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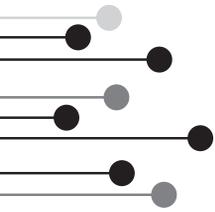


Foundational Theories

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Prejudice and Discrimination

Gordon W. Allport | Robert Merton

CHAPTER

1

Prejudice is one of the early foundational concepts examined in relation to racism. Prejudice is most often studied as the irrational negative beliefs that individuals hold against groups and is usually observed as the precursor to discrimination, which is prejudice put into action. This chapter is based on *The Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon W. Allport, who was known for his work on personality psychology. Although this work was published in the 1950s, it continues to influence contemporary conversation. This chapter also includes a brief description of the often-referenced prejudice-discrimination typology written by the notable sociologist Robert Merton.*

*Photos of Allport and Merton unavailable.

Why This Theory

In the 1950s, when the book *The Nature of Prejudice* by Gordon W. Allport was published, the United States had recently confronted the atrocities of World War II and was facing difficult racial, ethnic, and religious tensions at home. The United States, like many other postindustrial nations, was experiencing success in advancing technology and growing national wealth but was not achieving similar successes in combating prejudice. Moreover, the increasingly global nature of capitalism was bringing disparate groups closer together, and as Allport states, “nations once safely separated by barricades of water or mountains are exposed to each other by air ... products of the modern age have thrown human groups into each others’ [sic] laps. We have not yet learned how to adjust to our new mental and moral proximity.”¹ Given these intersecting social landscapes and the prevalence of group animosities, an explanation was needed for the persistence of prejudice.

Allport culled together wide-ranging scholarship on prejudice and discrimination to propose a framework for understanding prejudice and to set a foundation for future work. While in his book, Allport states that bias can have a positive or negative connotation, his focus is on negative bias, with particular attention paid to religious and ethnic prejudice. He then explores discrimination, which is prejudice manifested in action.

Description of the Theory

Allport notes the difficulty of examining prejudice, particularly with a scientific analysis. First, prejudice is difficult to address because of the belief that prejudice is in the “eye of the beholder”; a cultural pluralistic approach often suggests that bias is based on one’s cultural viewpoint, so that what is considered bias to one is not to another. A second difficulty in studying prejudice is that it can be seen as burdened by emotional bias and as a creation of “angry liberals,” who believe they see bias everywhere, even where it does not exist. However, Allport unequivocally states that prejudice “is not ‘the invention of liberal intellectuals.’ It is simply an aspect of mental life that can be studied as objectively as any other.”² Allport thus takes a highly systematic and scientific approach to his exploration and explanation of prejudice. *The Nature of Prejudice* is more than 500 pages, with eight main sections. This chapter does not follow the same outline of Allport’s book but instead synthesizes the information into five areas: (1) the definition of prejudice, (2) the nature of categorization, (3) in-groups and out-groups, (4) why prejudice exists and persists, and (5) prejudice in action.

The Definition of Prejudice

The definition of *prejudice* is not as straightforward as one might think. There are several components or facets of prejudice. Allport begins his

definition by noting that “hate prejudice” comes out of “love prejudice.” Love prejudice is the bias toward and favoritism for one’s own primary group, and hate prejudice is the *secondary* prejudice that develops from defending one’s primary group.³ This conceptualization helps clarify that perceptions of in-groups and out-groups are at the center of the problem of prejudice. Next is the tendency for people to form concepts, categories, and generalizations, all of which lead to oversimplification and prejudgments. A prejudice can be based on a number of categories: race, sex, age, ethnicity, language, region, religion, nation, class, and more.⁴ People erroneously use these categories to classify people and then assume ideas about them that may or may not be correct. Another facet of prejudice is the distinction between attitude and belief. An attitude is expressed as a disfavor that is related to an overgeneralization of a group; an attitude can then lead to false beliefs about an individual or group.⁵ For example, the attitude of “I don’t like Latinxs” can then translate to a belief of “Latinxs are criminals.” A culminating and basic facet of prejudice is hostility and rejection, which results in condemnation of individuals based on their group membership.⁶ Thus, Allport comes to define **ethnic prejudice** as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group or as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group.”⁷

Yet it’s important to remember that not all prejudgments or generalizations are prejudice. If a person rejects a prejudgment after being presented with alternative information and evidence, there is rational thought involved. **Prejudice**, on the other hand, is emotional and rejects countering information:

*Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge. A prejudice, unlike a simple misconception, is actively resistant to all evidence that would unseat it. Emotion tends to elevate when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction. Thus, the difference between ordinary prejudgments and prejudice is that one can discuss and rectify a prejudgment without emotional resistance.*⁸

Central to this process of prejudgment is the nature of categorization.

