

Social Attitudes and Social Class

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In the course of an extensive survey, made by the Audience Research Department of the B.B.C., some 2000 male and female subjects, the members of the B.B.C. Viewing Panel, were administered an attitude questionnaire containing 28 questions. Subjects were divided into three social-class groups (middle class, skilled working class, unskilled working class), three age-groups and two sex-groups; answers to the questionnaire items were correlated and factor-analysed for the resulting 18 groups separately. Sex and age did not seem to have any great effect on the patterns of intercorrelations emerging, and consequently three samples were constructed of subjects in the three social-class groups in such a way that proportions of men and women, and of the three age-groups, were equal. These three groups were then submitted to a factorial analysis, and factor similarity indices were calculated between the two higher-order factors which emerged for each group to indicate to what extent attitude structure might differ from class to class; no systematic differences were observed, other than a tendency for attitudes to be more strongly structured in the higher social-class groups. In view of the great similarities between the three solutions for the class groups separately, they were combined into one group, and a factor analysis carried out on the resulting correlations. The structure observed was found to be very similar to that reported earlier in *The Psychology of Politics*, although an alternative descriptive system to the R and T factor system is also discussed. Age was found to correlate with conservatism, male sex with toughmindedness. The results are interpreted as suggesting that there have been no systematic changes in the structure of social attitudes in this country in the 20 years that have elapsed since the research published in *The Psychology of Politics* was carried out.

The present study is an extension of work reported in *The Psychology of Politics* (Eysenck, 1954) on the organization of social attitudes; particular attention is paid to the problems raised in this connexion by social class differences (Eysenck, 1951). Essentially what the writer discovered in these studies was (a) that when relations between large samples of questions concerning social issues are studied and factor-analysed, two main factors emerge which are orthogonal to each other; these have been denoted R (radicalism-conservatism) and T (toughmindedness-tendermindedness). In addition it was found (b) that when equated for political voting pattern, working-class subjects were more conservative and more toughminded than middle-class subjects; this was equally true of conservative, liberal, labour and communist voters. These studies left several questions unanswered, and it is the purpose of this paper to raise some of these and attempt to answer them by reference to an empirical investigation.

The first question to arise refers to the relation between the two-factor pattern and the social class of respondents. Factor analyses have hitherto been carried out largely on student groups or on mixed social groups; it does not follow that identical structures of attitudes will be found in middle-class groups, skilled working-class groups, and unskilled working-class groups. It is possible that the structures found in the past are typical of middle-class samples, or are an artifact of throwing together

subjects from different social classes each having a different attitude structure; there is no empirical evidence to throw any light on this question, and it seemed worth while to carry out an experiment to test the hypothesis that social classes do not differ in respect of attitude organization. Even if the general structure of attitudes were found to be the same, it might still be possible that this organization was tighter among middle-class subjects than among working-class subjects; that this might be so is suggested by the well-known fact that working-class subjects tend to give more 'don't know' answers in opinion surveys.

The second question to arise relates to a widespread belief that working-class subjects are more 'left-wing' than middle-class subjects, and consequently more 'progressive'; the evidence certainly suggests that they vote Labour in greater proportion than do middle-class subjects, and the Labour Party, almost by definition, is less conservative than the Conservative Party (Eysenck, 1947). Yet public opinion poll results often show working-class subjects to be more ethnocentric and less 'advanced' in respect of such issues as the death penalty, the treatment of conscientious objectors, or sexual morals than middle-class subjects (Eysenck, 1970); the fact that the writer found them to be more conservative in all matters other than economic ones has already been mentioned. It seemed worth while to investigate this problem in some more detail, using random samples of working-class and middle-class subjects. This seemed all the more necessary as some 20 years had elapsed since the writer's last investigation, and many changes could have taken place since then; it cannot be assumed that findings in social psychology remain unaffected and unaltered by events taking place in time.

METHOD

A set of 28 questions taken from or adapted from the questionnaire used in *The Psychology of Politics* was used for this investigation; the questions used are given in full in Table 1.

