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A stylized illustration of three-dimensional alphabet blocks. The block in the foreground is light yellow with a thick orange outline and contains the letter 'B' in a bold, dark blue sans-serif font. Behind it, another block with the letter 'C' is partially visible, also in the same style. A third block with a blue triangle is visible in the background. The blocks are set against a textured orange background with a vertical white line on the left. A large, thin, dark blue line loops around the blocks, resembling a speech bubble or a decorative flourish.

B

C's

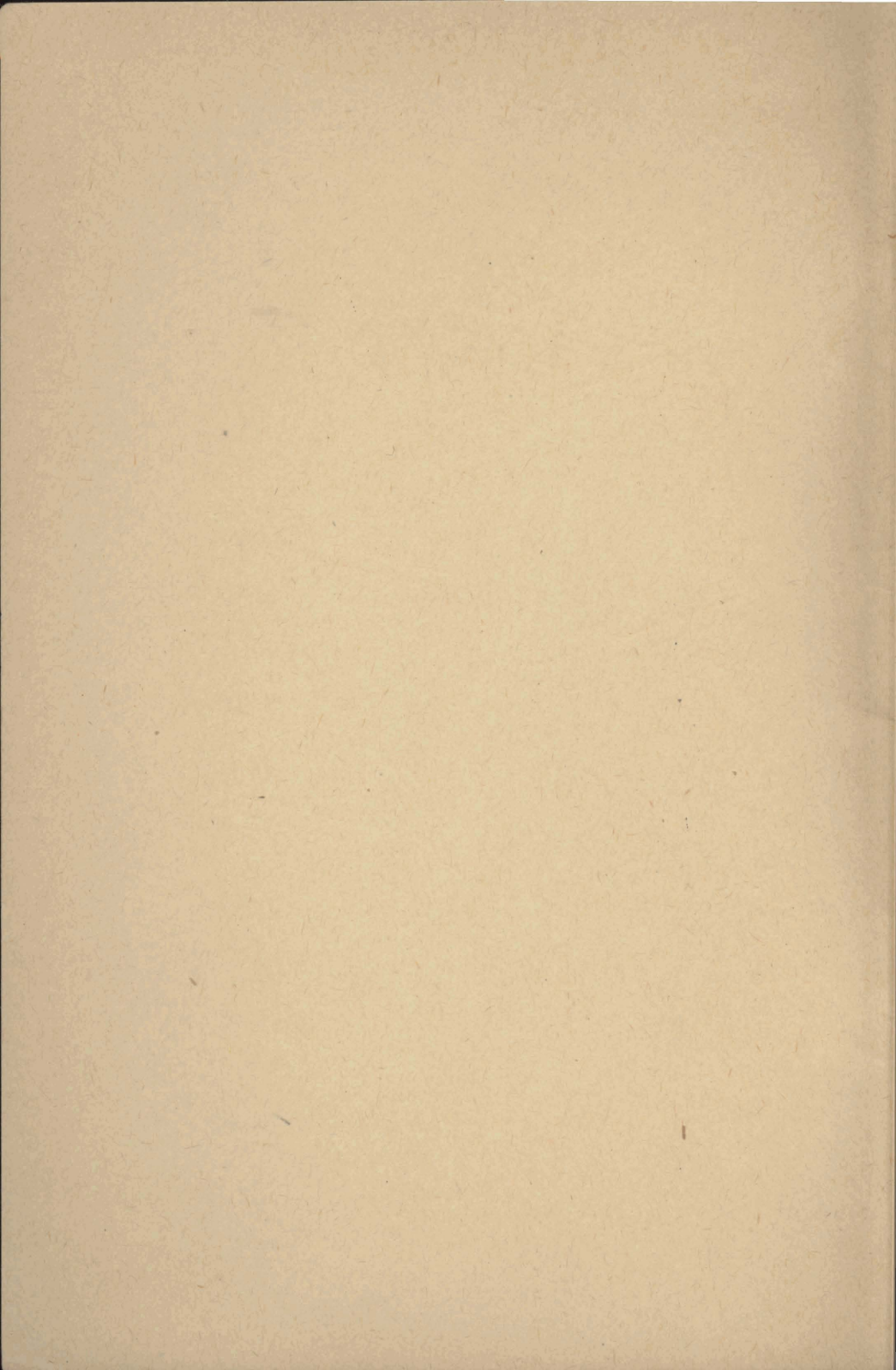
SCAPEGOATING

With a Foreword

by

PROFESSOR GORDON W. ALLPORT

Harvard University



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Since it is a school in which all races, colors, and creeds are learning together in harmony and good will, Central YMCA College has accepted an invitation to sponsor the publication of this monograph. The College is sponsoring this study because it believes that a clearer understanding and a greater mutual recognition of the rights of all human beings will help to make our world a better one. Though the faculty of the College realizes that both majority and minority groups indulge in the practice of scapegoating, it is convinced that greater good will may result if the psychological backgrounds of the practice are more widely known than they have been in the past. The College hopes that "A B C's of Scapegoating" will have a wide and thoughtful reading, that it will give a better understanding of the processes of discrimination, and that it will be of real aid in promoting greater good will among all peoples.

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This pamphlet represents one of a series of explorations undertaken by the seminar in Psychological problems of Morale in the Department of Psychology at Harvard University under the direction of Professor G. W. Allport and Professor H. A. Murray. Not copyrighted, it is released for the use of morale-building agencies, both private and governmental, and for the use of other groups interested in pursuing studies in the field of national unity.

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FOREWORD

And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities.

—*Leviticus 16: 22.*

FROM the earliest times, among all peoples, there is to be found the notion that guilt and suffering can be transferred to some other being or person. To the primitive mind this transferring of blame and sorrow seems reasonable enough, for the primitive mind commonly confuses the physical with the mental. For example, if a load of wood can be lifted from one man's back to another's, why not a load of guilt or sorrow? The primitive thinker concludes that the shift is not only possible but entirely natural.

Today the transfer is usually from person to person, but in ancient times, a living animal was often chosen. The most famous of these ceremonies is the ritual of the Hebrews, described in the Book of Leviticus. On the Day of Atonement, a live goat was chosen by lot, and the high priest, robed in linen garments, laid both his hands on the goat's head, and confessed over it the iniquities of the children of Israel. The sins of the people having thus been symbolically transferred to the beast, it was taken out into the wilderness and let go. The people felt purged and, for the time being, guiltless.

Everywhere we see our human tendency to revert to this primitive level of thinking and to seek a scapegoat

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—some object or animal, or more often some luckless human being—who may be saddled with blame for our own misfortunes and misdeeds. “Civilized” people are still primitive in their thinking.

Though an ever present and universal phenomenon, it is especially during times of stress—of war, famine, revolution, depression—that the motivations to scapegoating are strengthened and scapegoating increases. If in ordinary times we have an impulse to “take it out on the dog,” in times of severe social tension, this impulse is so greatly magnified that deeds of incredible savagery may result.

I need not tell again the story of the bestial torture and massacre of a large fraction of the Jewish population in Poland and Germany. Such sadistic deeds are almost too revolting for belief, but the unfortunate facts are known; and the facts must be faced.

We say that these violent persecutions are simply an expression of the sadistic Nazi mentality, but if we look closely we see that the Nazis are, in reality, trying to shift a burden of intolerable shame, guilt and frustration from the German people to a convenient goat, in this case selected not by lot but by the unhappy course of history. Illogical though it is, Hitler and his henchmen have ceaselessly placed the blame for the humiliating defeat of 1918 upon the Jews, likewise the blame for the famine that followed the war, for the inflation and subsequent bankruptcy, for the harshness of the

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Versailles Treaty, for the political turmoil and moral degeneracy of the 1920's, and for all other German misfortunes. Irritation, shame, and a sense of failure had been smouldering in German bosoms since the first world war. Then, under direction from Hitler, Rosenberg, Streicher, and Goebbels, these fierce emotions became focused upon the Jew, and pent-up savagery overflowed with unspeakable violence.

