

- Weinberger, O. 1994 "Habermas on Democracy and Justice: Limits of a Sound Conception," *Ratio Juris*, 7: 239-253.
- 1992 "Conflicting Views on Practical Reason against Pseudo-Arguments in Practical Philosophy," *Ratio Juris*, 5: 252-268.
- 1991 *Law, Institution and Legal Politics: Fundamental Problems of Legal Theory and Social Philosophy*. Boston: Reidel.
- Zolo, Danielo, 1992 *Democracy and Complexity*. Trans. David McKie. University Park: Penn State University Press.

Understanding Authoritarianism: Psychological Antecedents and Ideological Consequences

(The meaning of authoritarianism: The role of aggressiveness, alienation and anxiety*)

Introduction

In the early 1930s members and affiliates of the Frankfurt School had developed the concept of authoritarianism in order to explain the support of the working class for authoritarian leadership (cf. Worrell, 1998, Smith, 1998, Werz, 1998, Samelson 1993). In the work of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950)¹ the theory of the authoritarian personality took its full shape as a comprehensive theory of psychological predisposition for ethnocentrism and anti-democratic ideologies in general.

Extensive later research generally confirmed Adorno et al.'s basic empirical hypotheses, at least as far as the F scale is concerned (cf. Stone et al., 1993). Meloen's (1993) meta-analysis of literally thousands of studies dealing with authoritarianism shows that across countries and across a period of 30-years, the F scale has been consistently related with antidemocratic and pro-fascist tendencies. However, besides the repeated application of the F scale to various samples and correlating it with different variables, the conceptual status of authoritarianism has remained open. In other words, „the meaning of authoritarianism" (Stone et al., 1993, p. 230) has still to be clarified.

Originally, the F scale was intended to measure „prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group" (TAP, 1950, p. 222). This task was performed by finding items that were thought to be indicators of the same psychological processes expressed also in ethnocentrism. This was the „second - and major - purpose of the new scale" (TAP, 1950, p.222): to „yield a valid estimate of antidemocratic tendencies at the personality level" (TAP, 1950, p. 223). Adorno and his colleagues concluded that the attempt of measuring prejudice indirectly was „fairly successful", but that „It remains to be shown conclusively, however, that the variables with which the F scale has been concerned are, in reality, variables of personality" (TAP, 1982, p. 208). Hence, it seems that the concept of authoritarianism has had ambiguous psychological status since the beginning, and the situation

* An earlier version of the paper was presented at the XXII Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Amsterdam, July 1999.

¹ Referred to as TAP in the further text.

has not changed much. The interpretations of authoritarianism range from equating it with conservatism (e.g., Ray, 1990), defining it as a cluster of attitudes (Altemeyer, 1988), to interpreting it in terms of obsessional personality (e.g., Kline and Cooper, 1984).

The present paper contributes to the debate concerning the psychological meaning of authoritarianism by examining its relationships with three key psychological variables: aggressiveness, anxiety and alienation. We explore to what extent authoritarianism is related with these personality traits, whether authoritarianism can be reduced to a combination of these traits, and whether criterial variables, such as ethno-nationalist attitude, could be equally explained taking into account only these three personality traits and leaving out the authoritarianism variable.

The question of psychological meaning of authoritarianism is crucial especially for understanding its development and pervasiveness. Without examining its psychological roots it is difficult to explain why authoritarianism is effective predictor of prejudice and support for antidemocratic ideologies for more than half a century and in vastly different cultural and political contexts (e.g., Meehan, 1999). Thus, it is justified to hypothesise that authoritarianism is the political-attitudinal expression of more basic and universal psychological dispositions. In the first part of the paper we examine correlations between the factors of authoritarianism, aggressiveness, alienation, and anxiety. In the second part we analyse their differential ability to predict nationalist-ethnocentric attitudes, as a typical dependent variable.

Aggressiveness

Aggressiveness is one of the closest personality traits to authoritarianism, but there has been little research on their relationships. Out of the nine elements of authoritarianism in the original conception several contain aggressiveness components: authoritarian aggressiveness, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, and even projectivity. Moreover, items belonging to the "authoritarian aggressiveness" cluster were among the best predictors of ethnocentrism and prejudice (cf. Stone et al., 1993). In Altemeyer's (1981, 1988) re-conceptualisation of authoritarianism, authoritarian aggressiveness also plays a central role.

In this paper we rely on the distinction between concepts of primary and secondary aggressiveness, as developed by Yugoslav researchers. Aggressiveness, or regulator of attack reactions in Momirović's (Momirović et al., 1992) model of personality structure, is one of the six basic personality traits. According to the author, this regulator is "... probably located in limbic system [and] modulates ... primary tonic arousal, but on the basis of programs for destructive reactions which are formed either in the courses of phylogenetic or ontogenetic development. The model allows either direct activation of these programs, in which case one can speak of primary aggressiveness, or secondary activation on the basis of signals from the centre for regulation of defence reactions" (Momirović et al., 1992, p.21).