Table 1

1. People should realize that their greatest obligation is to their family.
2. Production and trade should be free from government interference.
3. An occupation by a foreign power is better than war.
4. Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage (e.g. by trial marriage).
5. Nowadays, more and more people are prying into matters which do not concern them.
6. Jews are as valuable citizens as any other group.
7. The death penalty is barbaric, and it was right to abolish it.
8. Most religious people are hypocrites.
9. Our treatment of criminals is too harsh, we should try to cure them, not punish them.
10. Sex relations except in marriage are always wrong.
11. It would be best to keep coloured people in their own districts and schools, in order to prevent too much contact with whites.
12. Compulsory military training in peace-time is essential for the survival of this country.
13. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment, such criminals ought to be flogged, or worse.
14. Persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilized.
15. It would be a mistake to have coloured people as foremen over whites.
16. 'My country, right or wrong' is a saying which expresses a fundamentally desirable attitude.

Table 1—*continued*

17. The idea of God is an invention of the human mind.
18. A person should be free to take his own life, if he wishes to do so, without any interference from society.
19. Free love between men and women should be encouraged as a means towards mental and physical health.
20. A white lie is often a good thing.
21. The so-called underdog deserves little sympathy or help from successful people.
22. The Church should attempt to increase its influence on the life of the nation.
23. Coloured people are innately inferior to white people.
24. The dropping of the first atom bomb on a Japanese city, killing thousands of innocent women and children, was morally wrong and incompatible with our kind of civilization.
25. All forms of discrimination against the coloured races, the Jews, etc., should be made illegal, and subject to heavy penalties.
26. Capitalism is immoral because it exploits the worker by failing to give him full value for his productive labour.
27. Christ was divine, wholly or partly in a sense different from other men.
28. The maintenance of internal order within the nation is more important than ensuring that there is complete freedom for all.

This inventory, together with certain other questions, was administered to a random sample of the adult population; also ascertained were their age, sex and social class. Age-groups were subdivided for the purpose of this study into young (21-25), middle-aged (26-45) and old (46-65); the terms and divisions are of course arbitrary. Social classes were also divided into three: middle class, including higher professional and administrative workers, lower professional, technical and executive workers; skilled workers, including workers from highly skilled to moderately skilled; and unskilled workers, including semi-skilled workers. These 2 × 3 × 3 groups contained unequal numbers of subjects; the actual numbers are given in Table 2.

Table 2. *Male and female groups, numbered from 1 to 9, showing numbers of subjects in each group*

	Male			Female		
	Young	Middle-aged	Old	Young	Middle-aged	Old
Middle class	37 (1)	148 (2)	106 (3)	13 (1)	93 (2)	41 (3)
Skilled	116 (4)	336 (5)	308 (6)	158 (4)	391 (5)	240 (6)
Unskilled	108 (7)	127 (8)	106 (9)	128 (7)	240 (8)	206 (9)

RESULTS

Replies were coded from 1, indicating strong agreement, through 2, signifying agreement, 3, signifying neither agreement nor dissent, and 4, signifying disagreement, to 5, signifying strong disagreement. Means for the nine male groups are given in Table 3, and for the nine female groups in Table 4. The results show clearly that classes differ from each other, that age-groups differ, and also that men and women differ in their endorsements. The tables speak for themselves, but a brief discussion may be helpful; in drawing attention to the most marked differences we have in each case tried to make comparisons which would be valid with the other variables held constant. In other words, differences between men and women are commented upon when they are found across class and age-groups, and so on for the other differences in question.