Such events, we know, have occurred all through the course of history. The victims have always been relatively small minority groups who because of conspicuousness and tradition became the goats saddled with the burden of blame.

It is not necessary to assume that in every case of persecution the victim himself is lily-white in his innocence. History often records provocative acts (or at least defensive and retaliatory conduct) on the part of the victim. But there is in scapegoating always an element of projected, excessive and unwarranted blame.

When a criminal is punished for his crime there is no scapegoating, unless he is made to suffer an extra amount for the frustrations of the public for which he himself is not directly responsible.

And so it turns out that there are many degrees of scapegoating. It is sometimes added to justified blame, though often its victim is wholly innocent of the crime of which he is accused; it is often the exaggerated expression of common prejudices, occurring in times of

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abnormal social tension and personal frustration; it is always due to muddled and pre-logical thinking; but fortunately it is capable of being partly or wholly checked in minds that possess adequate sentiments of justice and fair play.

Our concern in this pamphlet is to present an objective study of scapegoating to the end that the constructive forces in America may understand better the threat with which we ourselves are faced. Prejudice, we know, exists. This prejudice actively manifests itself in discrimination against certain "races" and groups. Proceeding to still lower levels of human nature, we know that scapegoating through aggressive and hostile words and deeds is also prevalent. And occasionally, as in the recent race riots in Los Angeles and Detroit, extreme violence breaks out.

Our mixed population provides fertile soil for prejudice and scapegoating; and the strains and irritations of wartime, combined with the confusion of thought that occurs in times like these, augment the difficulty. A public opinion poll revealed that eighty-five percent of our population accuses one or more of the following groups of profiting selfishly from the war: farmers, Negroes, Jews, foreign-born, Protestants, Catholics, business men, labor-leaders, wealthy people. The seeds of suspicion are already sown. In most of our minds one special group of our fellow Americans is singled out for blame. In place of a sense of national unity, most of us have a feeling of distrust, if not actual hostility.

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In the list, the groups most frequently accused are labor-leaders and Jews—precisely the Nazi pattern of slander and attack. We know from other studies that half our population harbors the suspicion that the Jews in this country have undue influence. Many of those who are suspicious are undoubtedly victims of the vague Coughlinite propaganda concerning “international bankers.” It is never said that Episcopalians or Quakers or white men have more influence in this country than their numbers warrant, although if the contribution of groups must be proportionate to their size, then these groups surely have “undue influence.”

In ordinary times the resiliency of democracy is so great that mixed populations manage to live side by side peacefully enough, even though minor frictions and prejudices exist. Our peril today lies in the fact that our pet prejudices combined with our tendency to fix the blame for our woes upon others, may break over into irrational, degenerative scapegoating, destructive of our chances to win a victory for democracy and a lasting peace of equality and opportunity for all men.

Since we are speaking of what is unquestionably the weakest spot in our national morale, of a cancer that must be controlled before it kills, we cannot afford the luxury of optimism. True, the picture is blacker in wartime simply because the burden of frustration and unconscious guilt is greater than usual. Come peace, and we may return to our somewhat uneasy coordination of racial groups. But the war is not yet over, and when peace returns we have no guarantee that the

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psychological and environmental causes of scapegoating will be lessened.

The pages that follow present the work of students in a seminar devoted to the study of psychological problems in morale. The production represents neither a complete scientific analysis nor a finished literary document. At times it merely outlines points that merit continued investigation and expansion. Yet I know of no more comprehensive or adequate exposition of the mechanisms and conditions of scapegoating. And so it is issued at this time as one small contribution to the cause of public education in the interests of national unity. May work along these lines continue until ultimately we achieve happier relations within our human family.

GORDON W. ALLPORT.

A CONTINUUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG HUMAN GROUPS

FRIENDLY



COOPERATION

RESPECT

TOLERANCE

PREDILECTION

PREJUDICE

DISCRIMINATION

SCAPEGOATING

HOSTILE

WHAT IS SCAPEGOATING?

SCAPEGOATING is at work when a businessman blows up at some unhappy defects of his wife's cooking after a trying day at the office, or when his wife soundly spansks Junior for a minor disobedience after she has lost a close rubber of bridge. In these as in all other cases of scapegoating the goat is either wholly undeserving of any punishment or blame, or at least only partially deserves so severe a punishment.

Scapegoating may be defined as:

a phenomenon wherein some of the aggressive energies of a person or group are focused upon another individual, group, or object; the amount of aggression and blame being either partly or wholly unwarranted.

Psychologically, we must recognize that scapegoating grows out of normal attitudes, normal biases, and ordinary prejudices. It is under the severe impact of unusual frustration and hardship, misinterpreted through primitive reasoning, that the excesses of scapegoating occur.

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We may appropriately regard scapegoating as lying at the unfavorable extreme of a continuum in social relationships. It is at the opposite end of the scale from friendly, cooperative behavior between groups.

Since in this analysis we are concerned with the genesis and conditions of hostile relationships, we shall define the stages, or degrees that are readily distinguishable, starting with predilection, the mildest and most normal form of group-exclusion, through active prejudice and discrimination, to scapegoating itself.

Predilection is the simple preference of an individual for one culture, one skin color, one language as opposed to another. If you like Mexican culture and I do not, there is no use disputing about our respective tastes. We are privileged to disagree on such matters, and, as a rule, we respect one another's choice. Predilections are inevitable and natural. But they are the first step toward scapegoating if and when they turn into more active biases, that is to say into—

Prejudice. Here we have a rigid, inflexible, exaggerated predilection. A prejudice is an attitude in a closed mind. Impervious to evidence and to contrary argument it makes for *prejudgment*. All Americans, to some Englishmen, are loud-mouthed spendthrifts. This stereotyped judgment is fixed. It is hard to change.

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It is a prejudice. Some people with prejudices think all Negroes are stupid or dirty, all Scotch are tight-fisted, all women are inferior to men.

Prejudice, if not acted out, if kept to oneself, does no social harm. It merely stultifies the mind that possesses it. But prejudice expressed leads to—

Discrimination, which differs from scapegoating only in the amount of violence or expressed aggression. Discrimination is an act of exclusion prompted by prejudice. Generally it is based not on an individual's intrinsic qualities but on a "label" branding the individual as a member of a discredited group. It means separating forcibly and unjustly from our vocation, our neighborhood, our country, a person against whom we are prejudiced or who bears the unsavory label. Note well, it is not *we* who move out, prompted by our predilection, but *they* whom we forcibly exclude from intruding into "our domain."

Scapegoating is the full-fledged persecution of those against whom we are prejudiced and against whom we discriminate. The victim here is abused verbally or physically. He usually cannot fight back, for we see to it that we vent our anger only on minority groups which are weaker than ourselves. The essential cowardliness of scapegoating is illustrated by our own persecution

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of the Salem "witches," a small, frail, handful of neurotic women and elderly people who could not offer effective resistance.

As long as human beings have choices to make, they will make them on the basis of some inclination. Predilections are one basis for such choices, normal enough and to some extent inevitable. Unjust generalizations on the basis of these predilections lead to the formation of prejudices, which if uncontrolled breed discrimination. Finally, if conditions are ripe—if frustration, ignorance, and propaganda combine in proper proportions—discrimination breaks over into scapegoating.

MOTIVES IN SCAPEGOATING

WE now examine the motivations behind scapegoating.

A. *Thwarting and Deprivation*

People are often deprived of what they want or what they have. Such deprivation frequently results in aggression. In scapegoating such aggression is usually directed not against the *source* of the thwarting or deprivation, but against any object which happens to be convenient. Sometimes this scapegoat is at least partially to blame. But as a rule the scapegoat is made to pay not only for immediate and recent deprivations, in which he may have played some minor part, but also for frustrations of long standing, most of which have little to do with the current situation.

