against Jewish communities over the past few years (Cowan, 2019; Beauchamp, 2019; Armstrong, 2019; Liebson et al., 2019), this study is especially timely. Overall this thesis showed that Jewish depictions on television heavily rely on stereotypes, and depiction has not significantly changed over time with the emergence of streaming.

In line with previous research, this study showed stereotypes were more prevalent in comedic scenes than dramatic ones (Wunsch, 2016), and more prevalent in comedy shows than dramas (Martinez & Ramasubramanian, 2015; Zupancic, 2008; Zillmann & Bryant, 1991). The most prevalent stereotype across genres was neurotic. Considering that studies show comedies tend to present under-developed characters (Horton, Price & Brown, 1999; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000), and that overall when minorities are included they tend to be two-dimensional token characters (Grant, 2017), it follows that comedies would rely on stereotypes to portray Jewishness, since stereotypes offer a shortcut to "understand" minority characters without having

to fully develop their personas (McLeod, 2015). Further, this thesis showed stereotypes were more common in scenes with humorous tones than any other kind of tone. Scenes with joyful and angry tones included the smallest number of stereotypes, again demonstrating the over-reliance on stereotypes in order to craft a joke (Wunsch, 2016). The infrequent use of stereotypes in dramas could be attributed to the fact that dramas may require a deeper character understanding to elicit emotions from audiences, as an easy laugh is not the main goal within these programs (Wunsch, 2016). Such a finding is important for illustrating how comedies perpetuate Jewish stereotypes (both malevolent and benign), which can contribute to an overall negative perception of the Jewish community. While most research on use of stereotypes in comedies tends to focus on racial minorities (Mastro & Tropp, 2004), this thesis contributes to media stereotyping scholarship by demonstrating that the same patterns of marginalization via humor applies to a group that is both a religious and ethnic minority, in this case, the stereotyping of Jewish people.

It is important to note that while *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *The Man in the High Castle* are both set in the early 1950s and '60s, all of the shows analyzed (including *Friends* and *Grey's Anatomy*) were created and distributed in the 21st century. However, the same patterns of discrimination and stereotyping of Jews has steadily remained throughout time. Jewish stereotypes were prevalent within plays as early as 1200, and these stereotypes were features in both comedies and tragedies (Glassman, 1937). Interestingly, the type of stereotypes featured has not shifted, however, the frequency of stereotypes between genres may have. It seems that plays of both the comedy and tragedy genres written between 1200-1700 utilized the same amount of stereotypes (Glassman, 1937). Future research should analyze plays under the same framework to see how use of stereotypes have shifted over a greater period of time.

Considering the rapid rise of streaming services and the fact that 61% of television viewers consume content via streaming instead of broadcast (Pew Research Data, 2017), this thesis set out to compare Jewish stereotyping in two streamed and two broadcast shows. Previous research indicates that media exposure can affect the way audiences view the world (Gerbner et al., 1980), an impact that makes it worthwhile to examine stereotypes in streamed shows, as binging such negative content could contribute to a negative, "mean world" perspective of Jews (Gerbner et al., 1980). Interestingly, results showed no significant difference in frequency of stereotypes between streaming and broadcast shows. However, there were more individual stereotypes featured within broadcast, in other words, whether shows were made to be consumed once a week or all at once, they contained the same number of stereotypes. In part this finding can be explained by sampling choices: one comedy and one drama were selected from each platform, to maintain a balance. This similarity highlights that media and power dynamics have not shifted with the emergence of streaming, meaning that streaming network writers and producers are still creating stereotypical content, thereby still conforming to traditional media power structures (Hall, 1997). This thesis highlights that the number of Jewish stereotypes has not significantly shifted in the past several decades, despite the emergence of streaming and between the release of *Friends* (1994), *Grey's Anatomy* (2005), *The Man in the High Castle* (2015), and *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* (2017). Unfortunately, the emergence of streaming did not bring about a positive shift in depiction and inclusion as Bedoya (2015) hoped.

While there was no real difference in overall presence of stereotypes by platform, results showed some significant differences in which Jewish stereotypes were depicted across platforms. The JAP, mother, materialistic, cheap, wealthy, and Bubbe stereotypes appeared more in streaming than broadcast scenes. In contrast, the intelligent stereotype was more common in

broadcast than streaming, a finding which highlights that the only stereotype featured in broadcast more was a benign stereotype, and streaming included more malevolent stereotypes than broadcast.

Little if any research has been done on why stereotypes are more prevalent in streaming than in broadcast, a gap that allows this thesis to make an important contribution to scholarship. The fact that this study found there are more stereotypes in streaming could be attributed to the fact that while streaming is credited for increasing minority inclusion (Bedoya, 2015), execution of depiction is often overlooked. Before the emergence of streaming services, media consumption choices, and therefore cultivation effects, were limited to programs airing at that specific moment in time (Weaver, 2017). The emergence of streaming allows viewers to not only select content at their convenience, but also consume content that aligns perfectly with their preconceived beliefs, a practice which could intensify cultivation effects (Weaver 2017). The combined lack of research on stereotypes within streaming, and the potential increased cultivation effects, highlight the need for further research into the ways streaming and broadcast may be contributing differently to the presentation of stereotypes and to cultivation effects.