Table 3. *Mean scores on 28 items of nine male groups*

Item	Group								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	2.24	1.89	1.88	1.80	1.64	1.54	1.83	1.49	1.52
2	3.02	2.77	2.54	2.42	2.48	2.32	2.63	2.38	2.54
3	3.76	3.94	3.89	3.94	4.07	4.04	3.81	4.06	3.96
4	2.54	3.01	3.35	2.70	3.18	3.76	2.72	3.28	3.52
5	2.54	2.49	2.47	2.37	2.23	2.21	2.08	1.99	2.15
6	1.65	1.69	1.87	1.94	1.82	1.79	1.95	1.84	1.80
7	2.81	3.34	3.42	3.55	3.73	3.70	3.76	3.84	3.87
8	3.14	3.53	3.65	3.13	3.25	3.33	3.05	2.95	3.18
9	3.11	3.64	3.68	3.73	3.97	3.90	3.73	3.87	3.96
10	4.14	3.36	3.22	3.74	3.47	2.81	3.69	3.35	3.05
11	4.38	4.01	3.67	3.79	3.63	3.50	3.58	3.60	3.40
12	3.76	3.41	3.05	3.60	2.78	2.59	2.96	2.57	2.25
13	3.41	2.73	2.75	2.72	2.07	1.98	2.08	1.78	1.76
14	3.30	3.11	2.79	3.41	2.82	2.50	2.94	2.85	2.42
15	3.59	3.77	3.42	3.37	3.32	2.95	3.06	3.08	2.87
16	3.54	3.51	3.43	3.34	3.24	3.18	2.81	3.06	3.00
17	2.59	3.20	3.28	3.14	3.20	3.48	3.27	3.15	3.38
18	2.78	3.05	3.12	2.96	3.17	3.24	3.06	3.09	3.19
19	3.73	3.91	3.96	3.41	3.77	4.06	3.31	3.58	3.63
20	2.11	2.24	2.21	2.15	2.19	2.26	2.35	2.14	2.05
21	3.86	3.90	3.80	3.67	3.70	3.84	3.66	3.57	3.43
22	3.30	2.78	2.37	3.44	3.09	2.58	3.22	3.08	2.81
23	4.51	4.15	3.92	3.91	3.87	3.61	3.75	3.87	3.79
24	2.81	3.19	2.88	2.98	3.19	2.90	2.84	2.88	2.56
25	2.70	2.86	2.85	2.83	2.86	2.70	2.79	2.66	2.53
26	3.62	3.90	3.84	3.18	3.53	3.56	2.59	3.00	2.90
27	2.89	2.64	2.57	2.92	2.76	2.44	2.74	2.76	2.53
28	2.89	2.41	2.25	2.91	2.69	2.28	2.94	2.79	2.23

Table 4. *Mean scores on 28 items of nine female groups*

Item	Group								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	2.15	1.90	1.78	1.87	1.72	1.79	1.77	1.53	1.62
2	3.00	2.70	2.29	2.53	2.40	2.18	2.59	2.41	2.27
3	3.92	3.69	3.51	3.78	3.75	3.76	3.41	3.77	3.87
4	2.46	3.54	3.63	3.06	3.57	3.90	3.17	3.60	4.02
5	3.08	2.66	2.15	2.18	2.43	2.38	2.16	2.19	2.17
6	1.69	1.55	1.73	1.80	1.75	1.79	2.01	1.90	1.93
7	2.62	2.76	3.15	3.82	3.49	3.52	3.87	3.74	3.79
8	3.85	3.84	4.00	3.27	3.51	3.72	3.08	3.18	3.52
9	2.92	3.22	3.51	3.92	3.83	3.82	3.92	3.92	3.84
10	3.77	3.20	3.10	3.59	3.03	2.64	3.40	2.89	2.89
11	4.62	4.16	4.02	3.89	3.71	3.45	3.67	3.50	3.31
12	3.08	3.19	3.17	2.64	2.74	2.70	2.56	2.51	2.54
13	3.46	2.98	2.88	2.13	2.17	2.05	1.84	1.72	1.76
14	3.62	3.09	2.71	3.00	2.83	2.43	2.89	2.59	2.45
15	4.15	3.80	3.37	3.37	3.42	3.00	3.27	3.09	2.78
16	4.00	3.46	3.59	3.06	3.21	3.09	3.04	2.94	2.94
17	3.77	3.51	3.73	3.53	3.71	3.80	3.85	3.58	3.73
18	3.15	3.19	2.93	3.01	3.10	3.10	3.01	3.10	3.22
19	3.77	4.20	4.34	3.93	4.10	4.17	3.73	4.02	4.11

Table 4—continued

Item	Group								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20	2.08	2.16	2.10	2.15	2.12	2.17	2.24	2.17	2.17
21	4.23	3.77	4.00	3.57	3.60	3.72	3.24	3.46	3.56
22	2.77	2.59	2.12	3.22	2.87	2.46	2.96	3.05	2.62
23	4.62	4.46	4.17	4.16	4.06	3.94	3.79	3.80	3.86
24	1.92	2.42	2.51	2.31	2.56	2.51	2.34	2.38	2.35
25	2.31	2.60	2.54	2.69	2.73	2.51	2.77	2.76	2.61
26	3.69	3.70	3.68	3.04	3.48	3.46	2.82	3.13	3.14
27	2.23	2.31	2.37	2.51	2.40	2.10	2.51	2.48	2.25
28	2.69	2.71	2.32	2.98	2.87	2.51	3.12	2.87	2.57

