

**AN ASSESSMENT OF A NEW PERSONALITY MEASURE OF
AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT**

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the research was to assess the psychometric properties of Altemeyer's (1981) Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA scale) - developed in response to identified methodological weaknesses in personality measures of authoritarianism to date - within a South African setting. A modified version of the 24-item attitudinal scale, together with a demographic questionnaire was administered to a white and black sample of South African university students. Subsequent psychometric analysis of the data indicated that the scale was a significantly less powerful measure of authoritarianism in a cross-cultural context, than originally hoped for. Not only did the analysis show an absence of psychometric equivalence but revealed substantial problems within the content of the scale itself. An ensuing discussion of these findings situated the debate within a broader theoretical context. It was argued that the RWA scale, and its underpinning conceptualization, although possibly comprising a methodological refinement over existing measures of authoritarianism, did not constitute grounds for a viable approach to research on authoritarianism in the South African context. It was concluded that a model of authoritarianism resting on the assumptions of positivistic psychology, inevitably failed to account for the social and political dynamics of a changing society. As a socially relevant enterprise, it was suggested that the debate on authoritarianism be extended beyond the confines of individualistic psychology and research priority directed instead to the crucial role of societal factors giving rise to the individual manifestation of the phenomenon.

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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1. Situating the debate

The years following the publication of the social psychology classic on authoritarianism, The Authoritarian Personality by Adorno et al. (1950), were to see the study of the phenomenon become increasingly the sole domain of individualistic psychology. Many of the essential underlying themes within the debate were to be disregarded, and it was as if, researchers had extracted the operational definition of fascist potential, the F scale, and "treated the whole book as little more than a nine-hundred and ninety page test manual" (Billig, 1978, p.49). Despite Adorno's repeated warnings that "the subjectively oriented analyses have their value only within the objective theory" (in Jacoby, 1975, p.xiv), the work was increasingly mistaken for a purely psychological analysis of politics.

As far back as 1954, Christie, in a critique of The Authoritarian Personality, highlighted this trend towards a psychological reductionism, one which manifested itself as a shift, from referring to the F scale, (the operational definition of The Authoritarian Personality), as a measure of fascist potential, the original intention, to an actual measure of authoritarianism.

He pointed out that the F scale was nowhere explicitly referred to as an authoritarianism scale per se in The Authoritarian Personality:

"There are occasional references to authoritarian and authoritarianism in the text of The Authoritarian Personality but these appear to be used in a descriptive sense and not as implying that all authoritarianism is fascism - explicitly or implicitly." (in Christie and Jahoda, 1954, p.126)

Nevertheless, as Jacoby (1975) notes, the intended sociological and political element was not explicitly stated in The Authoritarian Personality. Because of its hidden nature the potential danger of psychologism was present. Adorno subsequently noted this misconception which, due to the study's emphasis was not entirely unjustified:

"That the authors had sought to analyze anti-semitism, together with fascism solely subjectively, and had fallen into the error that political-economic phenomena were primarily psychological.... Yet we have never doubted the primacy of objective factors over psychological.... We saw socio-psychology as a subjective mediation of an objective social system: without its mechanism the subject would not be able to be held on the leash." (in Jacoby, 1975, p.87)

What was originally therefore a politically embedded and socially critical concept, has subsequently fallen prey to a positivistic psychological tradition which has stripped it of political, as well as historical meaning.

The developmental history of the psychological theory of authoritarianism therefore needs to be explicated if the subject is to assume a role of contemporary social relevance. Viewing the theory as a product of historical process it is held that a

contemporary critical understanding of it necessitates situating the concept within a political and historical nexus.

1.1. Biological psychology

According to Billig (1982, p.62), the growth of authoritarian ideas in psychology, occurred within the ideological nexus of biological psychology. For example, Pierre Cabanis, recognized as the father of physiological psychology suggested, what was to evolve into a familiar theme in psychology, a plan for the manipulation of nature, an enterprise which would "'revise and correct the work of nature to produce wise and good citizens, just as one is able to produce sweet smelling peaches and beautifully speckled tulips'" (in Billig, 1982, p.62).

