

CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUSIONS

The most crucial result of the present study, as it seems to the authors, is the demonstration of close correspondence in the type of approach and outlook a subject is likely to have in a great variety of areas, ranging from the most intimate features of family and sex adjustment through relationships to other people in general, to religion and to social and political philosophy. Thus a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitive parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-oriented, exploitively dependent attitude toward one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but a desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and a disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom. The inherent dramatization likewise extends from the parent-child dichotomy to the dichotomous conception of sex roles and of moral values, as well as to a dichotomous handling of social relations as manifested especially in the formation of stereotypes and of ingroup-outgroup cleavages. Conventionality, rigidity, repressive denial, and the ensuing break-through of one's weakness, fear and dependency are but other aspects of the same fundamental personality pattern, and they can be observed in personal life as well as in attitudes toward religion and social issues.

On the other hand, there is a pattern characterized chiefly by affectionate, basically equalitarian, and permissive interpersonal relationships. This pattern encompasses attitudes within the family and toward the opposite sex, as well as an internalization of religious and social values. Greater flexibility and the potentiality for more genuine satisfactions appear as results of this basic attitude.

However, the two opposite types of outlook must by no means be regarded as absolutes. They emerge as a result of statistical analysis and thus have to be considered as syndromes of correlating and dynamically related factors.¹

¹ There is marked similarity between the syndrome which we have labeled the authoritarian personality and "the portrait of the anti-Semite" by Jean-Paul Sartre (110). Sartre's brilliant paper became available to us after all our data had been collected and analyzed. That his phenomenological "portrait" should resemble so closely, both in general structure and in numerous details, the syndrome which slowly emerged from our empirical observations and quantitative analysis, seems to us remarkable.

They consist in accumulations of symptoms frequently found together but they leave plenty of room for variations of specific features. Furthermore, various distinct subtypes are found within each of the two major patterns. Above all, two subvarieties of the ethnically prejudiced must be distinguished: the conventional and the psychopathic. Many more subvarieties can be distinguished on the basis of differential preoccupation with this or that particular trait that is alleged to exist in an ethnic minority. Our prejudiced subjects, however, are on the whole more alike as a group than are the unprejudiced. The latter include a great variety of personalities; many, on the surface at least, have no more extreme variants in common than the absence of a particular brand of hostility.

Indications are that there may be more similarity, within the major types, at the core than at the surface. This holds especially for the highly prejudiced subject, with his great variety of rationalizations and behavioral manifestations of prejudice.

Furthermore, our findings are strictly limited to the psychological aspects of the more general problem of prejudice. Historical factors or economic forces operating in our society to promote or to diminish ethnic prejudice are clearly beyond the scope of our investigation. In pointing toward the importance of the parent-child relationship in the establishment of prejudice or tolerance we have moved one step in the direction of an explanation. We have not, however, gone into the social and economic processes that in turn determine the development of characteristic family patterns.

Finally, the present study deals with dynamic potentials rather than with overt behavior. We may be able to say something about the readiness of an individual to break into violence, but we are pretty much in the dark as to the remaining necessary conditions under which an actual outbreak would occur. There is, in other words, still plenty of room for action research. Actually such additional research is necessary for all practical purposes. Outbreaks into action must be considered the results of both the internal potential and a set of eliciting factors in the environment. No action research can, however, be complete without analysis of the factors within the individual, an analysis to which this volume endeavors to contribute, so that we should be enabled to anticipate who would behave in a certain way under given circumstances.

All this is, of course, subject to the over-all limitation which lies in the character of our sample of subjects. It is our opinion that a study of a topic of such crucial social significance could well deserve to be conducted on a statistical basis comparable to that of nation-wide opinion polls. The present study has chosen to be an intensive rather than an extensive one. In spite of the fact that part of it has been conducted with subjects numbering over two thousand, its major aim is penetration into underlying patterns of factors rather than exhaustive representativeness in covering the entire population.

Broadening of the factual basis in this respect undoubtedly will lead to reformulation of many specific questionnaire items and technical revisions. Actually, only in a truly representative study would it become possible to appraise quantitatively the amount of prejudice in our culture, to determine the general validity of the personality correlates outlined in this volume, and to assess the various possibilities of a mutual overlapping of the two major patterns that we have described.