Theoretical and practical implications

Stuart Hall's multiculturalism and hegemony lens (1997) states that preexisting Hollywood power structures limit positive strides toward more inclusive narratives; in other words, inclusion and positive depiction is impeded as the majority of Hollywood lacks diversity (Hall, 1997). In contrast to previous studies (Molina Guzmán, 2018; Pozanesi, 2007), which analyzed negative racial and ethnic depictions resulting from the underrepresentation of racial and ethnic groups in Hollywood power structures, this study analyzed media content created by a power structure that has significant Jewish representation. Still, despite Jewish representation in

entertainment media's power structures, this thesis found the continued reinforcement and perpetuation of stereotypical narratives of the Jewish community. The Jewish community is credited for creating the rise of Hollywood, and from the beginning the Jews recognized they must subscribe to societal norms and cultural hierarchies to become successful (Horowitz, 2017). Jewish immigrants who founded movie studios "were simply intent on assimilation and acceptance, and created an idealized America on screen, an enchanted mirror designed to flatter and unite the ticket-buying public. The Jews of Hollywood didn't just subscribe to the American dream, they invented it" (Horowitz, 2017, p.1). According to The Anti-Defamation League (2008), today 22% of Americans believe that "the movie and television industries are pretty much run by Jews," compared to 50% in 1964 (p.1). Surprisingly, an extensive search for figures covering Jewish people in Hollywood positions garnered no results, but a large portion of Hollywood executives and writers are Jewish, a finding that was highlighted by this 2008 list including, News. Corp President Peter Chernin, Paramount Pictures Chairman Brad Grey, Walt Disney Co. Chief Executive Robert Iger, Sony Pictures Chairman Michael Lynton, Warner Bros. Chairman Barry Meyer, CBS Corp. Chief Executive Leslie Moonves, MGM Chairman Harry Sloan, and NBC Universal Chief Executive Jeff Zucker, to name a few (Stein, 2008)

When Hollywood was established, a precedent was set, in the name of profit, to hide Jewishness, and create an on-screen, idealized white American (Horowitz, 2017). As this study shows, when Jewishness is portrayed, deprecating humor and stereotypes are used to aid in non-Jews getting a fast grasp on understanding Jewish culture in a palatable way that is not "too Jewish." In other words, the prevalence of humor allows any presence of Jewishness to be treated as a joke, rather than as a threat to the status quo. Whether stereotypes are malevolent or benign, they can negatively influence public perceptions and how Jewishness is interpreted

(Byers & Kreiger, 2006). Practically, non-Jewish and Jewish people within Hollywood production need to be aware of the existing Hollywood power structures, and why they were established, in order to move past them and make strides toward positive Jewish representation and inclusion within entertainment. Writers, producers, directors, and executives must understand how depiction can affect society's perceptions and attitudes toward minority groups, and work toward more accurate representation instead of shallow, stereotypical representation. If Hollywood continues to ignore the stereotypical depiction of Jews to avoid challenging the status quo in order to make a profit, the result will be the continued negative public perception of Jews, potentially contributing to more anti-Semitic hate crimes and discrimination.

Limitations and future research

The largest limitation of this study is sample size, as this thesis relied on just 200 scenes of four shows, each of which has thousands of scenes per season. Further, as a content analysis, it can only identify the use of stereotypes, and not the impact on audiences. Future research should examine audience reception to understand how stereotypical depictions affect real-world perceptions of the Jewish community. It also is important to note that this study only examined two broadcast shows and two streaming shows, so any conclusions about the differences between the platforms should be interpreted with caution. Further, while both *Grey's Anatomy* and *Friends* are broadcast network shows, they have both become available on streaming platforms, allowing viewers to watch these shows in the same OTT manner as *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* and *The Man in The High Castle.* Future research should expand on this design to include a larger number of streaming and broadcast shows that depict Jewishness. Future studies should also aim to understand the Jewish community's perception of how Jewish people are depicted on television. Finally, research should consider stereotypical depictions of other minority

communities in broadcast and streaming shows to fully understand how changes in production

and consumption could influence perceptions of marginalized groups in society.

Conclusions

This content analysis examining Jewish stereotypes in television shows across genres,

platforms, and tones found significantly more stereotypes in comedies and comedic scenes than

dramas and scenes with non-humorous tones. Further, while there was not a significant

difference in overall use of stereotypes in streaming and broadcast, the only stereotype that was

featured more in broadcast was a benign stereotype.

Ultimately, this thesis argues that comedies, whether broadcast or streamed, continue to

rely on stereotypes to depict Jewish characters. In contrast to predictions (Bodeya, 2015), then,

the emergence of streaming has not brought on a positive shift in Jewish depiction, but rather

perpetuated the same power hierarchies and marginalization previous studies have found in

broadcast shows (Mastro & Greenberg, 2000; Ford, 1997; Topic, 2014). Like other minority

depiction studies, this thesis demonstrates that Jewish depiction has a long way to go. This thesis

contributes to our understanding of how Jewishness is portrayed and the power structures that are

keeping depiction stagnant, a discovery that is important to understand as awareness of this issue

could bring about positive shifts in power structures, and promote positive depiction, an

awareness which could decrease anti-Semitism and promote cross-cultural understanding in our

multi-cultural society.

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