The Nature of Categorization

Categorization is a human imperative because it makes daily activities more efficient and helpful for ordinary living. For example, categorizing types of cups can distinguish between a juice glass and a coffee mug, and such categorization can help one navigate a morning routine. A basic definition of a **category** is “an accessible cluster of associated ideas which as a whole has the property of guiding daily adjustments.”⁹ Thus, categorization is not necessarily negative or irrational, and there is valuable use in a “differentiated category,” which has allowance for variation and subdivision rather than an irrational overgeneralization.¹⁰

An important part of the categorization process, which is often then associated with prejudice, is how people come to *see difference*. “Difference” is often assigned by society rather than inherent, and there is a process of coming to see certain groups of people as distinguishable from one another. First, there needs to be some easily identifiable feature to which “difference” is attached. This marker of difference then becomes easily identifiable by prejudiced people. For example, in the case of race, skin color is marked as different. Yet skin color itself is *not* the reason for the prejudice but instead is the aid for determining the target of the prejudice.¹¹ Difference serves as a “condensing rod” for grouping people together and perpetually seeing them unfavorably.¹²

The use of particular terms and labels is also significant in the categorization process. Prejudiced labels are embedded with negative emotion, such as the difference between calling a teacher a “schoolteacher” versus the prejudiced label of “school marm,” which imagines teachers as single women who are too strict and proper.¹³ Labels also serve to create cohesion between a category and a symbol. This cohesion is clearly seen with the range of labels used to symbolize racial groups, particularly those often assigned to Black communities, such as “thugs” or “ghetto.” The cohesion between a category and a symbol can become so strong that the label can act independently to represent a racial group; in the example of “ghetto,” the word can be used without context to provoke negative images of Black communities. These racialized terms are intended to reference only one aspect assigned to a group, thereby distracting attention from any concrete reality or evidence that would serve to the contrary.¹⁴

Categorization is sometimes reduced to or mistaken as the same process as stereotyping. A stereotype is not a category but an idea that accompanies categorization and prevents differentiated thinking; a **stereotype** is “*an exaggerated belief associated with a category,*” and “*its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.*”¹⁵ Examples of stereotypes are that all Latinxs are foreigners or that all Asians do well in school. Stereotypes are useful for prejudiced people, as they assign whole sets of beliefs to a group that justify their thoughts and behaviors toward that group.

In-Groups and Out-Groups

A critical component of prejudice is the solidification of one’s in-group and the creation of out-groups. A **group** is “any cluster of people who can use the term ‘we’ with the same significance.”¹⁶ An *in-group* is the group of one’s primary membership and belonging, and an *out-group* consists of those who do not belong to the in-group. Membership in an in-group is based on the needs of the individuals in the group, and it is possible to have concentric in-groups, such as family, neighborhood, city, state, and nation. In this sense, belonging to a nation does not negate a simultaneous membership in one’s family. A particular type of in-group is a *reference group*, or the group that one “refers to” in guiding personal behavior and aspirations.

In the case of race and prejudice, in-groups and out-groups serve as organizing tools. It is assumed that all the individual members of a group

have the characteristics of that group—for instance, beliefs that all Blacks are prone to violence or that all Jewish people are penny-pinching. Such beliefs about out-groups may be rooted in a “kernel of truth,” in that some individuals may have these traits, but prejudice is feelings of difference about a whole group, even when these feelings are imaginary.¹⁷ As Allport states, “there is probably not a single instance where every member of a group has all the characteristics ascribed to his group, nor is there a single characteristic that is typical of every single member of one group and of no other group.”¹⁸ Moreover, no person knows *every* member of a group, so “any negative judgment of these groups *as a whole* is, strictly speaking, an instance of thinking ill without sufficient warrant.”¹⁹ In other words, beliefs about individuals because of their group membership result in prejudice based on irrational bias rather than rational, logical thought.