In other words, primary aggressiveness can be identified as a tendency for immediate, impulsive aggressive reactions on frustration, while secondary aggressiveness is mediated by fear. The concept of two sub-dimensions of aggressiveness is confirmed and further developed in Ignjatović's VAPO aggressiveness scale (1989). The aggressiveness scale applied in this research (PRIMAG) is directly inspired by the theory of two sub-dimensions of aggressiveness as defined in Ignjatović (1989) and Momirović et al. (1992). However, models for the selection of items were also the P scale from Eysenck's EPQ (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975) and hostility items from the MMPI (cf. Steinberg and Jorgensen, 1996).

We would expect that secondary aggressiveness is a strong correlate of authoritarianism, but also that it has weaker direct influence onto criterial variables such as ethnocentrism. Primary aggressiveness, on the other side, should exhibit strong direct influence since it may be somewhat incompatible with some authoritarian components such as conventionalism and submissiveness. Primary aggressiveness should therefore lead rather directly to more aggressive treatment of social objects in the environment, including out-groups.

Anxiety

Anxiety, or generalised fear and feeling of threat and insecurity, was not explicitly stated as a component of authoritarianism. However, especially in the analysis of projective techniques, Adorno et al. usually found that feelings of fear and insecurity are behind aggressive reactions.

The basic underlying psychological mechanism, according to Adorno et al., has its root in childhood: "fear and dependency [...] discourage the ethnocentric child from conscious criticism of the parents", and the repressed antagonism is displaced toward out-groups (TAP, 1982, p. 276). Individuals "high" in authoritarianism repress their "fear, weakness, passivity, sex impulses, and aggressive feeling toward authoritative figures" (TAP, 1982, p. 268-9). As a defence against these tendencies they are projected, or externalised. Thereby, others are seen as "hostile and threatening", or condemned as weak, while as a compensation a "drive for power, strength, success" develops (1982, p. 269). Obviously, according to TAP, fear and aggression are psychologically closely related processes, both being at the root of the authoritarian syndrome. Psychological predisposition to experience fear and anxiety leads to experiencing the world as more threatening, so the accumulated research on the relationship between authoritarianism and perceived threat (Feldman and Stenner, 1997) also warrants the examination of the role of anxiety. Hence, it is important to examine to what extent the variable of anxiety could clarify psychological aspects of authoritarianism, or even replace it in the analysis of ethnocentrism.

In the present research, anxiety is operationalized by the corresponding subscale from Momirović's KON-6 personality questionnaire (Momirović et

al., 1992). Conceptually and operationally it is closely related to the concept of neuroticism.

Alienation

Unlike aggressiveness and anxiety, alienation has been a less investigated concept in psychological literature. It obviously belongs more to sociology. However, alienation is frequently defined as a particular *feeling* towards oneself and society, characterised by pessimism, passivity, and powerlessness. For example, Mau's (1992) Student Alienation Scale measures four dimensions: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, and social estrangement.

The authors of TAP also referred to this concept occasionally. In their view, a complex and *alienated* social reality, coupled with „the all pervasive ignorance and confusion of our subjects when it comes to social matters beyond the range of their most immediate experience“, creates disoriented, alienated individuals, „with concomitant fear and uncertainty“ (TAP, 1950, p. 618). This cognitive confusion created by social and psychological alienation of the authoritarian individuals is usually solved by finding 'who is to be blamed'.

The presently used Alienation scale was developed specifically for this survey. It was intended to capture two aspects of alienation: personal and social alienation. The former concerns feelings of powerlessness, general pessimism, and self-depreciation. The latter expresses distrust in people and negative view of society in general.

Method

Below we report findings of a *secondary analysis* of the data collected in two surveys conducted by the Center for Social Research of the city Subotica (Szabadka), in Vojvodina, Yugoslavia/Serbia, in 1995 and 1997.²

1995 Survey Research

Sample

An *ad hoc* sample of approximately 600 college students from various schools from Subotica, (Vojvodina/Serbia), aged between 17 and 19, was surveyed in the spring of 1995. There were 344 male (49.2%) and 341 female respondents (14 respondents did not indicate gender). The sample included different educational profiles, from Gymnasium students to students from technical and occupational schools, thus ensuring that the problem of restricted range is

² We thank Prof. Šram for kindly providing us with the data. The original data collector does not bear any responsibility for the analysis or the interpretation presented here.

avoided. Questionnaire consisting of several attitude scales was administered during regular classes, in a group setting, and its filling in lasted approximately 40 minutes. Full anonymity of respondents was secured. Prior to distributing questionnaires, respondents were informed about the general aim of the survey. Individuals responsible for questionnaire administration were usually teachers of sociology or psychology in respondents' schools.