Charles Darwin reinforced this shift towards a biological perspective on man as well as the 'fact' of 'natural inequality'. Although he argued, in The Descent of Man (1901), that there is a close resemblance between all men and all races in terms of traits, tastes and habits, he also expressed views accepting the notion of 'higher' and 'lower' races and of the inevitable triumph of the racially superior: "When civilized nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race" (Darwin, 1901, p.283).

The writings of Ernst Haeckel, put forward in a materialist biological context, echoed Darwin's confidence, that the forces of history were evolving to produce human perfectibility, that

the "other races will sooner or later completely succumb in the struggle for existence to the superiority of the Mediterranean races" (in Billig, 1982, p.71). However, in the event of the market forces of economics and biology not operating in accordance with nature's mission, Haeckel foresaw the need for a controlled plan. He claimed that, just as healthy and useful plants are facilitated in growth by "a careful uprooting out of weeds", in similar vein, "by the indiscriminate destruction of all incorrigible criminals ... would the struggle for life among the better portion of mankind be made easier" (p.72).

1.2. The growth of eugenics

The first biologist to apply Darwin's theory of evolution to specific psychological issues was his cousin Francis Galton. He defined eugenics as, "the science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating" (in Montagu, 1974, p.235). According to Montagu, it is quite clear from Galton's writings, that the founder of eugenics was convinced of the existence of "higher" and "lower", "superior" and "inferior" races, and of the role eugenics had to play to enhance the dream of biological perfection. Pearson, a pupil of Galton's, stated confidently that eugenics, from being an ideology, had progressed to entering the highest stage of scientific development and was able to settle objectively those disputes which had previously wasted so much time (Billig, 1982, p.75). From Billig's point of view, there is the implicit hope in these ideas, not that science would abolish religion, but that it would become the religion of the future.

1.3. The fascist tendency

By the twentieth century, in Europe, the eugenic message had increased in popularity as confidence was being shaken by a series of crises, including the growth of unemployment and its attendant atmosphere of social unrest. In Germany the eugenic movement came to identify closely with Nazism, and it was later to find direct expression in Hitler's belief that "socialism is nothing else than the natural ordering of a people according to its inborn capacities" (in Billig, 1982, p.79). Large numbers of psychologists saw the Nazi party applying psychological principles. For example, Jaensch, in his book Der Gegentypus, published in 1938, undertook to demonstrate that the Nazi personality represented a healthier biological stock than the Anti-Type personality of liberals and Jews (Billig, 1982, p.79).

A group of thinkers however, standing at this intersection of ideological traditions, sought to oppose this growth of fascist tendencies within the ideas of the Enlightenment by supplementing Marxism with psychology.

2. The Frankfurt School

The Frankfurt School, an informal term for the collective thought of a group of Marxist thinkers who formulated in Germany, prior to the rise of Hitler, and then in exile, a theory known as "critical theory", called on the traditions of the Enlightenment

and Marxism in an attempt to confront the inherent irrationality of fascism in particular, and contemporary society in general.

One theme to emerge from the Marxist economic analyses of the Frankfurt School was that capitalism was inevitably tending towards fascism, as the process of monopolization necessitated a growing political authoritarianism (Billig, 1982, p.90). For example, Horkheimer stated that, "the National Socialists do not stand outside the pattern of economic trends" but instead represented the culmination of economic forces (Billig, 1982, p.90). This theoretical argument alluded to the notion of authoritarianism as the principal psychological condition of modern society. Consequently, the psychological inquiries derived from these analyses were to concentrate heavily upon authoritarianism.

2.1. The gap in Marx

A central theme which ran through the work of the Frankfurt School was that a fundamental change of outlook had taken place in Western thinking, with objective reason giving way to subjective interpretation in European culture, and with philosophy in particular becoming more psychological and subjectivist. The growth of this subjectivist rationality, they contended, implied more than the development of a trend within philosophy, but signified a growing importance of psychological factors themselves. And by limiting themselves "to the sphere of objective economic processes", Wilhelm Reich stated, Marxists had

ignored the "so-called 'subjective factor', i.e the ideology of the masses" (in Billig, 1982, p.93).

