

## PRIMARY SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND THE 'SOCIAL INSIGHT' TEST

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I. *Introduction* (p. 114). II. *Hypotheses to be tested* (pp. 114–116). III. *The Experiment* (pp. 116–119).  
IV. *Results* (pp. 119–122). V. *Conclusions* (p. 122). *References* (p. 122).

### I. INTRODUCTION

In a series of studies (3,4,5,7), the writer has shown that social attitudes are organized in very definite ways, and that the principles of organization can be investigated fruitfully by means of factorial techniques. Attitudes, in this context, are defined as verbal responses to statements implying adient or abient reaction-patterns toward the issues or objects defined by the statement—Jews, Negroes, Nationalization, Death Penalty, Sunday Observance, War, or whatever it might be. These responses are often of a stereotyped character (8), and can be shown to correlate significantly with objective indices of behaviour, such as voting, or of status, such as income.

The main principle of organization in the field of social attitudes is well known; it is the factor of Radicalism-Conservatism, hereafter to be called the *R* factor. This factor was isolated by comparing the percentages of conservative, liberal and socialist voters who endorsed forty attitude statements, and by showing that the pattern of endorsements bore an almost one-to-one relation with the first factor extracted from a matrix of intercorrelations of the forty items calculated over all the subjects taking part in the experiment ( $n = 750$ , divided equally into the three parties, and equated for age, sex, and education).

The second dimension isolated is orthogonal to the first, and has not received much attention from sociologists and social psychologists. It has been named provisionally Tendermindedness-Toughmindedness, and will hereafter be called the *T* factor. Both the *R* and the *T* factor are operationally defined in terms of those attitude statements which have the highest saturations on the two factors. Fig. 1 gives a schematic diagram illustrating the position of various social attitudes in respect to the two factors; the actual questions used to define *R* and *T* are given below (p. 116–17).

### II. HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

By and large, it may be said that radicals seek to effect changes in the existing order of things, while conservatives on the whole seek to preserve that order. There are many theories regarding the origin of these opposed sets of doctrines, ranging from Gilbert and Sullivan's nativistic belief

that every boy and every gal  
that's born into this world alive,  
is either a little Liberal,  
or else a little Conservative,

to the more environmentalist explanations to be found in sociological writings. Here an experiment has been set up to test two such hypotheses which have become rather popular among the more conservative and the more radical respectively. The *conservative hypothesis* relates radicalism to emotional instability and neuroticism, by positing that to be radical is to be maladjusted. There appears to be some indirect evidence in favour of such

an hypothesis in the work of Lasswell(10), Krout & Stagner(9), and others, who show that radicals report less childhood satisfaction and more parental antagonism. However, interpretation of these data is difficult, and alternative interpretations are possible(6). More direct evidence comes from the work of Rundquist & Sletto(11), who find a correlation of 0.326 between radicalism and the 'neurotic tendencies' section of the Bernreuter Inventory for male, and one of 0.165 for female students. Altogether, they report that radicalism forms part of a general maladjustment factor, but again interpretation is difficult and generalization impossible because their work was done during the great