DISCUSSION

Comparatively speaking then, middle-class people favour trial marriages, do not think that people are prying into their affairs, believe that Jews are valuable citizens, that the death penalty is barbaric, and that our treatment of criminals is too harsh. They do not think that religious people are hypocrites, or that extra-marital sex is wrong; they do not want to keep coloured people separate, do not favour compulsory military training, flogging or compulsory sterilization. They are not opposed to coloured foremen, and do not believe in the saying 'My country, right or wrong'. They believe that underdogs deserve sympathy, that the Church should increase its influence, but not that coloured people are inferior, or that capitalism is immoral; they do consider that order is more important than complete freedom. Working-class people hold the opposite views on these matters; in other words, they emerge on most issues as conservative and toughminded, very much as in the writer's original studies. Thus working-class people, in summary, are nationalistic, even jingoistic, xenophobic, antisemitic, racist, inhumane, narrowly moralistic in sexual matters, and unconcerned with ethical or religious issues.

Sex differences are rather as one might have expected, with women emerging as tenderminded conservatives. Women think that occupation is better than war, that the death penalty is barbaric, but not that religious people are hypocrites. They consider extra-marital sex wrong, do not agree that God is an invention of the human mind, or that free love is a good thing. They would like to see the Church increase its influence, and consider the dropping of the atom bomb immoral; they are against racial discrimination, and do not consider coloured people inferior; they also consider Christ divine. Age, on the other hand, seems to make people both more conservative and more toughminded. Older respondents believe in one's obligations to the family, resent government interference, do not believe in trial marriages, do not consider religious people hypocrites, think that extra-marital sex is wrong, want to keep coloured people separate, believe in compulsory sterilization, flogging, and the inferiority of coloured people; they also do not approve of coloured foremen. They do not hold with free love, want the Church to increase its influence, consider order more important than freedom, and do not feel that capitalism is immoral. This study is of course not a longitudinal one; we cannot say whether age *per se* produces

such changes in attitudes, or whether the older people grew up in a different climate of opinion and simply maintained these attitudes over the years. Perhaps both influences were at work in producing the observed effect.*

We must now turn to a consideration of the intercorrelations between items, and the factor analysis of the resulting matrices of correlations. In the first place, such analyses, using principal components methods of extraction and rotation by Promax, were performed on all 18 groups independently; some of these are of course too small to make it possible to take the results very seriously, but for most groups numbers are sufficient for interpretation. It would be quite impossible to print all the results of these analyses, or even to discuss them in detail; suffice it to say that in all groups two latent roots stood out beyond all the rest as being consistently much larger, and that for all groups there was considerable similarity in factor composition for the two factors corresponding to these two roots, when rotated by Promax. This suggests that similar principles of organization hold across sex, age and class groupings. A more detailed presentation of results affecting class will be given presently.

In order to reduce the vast amount of data, it was decided to carry out a new set of factor analyses on the three social-class groups, collapsed over sex and age groupings. Proportional samples were taken on a random basis from the three class groups, resulting in 382 middle-class subjects, 1235 skilled subjects, and 553 unskilled subjects. (Proportional samples had to be taken for each group in order to have the same proportions of men and women, old and young, in each of the samples, as otherwise differences between class groups might have been caused by their differential make-up along the sex or age dimension.) Including age and sex in the analysis, there were 30 variables, and consequently 30 factors were extracted from each matrix of intercorrelations by principal components analysis. Nine or ten of these factors, having latent roots exceeding unity, were then rotated by Promax, and higher-order factors extracted. The same process was followed with a combined set of middle-class, skilled and unskilled working-class group, made up of the three separate groups; this will be referred to as the combined group. In view of the similarity of the primary factors extracted from the different groups, we will only discuss those extracted from the combined group; higher-order factors will be given for all groups.