In times of war our deprivations are multiplied many times: our loved ones are away, there is less food, there are increased taxes, there are limits placed on our pleasurable activities and on our leisure. There is no *direct* action we may take to do away with these deprivations, therefore we respond to our frustrations by scapegoating many groups: the Government, the Negroes, the Jews, Labor.

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Example: Because of the frustrations arising out of scarcities and the rationing program, Leon Henderson became a scapegoat, but in addition, as a symbol of the New Deal, he was the object of much aggression coming from those who had long-standing anger against it.

B. *Guilt*

Guilt feelings arise from the omission or commission of certain deeds. Such feelings may be relieved by blaming others for one's own sins. This projection of guilt onto others is the most classic form of scapegoating. War increases our guilt feelings because we have all been taught that war is evil and now our loved ones must go out and kill; because of our own infractions of the numerous government regulations; because of a feeling that we ourselves are partially responsible for the present war.

Example: Today many rumors accusing high government officials of side-stepping the rationing program, arise from guilt feelings about our own petty chiseling and hoarding.

C. *Fear and Anxiety*

1. Fear is an actual feeling of danger and dread. It may be reduced or dispelled by a preventive attack on

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what is considered to be the threat. Often in times of fear, we do not distinguish between real and pseudo-threats.

Example: Our fear of spies and saboteurs leads us to be unduly suspicious of *all* foreigners and of innocent minority groups. For many months all—not some—of the Pacific Coast Japanese-Americans have been held in internment camps.

2. Anxiety is anticipation of danger. Like fear it represents feelings of insecurity. It can be alleviated by rationalizations which take the form of scapegoating.

During war, fears and anxieties are prevalent: we vaguely fear air-attacks; we are anxious for the safety of those at the front; we feel insecure about the post-war world. To help explain these jitters we may invent absurd menaces which, though fantastic, seem definite and credible. For example, we listen to tales of a Negro uprising or a Jewish plot.

D. *Self-Enhancement*

1. Feelings of *inferiority* may lead to scapegoating, in order that the individual may convince himself of his own value and strength.

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Example: The physically weaker child by verbally scapegoating his stronger companion, affirms his own strength. Or he may bully a still weaker child in compensation for his own feelings of inferiority.

2. The individual who feels *insecure* may obtain comfort by allying himself with a distinctive ("better" and "different") group, to which he is eligible for membership.

Example: The immigrant Irishman of Boston may take pride in belonging to certain societies which assert that the Irish-Catholics are the "best" people; and under certain circumstances these societies may be anti-Semitic in order to highlight their own unity and superiority.

3. Very important as a social motive in scapegoating is the demagogue's *desire for power*. Scapegoating is a useful tool in his attempt to gain power, for it helps to eliminate opponents at the same time as achieving unity among supporters.

Example: Against the bogey of "International Jewish Bankers," and Communists, Father Coughlin can unify diversified elements among the workers, among industrialists, and among the confused middle classes.

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E. *Conformity*

1. Conformity makes for security. If everyone around us is given to scapegoating, and particularly those we value highly, then only by imitating their actions can we be fully accepted in the group whose approval we desire.

Example: Many Germans scapegoat the Jews to establish themselves as acceptable Nazis and thus avoid persecution for themselves.

2. Conformity may be less deliberate than mentioned in the above case. The individual may conform to the current pattern of the prejudice and persecution simply because he habitually imitates the prevailing folkways.

Example: Children especially are inclined to take over parental prejudices uncritically. For instance, they may unquestionably accept their parents' claims that Negroes are people with whom one should have no social contacts.

F. *Tabloid Thinking* (The pursuit of meaning)

War brings out in fearful vividness the helplessness which the individual feels in the face of world-wide forces.

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1. Simplification of issues is sought in order to make possible some understanding of this social chaos. It is less trouble to think of the munitions makers as responsible for war, than to figure out its complex economic and cultural causes. Simplification of issues provides for economy of energy: if a person feels hostile and aggressive it is more economical for him to attack one single obstacle in his path than to diffuse his aggressive impulses.

The psychological reason for tabloid thinking is well expressed by Thouless:

"The most finely developed mind reaches at some point the limit of the complexity it can grasp. With the majority of men, this limit is reached rather early. Long before it is reached a certain mental idleness steps in, making us tend to accept mental food well below the limits of our digestion. It is easier to believe that Lenin was a thoroughly bad man than to accept a dispassionate estimate of all sides of his character." (22, p. 95)

2. Sometimes the issue may be more simplified by blaming a group or class of people rather than specific individuals.

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Example: In Boston's Cocoanut Grove fire the public blamed "the officials," rather than concentrating its wrath on any one culprit, against whom a more detailed (and therefore more difficult) bill of charges would have to be drawn.

All these motives may create a pattern of aggression against someone who is partially guilty. But in most cases the aggression is "displaced." The victim is generally innocent. Why is it that aggression is seldom directed against the *true* cause of the deprivation, fear, guilt?

Among the factors which may prevent the expression of aggression against the true provocator are the following:

Anxiety due to the expectation of punishment, because:

1. The provocator may retaliate.

Example: You are really angry at your boss but take it out on your secretary who is helpless against you.

2. Attacking the provocator may lead to punishment by a third party.

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Example: In the South, if a white man violates your honor in some way, you would be punished for taking the law into your own hands but perhaps not for the lynching of a Negro.

3. There may be strong internal inhibitions against attacking the provocator.

Example: In our society you do not hit a woman even if you have good reason to. It is often more "respectable" to vent your rage against a scapegoat.

Inaccessibility of the provocator: he cannot be reached because of external rather than internal obstacles.

Example: The school-boy who ate up his pal's candy-bar is absent, so the deprived boy takes it out on some class-mate immediately present.

Ignorance: Being unable to understand the roots of one's discomfort, a pre-existing prejudice is made to supply the "cause" and receive the wrath.

Example: Economic frustration among marginal workers is no easier to bear simply be-

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cause the workers are ignorant of its causes. Having a pre-existing prejudice against "foreigners," this prejudice is allowed to grow into violence because it seems somehow related to the complex issue which the workers do not understand. "Displacement" thus results from a remote and illogical association of ideas.

Prestige or love of the provocator which makes it impossible to believe that he may be guilty.

Example: In her eagerness to defend her son of an accusation she believes unjust, the mother accuses an innocent scapegoat.

SOURCES OF RACE PREJUDICE IN THE CHILD

AS we have shown, scapegoating is based on pre-existing predilections and prejudices. The individual motivated to scapegoat will select his victims in accordance with these prejudices.

We now bring together the results of investigations and experiments dealing with the sources of predilections and prejudices, the places where the child "catches" the attitudes that lead to scapegoating.

A. *Is Race Prejudice An Instinct?*

In connection with his extensive investigation, Lasker observes: "the impression prevails widely that the child is born with instinctive responses of different kinds, one of which is an extreme dislike of, and shrinking from, persons of markedly different race" (15, p. 55). What explains the appeal this "instinct" doctrine of race prejudice has for literally thousands of people?

In the first place, it provides parents with an excuse for the aggressive discriminations they observe in their children. Prejudice carries with it a certain amount of social opprobrium. No one likes to admit that he has taught his child to hate the Negro, the Jew or the Irish-

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man. So it is very convenient to be able to say that the child "just naturally doesn't like them."

Another reason for the plausibility of the instinct doctrine is given by a settlement worker: "The idea of instinctive race attitudes," she writes, "comes about because children get the idea so young from their parents or other prejudiced adults, that adults who try to trace prejudice cannot remember when they were without it." (15, p. 56).

Finally, observation reveals that children like things to which they are accustomed and cry out at something strange, having discovered while still very young that familiarity and security are intimately bound together. Thus some children cling tenaciously to the familiar, and seeing someone of a different color for the first time are disquieted.

