

PRIMARY SOCIAL ATTITUDES: A COMPARISON OF ATTITUDE PATTERNS IN ENGLAND, GERMANY, AND SWEDEN¹

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It has long been clear to all students of social attitudes that these attitudes do not exist in isolation and independent of each other, but that they form definite patterns. The principles underlying such patterning have been investigated by several psychologists and sociologists with the aid of the technique of factorial analysis (2, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19). Their findings, as the writer has tried to show elsewhere (3), are in good agreement, and appear to result in the discovery of two main principles of organization.

These two principles have been called "radicalism-conservatism" and "tough-mindedness-tender-mindedness" (4, 5, 6). They are independent of each other, and may therefore be represented by two orthogonal axes which form a Cartesian framework within which all the constituent attitudes whose intercorrelations originally gave rise to this two-factor pattern can be placed. We thus obtain an operational definition of our two principles or factors, in which the scalar products of any two attitude statements are equal to their correlation.

This scheme was derived by the writer from a factorial analysis of the responses to a 40-item attitude inventory made by 750 middle-class English subjects (4). These were drawn equally from voters for the three major British political parties (conservative, liberal, and socialist), and the 250 subjects representing each party were equated for age, sex, and education. It was shown that items having high factor saturations on radicalism-conservatism (R) also distinguished at a high level of significance between voters for the conservative and radical parties respectively, while items having low saturations on R failed to distinguish between the two parties. Indeed, the ability of the items to discriminate between the two parties and their factor

saturations correlated to the extent of $r=.98$, a figure high enough to provide adequate proof of the correct identification of this factor.

The tender-mindedness factor (T) was found to be quite uncorrelated with R, and to give no discrimination between the political parties. On analyzing responses of additional samples of communist and fascist party members, however, it was found that both these groups were differentiated with considerable accuracy from members of the three democratic parties by their low T scores; both communists and fascists were thus found to be tough-minded in comparison with conservatives, liberals, and socialists (6). In other words, fascists were all found to lie in the first quadrant (tough-minded conservative), while communists were found to lie in the second quadrant (tough-minded radicals). It was also found that women were more tender-minded than men, and that working-class people were more tough-minded than middle-class people; this was found to be as true of conservatives and liberals as of socialists and communists.

SOCIAL ATTITUDE PATTERNS IN U. S. AND SWEDEN

While the researches summarized here were carried out in England, there is every reason to expect similar results to follow from a repetition of the work in the United States. The constellation of traits found by Stagner (16, 17, 18) to characterize the fascist mentality is practically identical with the attitudes to be found in our first quadrant; similarly, the traits which characterize the "authoritarian personality" of Adorno, Levinson, Frenkel-Brunswick, and Sanford (1) are identical with those of the "tough-minded conservative." Ferguson's factor of "humanitarianism" (11, 12) represents a constellation of traits found in our third quadrant (tender-

¹This is the second paper in a series which began with (4).

mind ed radical), and is the obverse of the fascist-minded authoritarian personality, just as his factor of "religionism" corresponds with our fourth quadrant, as opposed to the antireligious second quadrant. Recent unpublished work by Conway and Eysenck, using a version of the original questionnaire adapted to American conditions, has shown that our expectation of finding substantially similar patterns to the English ones is indeed verified.

The question now arises as to the possibility of finding these patterns in other countries less similar in their past history and their political aspirations than the United King-

ing by chance, and we may conclude that there is substantial similarity between the patterning of attitudes as observed in Sweden and that observed in England.

SOCIAL ATTITUDE PATTERNS IN GERMANY

A somewhat more complete experiment was carried out by the writer on a group of 263 middle- and working-class Germans, all living in or near Hamburg. A German translation and adaptation of the original social attitude questionnaire was prepared and administered to members of professional groups, of extramural university classes, of

TABLE 1
ITEMS WITH CORRELATIONS ABOVE .40 FROM HUSEN (14) ADAPTATION OF ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

ATTITUDE STATEMENT	CORRELATION	
	R	T
Colored people are innately inferior to white people.	-.58	-.47
The death penalty should be brought back into use.		-.62
Sterilization should be compulsory for people with congenital diseases.		-.60
Confirmation in church is out of date and should be abolished.	.45	
Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country and should be treated accordingly.		-.51
Only by returning to religion can we preserve civilization.	-.44	
Laws for the prevention of abortion should be abolished.		-.45
Religious instruction in schools should be abolished.	.48	-.42
The government should not interfere in people's private affairs.	.40	
It is nowadays too easy to get a divorce.	-.65	
The penalty for crimes of assault and robbery should be corporal punishment.		-.58
Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage.	.43	
The upbringing of modern children is too lenient.		-.50
The Jews are too powerful and influential in this country.	-.47	-.40
Some people, e.g., the Japanese, are cruel by nature.	-.48	
Only people of a certain intellectual level should be allowed to vote.	-.47	
Differences in pay between men and women doing the same work should be abolished.	-.43	