A group can also assert itself as the primary group. Whites proclaim themselves as the dominant reference group for all races and thereby assume that people of color should aspire to White norms. When Whites perceive themselves to be threatened by people of color, the White in-group becomes heavily solidified, and Whites construct people of color as inferior. If the needs of Whites become strongly aggressive, their definition of themselves is formed in relation to the hatred of out-groups—that is, people of color.

Why Prejudice Exists and Persists

Allport examines two overarching explanations for the existence of prejudice. The structural view looks to social factors because prejudice is most often rooted in the needs and habits of groups. The psychological view looks to individual behavior and personal development. Allport strongly states that it is a “both/and” situation, wherein prejudice is a problem of the structure and of the individual.

Structural Explanations

Structural reasons for prejudice are related to group dynamics and interactions. When groups face social pressures, prejudice is more likely. Allport outlines nine general contexts when groups are more likely to develop prejudice: (1) Significant diversity among groups (physically or culturally) can lead to an emphasis on group difference, which can then lead to the formation of strong in-groups and therefore strong out-groups. Examples of physical prejudice are often connected to race or ethnicity, whereas cultural prejudice is frequently rooted in religious differences. (2) When vertical mobility is permitted, tension and strain often develop as some groups do much better than others. For example, when some are very wealthy and others are low-income with access to few resources, animosity grows. (3) When rapid social change is in progress, there can be conflict about the direction of society and disagreement over group rights, as was seen with the advance of industrialization and women’s rights in the labor force. (4) A demographic increase in the size of a minority group can lead to the majority group’s

feeling threatened. This situation commonly occurs with immigration, such as Northern African immigrants in France or Mexican immigrants in the United States. (5) The existence of direct group competition can cultivate a group desire to do better than another group. For instance, animosity can grow when groups compete for entry-level jobs or housing in dense cities. (6) When exploitation is sustaining one group's interests, there is an inducement to support prejudice against the exploited group. This situation often exists in capitalist societies, where wealthy barons seek to use and control low-income laborers; for example, U.S. railroad tycoons exploited prejudice against Irish and Chinese workers when they used them to build the railroad. (7) When a society's customs are more favorable to bigotry and do not limit aggression, there is a cultural context for prejudice. This situation occurs when there is state-sanctioned prejudice, such as racial or religious segregation, or if the state and society do little to curb prejudice. (8) Places where neither assimilation nor cultural pluralism is welcomed leave few options for out-groups to fit in, as they are neither welcomed into the fold, nor are their differences permitted. (9) If there are traditional justifications for ethnocentrism, perhaps ones that originate in cultural or religious rituals, prejudice is likely to have a preexisting hold. For example, societies with a White supremacy framework usually develop because of Whites' deliberate group move for this ethnocentric viewpoint to be a vital, embedded part of society's culture. Sometimes religion is also involved because of the ways in which it is used as a rationale for one group to have power over another, as was seen with Hitler's aggression against Judaism or as seen with hostile Islamic states. Religion, however, is more of a tool and not a determinant of prejudice. Each one of the nine structural contexts can singularly support a prejudiced society, or the contexts may act in concert with one another to cultivate a society where prejudice exists and persists.²⁰

Psychological Explanations

Prejudice can also be a psychological trait and is often studied via questionnaires that inquire into individual beliefs. In fact, at one point, Allport notes:

Studies constitute a very strong argument for saying that prejudice is basically a *trait of personality*. When it takes root in a life it grows like a unit. The specific object of prejudice is more or less immaterial. What happens is that the whole inner life is affected; the hostility and fear are systematic.²¹

There are several psychological explanations for how an individual comes to be prejudiced, including acquiring prejudice through the adoption of one's family or reference group, participating in processes of projection, and developing a prejudiced personality. These explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but each has a different focus.

Individuals are often prejudiced because they have learned this prejudice from their family or other immediate reference group. Parents can foster an atmosphere of prejudice by emphasizing power and authority rather than

trust and tolerance. Studies suggest that children as young as 2 and a half learn racial differences and labels before they quite understand them.²² At the first stage of prejudice development, a child learns how to generalize people into groups. Next, the child practices rejection of individuals based on group membership but may not understand this behavior. At the third stage, the child learns how to make prejudice sound rational and acceptable to society. At the last stage, around the age of 12, a child knows how to use language that sounds acceptable while practicing rejection in behavior. The irony of learning prejudice is that a young child often speaks in prejudicial terms but doesn't believe these ideas, due to a lack of comprehension, while an older child knows how to practice discrimination while deferring to social graces. As adults, people learn to mold their prejudices to their life experiences and fit their biases to their particular needs.²³