In spite of the convenience and seeming plausibility of the instinct theory of prejudice, the evidence against it remains overwhelming. The common scene of small black and white children playing together proves that a difference in color need not produce fear. Furthermore, the attitude of many children, on meeting a member of a different race for the first time, is one of friendly curiosity.

There are case histories in which changes in attitude

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can clearly be traced to social influence. An interesting example is reported by Stern. A little German boy, upon his return from the Orient, continued to speak Malay for a while, only gradually acquiring German. Suddenly at the age of three years and three months a total change occurred. Nothing could induce the boy to speak Malayan. He discovered abruptly that colored people were considered inferior. Although the boy had previously preferred the servants with their simple nature as language teachers, a stage of development came when he saw the lower estimation in which they were held, and he then shook off their influence quickly. (20, p. 160).

The absurdity of the theory of innateness becomes apparent when the prejudices of different people and cultures are compared. Consider, for example, that a child born of Spanish parents in the United States has an "instinctive" aversion to the Negro, while his cousin born in Brazil has only "instinctive" feelings of indifference to the color problem. The Chinese are said to have no prejudice against the Jews. Could they simply be lacking in certain instinctual endowments?

There is little doubt but that attitudes are acquired. It is to the description of the sources of these attitudes, whether in the child's own experience or in the ready-made attitudes he finds in his environment, that we now turn.

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B. *Personal Contacts as a Source of Prejudice*

At certain ages children react to unfamiliar situations with shyness and sometimes fear. Contact with someone of a different color, a strange way of speaking, or customs which the child has never seen before, may produce in him a feeling of uneasiness. He would prefer to remain in homes like his own, where he is accustomed to the way things are done.

Except for this tendency on the part of the child to avoid the unfamiliar, in no sense is he born with prejudices. From the reactions of those around them, children come to learn who and what is "dangerous" for them. It is not, however, by a process of reasoning that they arrive at their interpretation of the situation; but through a kind of emotional identification with the person whose reaction is being observed. In such cases, where there is emotional involvement, and only unconscious realization of what has been learned, the attitudes thus formed are particularly resistant to change.

A single contact with an individual may, if it produces strong emotional response, result in hostile feelings directed against the group of which that individual was a member, which never completely disappear. Many adults can remember being very much frightened

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at something which happened to them as a child, thus dating the origin of their prejudice.

Fear can also originate out of seeing a loved one endangered, someone with whom there are strong feelings of identification. For example, a boy witnessing a Negro suddenly attack his older brother, might be influenced by the incident as much as if he had been the victim himself. However, such unique incidents occur so rarely that they cannot account for the widespread prejudices we find in our population.

It is important to realize that usually the predilections already formed by the child before the occurrence of the frightening event are of major significance in determining its ultimate effect. It is not the contact itself which produces the prejudiced attitude, but the meaning of the event in terms of the emotional sets of the child.

Sometimes a child projects onto someone else an action which he himself unconsciously wishes to perform. A case in point is the boy of five who had an intense fear of Chinese laundrymen. He carefully avoided them, claiming that, "if one sees me, he will throw a hot iron at me." When asked whether someone had told him this, the child answered, "No, I just know it." The child in this case, was the one with the strong aggressive urges: he himself was prone to throw things.

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Continuous contact of the individual with members of the group discriminated against is more often the basis of emotional involvement and therefore of prejudice, than is a single dramatic experience. Seeing how at school Isaac is forever trying to make money by doing another fellow's home work may confirm an initial predilection against the Jews; the same trait, however, in a boy of his own group would not be taken as a basis for generalization. Another effect of contact with a group you dislike may be to make you more aware of physiological differences such as body odor; then in time, the difference comes to be regarded as a cause of prejudice (4, p. 45). The easier it is to distinguish certain groups, the greater the tendency to single out that group for scapegoating. Furthermore, once actions of a discriminatory nature have arisen against members of a certain group, the person who finds himself scapegoating tries to justify his actions by rationalization, wanting to believe that his actions are warranted by the situation. In this way continuous contact tends to intensify originally harmless predilections. Participation in the activities of a gang where racial conflicts are the rule often provides this type of continuous contact accompanied by rationalizations that change mild dislikes into rigid prejudices.

Contact with the attitudes of others unquestionably makes for selectivity in the experiences of the child.

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An illustration taken from an experiment investigating the influence of attitudes on memory, shows how this type of selectivity operates. Children were presented with a number of pictures and later asked to tell what they had seen. On one of the cards a white waiter appeared carrying a tray, but in their reports most of the children said he was a Negro (11, p. 29).

It is possible for a child to be devoid of prejudice himself, yet because of contact with the attitudes of others, he may feel it necessary to conform to their behavior. A northern child who goes to Texas may call a Mexican a "greaser," since that seems to be the custom and he wants to conform, yet return home without ever having acquired any predilection against them. In most cases, however, the mere act of conforming would result in acquisition of the attitude.

The emergence of a broad frame of reference in terms of which known or unknown individuals are evaluated, is another source of attitude. Children around twelve have already begun to seek consistency in their opinions, as can be seen in the following account:

"Mickéy expressed a hatred for the French because they are friends of Germany, and a hatred of the Italians because they are at war

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with England; a hatred of the Japanese because they are at war with China, . . .” (18, p. 667).

For this boy, people were liked or disliked on the basis of the role of their country in the present world war. The world was becoming divided categorically into friends and enemies.

C. Ready-made Attitudes as a Source of Prejudice

For the child perhaps the most important source of his own attitudes is observation of the way people, especially those that count, act toward the objects of his environment.

The manner in which the attitude is conveyed is usually a very simple matter. Expressive gestures of all kinds, facial movements, quality of the voice, manner of approach, etc., are the first reactions to which the child becomes sensitized. As he grows older, the things he hears said in front of him become increasingly important. A child watches a Negro get up hesitantly, and walk away, cowed, after a white man has knocked him down. The youngster's father comments, half-amusedly, "Well, by Gad, he got what was coming to him." The child accepts the incident and his father's view of it as natural and final.

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Parents: For the first few years the parents are the most important influences, since the totality of the child's emotional life is centered around the family. The prestige of the mother is so great that security is felt to be possible only by having attitudes of which she approves. One good method of being sure of her approval is to imitate her own actions. Consequently, she is watched very carefully in an attempt to see how she feels about something. Often a two or three year old child will give as the reason for his dislike of a Negro boy the fact that "Mamma says he's bad," although the parent, on direct questioning, honestly believes she gave no indication of her feelings and that her child just "naturally" does not like colored people.

Some parents, on the other hand, make outright attempts to instill prejudice in their children. They give them beatings for playing with "dirty trash," refuse to let them bring home those children who are the objects of their own prejudices (11, p. 35). "The child," writes Bogardus, "entirely innocent of having committed a great sin, is shocked into accepting his parents' antipathies" (4, p. 66). The specific nature of the attitudes transmitted is determined largely by the socioeconomic class of the family (14, 22). It may be predominately anti-Negro, anti-Mexican, or anti-anything else; but whatever the attitude may be, it is important to realize the effectiveness of parental influence, far

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overshadowing that of other adults, in determining what it will be. For they are almost exclusively the adult models imitated by the child in his first and most formative years.

Nurses: The other grown-ups in the child's home environment likely to affect the nature of his attitudes are nurses, who are often more strict than their employers in enforcing taboos.

Teachers: As the child grows older, the teacher usurps part of the authority and prestige of the parents. Actions of the teacher may influence the choice of a temporary scapegoat in the sense that children will often pick on someone who has previously been reprimanded by the adult in authority.