What was therefore perceived as lacking was the subjective, human and philosophical content of Marxism (Jacoby, 1975, p.75) and subsequent efforts of the Frankfurt School became directed towards rectifying this imbalance in Marxist theory. However, as Jacoby clearly emphasizes, their aim was not to create a sharp break between the two dimensions; they were neither perceived as identical nor absolutely separate. In the pursuit of a dialectic, an attempt was made to retain the tension between individual and society, psychology and political economy (Jacoby, 1975, p.77). Psychological theory was not, insisted Horkheimer, to be used to explain away social phenomena or to reduce historical events to the psychological idiosyncrasies of the personalities involved. As he explicitly stated: "A materialist historiography without adequate psychology lacks something ... but a psychological historiography is false" (in Billig, 1982, p.97).

2.2. Psycho-analysis and the Frankfurt School

From the outset the pursuit of subjectivity was aimed to determine why, contrary to Marxist expectations and despite the favorable objective conditions for a proletariat revolution, it had not in fact materialized (Jacoby, 1975, p.75). The key to this puzzle was perceived to lie within the Freudian notion of repression. Erich Fromm argued that psychoanalytic theory could be employed to illustrate that collective ideologies were the

disguised and rationalized expression of instinctual drives (Billig, 1982, p.97). The intellectual emphasis to explicate the psychological mechanisms contributing towards the sustainment of the capitalist system and that which inhibited class consciousness, focussed on the role of the patriarchal family, dominated by a tyrannical father, in producing this repressive authoritarianism. Wilhelm Reich maintained that the family, "is the mediator between the economic structure of bourgeois society and its ideological superstructure" (in Jacoby, 1975, p.86).

The Frankfurt School followed the pattern of this thinking, to explicate the psychic mechanisms that prevented class consciousness. However, the theory, apart from containing contrasting themes, also lacked a basis in empirical investigation.

"It was to be in the post-war empirical research, using the positivist techniques which critical theory had derided, that these themes were to become more fully distinguished, yet at the same time incorporated, at least in part, into the traditions of the uncritical psychology of subjective rationality." (Billig, 1982, p.101)

2.3. The concept of a fascist personality

Fromm made the first steps towards developing the notion of a distinct fascist personality type into a more coherent theory. In essence, his theory had its roots in an existential interpretation of alienation. From this perspective, fascism represents an attempt to seek the illusion of security within the wider group; the individual will abandon his own freedom and submit himself to the will of a leader. The character structure

underlying fascism, according to Fromm, is one which seeks the security of a higher authority, the "tendency to give up the independence of one's own individual self and to fuse one's self with somebody or something outside oneself in order to acquire the strength which the individual self is lacking (Fromm, 1943, p.112). The more distinct forms of this mechanism were to be located in the striving for submission and domination, which Fromm stated, comprise an attempt to escape from an "unbearable feeling of aloneness and powerlessness" (Fromm, 1943, p.130). Psychologically, these mechanisms were translated into masochistic and sadistic strivings, which, taken together, "represents the personality structure which is the human basis of fascism" (Fromm, 1965, p.173). Fromm qualified this, stating:

"These psychological conditions were not the 'cause' of Nazism. They constituted its human basis without which it could not have developed, but any analysis of the whole phenomenon of the rise and victory of Nazism must deal with the strictly economic and political, as well as with the psychological, conditions." (Fromm, 1943, p.188)

Fromm's preliminary research was to lay the foundation for the Frankfurt School to further its exploration of the unconscious roots of ideology in order to narrow the psychological gap in Marxism, by employing psychoanalytic theories and concepts to understand the relationship between 'collective ideologies' such as fascism and the individual's psychology (Brown, 1985, p.98). This work was to culminate in The Authoritarian Personality by Adorno et al.

3. The Authoritarian Personality

The Authoritarian Personality, a single volume in a multi-volume series of Studies in Prejudice, directed by Horkheimer and sponsored by the American Jewish Committee is, as far as the majority of contemporary social psychologists are concerned, the most important work the exiled Institute of Social Research produced.

The Authoritarian Personality was guided by the general hypothesis that "the political, economic and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern ... and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality" (Adorno et al., p.1). The study was based on a similar assumption to that underlying Fromm's analysis; that there is a specific character structure which underpins support for fascism. The general intention of The Authoritarian Personality was to articulate the psychological basis of fascism. This enquiry into a "potentially fascist individual, one whose structure is such as to render him particularly susceptible to antidemocratic propaganda" (Adorno et al., p.1), argued that these individuals manifest several personality traits which combine to form a syndrome.

