

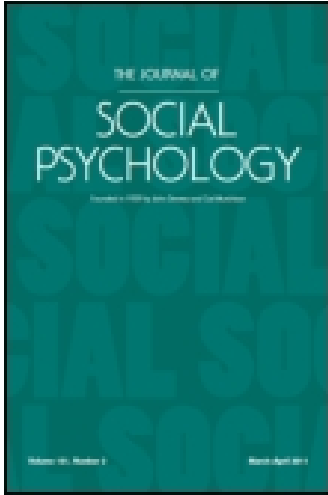
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H. J. Eysenck^a & Thelma T. Coulter^a

^a Department of Psychology, Institute of Psychiatry, University of London

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THE PERSONALITY AND ATTITUDES OF WORKING-CLASS BRITISH COMMUNISTS AND FASCISTS*

Department of Psychology, Institute of Psychiatry, University of London

H. J. EYSENCK AND THELMA T. COULTER¹

A. INTRODUCTION

This study was designed to evaluate certain hypotheses put forward by Eysenck (4, 5, 6, 7) in respect to the structure of attitudes, and the relation of the dimensions posited to the political beliefs and voting patterns of the major (and minor) parties on the British scene. Eysenck suggested that there are two main dimensions around which attitudes are structured; these two orthogonal dimensions he called radical-conservative and tough-minded *vs.* tender-minded, respectively. The letters R and T are sometimes used for convenience to designate these two dimensions. According to the theory, Fascists are tough-minded and conservative, Communists tough-minded and radical; Liberals are tender-minded and neither radical nor conservative. Conservative and Labor supporters are conservative and radical respectively, and intermediate with respect to T. Questionnaires were constructed to measure R and T, and the truth of these propositions as far as the major parties were concerned was supported (7). In addition, class differences were posited and found; working-class people are more tough-minded than middle-class people of the same political persuasion (6). In the present, male working-class members of the Communist and Fascist parties are compared with a sample of working-class males of similar age and social background who are not members of these

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¹ The subject of this study was suggested to Dr. Coulter by the senior author in 1951, and the results furnished the main portion of her Ph.D. thesis in 1953. Joint publication had been planned, but Dr. Coulter's tragic death in an automobile accident made this impossible at the time, and the senior author's growing interest in other matters did not leave him time to write up the research for publication on his own. Short mention was made of the main findings in *The Psychology of Politics*, but with too few details to allow proper appraisal of what is perhaps a unique piece of research. In view of its historical importance, and with the senior author's returning interest in the study of attitudes, it was decided that Journal publication, though long delayed, would still be useful. Only a replication of the research could, of course, decide whether what was true at the end of the war would still be true in 1972, or whether personality patterns of Communists and Fascists had changed in any important respects.

two parties, but whose voting pattern is similar to that of the working class as a whole.

In addition to being interested in the attitudes of members of the two minority parties, we were also concerned with their personality structure. The publication of "The Authoritarian Personality" had aroused interest in this topic, and the theories advanced in this important book, which follow in many details Jaensch's well-known *Der Gegentypus* (11), had produced a crop of studies, none of which, however, had used what one might consider prototypes of authoritarian attitudes: i.e., Communist and Fascist party members. It was hypothesized that such members might in important ways resemble authoritarian personality as depicted by Jaensch and his American followers. To test this hypothesis, a number of tests currently used to measure rigidity and various other personality variables thought relevant were administered to our groups. We also added the T.A.T., in the hope of being able to throw some light on the overt and covert dominance and hostility traits which might be supposed to be characteristic of Communists and Fascists.

B. THE EXPERIMENTAL POPULATION

Three groups of subjects took part in the investigation: Communist Party members, Fascist Party members, and a control group. All the subjects were male, non-Jewish, English-speaking members of the working-class; information was obtained in each case about age, occupation, nationality, and political affiliation. The control group consisted of 86 soldiers who participated in a series of experimental studies at the Maudsley Hospital; their mean age was 23, *SD* 2.7. Their voting intentions were closely similar to those of the British working class, according to current figures released by the British Institute of Public Opinion. It would be unrealistic to regard this as a truly *random* sample of British working-class males, but the short length of their service, coupled with the fact that at the time the great majority of males either were in the armed forces, or had just served in the armed forces, suggests to us that the choice was less arbitrary and unrealistic than it would have been 10 or 15 years later.