Further, the teacher's own bias may be important in determining the race attitudes of children. In one mid-western town a mixed group of children were supervised at their recreational activities by a white social worker. Unconsciously favoring her own group, she showed the white children a degree of partiality, sufficient to make for strong feelings of tension in the group, so that within a short time it disbanded. Yet in the same town, a similar group of youngsters led by a Negro worker, remained cooperative for a long period of time and there were no race conflicts. Unfortunately we cannot assume that race prejudice is non-existent among

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teachers just because they are supposed to act impartially and follow the dictates of reason.

Contemporaries: Adults are not the only ones capable of transmitting attitudes. Contemporaries may also be models for other children to imitate. The brighter, slightly older children in a group will be imitated by the younger, for imitation of one's elders and betters is already a firmly ingrained habit. The friendlier the dominant child, the greater chance he has of creating an atmosphere in which attitudes will be transmitted. (16, p. 466).

Conforming means acting as other people act, thus securing one's chance of becoming a member of the in-group, and not an object of contempt and derision. The power one child wields over another in the matter of conformity is clearly shown in the following incident:

A little white son of Ohio was visiting a southern city. One day he was somewhat noisy in his play on the street near a sanatorium for colored women. The Negro physician in charge came out and asked him to play less boisterously. Next day the lad was again passing the place, this time accompanied by a little white southern boy. Both were shouting. Suddenly the northern boy remembered the request of the physician. "We must be quiet or

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we'll disturb the sick ladies in the hospital." His companion was dumbfounded; he stopped short, sat down on the curbstone, rested his check in his hand, and assumed an air of utmost disgust. "Say!" he ejaculated, "You make me sick! Calling niggers ladies!" (15, p. 77).

Belonging to a gang gives a boy of eight or older a feeling of being on the "in." Small groups attain their integration largely by the principle of exclusion: they are "better" than the out-group. The new member assimilates the already existing pattern of the gang. Feuds between gangs illustrate how traditions may be handed down from one group of youngsters to another. A boy who lives on one side of an arbitrary line grows into a hatred of those who live on the other side, with the same regularity as he grows into his older brother's clothes. Often the basis of distinction between gangs is a racial difference.

Differences themselves are never a sufficient reason for prejudice: it is the way people react to them.

Exposure to cultural expressions of prejudice: So far we have been considering how the child learns his attitudes from observing the reactions of individual persons, with little emphasis on the fact that those persons themselves live in a culture impregnated with definitions of status and inferences of worth. Often

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those definitions are as important in crystallizing the child's attitudes as is contact with individuals.

There is, of course, segregation on the social level: social gatherings, parties and clubs. Negroes and whites simply do not mix at anniversary celebrations, bridge games, or meetings of the Rotary Club. Even some churches hold firmly to the color line.

There are many schools which permit the attendance of white children only.

"In eighteen states, black children and white are separated by law. In four of these states the law even interdicts the teaching of the races together in private schools. Florida de-bars a white person from acting as instructor in a Negro school" (8, p. 198).

Where they are based upon principles of segregation, the inequalities between the schools open to white and Negro children reinforce the idea already ingrained in the white child that his group deserves the best treatment. Schools where there is no segregation are not in themselves a guarantee of racial equality. Bogardus cites an interesting example of the type of tension which is likely to arise out of the conflict between parental attitudes and the school's policy. A Japanese student was elected president of his high

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school class by his fellow-students. A few days later the school authorities were forced to abolish the office because of the storm of protest which the parents had created over the democratically conducted election (5, p. 155).

Deliberate policies of segregation are seen in the refusal of hotels to accept members of certain minority groups as guests, the refusal to open auditoriums for the use of certain groups, the restriction of real estate by agents. Movie houses, restaurants and drug stores are but a few of the other privately controlled organizations which follow and underscore lines of segregation drawn elsewhere in the community. In towns of the Texas-Mexican border, drug-store clerks have a distinction between what a Mexican can and cannot ask for: he can buy food to take out, cones and ice-cream in packages, but will not be served at the counter. Requests for a glass of coca-cola are met with "We have no unbottled pops" (21).

Discrimination in occupational fields is the rule. Even the idea of a Chinese banker, a Negro judge or a Mexican college president has a note of irreality about it. Actually it is very difficult for members of minorities to gain admission to many colleges and other institutions of higher learning, even though they have credentials which would be adequate for the majority.

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Here and there a Negro has, in spite of barriers, pursued an occupation with great prestige, such as law or medicine. But to whom is he able to offer his services? Many of his own race prefer going to a member of the profession who is white, since his prestige is greater. Sometimes a Negro doctor achieves the "distinction" of having white patients—because they want to keep the reason for their visits unknown to their own group. Occupational discrimination also works the other way around. A white lawyer who undertook to defend a Negro against charges of rape would probably seal his professional doom.

Mass discrimination in the form of race riots and lynchings convey implications no child can escape. But even less violent forms of group action, forms much more likely to be encountered in daily experience, have their influence in creating prejudices. Lasker reports the case of two friends, one white, the other colored, who began to wrestle on the street. Soon a crowd had gathered around: "The little tots had their partisans: on strictly racial cleavage. Race supremacy was the issue in the minds of the crowd. . . . Several cried out, 'Break the nigger's back!' The colored people present evidently were saying the same thing in their hearts as to the white boy." After the boys were separated, they walked away apparently as good friends as ever, but inevitably influenced by the reactions of their audience (15).

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Private individuals are not the only ones responsible for discriminatory acts. There is also widespread discrimination in the administration of public utilities such as railroads and street-cars. In many communities, public parks, swimming pools, gymnasiums and other municipal recreational facilities are open only to a restricted portion of the populace. Institutions of correction, jails, state reformatories and work camps often also hold to the color line. Finally, there is more than one technique employed to keep minority groups out of politics. The poll tax in the South constitutes one of the most effective discriminatory devices, for it reduces efficiently the voting power of the Negro.

Stereotypes as a source of prejudice: The fact that people are confronted by countless topics concerning which they are expected to have an opinion, yet about which personal investigations are impossible, makes it imperative to accept the judgment of others on most issues. These opinions are transmitted largely by means of the stereotype, whose function is to simplify the business of adjustment in an extremely complex world, by reducing people and events to a few clear-cut traits. This over-emphasis on stereotype is already to be found among ten or twelve year old children. In an unpublished experiment carried out in Boston, it became apparent that although there was daily contact with Chinese students and the culture of Chinatown,

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nearly all the children in the fifth grade class based their opinions about the personality traits of the Chinese on readings they had done in class, on stories about China, and not on their own experience.

Civics courses, although not designed for the purpose, often inculcate attitudes of acceptance of the status quo, based on assumptions of the superiority of the dominant group. Most of the texts simply do not deal with the problem of the "mixture of races" in the average American community. When reference is made to the subject, often it is in terms of superiority and patronage. "Negroes are 'a race of former slaves'; immigrants are 'foreigners,' offering, however, some slight hope of redemption through the two processes of naturalization and Americanization" (8, p. 198). Insidious teachings about racial purity are gaining ground (15, p. 151).

History courses provide a wide field for creating stereotypes of a prejudicial nature.

"In my childhood we studied a history that gave a great deal of its attention to the Revolutionary War. We played war a great deal, but neither of us older children would be the British—forcing the younger brother to take the part. This set against the British lasted until the outbreak of the Great War, when

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we were still youngsters at home. In spite of all the Allies' propaganda that was set going about that time, my brother was quite pro-German until shortly before America entered the war. This was not due to any feeling about war guilt but because he could not 'go' anything British" (15, p. 155).

In geography lessons children pick up many harmful ideas, to the effect that inferior intelligence is to be expected of a people living in a hot climate, or that the highest races live in temperate zones.

The study of literature may contribute to the formation of stereotypes in two ways. Racial origins of authors may be stressed deliberately, the teacher pointing out that most of them come from England, or are born of Anglo-American stock. She might even add condescendingly, "And, of course, there are no outstanding Negro writers."