Adorno et al. maintained that, since fascism was not to the economic advantage of the masses it sought to attract, "it must therefore make its major appeal, not to rational self-interest, but to emotional needs" (Adorno et al., p.10). Therefore the

answer as to why people so easily submitted to the irrationality of fascist propaganda, was assumed to lie in part with psychological conditions: "The task of fascist propaganda is rendered easier to the degree that antidemocratic potentials already exist in the great mass of people" (Adorno et al., p.10), and these potentials were a result of "long established patterns of hopes and aspirations, fears and anxieties that dispose them to certain beliefs and make them resistant to others" (Adorno et al., p.10). Again though, the psychological preconditions were themselves to be seen as the product of historical change. Horkheimer asserted that the intention was not to replace social analysis by psychological analysis but that, "even in the present series of studies, although essentially psychological in nature, it has been necessary to explain individual behaviour in terms of social antecedents and concomitants" (in Foreword, p.vii).

The crux of the theory of prejudice entailed the notion that anti-semitism is a symptom of a deeper psychological trait which can manifest itself in prejudice towards outgroups, and secondly, that a fundamental aspect of this prejudice is cognitive rigidity. This psycho-analytically informed understanding of the prejudiced individual to emerge was similar to Fromm's earlier descriptions of the sado-masochistic personality (Billig, 1982, p.105). The prejudiced subject, a psychological weakling who tries to compensate for his deficiencies by an exaggerated admiration of power and strength, was identified psychoanalytically in The Authoritarian Personality, as having an externalized superego and a poorly controlled id whose aggressive

and sexual drives were largely fended off through such ego defense mechanisms as repression, projection and displacement (Altemeyer, 1981, p.14).

3.1. The authoritarian syndrome

The general authoritarian syndrome was defined as incorporating nine theoretically related traits, which the authors named and described respectively as:

- (a) Conventionalism: rigid adherence to conventional, middle class values.
- (b) Authoritarian submission: submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.
- (c) Authoritarian aggression: tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.
- (d) Anti-intraception: opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tenderminded.
- (e) Superstition and stereotypy: The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.
- (f) Power and "toughness": preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.
- (g) Destructiveness and cynicism: generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

(h) Projectivity: The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.

(i) Sex: exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on".

(in Altemeyer, 1981, p.14)

3.2. Origins of the syndrome

The source of this authoritarian syndrome was traced by the authors to early experiences within a rigidly hierarchical and punitive family setting, and the result was an ongoing authoritarianism. The authoritarian was assumed to repress resentment against his parents and this resentment forms the basis of subsequent prejudices. On an interpersonal level, authoritarians as parents would tend to create the same conditions which had contributed to their own disposition, while on a social level the authoritarian would identify with strong leader figures. In this way, Billig states, "the psychological preconditions as well as the actuality of mass authoritarian movements would be preserved" (1982, p.106).

3.3. The F Scale

The empirical starting point which was to complement the theoretical developments was the construction of an attitude scale designed to measure anti-Semitic attitudes. Other scales measuring racial, political and economic attitudes were correlated with this initial scale to discern the psychological characteristics of the anti-Semite. In this way, the particular analysis of anti-Semitism was intended to reveal wider aspects of

fascism (Billig, 1982, p.103). The scale resulting from these correlational studies was labelled the Fascism Scale (F Scale), aimed at measuring antidemocratic tendencies in the personality without reference to specific ideological attitudes. The F scale was described, not as a direct measure of fascism, but as a measure of "implicit fascist tendencies" (Adorno et al., 1950, p.234). Unlike Fromm therefore, who focussed upon the psychology of fascist leaders, Adorno et al. concentrated on those who might be attracted by fascist propaganda. Findings were based upon studies of ordinary men and women, as the main concern was with the potentially fascistic individual.

The psychological profile of the typical low-scoring individual was constructed in contrast to the high-scoring authoritarian. It was suggested that the low-scorers display "a greater readiness to look more objectively at man and society in general" (Adorno et al., 1950, p.485), whereas the high scorer feels persistently threatened in one way or the other. A further contrast was made between the rigidity of the prejudiced and the more flexible modes of response of the non-prejudiced. This inability to handle ambiguity on the part of the potentially fascistic individual, the authors suggested, could under certain socioeconomic conditions incline an entire nation to "escape from freedom" (Adorno et al., p.486), which Fromm had pointed out earlier, was probably the case with Nazism.