Prejudice also develops out of a psychological desire to project one's personal problems onto someone else. This desire can arise from frustration with one's personal life, community, or broader conditions of living; it can arise from aggression and hatred that an individual generally feels; and/or it can come from anxiety or guilt associated with fear, economic insecurity, or low self-esteem. Generally, **projection** emerges "whenever, and in whatever way, a correct-appraisal of one's own emotional life fails and gives way to an incorrect judgment of other people."²⁴ Allport notes three types of projection: (1) direct, (2) mote-beam, and (3) complementary. Direct projection helps solve one's own inner conflict by ascribing it to another group and then directly blaming the out-group members for it. Mote-beam projection is when a person exaggerates qualities in others, which both the out-group and the prejudiced person hold but go unrecognized within the prejudiced person. Complementary projection is the process of explaining one's own state of mind by projecting imaginary intentions and behaviors onto others. A particular type of projection is scapegoating—that is, when one assigns to a group one's own negative characteristics. Scapegoating is a common form of projection because it allows the individual not to accept responsibility or guilt for personal issues because it is assigned to others.²⁵

A third psychological explanation for prejudice is the prejudiced personality. Allport outlines eight general characteristics of a prejudiced personality: (1) The person has underlying insecurity and buried feelings; (2) the person has ambivalence toward his/her/zir parents; (3) the person has rigid moralistic views, such as an irrational allegiance to manners and conventions; (4) the person has strong dichotomized thinking, with a clear line set between good and bad people; (5) the person has little tolerance for ambiguity; (6) the person is extropunitive, in that the person assigns blame to others, rather than taking internal stock of personal faults or limitations; (7) the person strongly adheres to social order and is devoted to institutions and organizational memberships; and (8) the person prefers an authoritarian type of power.²⁶ Of course, prejudiced people may have all or some of these characteristics, and some may be more or less present, but these eight characteristics are typical of prejudiced personalities. On an extreme level, demagogues, as leaders

who appeal to prejudiced people rather than logic, cater to this prejudiced personality by emphasizing broad sweeping narratives, such as the people have been cheated, there is a conspiracy against the people, the government is corrupt, and the people cannot trust foreigners. Demagogues and fascists, as seen with Hitler, often exhibit a high level of paranoia, a characteristic that commonly belongs to those with extreme prejudice.²⁷

Prejudice in Action

Understanding how or why someone has come to be prejudiced is important, but Allport also looks at how prejudice manifests. All prejudiced people do not translate their beliefs into action, and the level of discrimination varies. There are five general manifestations of prejudice: (1) anti-locution, (2) avoidance, (3) discrimination, (4) physical attack, and (5) extermination. Anti-locution is the verbal expression of prejudice, usually by talking about one's bias with others, but the target is not directly addressed. For example, a person talks to friends about their dislike for a group but doesn't openly share this information. Avoidance is when prejudiced people take active measures to avoid the target of their prejudice. In this case, a person will choose their important locations, such as home, school, and house of worship, based on their likelihood of coming into contact with the target of their prejudice. Discrimination is the typical manifestation of prejudice, such as rejecting employment or housing. People often do not practice discrimination if there is a challenge to doing so but will discriminate if they can do so without confronting the target. Physical attack is the forceful removal of the target from communities or general intergroup violence. The most extreme prejudice results in extermination, such as measures taken by Whites to lynch Blacks or massacre indigenous people. Physical violence is more likely in certain contexts, including when there is a long period of categorical prejudice or a long period of verbal complaint, when there is growing discrimination in society, when prejudiced people feel some strain upon them (real or imagined), when people tire of their inhibitions, when organizations create a culture and structure for malcontents, when individuals find that their wrath is sanctioned by organizations, when there is some precipitating event or riot, and when others participate in the violence.²⁸

How to Challenge Racism

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Throughout *The Nature of Prejudice*, Allport suggests opportunities for challenging prejudice, both on the structural level and on the individual level. On the structural level, Allport looks to studies that suggest increased contact between groups can lessen bias if authentic relationships occur. Residential integration, where communities of color occupy equal status and common goals with Whites, can be an effective route.²⁹ Other options include formal education, intercultural programs, group retraining, and positive mass media

By the Numbers

- Seventy-two percent of Whites, 71% of Blacks, and 58% of Hispanics say that it is never acceptable for a White person to use the N-word.
- Forty-five percent of Whites say that people assume they are racist or prejudiced, compared to 25% of Blacks, 24% of Asians, and 21% of Hispanics.
- Sixty-two percent of Asian-White multiracials feel very accepted by Whites, compared to 47% of Asian-White multiracials who feel very accepted by Asians. Twenty-five percent of Black-White multiracials feel very accepted by Whites, compared to 58% who feel very accepted by Blacks.