Although it is not a part of our task to prescribe or to plan programs for countering prejudice we may be permitted some remarks concerning the general implications of our research.

It follows directly from our major findings that countermeasures should take into account the whole structure of the prejudiced outlook. The major emphasis should be placed, it seems, not upon discrimination against particular minority groups, but upon such phenomena as stereotypy, emotional coldness, identification with power, and general destructiveness. When one takes this view of the matter it is not difficult to see why measures to oppose social discrimination have not been more effective. Rational arguments cannot be expected to have deep or lasting effects upon a phenomenon that is irrational in its essential nature; appeals to sympathy may do as much harm as good when directed to people one of whose deepest fears is that they might be identified with weakness or suffering; closer association with members of minority groups can hardly be expected to influence people who are largely characterized by the inability to have experience, and liking for particular groups or individuals is very difficult to establish in people whose structure is such that they cannot really like anybody; and if we should succeed in diverting hostility from one minority group we should be prevented from taking satisfaction by the knowledge that the hostility will now very probably be directed against some other group.

So it is with various other measures which from our point of view are concerned with the treatment of symptoms or particular manifestations rather than with the disease itself. Yet we certainly do not wish to belittle, or to ask for any reduction in, such activities. Some symptoms are more harmful than others, and we are sometimes very glad to be able to control a disease even though we cannot cure it. Indeed it may be hoped that knowledge of what the potential fascist is like—knowledge of the kind that this book has attempted to supply—will make symptomatic treatment more effective. Thus, for example, although appeals to his reason or to his sympathy are likely to be lost on him, appeals to his conventionality or to his submissiveness toward authority might be effective. (But it should be clearly understood that such activity would in no way reduce his conventionality or authoritarianism or his fascist potential.) Similarly it is consistent with what we know of the potentially fascist personality to suppose that he would be impressed by legal restraints against discrimination, and that his self-restraint

would increase as minority groups became stronger through being protected. (But it must be remembered that it is the usual practice of the fascist to dress his most antidemocratic actions in a legalistic cloak.) Again, since acceptance of what is like oneself and rejection of what is different is one feature of the prejudiced outlook, it may be that members of minority groups can in limited situations and for some period of time protect themselves and gain certain advantages by conforming in outward appearance as best they can with the prevailing ways of the dominant group. We say this cautiously because it is necessary continuously to be aware that the same tendencies to conformity which are praised in the ingroup may be condemned in the outgroup. (Furthermore, aside from the fact that such conformity works against the values of cultural diversity, it is a necessary conclusion from the present study that the ultimate fate of any minority group does not depend primarily upon what that group may do, and moreover, once the minority group member has conformed in this way there is little reason to suppose that he would not adopt the prevailing ingroup attitudes toward those who have not been able to conform.)

Thus it appears that when we address ourselves to symptoms, here as in any disease, we have to face the fact that a "cure" of one manifestation is likely to be followed by a breaking out in some other area. Yet there is sufficient reason why there can be no letup in the kinds of activity just described: so great is the over-all fascist potential that any withdrawal on any front might make it even more difficult than it now is for groups discriminated against to secure their rights.

It would be most unfortunate if a grasp of the true enormity of the fundamental problem should anywhere lead to a diminution of effort. It is impossible to conceive of any way of attacking the problem that does not involve a multiplicity of subgoals—to be attained by individuals or by groups. Any act, however limited in time and place, that serves to counter or diminish destructiveness can be regarded as a microcosm, as it were, of a total effective program.

What can be done about the disease itself? If, as the present study has shown, we are dealing with a structure within the person it seems that we should consider, first, psychological techniques for changing personality. Yet, a moment's reflection will show that the therapeutic possibilities of individual psychology are severely limited. How could one "cure" one of our high scorers? This probably could be done by proceeding along the lines indicated in our clinical and genetic chapters. But when one considers the time and the amount of arduous work that would be required and the small number of available therapists, and when he considers that many of the main traits of the ethnocentrist are precisely those which, when they occur in the setting of a clinic, cause him to be regarded as a poor therapeutic risk, it

appears at once that the direct contribution of individual psychotherapy has to be regarded as negligible.