dom and the United States. One research to answer this question was carried out in Sweden by Husen (14), who administered an adapted version of Eysenck's original questionnaire to 100 unselected cadets from a military college of the Royal Swedish Navy. He did not carry out a factor analysis of the intercorrelations between the attitude statements, but instead correlated each of the 40 items with R and T scores derived from the total questionnaire in a manner explained elsewhere by the present writer (4). Table 1 lists all the correlations above the .40 level; every single one of them is identical in its sign with the corresponding correlations derived from the English sample. There is less than one chance in 2,000,000 of this happen-

trade unions, and similar organizations; anonymity was, of course, guaranteed and strictly enforced. A translation of the questionnaire is given in Table 2.

Intercorrelations between the 40 items were run, using tetrachoric correlation coefficients, and a factorial analysis was carried out on the resulting matrix. The two main factors extracted bear a striking similarity to R and T, as isolated on our English sample, and are given in Table 2. Figure 1 gives a diagrammatic representation of the results.

The only marked difference between the results from the two groups is with respect to the position of item 12. This item ("Private property should be abolished and complete socialism be introduced") has high saturation

on R in the English sample, but none at all on T; in the German sample it has high saturation on R again, but also considerable negative saturation on T. The reason for this shift may lie in the different connotations of the term "socialism" in the two countries. In England, the Marxian interpretation has never really become popular, and the Labour Party draws inspiration from Owen, Morris, and the Fabian Society, whereas German socialism is more indebted to dialectical

groups for R and T respectively. Figure 2 shows the position of those of our subjects who identified themselves as members of one of the socialist parties, one of the conservative parties, who claimed to be uninterested in politics, who were opposed to party politics, or who failed altogether to answer the question relating to their political preferences. It will be seen that the socialist group is considerably more tough-minded than the other groups; this difference is statistically signifi-

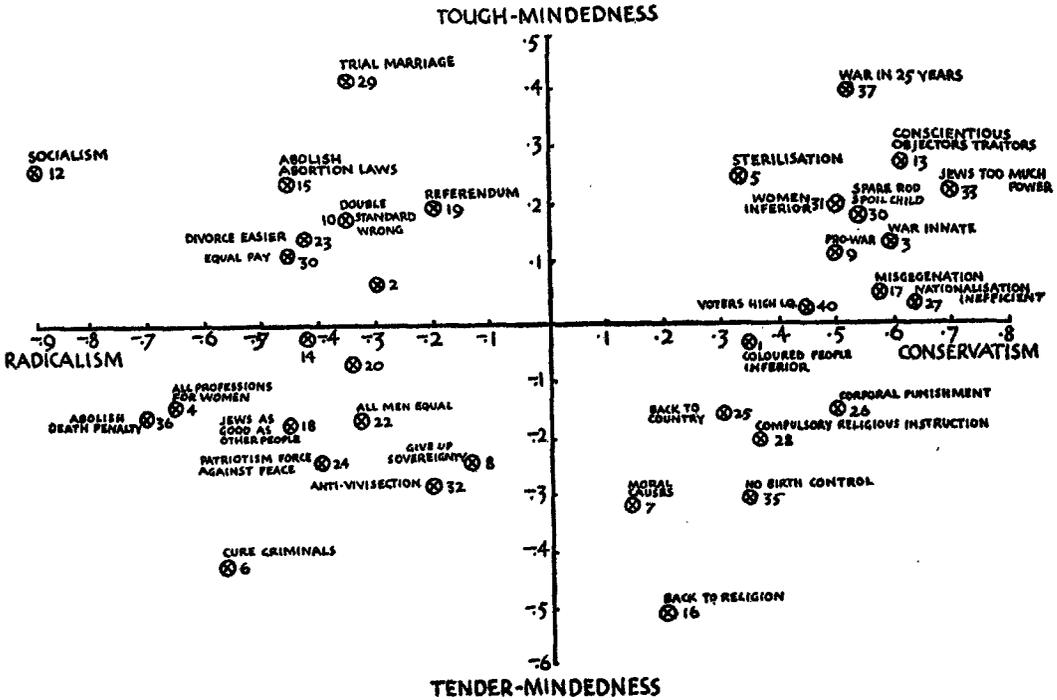


FIG. 1. FACTOR PATTERN FOR THE SAMPLE OF 263 MIDDLE- AND WORKING-CLASS GERMANS LIVING IN OR NEAR HAMBURG

(The numbers refer to the item numbers in Table 2, and the names indicate the content of the item represented.)

materialism. Consequently, socialism in Germany is almost (but not quite!) identified with some form of communism, while in England such identification has most decidedly not taken place. But as we have shown elsewhere (6), communists generally are located in the tough-minded radical quadrant, and consequently it is not astonishing to find that in our German sample "socialism," as understood by them, also falls into this quadrant.