Scales:

Authoritarianism³

The *Authoritarianism* scale consisted of 28 items, in 4-point Likert-type format. The scale contains a number of items from the original F scale, usually more or less reworded, but also items from Yugoslav versions of authoritarianism scales (e.g., Hofman et al., 1988), and a few items created for this particular survey. Alpha reliability coefficient for the entire scale was .84. To check for multidimensionality of the scale, it was factor analysed. The three extracted factors account for 32% of variance (see Table I). The first Oblimin rotated factor (Table) contains two groups of items: those demanding strict treatment of individuals who depart from conventional understanding of normality (5, 1, 4, 9, 2) and items expressing negative attitude toward women (13, 15, 12). Authoritarian aggression, over-concern with sex and conventional morality are combined in one dimension. The high scorers are those who are ready to resort to aggression in order to preserve the mental and physical 'purity' of the 'healthy' majority. Due to the high saturation of aggressive items the factor is labelled *authoritarian aggressiveness*. The second factor is similar to the first in that it contains items demanding severe treatment of individuals who break the accepted rules. Its differential feature is that the offences addressed in this factor (rape, drugs, delinquents, criminals) are *normally* punished by the society. The endorsement of severe punishments is not necessarily a sign of a general aggressive orientation, it could be the expression of patriarchal values as well. The factor is labelled *punitiveness*, and further analysis is expected to shed some additional light on its nature.

All items loading on the third factor in various ways express the will and readiness to respect authorities, whether the state, political leaders or family. The items with the highest loading indicate deference towards national authorities, therefore the factor contains an element of nationalism too. The requirement for the strict discipline of children and self-description as "obedient and disciplined", suits well the picture of *authoritarian submissiveness*. The three extracted factors are moderately correlated (Table II), thus converging towards the more general authoritarianism dimension.

It could be expected that the first two factors would be more strongly correlated with aggressiveness. However, if the second factor more reflects traditional patriarchal values, it should be less related to personality traits.

³ Since the focus of the paper is on the meaning of authoritarianism this scale is presented in more details than the other ones.

The three factors roughly correspond to Altemeyer's (1981, 1988) three-component model of authoritarianism, consisting of authoritarian aggressiveness, authoritarian submissiveness, and conventionalism.

Primary and secondary aggressiveness

The PRIMAG scale of aggressiveness consisted of 30 items in the same format as the authoritarianism scale. The scale was created specifically for this survey, and contains items intended to cover primary and secondary aggressiveness dimensions. Alpha reliability coefficient for the entire PRIMAG scale was .89.

Factor analysis of the PRIMAG scale resulted in two factors, accounting for 33.7% of the total variance. The first factor contained items expressing over-aggressive reactions to various provoking stimuli. The following two high-loading items can serve as examples: "I cannot stand when somebody is giving me orders" (item 8), or: "I get terribly angry when somebody is late for a meeting" (item 12). Hence, this factor is interpreted as *secondary aggressiveness*. The second factor contained items openly expressing tendencies to react with hostility and lack of compassion. Exemplary items with high loadings are: "It would not be difficult for me to kill an animal" (item 29), or "I like when others are afraid of me" (item 19). We interpreted this factor as *primary aggressiveness*, though more tentatively than the previous one. It rather corresponds to psychopathic deviation of the MMPI. Correlation between the two Oblimin rotated factors is .36, indicating that the two dimensions are only relatively independent.

Alienation

Alienation scale contains 20 items, intended to cover two aspects: social and personal alienation. The scale was developed specifically for this research, and its Alpha reliability coefficient was .87.

Two factors were extracted from the matrix of intercorrelations of the Alienation scale, accounting for 40.5% of the total scale variance. The first factor contained items expressing feeling of personal incompetence, pessimism, and inferiority. Sample items with high loadings: "Sometimes I have a feeling that I am worth less than other people" (item 5), "Only a few things in my life are under my control" (item 1). The factor is conceptually similar to the construct of external locus of control. However, we interpreted it as psychological or *personal alienation*, due to its reference to personal incompetence and pessimism. The second alienation factor is saturated by items expressing a negative, pessimistic view of the society. Sample items: "Our society is full of lies and hypocrisy" (item 13), or "The world in which we live is frequently worse than hell" (item 14). Hence, the factor is interpreted as *social alienation*. Correlation between the two alienation factors is $r=.38$ ($p<.001$).

Ethno-nationalist attitudes scale

ETNA scale contained 60 items intended to measure various aspects of general ethno-nationalist orientation. Since the items did not mention any specific groups the scale was considered applicable for the ethnically heterogeneous population in Subotica. Strong first principal component (accounting for 29.4% of variance) and high reliability coefficient (Alpha = .92) suggested treating the scale as uni-dimensional. Sample items with highest loadings on the first principal component: *My nation is historically and politically more mature than some other nations* (item 18); *If we know one's nationality, we immediately know what kind of a person s/he is* (item 15); *Comparing to other nations, my nation is much more smart and intelligent* (item 12); *One of the primary virtues children should learn is to love their nation* (item 21).

1997 Survey Research

Sample

A follow-up survey was conducted in 1997. The respondents were adults (N=533), selected on the basis of the local census lists for the district of Subotica, Yugoslavia/Serbia. Female respondents were in slight majority (54%). The average age was 36 years (standard deviation was 13.8 years).