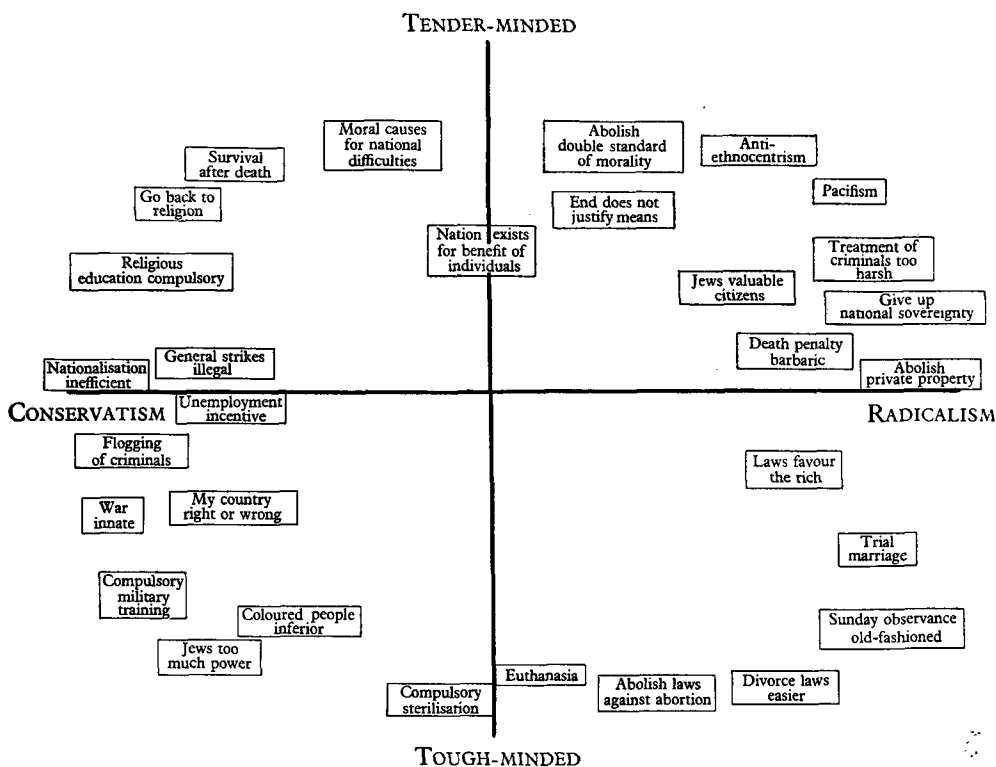


Fig. 1.

depression, and, in any case, might relate only to Americans and not to members of other cultural groups less closely identified with the capitalist system.

The *radical hypothesis* relates to cognitive rather than to orrectic factors; it is based on the belief that the conservative is enabled to hold his attitudes only because he ignores social facts which stare him in the face, either by not acquiring the necessary knowledge, or by repressing what he knows. The fundamental point in this hypothesis would seem to imply that radicals would succeed better on a test of social insight than would conservatives. 'Social insight' should not be confused with education or general knowledge; it implies a special awareness of social reality which may or may not be related to other types of knowledge.

It might be possible to extend this general hypothesis by putting forward a subsidiary hypothesis to the effect that *extreme* conservatives should be expected to have a highly unified and well-integrated system of social beliefs, and should therefore have more social

insight into this system of beliefs than would more moderate conservatives. It may be deduced from this hypothesis that the relation between radicalism and social insight would be curvilinear, an hypothesis which can easily be tested.

### III. THE EXPERIMENT

Two-hundred and thirty-three subjects altogether took part in the experiment. Their mean age was 35 years, with a s.d. of 11 years. Fifty-one per cent were men. Average educational age (defined as age at which full-term education was terminated) was 17.10, with a s.d. of 2.83. The subjects were all urban, middle-class persons; the method of sampling used was identical with that described in an earlier publication(4). Conclusions cannot be generalized to working-class groups, or to rural groups.

These subjects filled in a number of questionnaires individually, under conditions of strict anonymity. The questionnaires used were as follows:

(a) Forty-item 'Inventory of Social Attitudes'. It is from the answers to this inventory that the *R* and *T* scores for each individual are derived. Only fourteen items are used for each scale, and the items are partly overlapping. The construction, reliability, and validity of the scales has been reported elsewhere(4). The correlations of each item with *R* and *T* are given after each item; these are tetrachoric correlations using a 50-50 split on the continuous variables. The index of reliability for *R* and *T* respectively was +0.88 and +0.76. Mean scores were  $5.82 \pm 3.55$  and  $7.88 \pm 2.45$ .

#### *Inventory of Social Attitudes*

Below are given forty statements which represent widely held opinions on various social questions, selected from speeches, books, newspapers, etc. They were chosen in such a way that most people are likely to agree with some, and to disagree with others. After each statement, you are requested to record your personal opinion regarding it. If you strongly approve, put two crosses after it, like this: + +. If you approve on the whole, put one cross after the statement. If you can't decide for or against, or if you think the question is worded in such a way that you can't give an answer, put a zero, like this: 0. If you disapprove on the whole, put a minus sign. And if you strongly disapprove, put two minus signs, like this: - -. Be sure not to omit any questions. The questionnaire is anonymous, so *please do not sign your name*.