Table 5 gives the latent roots for the first 10 factors extracted in order, for the combined group and also for the three social-class groups. Two facts stand out from this table; there are nine or 10 factors in each sample which have latent roots exceeding unity, so that something like eight factors might be regarded as significant, and the two first latent roots are far and away the biggest. It is of course a necessary feature of the method of extraction that the first two latent roots should be the biggest, but attention is here called to the difference in size between them and the subsequent ones; there is an unusually precipitate drop from root 2 to root 3, suggesting that two roots mediate the main content of this particular universe. In line with this

* Attitudes characteristic of the working class, the old and male respondents can be seen to favour authoritarian views; together they provide a picture of the old, male working-class person which resembles Alf Garnett too closely for comfort.

fact is the discovery that the higher-order analysis also leads to two factors for the three separate class groups, and for the combined groups.

What are these eight primary factors? Factor I resembles the well-known F or authoritarian factor; items having loadings on this are: People should realize that their greatest obligation is to their family (0.56), production and trade should be free from government interference (0.69), more and more people are prying into matters which do not concern them (0.56), compulsory military training is necessary (0.50), sex criminals should be flogged (0.52), and 'my country, right or wrong' (0.49). Factor II is a religious one, loading on the following: Religious people are not hypocrites (0.64), the idea of God is not an invention of the human mind (0.81), the Church should increase its influence (0.70), and Christ was divine (0.83). Factor III is one of ethnocentrism: Jews are not valuable citizens (0.65), coloured people should be kept in their own districts (0.70), coloureds should not be foremen

Table 5. *Latent roots of first 10 factors extracted for middle-class, skilled and unskilled groups, as well as for the combined group*

	Latent roots			
	Total group	Middle class	Skilled	Unskilled
1	4.2	4.9	4.1	3.4
2	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.1
3	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.9
4	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6
5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
6	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
7	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.2
8	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2
10	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0

over whites (0.64), coloureds are innately inferior (0.68), and discrimination should not be penalized (0.63). Factor IV is one of humanitarianism: Capitalism is immoral (0.80), dropping the atom bomb was morally wrong (0.37), occupation by a foreign power is better than war (0.43), and production and trade should not be free from government interference (0.46). This factor is only named with diffidence, as only one loading is at all large. Factor V is one of sexual morals: Trial marriage (0.81), sex relations outside marriage not wrong (0.76), and free love should be encouraged (0.78). Factor VI is one of toughmindedness: Death penalty is not barbaric (0.70), treatment of criminals is not too harsh (0.77), sex criminals should be flogged (0.49), and atom bomb dropping was not immoral (0.40). Factors VII and VIII have their main loadings on age and sex, respectively, and are therefore of comparatively little interest; sex and age differences have already been discussed.

These factors are of course not orthogonal; Promax rotates factors into optimum simple structure regardless of orthogonality. The correlations observed would seem to make good sense. Authoritarianism (F) correlates 0.32 with ethnocentrism; religious attitudes correlate -0.43 with sexually permissive ones. Most of the other

Table 6. Factor loadings in Factors I and II of combined groups (1 and 5) and of middle-class (2 and 6), skilled working-class (3 and 7) and unskilled working-class (4 and 8) subjects