Scales

Authoritarianism

The 1997 survey included revised and shortened authoritarianism scale. It contained 17 items of which 15 were included in the 1995 survey. Shortening of the scale did not damage its reliability (Alpha=.88). Factor analysis of this scale extracted also three factors, accounting for 52.5% of variance. The extracted factors (in the Oblimin rotated position) essentially corresponded to the three factors in the 1995 analysis, only the relative weight of the factors differed. The first factor in the 1997 analysis was interpreted as (1) *authoritarian submissiveness*, the second as (2) *authoritarian aggressiveness*, and the third as (3) *punitiveness*. High-loading items on the respective factors are generally the same as in the earlier version of the scale. The factors are moderately positively intercorrelated as the concept of general authoritarianism would suggest ($r=.28$ between aggressiveness and punitiveness, $r=.29$ between submissiveness and punitiveness, and $r=.35$ between the submissiveness and aggressiveness factors; in all cases $p<.01$).

Alienation

The earlier alienation scale was also abbreviated for the 1997 survey. The new 12-item version resulted in an essentially equal factor structure as in

the 1995 survey (Alpha=.89). Two factors were extracted, together accounting for 54.9% of variance. Here, the first factor was interpreted as *social alienation*, while the second one as *personal or psychological alienation*. Sample items from social alienation factor: "Our society is full of lies and hypocrisy" (item 3), "In this society only criminals can become rich" (item 11). Items with highest loadings on the personal alienation factor: "Other people, not myself, make decisions about my life" (item 5), "Only a few things in my life are under my control" (item 1). The two factors are rather strongly correlated ($r=.47$, $p<.0001$).

Anxiety and aggressiveness scales

Aggressiveness is operationalized by a different scale - 21-item aggressiveness scale (Alpha=.79) taken from Momirović et al.'s KON-6 questionnaire. Sample items: *Are you often angry?*; *Do you enjoy sometimes that people are afraid of you?* The 1997 survey included an additional 35-item anxiety scale, also taken from Momirović et al.'s KON-6 questionnaire. (Alpha=.89). Sample items: *Is it easy to hurt your feelings?*; *Do you usually feel tired of everything?* Items from these two scales were presented in binary (yes-no) format. Scales of anxiety and aggressiveness were not factor analysed, since they are specifically designed as uni-dimensional measures. Therefore, both scales are represented in the further analyses by the first principal components of the respective inter-correlation matrices. In both cases uni-dimensionality of the scales was corroborated by high alpha's and high loadings of virtually all items on the respective first principal components.

Ethno-nationalist attitudes scale

Scale of ethno-nationalist attitudes was shortened to 26 items without damaging its reliability (Alpha=.95). The first principal component accounted now for 48.1% of the scale variance. Some of the items with highest loadings are: *We should be cautious concerning members of other nations* (item 6); *If I would make decisions about employment I'd give advantage to members of my nation* (item 3); *There is less dishonesty and hypocrisy in my nation* (item 7).

Summary of the researches from 1995 and 1997

On the basis of two surveys, conducted in Subotica, in 1995 and 1997, we examined to what extent authoritarianism is based on more 'basic' personality traits, such as aggressiveness, alienation, and anxiety. This problem is examined on two different independent sample, two different age groups, and using somewhat different instruments.

It is important to note that there is basically no overlap between the items in authoritarianism and other applied scales (except to a certain extent items

in the social alienation subscale). Authoritarianism scale contains basically attitudinal items, while the other scale consist of self-descriptive items. This is often made objection suggesting that authoritarianism cannot explain its usual dependent variables because they are often different measures of same underlying concepts (e.g., Ray's objection that authoritarianism can be reduced to conservatism, 1990).

The Results: The Relationships between Authoritarianism and Personality Dimensions

1995 Survey (Youth sample)

First, we examine simple correlations between authoritarianism factors, and factors of aggressiveness and alienation. The results are given in Table III. The *authoritarian aggressiveness* factor is correlated with both aggressiveness factors, especially with primary aggressiveness ($r=.45$, $p<.01$). Somewhat lower but still significant are correlations with the personal and social alienation factors (.27 and .22, respectively, both $p<.01$). This pattern of relationships corresponds to the theory of TAP, stating that aggressiveness and alienation are frequently features of the authoritarian personality structure. The punitiveness factor appears to be a reflection of a patriarchal, rigid value system, since it is weakly or not related to both aggressiveness and alienation factors. It is probably based more on defensive aggression (correlation with secondary aggressiveness), and feeling of personal powerlessness (Table III).

The third authoritarianism factor, submissiveness, is weakly but significantly related to both the aggressiveness and alienation factors. Again, as the theory of TAP suggested, submissiveness is at least partly based on (or the source of) aggressive tendencies, but also on feelings of personal weakness, projected onto the outer world in the image of alienated society. This part of the analysis showed that dimensions of authoritarianism are significantly related to aggressiveness and alienation, and in the way the original theory would predict. The strongest connection is between aggressiveness (primary) and authoritarian aggressiveness. Coefficients, however, are not sufficiently high to allow replacement of authoritarianism with the other examined variables.