Attitude statements	Correlation with <i>R</i>	Correlation with <i>T</i>
1. Coloured people are innately inferior to white people	-0.38	-0.14
2. The dropping of the first atom bomb on a Japanese city without warning was morally wrong and incompatible with our kind of civilization	0.30	0.06
3. Persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilized	-0.09	-0.58
4. Blood sports, like fox-hunting for instance, are vicious and cruel, and should be forbidden	0.37	0.14
5. Our present difficulties are due rather to moral than to economic causes	-0.24	0.26
6. In the interests of peace, we must give up part of our national sovereignty	0.73	0.25
7. Only by going back to religion can civilization hope to survive	-0.73	0.66
8. War is inherent in human nature	-0.60	-0.27
9. Sunday observance is old-fashioned and should cease to govern our behaviour	0.76	-0.52
10. It is wrong that men should be permitted greater sexual freedom than women by society	-0.03	0.19
11. 'My country, right or wrong' is a saying which expresses a fundamentally desirable kind of attitude	-0.48	-0.18
12. Our treatment of criminals is too harsh; we should try to cure, not to punish them	0.72	0.19
13. Ultimately, private ownership of the means of production and distribution should be abolished, and complete socialism introduced	0.76	-0.12
14. Workers in industry should have a voice in the running of their factory	0.36	0.05
15. Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country, and should be treated accordingly	-0.35	-0.15
16. The laws against abortion should be abolished	0.46	-0.67
17. The threat of unemployment is the only incentive which will cause people to work hard at unpleasant jobs	-0.50	-0.09
18. Jews are as valuable, honest, and public-spirited citizens as any other group	0.35	0.01
19. No unjust or aggressive war has ever been waged by England	-0.32	0.09
20. Compulsory military training in peace-time is essential for the survival of this country	-0.48	-0.14

	Correlation with <i>R</i>	Correlation with <i>T</i>
21. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death	0.20	-0.50
22. Children should be sent to boarding schools as young as possible to learn to stick up for themselves	-0.13	-0.20
23. Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier	0.57	-0.68
24. Crimes of violence should be punished by flogging	-0.70	-0.22
25. Under no circumstances can war ever be justified	0.30	0.00
26. The nationalization of the great industries is likely to lead to inefficiency, bureaucracy and stagnation	0.71	0.09
27. It is right and proper that religious education in schools should be compulsory	-0.71	0.35
28. Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage (e.g. by trial marriage)	0.47	-0.61
29. The principle 'Spare the rod and spoil the child' has much truth in it, and should govern our methods of bringing up children	-0.58	0.20
30. The end justifies the means, and it is often necessary to 'be cruel in order to be kind'	-0.40	-0.16
31. Our national life suffers from a lack of discipline	-0.39	0.17
32. The Japanese are by nature a cruel people	-0.57	-0.20
33. The Jews have too much power and influence in this country	-0.49	-0.05
34. The death penalty is barbaric, and should be abolished	0.68	0.20
35. 'General strikes' should be declared illegal	-0.71	0.07
36. Certain issues are so vital for a nation that war is preferable to submission	-0.32	-0.15
37. The nation exists for the benefit of the individuals composing it, not the individuals for the benefit of the nation	0.01	0.28
38. In war, one would be justified in torturing an enemy in order to extract important information from him	0.03	-0.09
39. The present over-emphasis on 'social services' makes people less self-reliant, and is therefore not in the best interest of the country	-0.60	0.14
40. There is no survival of any kind after death	0.53	-0.54
Age .....		Sex .....
At what age did you leave school (or University)?.....		

(b) A 'National Preferences Test', modelled after the Bogardus Social Distance scale. The order of the seven possible answers has been altered, in order to prevent the subject's seeing at a glance the principle on which these answers were originally chosen. The score for each nationality was the rank of the most favourable response given to that item (using Bogardus's rank order: i.e. from A, most favourable, to G, least favourable); the total score on the scale was the sum of these numbers over all fifteen items. The index of reliability on this test was +0.97.