Sources: Horowitz, Brown, and Cox (2019); Ibid.; Parker et al. (2015).

messages.³⁰ Education programs should particularly emphasize that race is not a biological reality. On the individual level, Allport provides the characteristics of a non-prejudiced personality, which can be used to develop goals for individual therapy plans for prejudiced people. A non-prejudiced personality deemphasizes individualism, develops self-insight, is intropunitive rather than extropunitive, has tolerance for ambiguity, and has a trusting approach.³¹ Allport emphasizes that no one strategy is the answer and that a multimethod approach, on the structural and individual level, should be taken.

Evaluation

Methodological Benefits

This theoretical examination of prejudice relies on an exhaustive methodological review of earlier studies from a range of disciplines. Allport regularly pulls on interdisciplinary sources, such as *Journal of Personality*, *Fortune* (the magazine), *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *Journal of Social Psychology*, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, and *Public Opinion Quarterly*. He moves through masses of research by providing specifics of studies, by using multiple examples to illuminate a particular facet of prejudice, and by summarizing the contributions of several researchers. For example, in Chapter 16 of *The Nature of Prejudice*, on the effect of contact among groups, he provides several tables from other studies, such as “Opinion of U.S. Soldiers Regarding Germans as Related to the Frequency of Their Contact with German Civilians,” from the book *The American Soldier* (1949); “Percentage of Respondents Giving Indicated Reasons for Wanting to Exclude Negroes from Their

Neighborhood,” from the unpublished work *Residential Contact as a Determinant of Attitudes Toward Negroes* (1950); and “Are They (the Negro People in the Project) Pretty Much the Same as the White People Who Live Here or Are They Different?” from *Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment* (1951). Allport also relies on interviews or excerpts from first-person historical accounts. This use of supportive data from a range of studies and disciplines is typical of the methods employed by Allport throughout the book. Although Allport’s theory does not rely on primary research, the range and rigor of sources used to illuminate the multiple facets of prejudice are impressive and invaluable for attaining a broad framework of prejudice.

Methodological Limitations

Limitations to Allport’s methodology include the lack of research or testing of any specific approach to explaining prejudice. The methodology used is a collection of studies and commentary, rather than a scientific evaluation of any one proposed explanation, and the numerous sources cited in the book make it virtually impossible to evaluate the rigor of each study that Allport cites. Thus, the methodology is difficult to assess as a factor independent of the sources Allport uses. Allport’s theory, then, relies on his synthesis of previous research rather than any type of primary data collection or analysis.

Theoretical Benefits

The interdisciplinary review of such a wide range of studies and theoretical approaches leads to a nuanced perspective on prejudice. As Allport notes in the beginning of his book, his aim is to provide a framework for future scholars—a theoretical foundation based on a holistic synthesis of the work on prejudice. The table of contents of the book provides a theoretical outline of how to approach the study of prejudice with 31 chapters, ranging from the introduction, “What Is the Problem?” to specific facets, such as “Stereotypes in Our Culture” and “Choice of Scapegoats,” to a chapter toward the end on “Evaluation of Programs.” Throughout the book, there is a carefully balanced view of explaining prejudice as a problem belonging to society and a problem belonging to individuals. Likely, the greatest theoretical benefit is that Allport successfully meets his goal of setting the stage for a theory of prejudice that successive scholars have relied on. As noted social psychologist Thomas Pettigrew remarks, “the book continues to be the definitive theoretical statement of the field.”³²

Theoretical Limitations

The limitation of a focus on prejudice is that the analysis does not clearly indicate why some groups are chosen as targets of prejudice and others are not. It also does not explain how some groups are able to progress through a period of targeted prejudice to eventually become accepted, while others are

not. *The Nature of Prejudice* tends to focus on Black communities and Jewish communities (which makes sense, given that the book was published in the 1950s, when anti-Black and anti-Jewish sentiment was high), but there's no rigorous theoretical explanation as to why these two groups are persistently the targets of prejudice. Likewise, there's no reason given as to why Irish communities, who had previously been seen as different and had experienced severe discrimination, then came to be accepted by Whites. Prejudice, as a theoretical concept, tends to lack a sophisticated analysis of power that could help explain the structure of hierarchies. Overall, the strength of prejudice as an explanatory perspective is more on the individual, psychological level, while its theoretical limitation is in addressing power differentials, hierarchies, evolution in racial group dynamics, and similar processes.