1997 Survey (adults' sample)

Authoritarianism and other personality factors are moderately correlated, though coefficients seem to be somewhat lower among adults than in the college student sample (Table IV). Punitiveness was related primarily to alienation factors, but also to aggressiveness and anxiety. Authoritarian aggressiveness, as previously, was the strongest correlate of aggressive-

ness ($r=.20$, $p<.01$), but now also of personal alienation ($r=.21$, $p<.01$), and somewhat less of anxiety and social alienation. Authoritarian submissiveness seems to be based on combined feelings of social alienation ($r=.20$, $p<.01$) and aggressive tendencies ($r=.16$, $p<.01$). (See Table IV).

Since the coefficients are generally rather low, it is obvious that authoritarianism cannot be reduced to the included personality constructs. However, the results suggest that authoritarianism can be partly conceived as an attitudinal expression of this complex pattern of personality traits.

Path analysis: Authoritarianism and personality variables predicting ethno-nationalist attitudes

In order to examine differential ability of authoritarianism and other personality dimensions to predict ethno-nationalist attitudes, we present results of simple path analyses. Although the variables in the two surveys differ to a certain extent, they can still be meaningfully compared.

1995 Survey Research

Ethno-nationalist attitude, represented by the first principal component of the 60-item ETNA scale, was treated as the dependent variable. It can be seen as a rather prototypical dependent variable in the authoritarianism research. Authoritarianism (this time represented by the first principal component of the scale) was conceived as a mediating, or intervening variable. It was positioned as an independent variable for the nationalist attitudes, and as a dependent variable in relation to personality dimensions of aggressiveness and alienation.

Results of a set of regression analyses are presented in the Figure 1. In the first step of the analysis, nationalist attitudes are regressed on all variables positioned in its left side. In the second step, authoritarianism principal component is regressed on the variables on its left side (Figure 1). The model explains almost one third of the variance in the nationalist attitudes scale ($R^2=.29$). Only two variables are sufficient for this: authoritarianism and primary aggressiveness (standardised regression coefficients are .34 and .26 respectively, in both cases $p<.0001$). In this way we again see that in addition to measuring authoritarianism, inclusion of aggressiveness (primary operationalization increases the predictive power of the model.⁴ Primary aggressiveness exerts also an indirect effect on nationalist attitudes, via authoritarianism, suggesting that the concept of authoritarianism contains elements

4 Authoritarianism alone accounts for 20% of variance in the ethno-nationalist attitudes. Addition of the other variables to the model explains additional 9% of variance (R^2 change is statistically significant, $p<.0001$). Primary aggressiveness is the most responsible for the incremental variance.

of this personality dimension (i.e., it cannot be fully reduced to conservatism as Ray suggested). Secondary aggressiveness and personal alienation also exhibit influence on authoritarianism, and in this way indirectly on nationalist attitudes.

1997 Survey Research

In the 1997 model, the first principal component of the abbreviated 26 item nationalist-ethnocentric attitudes scale is regressed on all variables to the left of it - authoritarianism, aggressiveness, anxiety, and social and personal alienation. In the second step, the authoritarianism principal component is regressed on the variable on its left side (Figure 2). As in the previous case, almost one third of variance in nationalist attitudes is explained by the two variables: authoritarianism ($\beta=.38$) and aggressiveness ($\beta=.20$). Thus, aggressiveness contributes to one's level of authoritarianism, but also exerts direct influence on nationalist attitudes.⁵ Authoritarianism mediates the influence of personal and social alienation, and aggressiveness (β s are .15, .18 and .22, respectively).

In this model, we treated anxiety and aggressiveness as 'more basic' variables than alienation dimensions. Therefore, the latter two factors were separately regressed on anxiety and aggressiveness variables. Only anxiety proved to be a significant, and quite strong, predictor of both alienation dimensions (β in case of personal alienation is .38, and in case of social alienation it is .35). Hence, the model suggests that anxiety also exhibits its influence on nationalist attitudes and authoritarianism, but primarily to the extent that it increases feelings of social and personal alienation. It seems that if anxiety is not externalised in this way (e.g., not causally attributed to the 'society'), it does not lead to increased authoritarianism. This seems to be another corroboration of Adorno et al.'s theory, and also a possible explanation of why basic personality traits have rarely been found to directly correlate with prejudice and ethnocentrism.

Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis addressed the question of the 'meaning of authoritarianism', namely whether the psychological content of this construct could be clarified by examining its relationships with relevant personality constructs - aggressiveness, anxiety, and alienation. The results showed that authoritarianism is indeed significantly related with these psychological variables. Both among adults and adolescents, a sub-dimension of authoritarianism named *authoritarian aggressiveness* is the strongest correlate of (primary)

5 Authoritarianism alone explains approximately 23% of variance in nationalist attitudes. Incremental variance explained (approximately 7%, R^2 change significant, $p<.0001$) is primarily the contribution of aggressiveness.

aggressiveness as a 'pure' personality trait. *Punitiveness* is somewhat less related to aggressiveness, hence implying that it reflects socialisation into patriarchal values. However, its relationship with alienation factors, especially in the sample of adults, suggests that it may partly be rooted in social and personal frustration. *Authoritarian submissiveness* is modestly related with aggressiveness, alienation and anxiety, supporting the conception of authoritarianism as containing both aggressive and submissive tendencies.