*National Preferences Test*

According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to the classifications which I have encircled.

Be careful for each different nationality to encircle the letters signifying each classification to which you would admit members of that particular nationality.

	To close kinship by marriage	To my street as neighbours	As visitors only to my country	To my club as personal friends	Would exclude from my country	To citizenship in my country	To employment in my occupation in my country
Americans	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Germans	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
French	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Italians	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Jews (English)	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Greeks	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Russians	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Negroes	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Chinese	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Irishmen	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Indians	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Englishmen	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Poles	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Turks	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Jews (refugees)	A	B	C	D	E	F	G

(c) A specially constructed 'Social Insight Test'. The score on this test is simply the sum of the item scores, where a correct answer to the item is counted 2 points, a wrong answer 0 point, and an omitted answer 1 point. The correct answers are known from the first investigation of social attitudes referred to above. The mean score on this test was 18.69, with a s.d. of 2.89. The index of reliability was +0.79, which is too low for individual prediction, but probably sufficient for use with groups. A larger number of items would presumably be required to increase reliability to a more satisfactory level.

#### *Social Insight Test*

It is sometimes possible to predict a person's opinion on a subject from knowing his political party. For instance, if you were asked if socialists or conservatives were more likely to be in favour of making general strikes illegal, you would know that *conservatives* would be the right answer. Similarly, in the next question the right answer is fairly obvious, and has been underlined.

0. Conservatives are more in favour of nationalizing industries.  
Socialists

By 'conservatives' we mean people of *your own social class* who vote conservative in a general election; by 'socialists' people of *your own social class* who vote for the Labour Party (we do not mean communists).

On some questions there are great differences between conservatives and socialists, on others there are only small differences, or none at all. On no question is there a complete divergence—there are always some conservatives who agree with the majority of socialists, and some socialists who agree with the majority of conservatives. But there are usually tendencies in one direction or the other—socialists tend on the average to have one view, conservatives another. Read through the twelve test problems given below, and answer them by underlining what you think is the correct response. If you think that there is no difference in attitude between socialists and conservatives, underline neither.

1. Conservatives show stronger anti-Jewish feelings  
Socialists
2. Conservatives have more lenient attitudes towards the upbringing of children  
Socialists
3. Conservatives tend to be more religious  
Socialists
4. Conservatives are more opposed to capital punishment  
Socialists
5. Conservatives believe that in the interests of peace we must give up part of our national sovereignty  
Socialists
6. Conservatives are more in favour of equal pay for men and women doing the same work  
Socialists
7. Conservatives believe that workers in industry should have a voice in the running of their factories  
Socialists
8. Conservatives believe that coloured people are innately inferior to white people  
Socialists
9. Conservatives are more in favour of flogging as a punishment  
Socialists
10. Conservatives believe that our present difficulties are due to moral rather than to economic causes  
Socialists
11. Conservatives believe that it is wrong that men should be permitted greater sexual freedom than women  
Socialists
12. Conservatives believe that war is inherent in human nature  
Socialists

(d) The 'Crown Word Connexion List'. This is a forced-choice word association test, in which the score is the number of neurotic response words chosen. (The efficacy of the choices was established in each case on large groups of normals and neurotics; the reliability and validity of this test as a measure of neuroticism are high enough for group work, though not for individual diagnosis (1).) The mean score for the group was 7.22, with a s.d. of 4.96.

*Word Connexion List*

Below you will find a list of familiar words printed in capital letters, each followed by two words in small letters. Look at the word SINK in the example below. Now glance at the two other words. Does the word SINK make you think more of 'wash' or of 'drown'? Draw a line under whichever word is more connected in your mind with SINK.