The Communist group was made up of 43 male, working-class subjects, all active members of the Communist party. Jewish persons were excluded from the sample because of the antisemitic items in the Ethnocentrism scale which makes it invalid for Jewish subjects. Some of the Communist group were tested at the Communist holiday school during the Summer. Some leads were obtained there which resulted in other members of the party being tested.

Further contacts were made through attending meetings, until eventually the 43 subjects used in the investigation were obtained. In actual fact 61 members of the party were tested, but seven of these had to be discarded because they were Jewish, and 11 because they belonged to the middle class. Communist subjects were not available just for the asking, but with some persistence enough subjects were found who cooperated willingly. Some refusals were encountered because the members did not believe in psychological testing. Subjects were told that the purpose of the investigation was to study social insight. It must be admitted that availability of subjects and anticipated cooperation played some part in their selection. For this reason the sample of Communists may not be entirely representative, but it is not thought that any serious bias was introduced. The age of the subjects ranged from 22 to 39 years, with a mean age of 26 and a standard deviation of 3.5. The mean age of this group is slightly higher than that of the control group. Eysenck (6) found that age was only slightly correlated with either R or T and it is felt that the groups were matched closely enough for age.

The Fascists were the most difficult of all the groups to obtain. There was no question of having to exclude Jewish subjects, but the actual number of Fascists in the London area is not large, probably only numbering about 400 or less. At first Fascists were very resistant to intrusion by someone with whom they were not familiar. Nearly 100 Fascist meetings were attended extending over a period of five months. During this time Thelma T. Coulter steadily gained their confidence until eventually a sample of 46 had been tested. Three of these were female and had to be discarded, but since they offered to be tested it was deemed advisable to do so, since refusal might arouse suspicion. The real purpose of the investigation was disguised by telling the subjects that it was a study of public opinion on questions that are commonly heard discussed over the radio and read about in newspapers. The age range of this group was 22 to 45 with a mean age of 28.6 and a standard deviation of 3.9. Their mean age is slightly above that of the Communist group.

Many hours were spent with various members of the groups in a social situation, almost akin to an interview situation. Here long discussions took place and much valuable information was obtained. Although this information is of a subjective nature, it is rather interesting in itself and suggests further hypotheses which will be discussed later. As with the Communists, subjects were selected partially on the basis of availability and anticipated cooperation. Nevertheless, the same criteria applied: i.e., non-Jewish males,

members of the working class and active members of the party. It is definitely felt that subjects used form a fairly representative sample of the male members of the Fascist party in London.

C. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TESTS

The battery of tests was administered individually to each subject in a testing period which lasted approximately two and one half hours. The tests were always administered in the same order and included a smoking break before the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test, which was the final test of the battery. The greatest care was taken to make expression of the subject's attitudes as free and uninhibited as possible. They were assured of complete anonymity and reassured that their names were not needed and not wanted. The subjects were told that even the investigator would not know what scores they made as the results were to be tabulated quite independently. Murphy *et al.* (24) state that if conditions of secrecy and preferably anonymity are observed, there is more reason to expect free and complete expression of verbal attitudes than from actions which are subject to observation and censure. It seems reasonably certain that the subjects responded with a high degree of honesty on the attitude scales.

The battery of tests is described below; copies of all the tests used will be found in Coulter (2).

1. Melvin's (22) amplified form of Eysenck's (5, 6) R and T scale. This has been published in Eysenck (7). A five-point scale was used for answering, ranging from strong agreement through agreement and a "?" response to disagreement and strong disagreement. Corrected split-half reliabilities for the various groups are satisfactory, ranging around .90².

2. The Californian Ethnocentrism Scale (E). This is the 20-item scale constructed by Levinson (19); two questions had to be reworded by changing "America" to "Great Britain." The Likert method of scaling was used, there being six choices of response for each item, ranging from strong agreement (+3) to strong disagreement (-3), with no neutral category. Higher scores show increasing ethnocentrism.

3. The California Fascism Scale (F). This is a 30-item scale constructed by Adorno *et al.* (1) to measure potential for fascism; as in the E scale, slight rewording had to be resorted to in order to make the scale suit English conditions.

² A revised T scale was scored by leaving out two antisemitic items; this was done because of the specifically antisemitic attitudes of Fascists.