Confronted with the rigidity of the adult ethnocentrist, one turns naturally to the question of whether the prospects for healthy personality structure would not be greater if the proper influences were brought to bear earlier in the individual's life, and since the earlier the influence the more profound it will be, attention becomes focused upon child training. It would not be difficult, on the basis of the clinical and genetic studies reported in this volume, to propose a program which, even in the present cultural pattern, could produce nonethnocentric personalities. All that is really essential is that children be genuinely loved and treated as individual humans. But all the features of such a program would have the aspect of being more easily said than done. For ethnocentric parents, acting by themselves, the prescribed measures would probably be impossible. We should expect them to exhibit in their relations with their children much the same moralistically punitive attitudes that they express toward minority groups—and toward their own impulses. In children then, as in the case of the adult ethnocentrist, we cannot expect psychology, by itself, to produce the desired result; one is too familiar with cases of young parents with the fullest intellectual understanding of modern theories whose need to do the "correct" thing prevents the very warmth and spontaneity which those theories prescribe. But more serious, because much more widespread, is the case of parents who with the best will and the best feelings are thwarted by the need to mould the child so that he will find a place in the world as it is. Few parents can be expected to persist for long in educating their children for a society that does not exist, or even in orienting themselves toward goals which they share only with a minority.

It seems obvious therefore that the modification of the potentially fascist structure cannot be achieved by psychological means alone. The task is comparable to that of eliminating neurosis, or delinquency, or nationalism from the world. These are products of the total organization of society and are to be changed only as that society is changed. It is not for the psychologist to say how such changes are to be brought about. The problem is one which requires the efforts of all social scientists. All that we would insist upon is that in the councils or round tables where the problem is considered and action planned the psychologist should have a voice. We believe that the scientific understanding of society must include an understanding of what it does to people, and that it is possible to have social reforms, even broad and sweeping ones, which though desirable in their own right would not necessarily change the structure of the prejudiced personality. For the fascist potential to change, or even to be held in check, there must be an increase in people's capacity to see themselves and to be themselves. This cannot be achieved by the manipulation of people, however well grounded in modern

psychology the devices of manipulation might be; and it is a judgment which finds support in the present study that the man who is first to seize power will be the last to give it up. It is safe to assume, however, that fascism is imposed on the people, that it actually goes against their basic interests, and that when they can be made fully aware of themselves and their situation they are capable of behaving realistically. That people too often cannot see the workings of society or their own role within it is due not only to a social control that does not tell the truth but to a "blindness" that is rooted in their own psychology. Although it cannot be claimed that psychological insight is any guarantee of insight into society, there is ample evidence that people who have the greatest difficulty in facing themselves are the least able to see the way the world is made. Resistance to self-insight and resistance to social facts are contrived, most essentially, of the same stuff. It is here that psychology may play its most important role. Techniques for overcoming resistance, developed mainly in the field of individual psychotherapy, can be improved and adapted for use with groups and even for use on a mass scale. Let it be admitted that such techniques could hardly be effective with the extreme ethnocentrist, but it may be remembered that the majority of the population are not extreme but, in our terminology, "middle."

It is the fact that the potentially fascist pattern is to so large an extent imposed upon people that carries with it some hope for the future. People are continuously molded from above because they must be molded if the over-all economic pattern is to be maintained, and the amount of energy that goes into this process bears a direct relation to the amount of potential, residing within the people, for moving in a different direction. It would be foolish to underestimate the fascist potential with which this volume has been mainly concerned, but it would be equally unwise to overlook the fact that the majority of our subjects do not exhibit the extreme ethnocentric pattern and the fact that there are various ways in which it may be avoided altogether. Although there is reason to believe that the prejudiced are the better rewarded in our society as far as external values are concerned (it is when they take shortcuts to these rewards that they land in prison), we need not suppose that the tolerant have to wait and receive their rewards in heaven, as it were. Actually there is good reason to believe that the tolerant receive more gratification of basic needs. They are likely to pay for this satisfaction in conscious guilt feelings, since they frequently have to go against prevailing social standards, but the evidence is that they are, basically, happier than the prejudiced. Thus, we need not suppose that appeal to emotion belongs to those who strive in the direction of fascism, while democratic propaganda must limit itself to reason and restraint. If fear and destructiveness are the major emotional sources of fascism, *eros* belongs mainly to democracy.

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INDEX

This index was compiled from listings supplied by the various authors. To make it as concise as possible, they included only those subject matters, names, and passages which they deemed sufficiently significant for indexing.

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