EXAMPLE: SINK wash drown

Some people connect 'wash' with SINK and so they underline 'wash' as follows: SINK wash drown. Other people connect 'drown' with SINK and therefore they underline 'drown' as follows: SINK wash drown. There are no right or wrong answers because one word connexion is just as good as another. Just look at the two words that follow the word in capital letters and underline the one that *you* feel is more connected in your mind with that word. WORK FAST. Don't stop to think long about any one word. Be sure not to leave any words out.

SCISSORS	nurse	cut	WEIGHT	scale	losing
HANDS	feet	moist	DIGNIFIED	snobbish	poised
LOUD	yell	soft	TALKED	spoke	about
WOMAN	girl	trouble	SLEEP	nightmares	bed
LION	eat	tiger	RIVER	lake	danger
LIGHT	dark	sentence	BABY	foundling	little
BLUE	sad	sky	LOSE	find	mind
STOMACH	food	ache	SALMON	dislike	like
LEFT	home	right	HUNGRY	thirsty	heart
THOUGHTS	ideas	strange	MAN	hard	boy
SLOW	beware	fast	MUTTON	eat	flesh
BOY	girl	mischief	SWIFT	hurricane	slow
SHORT	little	tall	BRING	take	disaster
CONTENTED	happy	discontented	SWEET	affected	bitter
FAIRY	shameful	wand	FOOD	stomach	poisoned
UNHAPPY	no	yes	RAW	deal	meat
THIRSTY	dry	drink	PARTY	crowd	myself
EATING	drinking	fasting	BITTER	medicine	sweet
FEEL	useless	good	GRAVE	serious	funeral
HEAVY	weight	heart	WOMAN	excitement	man
TROUBLE	lawyer	sorrow	SOUR	lemon	stomach
DEEP	ocean	hurt	CAN'T	concentrate	fly
FRIEND	double-crossed	close	PINT	quart	whiskey
FOOT	hand	tingle	NEEDLE	drug	sharp
MAN	work	woman	WOUND	bandages	feelings

*Remember:* There are no right or wrong answers. Go as fast as you can.

(e) Scores for attitudes of War-mindedness and of Anti-semitism were derived from a combination (equal weighting) of items 25, 36, and 6 for the former, and items 18 and 33 for the latter in the Inventory. These combinations had been shown elsewhere to be good measures of these two attitudes respectively (2).

(f) An emphasis score (E score) was also derived from the Inventory of Social Attitudes, by summing items for each subject on which an extreme (+ + or - -) answer had been given, regardless of the direction of the answer. An average score of 14.03, with a s.d. of 8.03 was found; the index of reliability was 0.94.

## IV. RESULTS

The various tests described in the previous section were intercorrelated, and the results are reported in Table 1. Product-moment correlations were used, except for the item 'Sex', where Biserial  $r$  was used instead. The number of subjects was only 191, as not all subjects gave scorable responses for each of the items correlated. A factorial analysis was performed and two factors extracted from the matrix of intercorrelations. These are given in Table 2. The results are given in diagrammatic form in Fig. 2. It should be noted that the saturations reported are not the original centroid factors, but represent factors rotated through an angle of  $47^\circ$  so as to pass through (or as near as possible to) the locus of  $R$  and  $T$  respectively, these points having been established in our previous work, and thus serving to identify factor axes in the present research.

The following points may be noted. (1) *R* and *T* are almost entirely unrelated, the slightly obtuse angle between them indicating a negative correlation of  $-0.12$ . (2) The Social Insight Test is positively related to the *R* factor, but has no relation at all to the *T* factor; this finding supports the *radical hypothesis*. (3) The Word Connexion List, our

Table 1

	No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Physical age	1	—	0.263	-0.089	0.002	-0.160	0.095	0.113	-0.036	-0.019	-0.227	0.090
Sex (male)	2	—	—	-0.049	0.083	-0.040	0.075	0.045	-0.006	-0.019	-0.144	-0.022
Educ. age	3	—	—	—	0.004	0.013	0.050	-0.131	-0.172	-0.048	0.124	0.058
Emphasis	4	—	—	—	—	-0.043	0.052	0.093	0.022	0.024	0.013	-0.125
Pro-semitism	5	—	—	—	—	—	-0.164	-0.403	0.034	0.372	0.127	0.132
War-mindedness	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.221	-0.072	-0.274	-0.157	-0.114
Ethnocentrism	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.021	-0.301	-0.172	-0.256
Word Connexion List	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.106	-0.152	0.069
<i>R</i>	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-0.105	0.266
<i>T</i>	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.011
Social Insight	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 2