At Sunday School, too, where presumably the child is taught attitudes of brotherly love, much that is productive of prejudices is also learned. For example, Biblical history may, if there is strong emphasis on the perfidy of Judas and the race which betrayed Christ, strengthen an already growing antipathy towards the Jews.

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Informal sources of stereotypes: Thus, much of the child's information about people and attitudes toward them are not consciously learned, but picked up in a casual manner from schools and the surrounding culture.

Games, such as tag, baseball, cops and robbers, etc., give children the opportunity to judge one another in terms of sportsmanship, athletic ability and cooperativeness, but incidentally to form prejudices. If a child who is particularly awkward and argumentative happens to be Jewish, his companions, having already heard disparaging remarks about the race, will say to themselves, "Yes, he's just like they all are," thereby setting the stereotype still more strongly.

Toys can also be significant in attitude formation. Dolls, with black faces, are made to look like "pick-aninnies," slightly ridiculous. Some of the games prepared for older children also have invidious implications. One such game is throwing balls at the open mouth of a face. Before the war it might have been a Negro's, although today it would probably belong to Hitler.

The effect of any single motion picture, play or pageant is likely to be quite small. However, when the same type of emphasis is found repeatedly the screen can become a powerful tool in the formation of atti-

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tudes. The customary way of presenting the Negro is to give him the status of a servant and make him appear either stupid or ludicrous. Before the war the Chinese, along with other Orientals, were made to seem mysterious to us, incomprehensible and crafty.

Reading (other than the school books already considered above) also provides a vast source of stereotypes. First of all, there are the fairy tales for the three and five year olds. At that age the differentiation between a story and an event which really takes place is not completely understood. As a result, a story about an Italian boy, who is much too lazy to do anything but sing all day long, might leave in the child's mind a false picture of Italians which is never removed in spite of contradictory evidence presented later. When the child is able to read to himself, comic strips become an important formative influence. Identification with the hero is often strong: the people against whom he struggles become real enemies to the child. A few years ago some comic strip heroes crusaded against members of the yellow race, thereby instilling in children veritable fear of people with slant eyes.

In the totalitarian countries, an indication has been given of the power of art in encouraging tabloid thinking. In Germany, for example, only pictures and statues complimentary to the Aryans and depreciative of "inferior" races can be exhibited.

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Even music becomes the basis of stereotypes. Negroes are associated with plaintive melodies and rhythms and with irresponsible words, such as

“Lift that barge,
Tote that bale,
Get a little drunk
And you'll land in jail . . .”

Speakers and the corner drug store spinner of yarns often make a group the object of ridicule in order to get a good laugh, and the point of the joke can dig deeply. No matter what part of town you are in, there are in circulation jokes about some out-group. And whereas in one section a man will start off saying, “Did you hear the latest one about the Jew who . . .,” in another part of the city an identical story will be introduced with, “Say, I heard a good one about an Italian who . . .”

The picture which is created in narrating a bit of folklore, telling a funny story, or the latest rumor, is apt to sink in particularly easily because the listener is in a mood of great receptivity and acceptance. A child, with mouth wide open and eyes bulging with credulity, is a child who is going to remember what he has heard.

TYPES OF SCAPEGOATERS

ALL of us have been exposed to these environmental influences which generate prejudice. In many of us these prejudices are dormant. At least, they are not expressed in harmful ways. But they may become active when stirred by unscrupulous leaders, especially in times of great stress and strain. There are, however, more or less chronic types of scapegoaters who are always with us, and whose personalities make them a special menace.

A. *The compulsive scapegoater.* For certain people scapegoating is a compulsive activity; they spend their lives at it. Such people usually exhibit the following characteristics:

1. *Paranoia.* Possessed by delusions of persecution, such people may believe that the Jews are trying to ruin their business, destroy their church, or bring unnamed calamities upon them. These delusions are rationalized and well systematized. As "evidence" for their fears these people cite the "great number" of Jews in Washington "ready to take over the government," the "draft-evasion" of the Jews which makes it possible for them to maintain their business while non-Jews are killed in the war, the profits the Jews make out of the war, thus entrenching their economic advantages. The

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plot is clear. Further, the paranoiac is aggressive and tries to take revenge on his persecutors: he is not going to sit back and let the Jews take over; he will fight them. He will distribute slanderous literature, and call them names in public.

2. *Intellectual and emotional impoverishment.* People who resort to aggressive scapegoating to work out their fears and frustrations show a lack of ability to cope with these emotions on a socially acceptable plane. Such people are not creative, they can only feel their own worth by pulling others down. They crave excitement and get it by witch-hunting. Finally, because of their limited intellectual capacities they are incapable of grasping explanations of the world's (and their own) ills in terms of social, political or economic forces. It is simpler to personalize the enemy, for he is then more easily accessible.

3. *Extreme degrees of cumulative thwartings.* Those who have suffered continuous frustration are prominent among scapegoaters, especially if they have an aggressive temperament and lack ideological safeguards which make scapegoating, for them, an unacceptable practice.

B. *The conforming scapegoater.* Scapegoating when practised by individuals, in sporadic fashion, is not in itself socially dangerous. It is when whole sections of

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a people, organized or not, are pitted against another section of the population, that trouble ensues. Many individuals who would not scapegoat by themselves, will scapegoat along with others because being members of the group brings with it certain safeguards. The anonymity of persecution in crowds brings with it:

1. Lessening of the sense of guilt: not only are others "doing it" too, but when there is some kind of a leader who takes over the individual conscience, he is responsible. He is the "super-ego."

2. Lessening of the fear of punishment: not only do numbers make us strong, but also our selected demagogic leaders are now encouraging us, and will not let us be punished.

3. Thoughts and behavior are judged in terms of immediate values: This loss of a sense of time is characteristic of crowd behavior. Individuals in such a situation lose their sense of fair play and of long-run social responsibility.

4. Undue generalizations presented by the leader are accepted uncritically; the individual does not even have to think up reasons for scapegoating. He merely accepts the leader's word that it is the thing to do.

C. *The calculating scapegoater.* A demagogue in

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whom the desire to gain power looms large may use scapegoating as a tool to attain this power. This he does in the following way:

1. By turning aggression away from himself and onto another victim.

Example: It is safer for Hitler if the Germans will "take it out on" the Jews, rather than turn against the Nazis to relieve their frustrations.

2. By focusing aggression on the enemy who must be destroyed to give him power.

Example: Naziism and Bolshevism cannot exist in the same country; so Hitler focuses aggression against the Communists and their allies.

3. By uniting different groups to give him a following:

Example: Father Coughlin tried to unite many otherwise dissident groups through his tirades against the mythical "International Bankers," by whom he meant, in only a slightly veiled way, the Jewish people.

THE VICTIM

WE have discovered reasons for scapegoating and have discussed people who scapegoat; next we turn our attention to the victims chosen and to their response to the attack.

A. *Choice of the Victim*

What are some of the characteristics a person or group must exhibit in order to be an object of prejudice and vulnerable to scapegoating attacks?

1. The victim has *distinguishing, salient characteristics*. He is easily identified; he has "high visibility." Some of the following distinguishing characteristics single out certain groups as scapegoat possibilities: physical traits such as color of skin, or shape of nose, gestures, language, names with distinctive national references, food habits, religious customs, other cultural peculiarities.

In particular, any behavior which seems to imply a transgression of the moral code is an active source of scapegoating.

2. The victim has little *possibility for retaliation* because:

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- a. the scapegoater is stronger than he by force of arms, numbers, or sheer physical strength.
- b. the victim's strength has been previously undermined through attack.

Example: School children will pick as their victims children who have already suffered previous ostracism, preferably by the teacher.

- c. the victim cannot answer back.

Example: When blaming the "government" for war hardships, effective answer is impossible for no one can speak for the whole government.

- d. due to long brow-beating, or by nature, the scapegoat accepts all accusations.