Thus, in this way the 'meaning of authoritarianism' is to a certain extent clarified. The results showed that our operationalization of authoritarianism contains a significant component of 'pure' aggressiveness, especially primary aggressiveness, but also of the secondary aggressiveness, anxiety, and alienation. Authoritarianism thus cannot be fully reduced to an attitudinal concept because it has strong roots in personality. However, since the correlation coefficients are generally rather modest in magnitude, it is also clear that the examined scales measure different constructs. In order to examine the differential predictive power of authoritarianism and other included personality measures we constructed two causal models. The path analysis indicated that authoritarianism to a large extent mediated the influence of the included personality features. However, it also showed that aggressiveness, especially the primary, increases ethno-nationalist attitudes also directly, without the mediating role of the authoritarianism. Hence, our results suggest on the one hand, that we cannot replace authoritarianism with any single variable, or combination of variables, but also that authoritarianism does not cover all psychological predisposition for ethnocentric and nationalist attitudes.

The performed analyses inspire further speculation concerning the role of the examined personality traits in *explaining* the genesis of the authoritarian personality structure and ethno-nationalist attitudes. Our results, limited by the range of personality variables included, suggest two main developmental trajectories. Both start from personality traits that according to contemporary research have strong heritable component - anxiety and aggressiveness. Anxiety primarily increases level of personal and social alienation. At the young age, it seems that only personal anxiety leads to higher authoritarianism, but it at the later age social anxiety plays somewhat more important role. It seems that with increased age negative emotions underlying personal alienation tend to be more externalised onto suitable social objects. The second trajectory starts from aggressiveness. Higher aggressiveness, especially the primary aggressiveness, leads both to the increased authoritarianism, and directly to stronger negative attitudes towards outgroups. The first trajectory implies more reactive formation of negative social attitudes, while the second one implies more expressive function of ethno-nationalist attitudes.

These results also suggest an explanation of why basic personality traits are often rather weak direct correlates of political attitudes and behavior. Personality traits as operationalized in contemporary personality tests are rather abstract, de-contextualised behavioural and psychological tendencies. Through the interaction with social environment they 'convert' into personality

characteristics with more specific content in the form of attitudes, preferences and opinions. Thus, psychological predisposition for ethnocentrism should be conceptualised as a variable in-between the more basic personality traits and relevant dependent variables. This seems to be the conceptual status of authoritarianism.

Our results confirmed the original conception of authoritarianism as a relatively heterogeneous construct encompassing loosely related psychological tendencies with the common denominator of predisposing an individual for ethnocentric orientation. However, more important issue than the confirmation or refutation of TAP theory is the theoretical usefulness of their central concept. Our results suggest that its principal advantage might be exactly in its relative heterogeneity. On the one side it is based on relatively 'content-less' traits such as aggressiveness and anxiety which are influenced by the individual's nearest environment and probably heritage. At the same time, authoritarianism reflects one's position in social structure - lower education, rural residence, downward social mobility, are some of its well-known correlates. Thus, authoritarianism integrates various social and psychological tendencies that are relevant for explanation of ethnocentrism, but which taken in isolation are of minor relative importance. At the same time, the results also suggest that authoritarianism does not cover all psychological predisposition important for explanation of relevant dependent variables. Aggressiveness, especially primary aggressiveness, has an important additional direct effect on nationalist attitudes.

In the light of the relatively weak ability of contemporary trait personality models to explain individual differences in ethnocentrism or prejudice, we can predict that the concept of authoritarianism will survive for some time to come. However, we would strongly suggest further exploration of the role of additional psychological dimensions.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik E., Levinson, D. J., and Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Harper and Row. Abridged edition: (1982). New York and London: Norton & Company.
- Altemeyer, B. (1981). *Right-wing authoritarianism*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of Freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Eysenck, H. J. and Eysenck, S.B.G. (1975). *Eysenck Personality Questionnaire Manual*. San Diego, CA: Educational Testing Service.
- Feldman, S. and Stenner, K. (1997). Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology*, 18, 4, 741-770.