4. Dog-Cat Test of Intolerance of Ambiguity. This is a new perceptual test devised for the purpose of this research, with the use of a suggestion by Frenkel-Brunswik which had been made verbally by her to the senior author. The test is reproduced in Eysenck (7, p. 223); it consists of eight pictures of a dog changing into a cat through various transitional stages. *Ss* intolerant of of ambiguity are supposed to respond more slowly to the changing stimuli and will cling to the percept of the dog even when the picture begins to look like a cat.

5. Luchins water jar test of Einstellung rigidity. The test used was a modification of the technique used by Luchins (21). Precise details are given in Coulter (2).

6. Rokeach social map test. This is a test of rigidity measured by a spatial technique rather than by an arithmetic one; it was designed by Rokeach (29), and the theory underlying it is similar to that underlying the Luchins test.

7. California rigidity test. This is an inventory constructed by Sanford (31) to measure rigidity in personal habits and ways of thinking about people; it contains 22 items and the subject is asked to say whether he thinks each item is true or false.

8. Intolerance of ambiguity questionnaire. This is a 14-item inventory devised by T. T. Coulter; the items were such that by hypothesis and psychological experience they could be regarded as measuring intolerance of ambiguity. The scale is reproduced in Eysenck (7).

9. Thematic Apperception Test. Ten cards from Morgan and Murray's (23) well-know test were used—4, 6BM, 7BM, 10, 11, 12M, 15, 16, 18BM, and 19. Murray's instructions (25) were followed, and the cards were scored according to Sanford's revised Murray need-press system. Murray's (25) correction factor for length of story was used. Only four variables were used for the purpose of this study; need and object need dominance, and need and object need aggression. Dominance was defined as follows: To try to influence the behavior, sentiments, or ideas of others. To work for an executive position. To lead, manage, govern. To coerce, or restrain. Aggression was defined as follows: To hate, fight, or punish an offence. To criticize, blame, accuse, or ridicule maliciously. To injure or kill. Sadism. To fight against legally constituted authorities. To pursue, catch, or imprison a criminal or enemy.

10. Emphasis score. This is a score obtained by totalling for the 60 items of the R/T scale the number of times the subject expresses strong approval or disapproval: i.e., gives extreme scores. The corrected split-half reliability of this score is .85, .93 and .92 for the three groups (C, F, and N).

D. RESULTS

Table 1 shows the *F* ratios and the level of significance of differences between mean scores for the three groups; out of 15 comparisons only one is N.S., one has a level of *p* which is .05, and one has a level of *p* which is .01. Twelve scores discriminate between the groups at better than the $p = .001$ level. As interest center on the comparisons between individual groups, *t* tests are reported between groups in the same table. Let us consider first of all the differences between Communists and Fascists; only significant differences will be discussed. Communists were much more radical than Fascists; Fascists were much more tough-minded. This latter result, however, is an artifact resulting from the presence of many Jews in the Communist group; when the revised *T* scale scoring was used, omitting the antisemitism items, no significant differences were found to exist between Communists and Fascists. Both were more tough-minded than the controls, who were intermediate in *R* between the other two groups; this result supports Eysenck's (6) hypothesis.

On the Ethnocentrism scale the Fascists were more ethnocentric than either of the other two groups; perhaps more surprisingly, the Communists were less so than the normals. On the Fascism scale, too, the Fascists scored higher than the other two groups, but here the Communists also scored much higher than the normals. According to these results, Communists also had a potential for prejudice, but this was not present when racial differences were concerned. Taking all the attitude tests together, we may conclude that the picture presented is a reasonable one, agreeing with hypothesis and showing considerable congruity.

Attitudes were held more emphatically by Fascists and Communists than by controls; the emphasis score showed Fascists more emphatic than Communists, and both more emphatic than controls. These results corroborate Eysenck's (6) findings. They also confirm Eysenck's (5) study in which he used Thoulless's (33) "Index of Tendency Towards Certainty." Here Eysenck noted a tendency for groups holding more unorthodox opinions to be more certain of their attitudes than were less orthodox groups; he hypothesized that more reactionary groups, as well as unorthodox groups, would be more certain of their opinions.