Support for this view may be sought in a comparison of the mean scores of various

cant (by analysis of variance) and would have been predicted on the basis of our hypothesis. (It is interesting to note that the three supposedly apolitical groups—uninterested, unknown, opposed to party politics—are all more conservative than the conservative group! The differences are not significant, but this finding does illustrate the belief of many middle-class people that conservative attitudes are not political but merely common sense.)

There are several further findings which may be of some interest. The reliability of

the R and T scores was determined by split-half procedures; the index of reliability for R was .84, that for T was .53. These values are rather lower than the corresponding ones for the English group, and they are, of course,

well below the limits of usefulness for individual prediction. The index of reliability for the E score (E score or emphasis score is the number of emphatic replies—double plus or double minus—given by the subject) is

TABLE 2
INVENTORY OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Below are given 40 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.

ATTITUDE STATEMENTS	FACTOR SATURATIONS	
	R	T
1. Colored people are innately inferior to white people.	-.35	.06
2. Present laws favor the rich as against the poor.	.30	-.06
3. War is inherent in human nature.	-.60	-.17
4. All professions should be open to women.	.67	.17
5. Persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilized.	-.34	-.23
6. Our treatment of criminals is too harsh; we should try to cure, not to punish them.	.57	.42
7. Our present difficulties are due rather to moral than to economic causes.	-.14	.34
8. In the interests of peace, we must give up part of our national sovereignty.	.16	.24
9. Under certain circumstances, war is preferable to other solutions.	-.55	-.12
10. It is wrong that men should be permitted greater sexual freedom than women by society.	.36	-.19
11. Unrestricted freedom of discussion on every topic is desirable in the press, in literature, on the stage, etc.	.21	-.16
12. Ultimately, private property should be abolished, and complete socialism introduced.	.90	-.27
13. Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country, and should be treated accordingly.	-.62	-.28
14. A certain amount of sex education should be given at school to all boys and girls.	.42	.03
15. The laws against abortion should be abolished.	.45	-.25
16. Only by going back to religion can civilization hope to survive.	-.20	.52
17. Marriages between white and colored people should be strongly discouraged.	-.57	-.05
18. Jews are as valuable, honest, and public-spirited citizens as any other group.	.46	.18
19. Major questions of national policy should be decided by reference to majority opinion (e.g., by referendum).	.22	-.20
20. There should be far more controversial and political discussion over the radio.	.35	.08
21. The present licensing laws should be altered, so as to remove restrictions on hours of opening.	-.08	-.08
22. All human beings are born with the same potentialities.	.35	.16
23. Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier.	.42	-.14
24. Patriotism in the modern world is a force which works against peace.	.41	.26
25. Modern life is too much concentrated in cities; the government should take steps to encourage a "return to the country."	-.29	.17
26. Crimes of violence should be punished by flogging.	-.49	.17
27. The nationalization of the great industries is likely to lead to inefficiency, bureaucracy, and stagnation.	-.64	-.04
28. It is right and proper that religious education in schools should be compulsory.	-.36	.21
29. Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage (e.g., by companionate marriage).	.33	-.42
30. The principle "Spare the rod and spoil the child" has much truth in it, and should govern our methods of bringing up children.	-.54	-.19
31. Women are not the equals of men in intelligence, organizing ability, etc.	-.50	-.20
32. Experiments on living animals should be forbidden.	.20	.31
33. The Jews have too much power and influence in this country.	-.70	-.22
34. Differences in pay between men and women doing the same work should be abolished.	.44	-.12
35. Birth control, except when medically indicated, should be made illegal.	-.33	.34
36. The death penalty is barbaric, and should be abolished.	.70	.16
37. There will be another war in 25 years.	-.51	-.39
38. Scientists should take no part in politics.	-.19	.51
39. The Japanese are by nature a cruel people.	-.24	.20
40. Only people with a definite minimum of intelligence and education should be allowed to vote.	-.45	-.02

rather more satisfactory, being .95. The correlation between R and T is .103; for the English sample it was $-.12$. The difference is slight but statistically significant. R and E correlate to the extent of .200; T and E correlate .032. Sex fails to correlate significantly with either R, T, or E. Age shows a significantly negative correlation with E ($-.159$), and a significantly positive one with T (.166). Educational status correlates negatively with R ($-.169$).

unearthed with respect to dissimilarities as well as to similarities.