	Factor I								Factor II							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	6	7	8		
Age	-0.22	-0.22	-0.27	-0.02	0.41	0.24	0.44	0.50	0.41	0.24	0.44	0.24	0.44	0.50		
Sex	0.38	0.28	0.32	0.01	0.36	0.40	0.26	-0.02	0.36	0.40	0.26	0.40	0.26	-0.02		
1	0.33	0.27	0.29	0.21	-0.18	-0.16	-0.17	-0.31	-0.18	-0.16	-0.17	-0.16	-0.17	-0.31		
2	0.34	0.39	0.44	0.42	-0.20	-0.24	-0.15	-0.24	-0.20	-0.24	-0.15	-0.24	-0.15	-0.24		
3	-0.42	-0.26	-0.38	0.19	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.15	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.15		
4	-0.12	-0.18	-0.08	-0.02	0.69	0.64	0.73	0.50	0.69	0.64	0.73	0.64	0.73	0.50		
5	0.29	0.31	0.30	0.23	-0.02	-0.11	0.05	0.07	-0.02	-0.11	0.05	-0.11	0.05	0.07		
6	-0.23	-0.38	0.17	-0.48	0.13	0.09	0.10	-0.22	0.13	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.10	-0.22		
7	-0.65	-0.62	-0.59	-0.33	-0.04	-0.09	-0.05	-0.08	-0.04	-0.09	-0.05	-0.09	-0.05	-0.08		
8	0.19	0.13	0.17	0.10	0.48	0.53	0.49	0.40	0.48	0.53	0.49	0.53	0.49	0.40		
9	-0.58	-0.64	-0.50	-0.22	0.00	0.06	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.06	0.00	-0.02		
10	0.09	0.14	0.04	0.13	-0.68	-0.62	-0.70	-0.59	-0.68	-0.62	-0.70	-0.62	-0.70	-0.59		
11	0.79	0.58	0.53	0.71	0.06	0.03	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.10		
12	0.38	0.20	0.38	0.13	0.18	0.35	0.13	0.22	0.18	0.35	0.13	0.35	0.13	0.22		
13	0.57	0.49	0.53	0.41	0.09	0.18	0.08	0.13	0.09	0.18	0.08	0.18	0.08	0.13		
14	0.29	0.31	0.35	0.32	-0.02	0.10	0.03	-0.30	-0.02	0.10	0.03	0.10	0.03	-0.30		
15	0.49	0.54	0.49	0.67	0.09	0.01	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.11	0.09		
16	0.35	0.42	0.31	0.21	-0.08	-0.09	-0.07	-0.04	-0.08	-0.09	-0.07	-0.09	-0.07	-0.04		
17	-0.01	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.66	0.73	0.65	0.40	0.66	0.73	0.65	0.73	0.65	0.40		
18	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.24	0.35	0.50	0.45	0.06	0.35	0.50	0.45	0.50	0.45	0.06		
19	-0.01	-0.09	-0.04	0.20	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.26	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.48	0.49	0.26		
20	0.03	0.21	0.03	-0.12	0.12	0.20	0.24	0.18	0.12	0.20	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.18		
21	0.14	0.42	0.17	0.31	0.06	0.08	0.09	0.17	0.06	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.17		
22	-0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.09	-0.60	-0.58	-0.61	-0.61	-0.60	-0.58	-0.61	-0.58	-0.61	-0.61		
23	0.50	0.56	0.52	0.55	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.08		
24	-0.54	-0.54	-0.54	-0.13	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.30	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.30		
25	-0.40	-0.47	-0.48	-0.36	-0.23	-0.33	-0.23	-0.35	-0.23	-0.33	-0.23	-0.33	-0.23	-0.35		
26	-0.18	-0.26	-0.39	-0.13	0.12	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.12	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.09	0.02		
27	-0.00	-0.05	0.00	-0.13	-0.65	-0.69	-0.66	-0.33	-0.65	-0.69	-0.66	-0.69	-0.66	-0.33		
28	0.33	0.35	0.34	-0.04	-0.08	-0.03	-0.10	-0.25	-0.08	-0.03	-0.10	-0.03	-0.10	-0.25		

correlations are rather small, but the matrices of intercorrelations can be factor-analysed to reveal higher-order factors. Table 6 gives loadings on the two higher-order factors which emerge from such an analysis; first- and second-factor loadings are given for the combined groups, and also for the three separate social-class groups. These two factors are almost entirely orthogonal in each case; correlations between them are -0.07 for the combined groups, and -0.18 , 0.05 and 0.02 for the three social-class groups. Are the factors extracted from the different classes identical? Indices of factor comparison (Kaiser *et al.*, 1969) were calculated; they amounted