- Hofman, E., Uzelac, S. and Ignjatović, I. (1988). Latentna struktura skale autoritarinosti. [Latent structure of an authoritarianism scale]. *Pedagoška stvarnost*, 9-10, 676-690.
- Ignjatović, I. (1989). *Skala za procenu agresivnosti VAPO*. [VAPO - Scale for the Assessment of Aggressiveness]. Beograd: Savez društava psihologa Srbije.
- Kline, P. and Cooper, C. (1984). A Factorial Analysis of the Authoritarian Personality. *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 75/2, 171-176.
- Mau, Y. R. (1992). The validity and devolution of a concept: Student alienation. *Adolescence*, 27, 731-741.
- Meloan, J.D. (1993). The F Scale as a Predictor of Fascism: An Overview of 40 Years of Authoritarianism Research. In: Stone et al., (Eds.), (1993), pp. 47-69.
- Meloan, J.D. (1999). *Respect for Authority and its World Wide Structure, Validity and Relationships with Ethnocentrism, Emancipation, Political Leanings, Left-Wing Authoritarianism, postmaterialism, Working Class Authoritarianism, and the Political Context of Freedom, Democracy, Human Rights Violations and State Authoritarianism in a Reanalysis using the World Values Survey database in 43 Countries*. Paper presented at the ISPP Annual Meeting, Amsterdam, July 18-21.
- Momirović, K., Wolf, B. and Džamonja, Z. (1992). KON 6: *Kibernetička baterija konativnih testova*. [KON 6: Cybernetic battery of conative tests]. Beograd: SDPS, Centar za primenjenu psihologiju.
- Ray, J. J. (1990). The Old-Fashioned Personality. *Human-Relations*, 43, 10, 997-1013.
- Samelson, F. (1993). The Authoritarian Character from Berlin to Berkeley and Beyond: The Odyssey of a Problem. In: Stone et al., (Eds.), 1993, p. 22-43.
- Smith, D.N. (1998). The Ambivalent Worker: Max Weber, critical theory and the Antinomies of Authority. *Social Thought and Research*, 21, 1-2, 35-83.
- Steinberg, L. and Jorgensen, R. S. (1996). Assessing the MMPI-Based Cook-Medley Hostility Scale: The Implications of Multidimensionality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 1281-1287.
- Stone, W.F., Lederer, G. and Christie, R. (Eds.) (1993). *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Werz, M. (1998). Personality, Authority and Society: Remarks on the Analysis of Authoritarianism and Prejudice in the Social Sciences. *Social Thought and Research*, 21, 85-106.
- Worrell, M.P. (1998). Authoritarianism, Critical Theory, and Political Psychology: Past, Present, Future. *Social Thought and Research*, 21, 3-33.

Table 1

Oblimin rotated authoritarianism factors: Authoritarian Aggressiveness, Punitiveness, Authoritarian Submissiveness

Items	F 1	F 2	F 3
5 When somebody shows signs of mental disturbance, s/he should be straightaway put in mental hospital.	.62		
1 Homosexuals are not at all better than criminals and should be severely punished.	.58		
4 Persons with inheritable diseases should be prevented from having children; they should be sterilised.	.55		
13 A woman should enter marriage as a virgin.	.53		
9 All beggars should be expelled from the streets.	.53		
2 Prostitutes are the worst kind of people.	.48		
16 Sometimes I am afraid of my sexual fantasies.	.48		
15 Women should never be trusted too much regarding their sexual fidelity.	.47		
12 A woman who has extramarital sexual relationships should be condemned in every possible way.	.43		
10 Sexual crimes like rape deserve much stronger punishment than prison; such criminals should be publicly whipped.	.67		
6 All those who have any contacts with drugs should be arrested.	.66		
8 Juvenile offenders (delinquents) should be severely punished.	.57		
3 The death penalty is the best punishment for permanent criminals.	.48		
7 Alcoholics should be expelled from the society.	.38		
14 Ways to punish those who breaks the rules of behaviour should always be found.	.36		
26 Loyalty to the state is one of the nicest feelings one can experience.		.59	
28 We should not suspect the rightness of the decisions made by the state authorities.		.57	
27 What this country needs much more than laws and political programs is one strong, courageous and fearless leader whom people can trust and follow.		.57	
24 The founding of a harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of man's life and work.		.53	
23 Those who do not feel great respect and thankfulness towards their parents are despicable.		.53	
25 If one wants to be successful in his job, somebody has to tell him what to do and how to do it.		.49	
20 Respect of authorities is the most important virtue children should learn.		.45	
19 I am obedient and disciplined		.44	
21 Children should be educated in rigorous discipline.		.43	
22 Teachers and professors should be strict with their students.		.37	

Note: Loadings above .33 shown.

Table II
Correlation coefficients between the three Authoritarianism factors

	Authoritarian Aggressiveness	Punitiveness
Punitiveness	.21**	
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.31**	.26**

** p<.01.

Table III
Correlation coefficients between authoritarianism, and aggressiveness and alienation factors, Youth data

	Authoritarianism factors		
	Authoritarian Aggressiveness	Punitiveness	Authoritarian Submissiveness
Secondary aggressiveness	.22**	.17**	.18**
Primary aggressiveness	.45**	-.07	.17**
Personal alienation	.27**	.18**	.16**
Social alienation	.22**	.05	.18**

** p<.01.

Table IV
Correlation coefficients between authoritarianism, aggressiveness, alienation, and anxiety factors, Adults sample