Additional Contribution: Merton's Typology

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Robert Merton's typology, which was published around the same time as Allport's book, is widely referenced for situating the complex relationship between prejudice and discrimination. Merton contends that there is not a direct causal relationship between prejudice and discrimination, in that prejudice always directly results in discrimination. Instead, he offers a typology to explain the multiple ways in which prejudice and discrimination can be related—and therefore the likelihood of when discrimination will occur. Merton proposes four types of prejudice–discrimination linkages: (1) unprejudiced nondiscriminators, (2) unprejudiced discriminators, (3) prejudiced nondiscriminators, and (4) prejudiced discriminators. Unprejudiced nondiscriminators, or all-weather liberals, believe in freedom and equality and seek out likeminded people; they are not ambivalent about social problems but often lack an awareness of them. Unprejudiced discriminators, or fair-weather liberals, tend to discriminate only if they feel it is necessary, particularly if it is in their self-interest. Fair-weather liberals often obey policies against discrimination because they prefer that their actions meet their unprejudiced views. Prejudiced nondiscriminators, or timid bigots, look upon many groups unfavorably and follow stereotypes, but they won't discriminate if there is law or social pressure against doing so. The fourth type is prejudiced discriminators, or active bigots, who believe in the inferiority of others and their right to act on that prejudice.³³ Because this is a typology, many people don't fall neatly into one of the four groups; nevertheless, the typology provides a useful guide to understand the varied relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

Conclusion

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A theory of prejudice is useful for examining how individuals and societies develop and foster negative bias based on race and/or other identities,

such as gender, religion, and class. Arguably, at the root of racism are an irrational perception of and a lack of empathy for people of color, both of which the theory of prejudice help explain. *The Nature of Prejudice* is still widely referenced and considered a foundation for the work on prejudice; in a 25th anniversary edition of the book, Kenneth Clark, the noted psychologist whose work was used in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case, noted that “its table of contents establishes the parameters for a scholarly social science approach to the discussion and understanding of this complex human problem.”³⁴ Merton’s typology, too, is still widely referenced and used in an array of sociology textbooks.

REFLECT AND DISCUSS

1. What is the difference between prejudgment and prejudice?
2. How are group differences, real or imagined, at the root of prejudice?
3. Describe the relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