Test variable	Factor I	Factor II
1. Age (reversed)	0.50	-0.05
2. Sex (female)	0.37	-0.03
3. Educational age	0.18	-0.18
4. Emphasis (reversed)	0.07	0.08
5. Anti-semitism (reversed)	0.30	0.46
6. War-mindedness (reversed)	0.25	0.34
7. Ethnocentrism (reversed)	0.34	0.53
8. Word Connexion List	-0.18	0.15
9. Radicalism	-0.06	0.62
10. Tender-mindedness	0.46	-0.07
11. Social Insight	0.04	0.43

Direction of scoring of same items has been reversed so as to bring as many of them as possible into the first quadrant, as shown in Fig. 2.

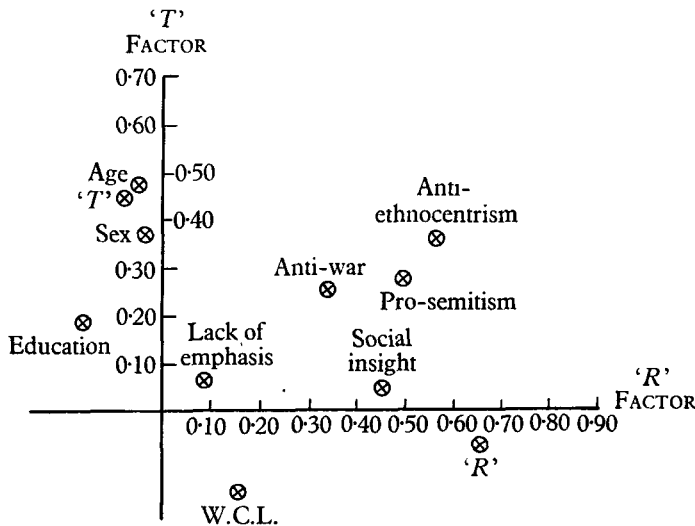


Fig. 2. First quadrant in *R-T* two-factor space; to correspond with first quadrant in Fig. 1.

measure of neuroticism, instability, or maladaptation, shows no significant relation to *R*; this finding disproves the *conservative hypothesis*. (It should be noted that this negative result is not likely to be due to the lack of reliability or validity of the Word Connexion List; elsewhere it has been shown that highly significant correlations exist between

neuroticism as measured by it and such social attitudes as anti-semitism and war-mindedness(2.) (4) The correlation between the Word Connexion List and  $T$  is too low to be considered significant ( $r = -0.152$ ), but it should be noted that in a previous research(2) a similar correlation was found ( $r = -0.137$ ). Taking the results together, they suggest at a high level of confidence that neuroticism is correlated with tough-mindedness. (5) Education shows no significant relation to either  $R$  or  $T$ , showing that social insight is not to be confused with general level of knowledge or education. (6) The position of the ethnocentrism, anti-semitism, and pro-war tests is in line with previous work, and shows the influence of  $R$  and  $T$  to an almost equal extent. (7) The position of sex is also in line with previous work, where women were shown to be more tender-minded, and neither more nor less radical than men. (8) The relatively high saturation of age with the  $T$  factor is a surprise, and may be due to the high sampling errors of residual correlations; it is not in line with previous work indicating that age as such was not conspicuously related to either  $T$  or  $R$ .

In view of the significant relation between social insight (to be called 'S') and  $R$  we may discuss the experimental data related to this test in a little more detail. In the first place, the question of linearity of regression arises—it will be remembered that one of our subsidiary hypotheses called for a curvilinear regression between these two variables. The observed value of  $\eta_{SR}$  is 0.45, which is significant at the 1% level, and significantly higher than the product moment correlation at the 5% level. We may say, therefore, that our prediction has been verified.