	Authoritarianism factors			Anxiety PC	Aggressiveness PC
	Punitiveness	Authoritarian Aggression	Authoritarian Submissiveness		
Anxiety PC	.17**	.16**	-.02		
Aggressiveness PC	.16**	.20**	.16**	.13**	
Social alienation	.25**	.16**	.20**	.35**	.04
Psychological alienation	.22**	.21**	.08	.38**	.04

** p<.01 (2-tailed).

Figure 1 Path diagram: Authoritarianism, alienation, and aggressiveness predicting ethnocentric-nationalist attitudes (sample of college students, 1995 survey)

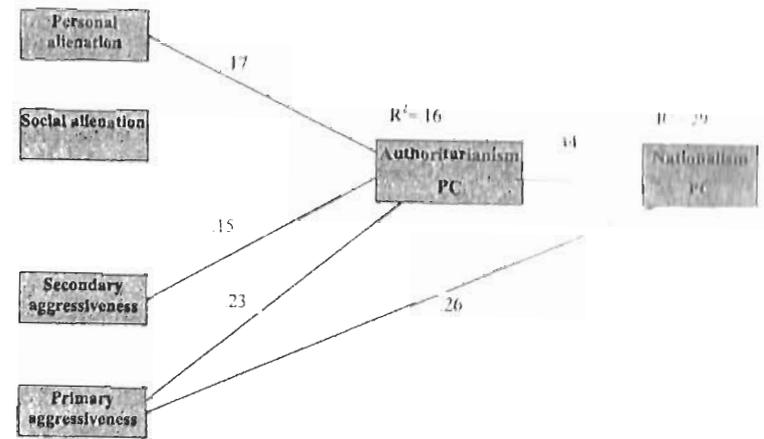
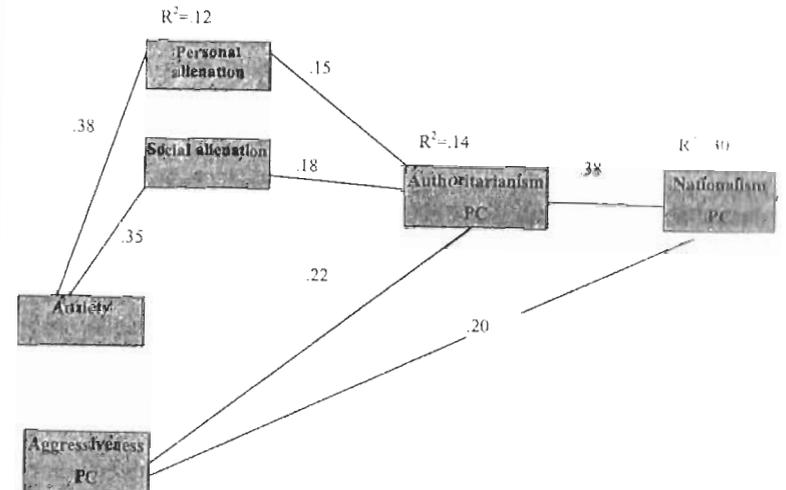
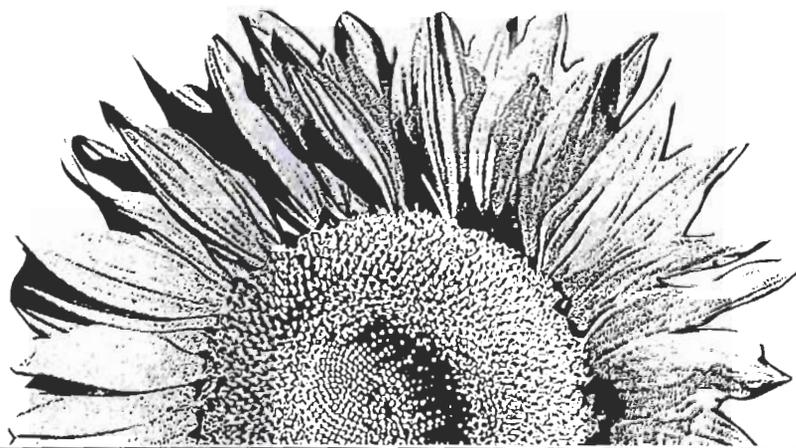


Figure 2 Path diagram: Authoritarianism, alienation, anxiety and aggressiveness predicting ethnocentric-nationalist attitudes (sample of adults, 1997 survey)





Central European Political Science Review

QUARTERLY OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Volume 5.

Number 15.

Spring 2004.

**LESSONS FROM HISTORY AND EU ACCESSION FOR CENTRAL
EUROPE**

Introduction of the Editor

Richard R. Weiner •

Bojan Todosijevic and Zsolt Enyedi •

Danica Fink-Hafner and Damjan Lajh •

Marjan Brezovsek and Miro Hacek •

Tomaz Boh • Damjan Lajh •

Hosszú Hortenzia • Tamás Csapody •

Gábor Király •

3th ECPR Conference in Budapest

Summer University of Kőszeg – ISES, Hungary

Interest Groups in Central and Eastern European Countries

Strategic Elites and European Enlargement

Zoltán László Szabó