Diagram 1.1 Prejudice

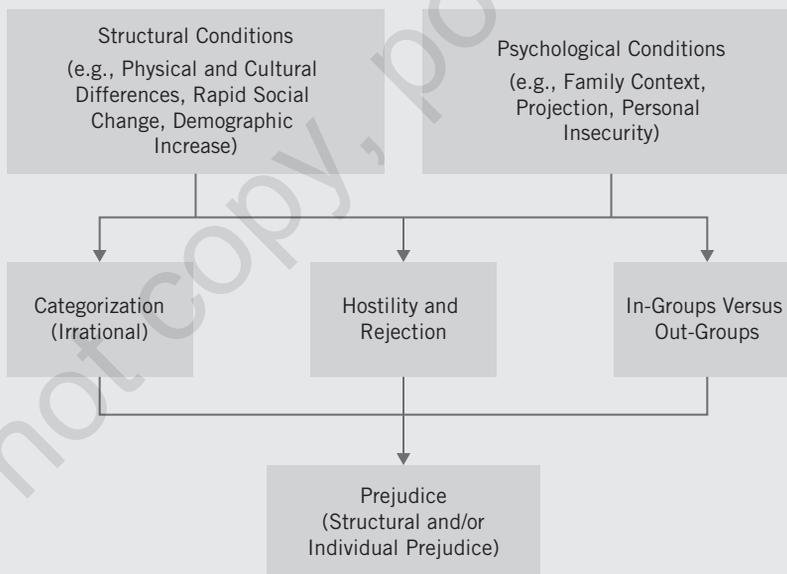
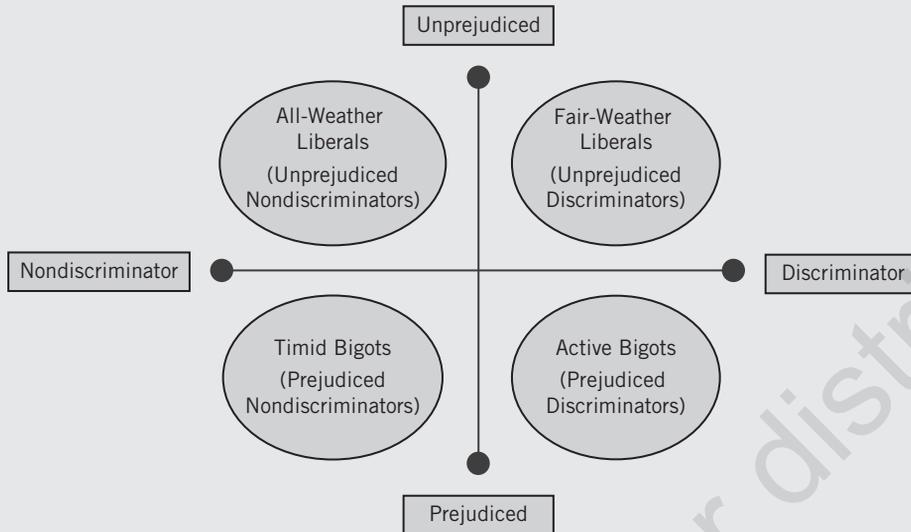


Diagram 1.2 Merton's Typology



KEY TERMS

Category: “An accessible cluster of associated ideas which as a whole has the property of guiding daily adjustments.”³⁵

Ethnic prejudice: “An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group or as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group.”³⁶

Group: “Any cluster of people who can use the term ‘we’ with the same significance.”³⁷

Prejudice: “Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge. A prejudice, unlike a simple misconception, is actively resistant to all

evidence that would unseat it. We tend to grow emotional when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction. Thus the difference between ordinary prejudgments and prejudice is that one can discuss and rectify a prejudgment without emotional resistance.”³⁸

Projection: “Whenever, and in whatever way, a correct-appraisal of one’s own emotional life fails and gives way to an incorrect judgment of other people.”³⁹

Stereotype: “An exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category.”⁴⁰

KEY PEOPLE

Gordon Allport (1897–1967): A psychologist who was known for pushing the boundaries

of the discipline, Allport developed the three-tiered hierarchy of personality traits and a

theory of prejudice. Allport is ranked as number 11 of 100 of the most eminent psychologists of the 20th century by the American Psychological Association.

Robert Merton (1910–2003): Merton was a leading sociologist known for coining a series

of foundational concepts, such as “roles,” “status set,” and “self-fulfilling prophecy.” In 1994, he received the National Medal of Science for “founding the sociology of science,” and he was the first sociologist to be awarded this honor.

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NOTES

1. Allport ([1954] 1966:xiii).
2. Ibid. (516).
3. Ibid. (27).
4. Ibid. (89).
5. Ibid. (13).
6. Ibid. (5).
7. Ibid. (9).
8. Ibid. (9, emphasis in original).
9. Ibid. (171).
10. Ibid. (173).
11. Ibid. (139).
12. Ibid. (138).
13. Ibid. (181).
14. Ibid. (179).

15. Ibid. (191, emphasis in original).
16. Ibid. (37).
17. Ibid. (125).
18. Ibid. (103).
19. Ibid. (7, emphasis in original).
20. Ibid. (221).
21. Ibid. (73, emphasis in original).
22. Ibid. (31–33).
23. Ibid. (289–324).
24. Ibid. (380, emphasis in original).
25. Ibid. (387–91).
26. Ibid. (396–407).
27. Ibid. (414–23).
28. Ibid. (57–58).

29. Ibid. (281).
30. Ibid. (512).
31. Ibid. (431).
32. Pettigrew (1979:462).
33. Merton (1949).
34. Clark (1979:xii).
35. Allport ([1954] 1966:171).
36. Ibid. (9).
37. Ibid. (37).
38. Ibid. (9).
39. Ibid. (380).
40. Ibid. (191).

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