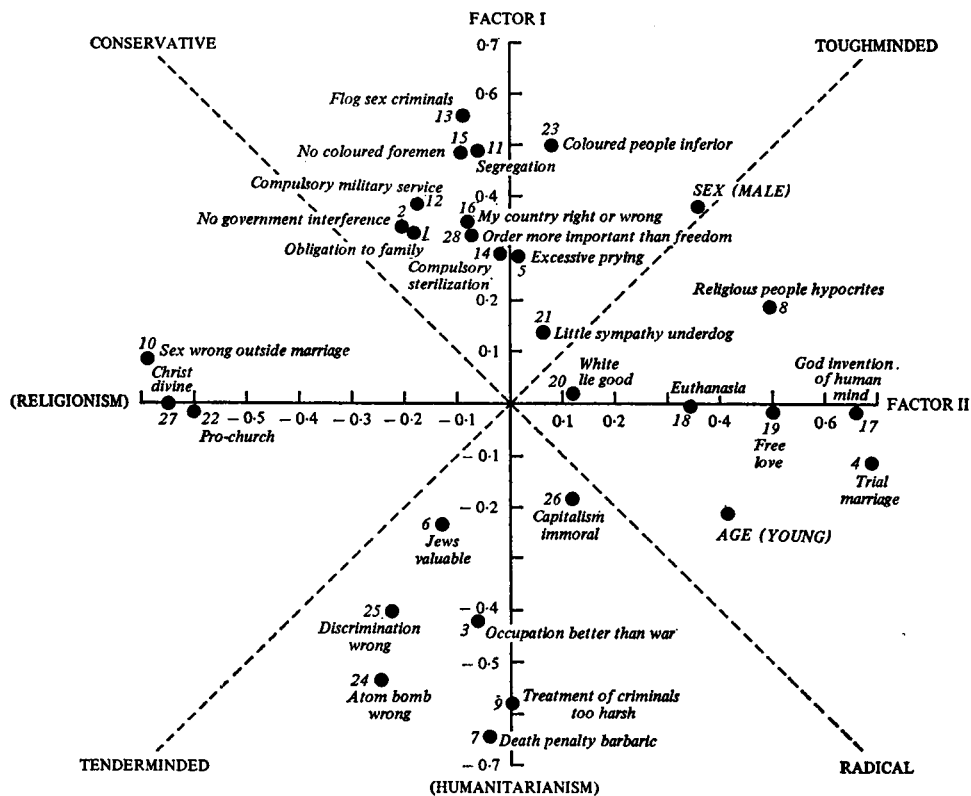


Fig. 1. Diagram representing two main factors underlying the organization of social attitudes.

to 0.99 or better in each case, demonstrating that different social classes share identical attitude structure, at least as far as the attitudes sampled here are concerned. This answers our main question; analysis of social attitude structure reveals two main, independent factors in each case, and these factors are not artifacts produced by the throwing together of heterogeneous social groups. We must now turn to the nature of these two factors. In view of the great similarities between the different analyses, only the results for the combined group have been plotted (Fig. 1).

When the configuration of items in Fig. 1 is compared with that shown on page 130 of *The Psychology of Politics*, it will be seen that the two are essentially identical; changes occurring in political and social attitudes during the past 20 years, and

differences in the composition of the samples, have not affected the fundamental two-factor structure of this particular universe of questions. There is, however, an interesting shift in the position of the two factor axes; it appears that these have rotated through an angle of approximately 45° , from the position indicated by the broken lines to that occupied by the solid lines. Reasons for this shift will be discussed presently; first let us consider the nature of the factors as they now appear. Factor I opposes authoritarianism and humanitarianism. The authoritarian wants to flog sex criminals, believes coloured people to be innately inferior, favours compulsory military service, dislikes government interference, values order more than freedom, favours segregation of coloureds, and stresses one's obligation to one's family; all this agrees well with the classical 'authoritarianism' picture. The humanitarian believes discrimination on the grounds of colour to be wrong, considers occupation better than war, favours more lenient treatment of criminals, believes the death penalty to be barbaric, and thinks that it was morally wrong to drop the atom bomb. This factor resembles Ferguson's (1939) original suggestion of a 'humanitarian' factor, a discovery which preceded the work on the authoritarian personality but never received the recognition which it deserved.

The second factor resembles Ferguson's other suggestion, namely that of a factor of 'religionism'; this is opposed to attitudes favouring sexual permissiveness. Agreement with items suggesting that Christ was divine, and that the Church should increase its influence, go with belief that extra-marital sex is wrong; agreement with items suggesting that God is an invention of the human mind, and that religious people are hypocrites, goes with belief in trial marriage, free love, and euthanasia. These two factors emerged in Eysenck's original work as the four quadrants of the radicalism-conservatism and toughminded-tenderminded framework; religious beliefs appeared in the tenderminded conservative quadrant, authoritarian beliefs in the toughminded conservative quadrant, humanitarian beliefs in the tenderminded radical quadrant, and permissive beliefs in the toughminded radical quadrant.