Turning now to measures of intolerance of ambiguity, we find that neither the dog-cat test nor the intolerance of ambiguity inventory differentiated between Communists and Fascists; however, on the former both groups scored higher than the controls, and on the latter Fascists had significantly higher scores, Communists insignificantly higher scores. The related concept of rigid-

TABLE 1

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	Communists & Fascists	
			<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Radical-conservative	64.719	.001	11.265	.001
Tough-minded	30.272	.001	3.147	.005
Ethnocentrism	127.285	.001	15.088	.001
Fascism	137.001	.001	10.962	.001
Dog-cat	19.546	.001	1.630	ns
California rigidity	8.651	.001	1.938	ns
Luchins arithmetic	2.844	ns	—	—
Rokeach social maps	5.097	.01	2.935	.005
Intolerance of ambiguity	3.117	.05	1.513	ns
Revised tough-minded	36.652	.001	1.883	ns
Emphasis	46.059	.001	5.874	.001
Direct dominance	8.332	.001	2.597	.025
Indirect dominance	41.109	.001	7.301	.001
Direct aggression	43.280	.001	7.468	.001
Indirect aggression	53.979	.001	2.019	.05

ity gave the following results: Of the three tests used, only the inventory gave meaningful differences, with Communists and Fascists being more rigid than normals, and no differences between the minority groups. This confirms Adorno's finding that his authoritarians were more rigid in their ways of thinking about people than nonauthoritarians, and tended to think about them in terms of rigid dichotomies. The Rokeach social maps test did not differentiate between the groups in the expected direction, and the Luchins arithmetic test did not yield a significant F ratio, thus making the calculation of t tests improper.

On the T.A.T., Communists were found to be more dominant than the Fascists or the normals, there being no difference between these two groups. One might expect the Fascists who were more emphatic in their answers to attitude statements to be more dominant. However, it was found that the Fascists nearly always spoke in a dogmatic manner as if what they were saying were true without question. But if one argued with them in a concerted manner over some point they frequently took cover and changed the subject rather than to try to convert one to their way of thinking. The Communists, on the other hand, were more prone to stand their ground, to reiterate how wrong one was, and attempted to convert one to their way of thinking. They evinced a stronger underlying belief in their ideology. At the same time, as good party members, there was the constant objective of widening party membership by bringing in new recruits. The Fascists were not nearly as active in getting people to join their movement. They relied more on their open-air meetings for attracting new members rather than on the persuasive powers of present members.

Gough *et al.* (10) consider dominance to be a particularly important dimension in relation to political participation. They found that the dominant personality appears to move forward in a realistic, task-oriented fashion and manifests feelings of adequacy in meeting obstacles encountered. This description fits our Communist group more accurately than the Fascist group. The underlying reason probably is the difference in training in the two groups. The Communist rank and file members were thoroughly schooled in party propaganda and were provided with stock answers to almost any question. Because of this they were more fluent and more skillful at meeting obstacles. On the other hand, the Fascist party trained only certain members who are called "speakers" or propagandists. The rank and file received no training at expressing themselves on party politics at all. They read party literature, but attendance at meetings was not compulsory as it was with the Communists, nor was much pressure brought to bear on them "to spread the party word." For these

reasons they were less openly dominant. The Fascists did, of course, have some very skillful orators, but apart from these the majority of the members were untrained and were less prone to try to influence others with regard to their ideology.

This possibly accounts for the results of the *indirect* dominance variable as well. On this the Fascists were extremely high, whereas the Communists and the normals were significantly lower and there was no significant difference between the Communists and the normals. The Fascists showed a high tendency after having built up the "hero" to then allow some secondary figure to dominate the scene. Sometimes they had minor characters restraining the actions of the hero. It seemed as if they wanted to lead and control and dominate but were unable to take an outright forceful position even in their fantasy.

The normals expressed fewer dominance-submission scenes and more often demanded their autonomous rights despite parental pressures. But they were less prone to dominate in the sense of coerce. It seems reasonably certain that the findings on these two variables are related to actual behavior of the Communist and Fascist groups.

With respect to aggression, these relations were inverted. On direct aggression there was a significant difference well beyond the .001 level between Communists and Fascists, with Fascists showing by far the greater amount of hostility. The Communists were not significantly different from the normals. But on the indirect aggression or object need aggression the Communists showed significantly ($t = .025$) more aggression than the Fascists. The normals were significantly lower ($t = .001$) than either of the other two groups. All normal persons employ direct aggression to some degree throughout life. It is one of the simplest of human reactions to threat or frustration. Indirect aggression is employed also, but often the person using this method is not aware that he is, in fact, showing aggression. Spite reactions, covert maligning of someone's reputation, working against someone behind his back, martyrdom intended to make someone else feel guilty, and many other commonplace activities are actually manifestations of indirect aggression. In less degree these reactions are not serious. But when direct aggression persists as the preferred and immediate adjustive technique in the face of all difficulties, it verges on a serious personal maladjustment, in our culture, which can render the individual socially incompetent. The Fascist group as a whole are extremely aggressive, almost pathologically so, and it is probably an indication of personal inadequacy and emotional immaturity.