Example: The "silent sufferers" among the Jews or Negroes.

3. The victim is *accessible* because:

- a. he is near.
- b. he is concentrated in one locality.

4. The victim has been a *previous object of blame*; there is latent hostility against him, though he may be quite guiltless in the present instance:

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Example: The National Association of Manufacturers has been responsible for some anti-labor measures in the past; it will be held responsible for new measures, whether it actually is behind them or not. It becomes a symbol.

Example: In the South, to a certain extent, scapegoating of the Negro has become institutionalized, so that if a rape occurs a Negro may be "automatically" blamed for it.

5. The victim can *personify* an idea or a group which we want to attack. In old Salem the witches personified the devil. Today we may attack:

- a. the leader who represents the group: Earl Browder is castigated as a warning to all Communists.
- b. the man who represents the idea: Senator Nye may be honest and incorruptible, but he represents isolationism.
- c. the group which represents the leader: Individual Germans were abused in America in 1917 because of hatred toward the Kaiser and his armies.

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B. *Responses of the Victims*

The victim of scapegoating may attempt a variety of responses to defend himself against the harm the scapegoat may inflict. He may:

1. Deny to himself the existence of the scapegoating by *repression*, striving to forget the whole unpleasant business.

2. Comply with the demands of the scapegoater by:

- a. *outwardly obeying* his commands.

- b. inwardly assuming an attitude of resignation or an actual *change of philosophy of life*, or gaining satisfaction on the level of unreality through *phantasy*.

3. Attempt to resist the scapegoating:

- a. outwardly by

- i. assimilation.

- ii. direct action, such as seeking protective legislation, or a definite escape from the situation.

- iii. direct aggression against the persecutors or displaced aggression (in which case the scapegoat scapegoats).

- iv. appeals for sympathy and fairplay to non-scapegoaters.

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b. inwardly by

- i. heightening of in-group feeling (e.g. family solidarity).
- ii. adoption of temporary forms of security such as hope for a better future, continuation of daily activities, pinning one's faith in rescue.
- iii. a philosophy of regeneration or atonement.

FORMS OF SCAPEGOATING

THE forms that scapegoating may take are various, depending upon such factors as the following.

1. *The intensity of the immediate provocation.* The amount of aggression released depends on the momentary state of anger, on the present intensity of frustration, on the power of the mob leader, and on the type of provocation which the victim may have given.

2. *The intensity of accumulated attitudes.* Often the precipitating circumstance seems slight, but the persecution is nonetheless violent owing to the intensity of previous fear, frustration, guilt, and prejudice which the individual has been "bottling up."

3. *Environmental circumstance.* Obviously an OPA official cannot be persecuted in the same manner as a luckless Negro in the midst of a white mob. Legal restraints are important; an alert and impartial police force may cause violence to subside into mere name-calling.

4. *Circumstances of inner conflict.* Most people have different degrees of moral checks against harming other human beings. Scapegoating will be milder in proportion to the strength of insight, conscience, and a sense of fair play. Similarly, a relatively rational

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person may abstain from attacks upon single individuals since he is not sure of their individual culpability, although he may not hesitate to condemn in thought or in words the *group* to which the individual belongs.

5. *Fear of retaliation.* Expectation of retaliation from the scapegoat, or of punishment by a third party, may reduce the intensity of the scapegoating so that it may take milder or more cautious forms.

It is the variability in such factors as these that causes scapegoating to take the following diverse forms.

A. *Methods of Scapegoating.*

1. *Phantasy.* It is important psychologically to include scapegoating *in thought* because aggressive thoughts are often the precursors of *action*.

2. *Verbal aggression.*

a. *rumors* pointing to misdeeds, draft evasions, planning of riots, on the part of the victim; such rumors generally precede outbreaks of violence. Seldom based on fact, they primarily reflect the hostile intentions of the persecutors themselves.

b. *jokes, doggerel, derisive cartoons:* a favorite current expression of anti-Semitism is the

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circulation of slanderous witticisms such as "The Marine's Hymn," "The First American," etc.

- c. *unjust accusations*: often heavy and sombre bills of indictment are drawn up, or fictitious charges are circulated in the "vermin press"; the "Protocols of Zion" are solemnly presented as "evidence." A paranoiac writes a list of "enemies," "un-American activities."
- d. *teasing*: in a milder form, especially among children teasing is verbal scapegoating; it, too, can damage the victim.
- e. *aggressive verbalizations*: name calling, insulting remarks, degrading connotations, belittling of one's physical characteristics, intellectual capacities, qualities of character, and social or economic status; all are instances of symbolized degradation of the victim.
- f. *threats*: all manner of intimidations are to be included.

3. *Physical action.*

- a. *personal violence*, as in striking, pushing, torturing, lynching, and in pogroms.

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- b. *forcible social discrimination* (all discrimination being, of course, a kind of prelude to aggressive scapegoating), as in segregation in ghettos, imprisonment.
- c. *forcible economic discrimination*, represented in peonage, forced labor, destruction of property.
- d. *legal persecutions and stigmata*, as in the Nüremberg laws, and in poll-tax qualifications for voting.

B. *Borderline Cases.*

As we have said, it is impossible always to make a distinction between discrimination and scapegoating, although the degree of aggressiveness displayed is the best criterion for making the distinction.

Somewhat easier is the borderline case where a person is made the butt of good-natured jokes and quips. In such cases the victim is not disliked nor is he discriminated against. Prep schools, army camps, naval crews often practice this kind of horse-play. There are unjust accusations (though the scapegoater is aware that they are unjust), there is blame affixed to the victim (but his innocence is secretly acknowledged), there is aggression expressed in word and in

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deed (but it is held within bounds, and in a good natured way retribution may be made).

Scapegoating sometimes starts to develop but is "nipped in the bud." The victim, for example, may cleverly reverse the tide against him by winning for himself favorable regard. The weak child about to become a victim may stiffen his resistance, or the child in a precarious social position may give a successful party. Or else, among children, a teacher or another adult may change the situation and distract the persecutors from their course.

There is one other borderline condition wherein scapegoating is "institutionalized," and proceeds according to an unwritten code, accepted by persecutor, victim and onlooker alike. In public life when anger is aroused over some unsavory incident, it often happens that "a lamb is led to the slaughter" and the public (including the newspapers) is appeased.

Example: When in a state institution for the insane a patient escapes, or a patient dies under suspicious circumstances, the superintendent finds it convenient to "investigate" and to "fire the culprit." Often there is no culprit, but some employee is blamed. In dismissing him the superintendent may actually give him a good recommendation.

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The official does merely what is expected of him.

Although unfair to the individual, such scapegoating is in fact a relatively harmless way to repair one's public relations.

We should add that in a democracy the scapegoating of government officials is an accepted outlet for personal peevishness. In particular the President of the United States, even though popular at the outset, invariably attracts hostility which does not, from the rational point of view, appear even remotely appropriate.

Example: A testy and captious Maine Republican farmer drove over a bump in the road (caused by frost), and grumbled, "This is a Roosevelt road."

This peculiarity of our political system makes for gross unfairness, and requires a particularly tough statesman to "take it." So strong is the tendency for citizens to project blame for their own failures and feelings of insecurity upon conspicuous members of the government that in the long run it would probably be impossible for any single administration to remain long in office, however successful it may have been from the objective point of view. Suffering from the ordinary frustrations of life, people sooner or later want to kick the "rascals" out.

DANGERS OF SCAPEGOATING IN WARTIME

LET us outline briefly the damage that scapegoating inflicts upon our national life, especially in wartime.

A. *Morale*

1. Scapegoating of certain minority groups fosters within these groups an unwillingness to cooperate in essential phases of the war program.

2. Men on the fighting fronts invariably learn of the scapegoating on the home front. If they themselves are members of minority groups, they become skeptical of the justification for their own efforts and sacrifices, a skepticism which inevitably leads to a diminution of the fighting spirit and the will to win.