The validity of our conclusion must, of course, be judged in terms of the technical competence shown in sampling, analysis, and general methodology. Of these considerations, the question of sampling requires some discussion. It will have been noticed that our selection of subjects has not been such as to justify claims to have achieved the aims of representative sampling; our samples are cer-

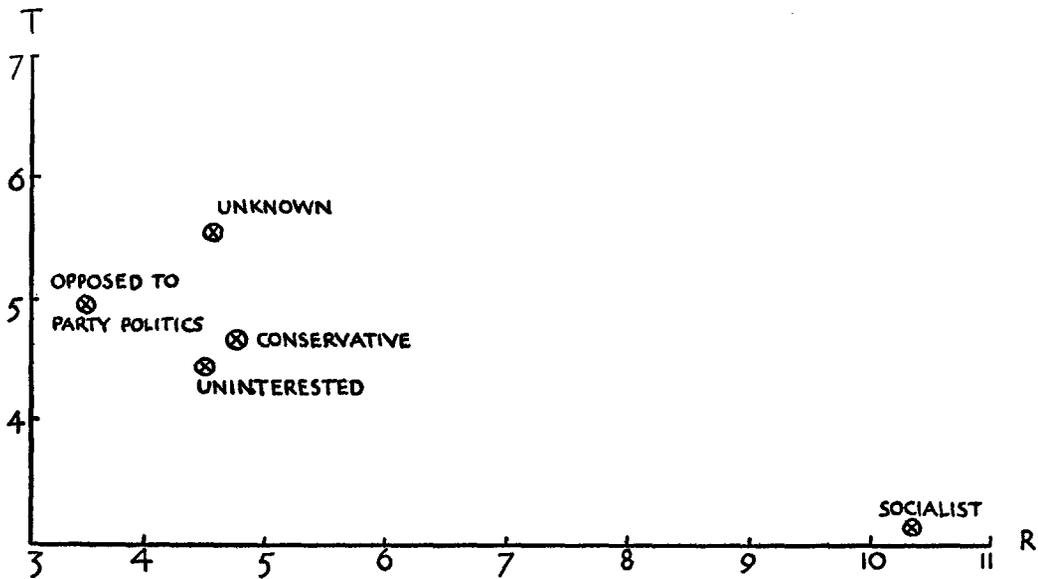


FIG. 2. POSITION OF FIVE POLITICAL GROUPS (SOCIALIST, CONSERVATIVE, UNINTERESTED, OPPOSED TO PARTY POLITICS, AND UNKNOWN) IN RELATION TO FACTORS "RADICALISM-CONSERVATISM" (R) AND "TOUGH-MINDEDNESS-TENDER-MINDEDNESS" (T)

DISCUSSION

The demonstration in this paper that remarkably similar attitude patterns can be observed in England, the United States, Sweden, and postwar Germany is of interest in view of the very limited knowledge we have of international comparisons; it lends some degree of confidence to the generalization of research findings beyond the immediate culture pattern actually investigated. Before such generalizations can be accepted as scientifically valid, of course, comparative studies similar to the present one will have to be conducted in many different areas, and it may be prophesied with considerable confidence that much interesting material will be

tainly *not* representative of the British or German population. Does this invalidate the conclusions reached? It is our contention that it does not. Nonrepresentative sampling completely invalidates claims to treat the results as reasonable estimates of population parameters; however, no such estimates are made of means, sigmas, or higher moments. We are concerned instead with patterns of intercorrelations, and it has been shown by the writer in an unpublished study that even intentional bias in sampling well beyond what would ever be found in actual practice (such as choosing only conservatives as members of the sample) has no appreciable influence on the resulting pattern of inter-

correlations, or on the factors extracted from the matrix. Even if such influence could be demonstrated, it would presumably act in the direction of greater entropy, i.e., it would diminish the similarities between the different national patterns; it could hardly be credited with creating them.

This point is an important one in our view, as the "representative sample" has become a shibboleth in social psychology, so that many studies aim to make their samples "representative" although the experimental design does not require this complication, and although much valuable information may be lost by thus relying on "representative" instead of "analytic" sampling (4).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A 40-item social attitude inventory was administered under conditions of anonymity to 263 Germans, and the intercorrelations between the items factor analyzed. The two resulting factors were shown to be very similar to factors obtained from English, Swedish, and American populations. It is concluded that the structure of attitudes in these four countries is very similar, if not identical.

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