Both the Communists and Fascists expressed relatively more aggression than

the normals, but the Fascists tended to be more openly aggressive and the Communists more indirectly aggressive. From the information we have on our two groups it is rather interesting to examine their aggressive tendencies in the light of Dollard's (3) Frustration-Aggression hypothesis. In this theory the basic postulate is that aggression is always a consequence of frustration. One of the earliest lessons that human beings learn as a result of social living is to suppress and restrain their overtly aggressive reactions. However, these reaction tendencies are not destroyed but only delayed, manifested indirectly, or else displaced on some innocent source if they are not overtly expressed. Dollard says, "The strength of inhibition of any act of aggression varies positively with the amount of punishment anticipated to be a consequence of that act. The greater the degree of inhibition specific to a more direct act of aggression, the more probable will be the occurrence of less direct acts of aggression. There is a strong tendency for inhibited aggression to be displaced to different objects and expressed in modified forms" (3, p. 4).

The Communist Party controls the lives of its members more than is customary with most political parties. Members are required to regulate their personal lives in such a manner that they will not bring discredit on the party. Thus, strongly instigated acts of direct aggression are inhibited, and there is a tendency for an occurrence of less direct acts of aggression, the more subtle indirect aggression which is more socially acceptable and does not reflect upon the party to such an extent.

On the other hand, aggression in the Fascists was vigorous and undisguised. They were both directly and indirectly aggressive. Their overtly aggressive responses were sometimes displaced and found substitute targets in outgroups, such as Jews. Here the mechanism of ordinary social control does not operate because it was socially acceptable within the party to be antisemitic, in fact it was almost a necessity if they wished to remain secure in the group. What is the "true" cause of frustration in these individuals cannot be guessed at, but reliable case histories and extensive interviews would probably be needed to ascertain the underlying factors. The writers are not well enough acquainted with the subjects to identify such complex manifestations of aggression, but it appeared quite obvious that they were instantly ready to respond to any slight frustration with extreme hostility. They seemed to be in constant need of some person, some idea, or some group towards whom aggression might be expressed. The Communists more frequently denied identification with the aggressive act.

Fascistic aggression tended to be more asocial. They did not shrink from more brutal forms of physical aggression. It is as if they had conceived it so

often in their minds that they did not realize its stimulus value for arousing social disapproval. The average mean scores of the normals on both aggression variables were much lower. Their aggressions were more socially acceptable and more often in a sublimated form. There was very little asocial physical aggression. The main difference between the normals and the other two groups was on the intensity of expression. The normals rated more intermediate intensities and fewer ratings at the high extreme. Very seldom were any sadistic tendencies noted.

Intelligence scores were available only for the controls, who had been administered the Raven's Progressive Matrices Test. No correlations of above .3 were found with intelligence on any of the variables in question, but the significant relationships may be noted here. Intelligence correlated .23 with R, $-.25$ with E, and $-.28$ with F. There was also a negative correlation with direct aggression ($-.21$) and a positive one with indirect aggression (.26). With dominance the pattern was inverted (.20 and $-.16$ for direct and indirect dominance), but while this makes sense, neither value was statistically significant. All in all, the data do not suggest that intelligence differences between the groups would have much part to play in producing the observed differences.

Tests were intercorrelated, and factor analyses carried out, for the three groups separately. Rotation to simple structure was made for five factors in each case, although not all five could be interpreted. Four factors appeared to be interpretable in each analysis, and there is sufficient congruence between analyses to present these four factors in Table 2. Only loadings of above .3 are presented, with one exception where the value was almost reached. This choice is, of course, arbitrary, but follows custom. The factors are labelled Tough-mindedness, Rigidity, Intolerance of Ambiguity, and Indirect Aggression, respectively; it must be left to the reader to decide whether these terms are justified by the data. (N.B., the revised T score had loadings almost identical with T, and these have been omitted from the tables.)