3. Scapegoating of the national administration and its officials tends to lessen the confidence of the people in the war capabilities of the administration; this lack of confidence hampers the decisiveness of the latter's action in moment of crisis.

4. Those who scapegoat divert their potentially valuable attentions and energies from the winning of the war to the persecution and suppression of those with whom they should be united; others, who are con-

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cerned with the achievement of a total, united effort, must divert their equally valuable energies and attentions to the suppression of scapegoating.

5. A continuance of scapegoating may eventually lead to open hostilities and civil strife among contending groups and factions.

B. *Production*

1. Discrimination against minority and racial groups by industrial concerns and unions deprives war-industries of an indispensable source of man-power.

2. Scapegoating in industry may lead to strikes and disputes, thus diminishing the vital flow of war production. Moreover, even should disturbance not openly materialize, the spirit of antagonism nevertheless engendered may cause both capital and labor to advance only half-hearted efforts toward production of war materials.

C. *Military*

1. Discrimination against members of racial minorities in the armed forces, excluding them from positions for which they are qualified, deprives those forces of their indispensable and sorely needed services.

2. The deprivation of the Negro race in the South of adequate educational facilities in turn either deprives

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the armed forces, through illiteracy, of thousands of physically-fit, otherwise qualified fighting men, or by their inclusion lowers the standard of military efficiency.

3. Scapegoating our allies, as in the case of the British or Russians, leads to mutual distrust and ill-feeling. It blocks co-ordination of our military operations, and generally prevents all parties from entering fully into our common war effort.

D. *Propaganda and Ideology*

1. Scapegoating of minority groups within the United States provides the clever enemy propagandist with the means of bolstering the faith of *his* countrymen in the justness of their cause. The propagandist ridicules the workings of "democracy." By scapegoating we may also alienate from ourselves the sympathy of other nations to whom such discrimination and persecution seem morally unjustifiable.

2. Scapegoating within the United States defeats the democratic propagandist in his attempts to discredit fascist ideologies. The subjection and oppression which he bids others denounce are too clearly paralleled by conditions existing in this country.

E. *Human Life*

As well as winning the war, our objective is to win with as little loss of life among our forces as is possible.

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Scapegoating in all its forms inevitably leads to greater loss of our human resources, prolonging the war by impairing the efficiency of our military machine.

F. *Reconstruction*

The post-war period of re-adjustment with its attendant economic stress and duress will require as much national solidarity as does the war itself. Continued scapegoating during the period of reconstruction will weaken disastrously our post-war political and economic structure.

METHODS OF COMBATTING SCAPEGOATING

TO stamp out the malevolent power of scapegoating no available method should be neglected.

A. *Education for insight.* Insight means self-knowledge. It means knowing our own motives so that relationships of cause and effect gain new significance. Insight is a prerequisite for any intelligent change in oneself. True, the transformation of our habits does not take place automatically. Still, insight is a *first* step toward rational living. Education for insight entails:

1. Clarifying the mechanism of projection involved in scapegoating by demonstrating to people the very human tendency we all have to avoid recognition of our own faults.
2. Understanding the personal motivations behind scapegoating and their effect upon behavior.
3. Showing the dangers involved in primitive reasoning and in tabloid thinking.
4. Emphasizing at the present time the help scapegoating practices give our enemies.

B. *Education for understanding.* Since prejudice easily leads to scapegoating we shall here consider

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means of eliminating prejudices. We have shown earlier that racial and other prejudices cannot be considered innate, but are a result of informal and formal transmission of ideas.

1. The first step in doing away with prejudice would therefore be to abstain from prejudice-breeding instruction of our children.

2. Education should foster cultural understanding through dissemination of scientific information about races and cultures. Not only should the potential equality of races be emphasized but also the great variability within each racial group.

3. Increased contact between different groups leads to better understanding and therefore lessens scapegoating, provided hostility among the groups is not already too rigidly set. Such contact is best achieved through participation in common projects, such as for instance the International World's Fairs, or on a smaller scale in dance festivals or cooking contests where each nationality group produces its best for the benefit of others.

4. People should be made to realize that many cultures do not have certain racial prejudices which we take for granted in our country: there is no discrimination against Negroes in South America; in China and in the Soviet Union there is no anti-Semitism.

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C. *Changing conditions that lead to scapegoating.* Education and insight cannot be truly effective if we live in an environment where discriminatory practices are the rule rather than the exception. In the south, it would be difficult to bring up a child free of prejudice, for all statements basically fair to the Nègro are likely to be contradicted by the actions of the whites around him. In such cases of widespread cultural scapegoating it is more effective to change some of the conditions that lead to scapegoating than to deal with individual scapegoaters.

1. Economic insecurity breeds the frustration and fear that are the soil of scapegoating. Our ruthless economic competition often means that one man's success requires another's failure. The "ins" insist that if anyone fails it must be the "outs." The only remedies would seem to be:

a. raising the standard of living of all, thus eliminating the need for competition among marginal groups.

b. establishment of social and educational security for the individual, thus enhancing his feelings of status, and lessening feelings of inferiority and apprehension.

c. proper vocational adjustment to help prevent feelings of inadequacy and jealousy.

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2. The *vulnerability* of the scapegoat may be decreased through:

a. relaxation by minorities of their rigid traditions, and through adaptation or a reasonable degree of assimilation to larger groups.

b. public endorsement of minorities by figures of accepted prestige: e.g. the democratic conduct of leading American statesmen toward Negroes in both social or professional relations.

3. *Legal methods of outlawing discrimination and scapegoating.* The use of legal methods for this purpose *may* lead to increased hostility on the part of the scapegoaters. But if adequately administered they do at least protect the victims, and in time will be accepted even by the scapegoaters. The following are illustrative examples of legislative protections now required:

a. abolition of poll-taxes as requirements for voting.
b. additional fair labor practices legislation.
c. establishment by law of equality of educational opportunity for all groups.

d. required training of police so that their own conduct in our congested areas of mixed populations will be alert, reassuring, and impartial.

POSTSCRIPT

RESEARCH into the causes and cures of scapegoating should not confine itself, as this pamphlet has done, to the pathology of the problem. In the pattern we have traced much of the evil in human nature is intertwined: its capacity for hatred, projection, cruelty, and crooked thinking. But there are also sentiments and outlooks that effectively hinder the malignancy. Among our acquaintances we can all name broad and benevolent minds, enlightened and humane, in whom the virus of racial and class prejudice has no chance whatsoever of developing.

From casual observation it seems that, taken as a group, scientists are relatively free from scapegoating tendencies; so, too, people thoroughly imbued with the Christian philosophy of life; perhaps likewise those who are well informed concerning cultures other than their own; also perhaps, people with a high degree of general education—although here one suspects it is the *kind* of education rather than the *amount* that counts.

Casual observations of this sort need to be checked and amplified in order that we may know what sorts of personalities live peacefully with all races, classes and creeds. When we know these facts we can set about developing such personalities in our schools and

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in our families. But it is not mere freedom from scapegoating that we need, nor a colorless and indifferent tolerance. Higher and more desirable forms of human relationship (as our diagram indicates) are the positive and wholesome stages of *respect* and active *cooperation*.

The analogy with curative and preventive medicine holds. Scapegoating is a cancer in the social organism. Radical methods for its eradication must be found, but equally important is the healthful conditioning of our minds to resist its gaining root. As yet campaigns for eradication and control are feebly organized and uncertain in their direction. The crusade is late in starting. Here as elsewhere social science lags far behind medical and physical science.

Democracy means respect for the person. Scapegoating means disrespect for the person. In the smaller and more integrated world that will follow this war, democracy and the scapegoating of minority groups cannot co-exist. It is for this reason that our battle against scapegoating is essentially the battle for democracy.

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