Why has there been such a rotation of axes, and which position is right? It is easier to answer the former question than the latter. Simple structure seeks out clusters of items; in the original analysis the conservative-radical factor was centred on questions relating to economic radicalism and conservatism, e.g. 'abolish private property' and 'nationalization is inefficient'. Such questions were omitted in the B.B.C. study, and as a consequence the centre of the R factor cluster is missing; as simple structure seeks out what now appear the main clusters, i.e. the religious *v.* permissive and the humanitarian *v.* authoritarian, such an omission must inevitably lead to a breaking up of the single R factor into two; as shown in *The Psychology of Politics*, the T factor, for reasons discussed there, has no such centre in any case.

Which solution is the better? Statistically there is no meaningful answer to this question: statistics ends with the delineation of the two-dimensional pattern of item locations graphed in Fig. 1, where the scalar products for each pair of items approximate closely to the observed intercorrelations. A choice has to be made on psychological grounds; this point has been argued already in *The Psychology of Politics*. Thurstone would dispute this suggestion; he believes that the main advantage of

simple structure over other methods of rotation lies in the introduction of a statistical principle which eschews subjectivity and is relatively independent of the precise choice of items (or tests) correlated. Unfortunately this is not necessarily so, as the present data show only too clearly; the omission of just a few items may change the simple structure solution in a very clear-cut and predictable manner. Given that psychological considerations are relevant and important, what are the arguments on the two sides? The Ferguson solution has the advantage that the two factors which emerge are clear-cut, orthogonal and easy to understand; they agree with common sense in the way in which they structure the universe of attitudes. In addition they agree with the large body of work which has been done on the authoritarian dimension, thus bringing this into line with factorial attitude research. These are very real advantages, but in the writer's view they are not sufficient to overcome the advantages which accrue to the alternative solution in terms of the R and T factors.

Radicalism and conservatism are concepts which have been used for centuries to organize and conceptualize groups of attitudes; it seems unlikely that political parties would have grown up around concepts which were just combinations of authoritarian religionism (conservatism) or permissive humanitarianism (radicalism). On a Marxist view, and equally on a capitalist view, the concepts of economic radicalism and economic conservatism, associated as they are with socialism and capitalism, are quite central in this field, and a factorial solution arrived at by leaving them out completely from the universe of attitudes sampled is clearly unsatisfactory. The relationship of the R factor to voting patterns has been demonstrated in *The Psychology of Politics*; it would seem unreasonable to give up the advantages which this close and clear-cut relation bestows upon our solution. The same may be said of the factors of age and sex; it seems reasonable to find that men are toughminded, and that the young are radical. Reinterpret these findings in terms of religionism and authoritarianism, and the relationships become much more complex. To the writer, these relations between factors outside influence have always been an important part of the interpretation of factors, and it would appear that only in this way can we escape from the circular argument which factorial analysis constitutes when presented in isolation. This argument may also be extended to personality; it was argued in *The Psychology of Politics* that while the R factor was a genuine social attitude factor, T was the projection on to this field of extraverted and introverted personality patterns—extraverts tending towards tough, introverts towards tender expressions of radical or conservative attitudes. There is some evidence in favour of this view (Eysenck, 1961; see also Siegman, 1963; Mehryar, 1970), and the recent work done by the writer on sexual attitudes has shown that there are quite high correlations between permissive attitudes and sex practices, on the one hand, and extraverted personality features, on the other (Eysenck, 1970). Much more work needs to be done in relation to this hypothesis, of course, but if results should be confirmatory then we would seem here to have another reason for preferring the R and T solution to the Ferguson one.

On this view the 'authoritarian personality' would then simply correspond to a toughminded conservative, as suggested already in *The Psychology of Politics*; the

'humanitarian' would be the tenderminded radical. (The concept of the authoritarian personality has in recent years been criticized because of the alleged response set induced in respondents due to the uniformly positive way of phrasing the questions. Our factor I contains items phrased both positively and negatively, yet the factor emerges very much as it has done in earlier studies with the F scale; this suggests that the objections made on this account do not have much force.) These suggestions are made in full realization that preference for one solution or the other is based entirely on heuristic grounds; descriptively both solutions are essentially equal in value, and the alleged superiority of the one or the other must rest on the degree to which it suggests further research, and is supported by such research. It is clearly not possible at this writing to come to any definite conclusions on this point; only further research specially geared to testing the hypothesis proposed here (such as the personality-attitude correlation between T and E) can suggest an answer.

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