E. DISCUSSION

The results support a number of hypotheses which interlock the work of the Californian group on the Authoritarian Personality with that of the London group on the structure of social attitudes in terms of two major dimensions, R and T. Authoritarianism appears to be closely related to tough-minded, and to be equally possible on the radical as on the conservative side of the political spectrum; the Californian writers have rightly criticized for identifying authoritarianism with right-wing attitudes, and disregarding left-

TABLE 2

Tests	Communists	Fascists	Controls
<i>Factor I: Tough-mindedness</i>			
T	.97	.99	.99
Direct dominance	.94	.55	.69
F	.71	.60	.41
Californian rigidity	.62	.45	.49
E	.46	—	.47
Intolerance of ambiguity	.33	—	.41
Indirect dominance	.63	.36	.48
Direct aggression	— .71	.31	.37
Indirect aggression	.68	—	—
<i>Factor II: Rigidity</i>			
Luchins rigidity	.70	.49	.58
Californian rigidity	.33	.35	.27
Rokeach rigidity	.70	—	.52
Indirect aggression	.34	.53	—
F	.30	.49	—
<i>Factor III: Intolerance of ambiguity</i>			
Dog-cat	.63	.36	.52
Intolerance of ambiguity	.62	.51	.70
Ethnocentrism	.34	—	—
<i>Factor IV: Indirect aggression</i>			
Indirect aggression	.66	.51	.76
Emphasis	— .53	— .59	—
Direct aggression	— .70	—	— .73
Radicalism	.33	.38	—
Indirect dominance	.32	—	—

wing authoritarianism. Our results show clearly that Communists, while holding left-wing views, also share an authoritarian outlook. Communists and Fascists, however, while both authoritarian, tough-minded, and emphatic in their views do differ importantly in that the former are less ethnocentric in their views.

On personality structure, our results agree with the Californian group in finding Communists and Fascists rigid and intolerant of ambiguity; this is important because the American work was of course not directly concerned with members of extreme parties, but rather with normal student and other groups in whom correlations between different scales were studied. It says much for the acuity of perception of Jaensch and his American followers that their results could be extrapolated to British Communist and Fascist groups.

An important and novel addition in the personality descriptions given by the American school is the finding that Communists show direct dominance and indirect aggression, while the Fascists show indirect dominance and direct aggression. Some discussion has already been given of possible interpretations

and explanations of this difference; further studies will, of course, be needed to put these on a more secure footing. In making this generalization we have relied on the results of the T.A.T., and it must be said that work on projective techniques in general does not lead one to put much faith in results obtained with their use (34). Such a pessimistic conclusion is probably more justified when we deal with global impressions; however, as measures of quite specific traits, there is perhaps somewhat more positive evidence (8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 27, 28, 30), but see also Gluck (9) and Scodell and Lipetz (32). It is also notable that evidence congruent with our findings, at least in part, exists in the literature; thus Mussen (26) showed greater T.A.T. aggression and dominance needs in the more prejudiced children studied by him. Certainly there is no doubt that the behavior of our Communist and Fascist subjects, as observed closely over long periods by T. T. Coulter as an enrolled member of both parties, and as an attendant at numerous meetings, corresponds quite well with the results of the T.A.T. scores. In spite of these considerations, doubts must of course still remain as long as projective testing is not put on a stronger basis, at least as far as validity of scores is concerned.

Much doubt has been thrown on the Californian studies because of the neglect of response sets in their work. Our results suggest that this may not have been so fatal a flaw as is sometimes argued; our experimental groups were selected on the basis of party membership, not inventory responses, and yet their test scores agree well with predictions made from the framework of the Authoritarian Personality. This is an important confirmation of some of their theorizing, precisely because we have stepped outside the circular argument from the results of one scale to those from another. Altogether, our study adds confirmation to the belief that social attitudes do not grow *in vacuo*, but are part and parcel of a wider and more complex personality configuration.

F. SUMMARY

Groups of British Communists, Fascists, and Controls were administered a variety of social attitude inventories, personality inventories, and personality tests. Marked differences were found between the groups, with Communists and Fascists being more tough-minded, authoritarian, rigid, intolerant of ambiguity, and emphatic than the controls. Communists were more overtly dominant and covertly aggressive in their T.A.T. stories, Fascists more covertly dominant and overtly aggressive. Communists were the least ethnocentric group of all, Fascists the most. The influence of intelligence on scores was found to be slight. Factor analyses of the groups, done separately, produced four factors: Tough-mindedness, rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and

aggressiveness. Communists were more radical than controls, Fascists more conservative. It was concluded that social attitudes are intimately related to the whole structure of personality, and do not exist *in vacuo*.

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Department of Psychology
Institute of Psychiatry
De Crespigny Park
Denmark Hill
London, S. E. 5, England