Next we may list in detail the scores of three groups of subjects on the 'Social Insight' test, graded according to their  $R$  scores. Group I comprises 67  $S$ s with  $R$  scores ranging from 0 to 3; this will be called the conservative group. Group II comprises 89  $S$ s with  $R$  scores from 4 to 7; this will be called the intermediate group. Group III comprises 77  $S$ s with  $R$  scores from 8 to 14; this will be called the radical group. The percentages of items correct, omitted, and incorrect are given in Table 3 for these three groups separately. We may give each group a score for each item by subtracting the 'per cent incorrect' from the 'per cent correct'. The overall scores of the three groups are then 48% for the conservative, 54% for the intermediate, and 64% for the radical group, showing again the superiority of the radical group.

Table 3

Item no.	Group I			Group II			Group III		
	Correct	Omitted	Incorrect	Correct	Omitted	Incorrect	Correct	Omitted	Incorrect
1	0.299	0.418	0.284	0.472	0.416	0.112	0.649	0.273	0.078
2	0.657	0.224	0.119	0.472	0.427	0.101	0.532	0.442	0.026
3	0.701	0.298	0.000	0.573	0.382	0.045	0.610	0.364	0.026
4	0.866	0.060	0.075	0.776	0.157	0.067	0.766	0.130	0.104
5	0.910	0.090	0.000	0.843	0.146	0.011	0.857	0.143	0.000
6	0.672	0.298	0.030	0.888	0.090	0.023	0.896	0.104	0.000
7	0.716	0.224	0.060	0.865	0.124	0.011	0.961	0.026	0.013
8	0.403	0.507	0.090	0.641	0.337	0.023	0.792	0.208	0.000
9	0.657	0.313	0.030	0.663	0.326	0.011	0.779	0.221	0.000
10	0.567	0.269	0.164	0.348	0.551	0.101	0.494	0.416	0.091
11	0.075	0.701	0.224	0.236	0.663	0.101	0.286	0.558	0.156
12	0.403	0.537	0.060	0.393	0.573	0.034	0.545	0.455	0.000

A discussion of the individual items is somewhat hazardous, as differences between them may be due to chance; only a repetition of the experiment could show the existence of any definite tendencies. One exception to this rule relates to the order of difficulty of the items; the three groups are apparently in close agreement on this issue, with correlations between



0.6 and 0.9. Items 11, 1 and 10 are the hardest, and items 6, 7 and 5 are the easiest. Items 12, 2, 8, 3, 9 and 4 are intermediate, in that order. The most diagnostic items, as far as correlation with *R* is concerned, are items 1, 7 and 8; the least diagnostic are items 4, 5 and 9. Difficult items may thus be a little less diagnostic than easier ones, but the data certainly justify no more than a guess to this effect.

It will be noted that the conservative group has particularly little insight into the fact that conservatives are anti-semitic and consider coloured people inferior, suggesting the possible operation of repression as a defence mechanism against the acceptance of unpleasant truths. Conservatives show most insight with respect to their approval of capital punishment and flogging, where no such general social disapproval exists as in the case of ethnocentrism and anti-semitism. Here appears to be a fruitful field for further research; our data do not allow us to go further than this.

#### V. CONCLUSIONS<sup>1</sup>

Two hypotheses were examined in this paper, relating to concomitants of radicalism. The hypothesis linking radicalism with emotional instability was decisively rejected by the data. The hypothesis linking radicalism with a high degree of social insight was borne out at a high level of confidence. This relation was shown to be curvilinear, extreme conservatives showing better scores than less extreme conservatives and liberals, but not scoring as highly as radicals. Social insight was found to be independent of education.

The relation between the variables studied was clarified by a factorial analysis of their interrelations. In the main, this analysis bore out previous studies into the factors determining social attitudes and showed the position of 'social insight' and 'emotional instability' with respect to two primary social attitudes.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the above paper was completed, *The Authoritarian Personality* by T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson and R. N. Sanford (New York: Harper Bros. 1950) has come to hand. It strongly supports many of the conclusions drawn here and is of particular interest as it relates to a different culture pattern.