4. Critique of The Authoritarian Personality

The Authoritarian Personality had an immediate impact on psychological research. Within five years literally hundreds of empirical studies employing the F Scale and its conceptualization had been carried out (Billig, 1978). This has continued to the present day, with the F Scale, being widely used, while the remainder of the work, although now given scant attention, is generally regarded as a social-psychological classic.

The study however, has also become the object of enormous theoretical and methodological criticism. For example, Hyman and Sheatsley concluded that, although they found much to praise in the volume,

"the mistakes and limitations - no one of them perhaps crucial - uniformly operate in favor of the author's assumptions, and cumulatively they build up a confirmation of the theory which, upon examination, proves to be spurious. Even in their choice of past research for reference purposes, they have largely ignored contrary findings or hypotheses." (in Christie and Jahoda, 1954, p.121)

It is exigent that several of these criticisms now be articulated due to the direct bearing they have on the present research endeavour.

4.1. Potential versus actual fascist

As far as Billig (1978) is concerned the major weakness of the study is perhaps the fact that no actual fascists were studied. The unfortunate implication of this was that there was no direct study of the psychological mode of fascist thought. Although the

focus was on "implicit fascist tendencies" (Adorno et al, 1950, p.234), the causal link hypothesized between potential and actual fascist behaviour has consistently undermined the theory's usefulness in subsequent studies. The potential fascist was identified as an individual who will turn towards fascism when the economic and political climate is propitious for its development. This implied that the results were assumed to be predictive of a future whose political and economic status stands in contrast to that under which the study was conducted. Furthermore, if one was to view individual personality as a social creation (Harre, 1976) the issue becomes increasingly complex. According to this theoretical perspective, a change in social conditions would have a direct bearing on personality. Therefore, argues Billig (1978), there may be no direct relationship between the potential and future fascist personality. One of the author's emphasis that the validity of the results were "limited to relatively stable circumstances" (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1954, p.228), seriously weakens the usefulness of the concept of potential fascism, as these may be precisely the social conditions under which fascism fails to germinate (Billig, 1978, p.44).

Furthermore; it has often been pointed out empirically that there are frequent discrepancies between an individual's attitudes and actual behaviour. In light of this, people holding authoritarian attitudes do not necessarily behave in an authoritarian manner (Ray, 1976, 1979; Duckitt, 1983). This finding raises the question as to whether the personality syndrome described in The

Authoritarian Personality is perhaps not a necessary nor sufficient predictor of fascist behaviour. Billig (1978) cites studies lending support to this view. For example, studies of extreme right wing groups in the United States found little overall personality pattern to support the hypothesis of an authoritarian personality. Similarly, Abel (in Billig, 1978), discovered insufficient uniformity in the motivations given by Nazi party members for joining, to give support to the original theory. Pettigrew (1975), in his well known comparative studies of authoritarianism between South Africa and southern United States, concluded that cultural norms, more so than personality determinants were related to racial attitudes, in conditions where these attitudes were the norm. The implications of this finding are that personality factors are predictive of participation in fascist politics only under circumstances of little general support for this political philosophy. This conclusion is at odds with the original intent of the authors of The Authoritarian Personality.

4.2. "Left" versus "Right" authoritarianism

Shils (1954) criticized the work as resting on "the preconceived idea that authoritarianism is a characteristic of the Right and the corresponding notion that there is no authoritarianism on the Left" (in Christie and Jahoda, 1954, p.32). Although this criticism does reflect a shift away from the study of potential fascism towards the notion of general authoritarianism, it does articulate an important point. Shils accused Adorno et al. of adopting an unsatisfactory conception of politics along a

simplistic Left to Right continuum. He stated that it was erroneous to believe that authoritarianism and its concomitants are situated on the Right, and that the Left and the Right, falling at the opposite ends of the continuum, can never overlap. He criticized this "narrowness of political imagination" (1954, p.31), which paid almost no attention to the Low Scorers who in clinical interviews, - constituting a qualitative component to the study - manifested similar personality patterns to that of the high scorers. He concluded that the F Scale had to be rejected because it did not disclose the authoritarian personality as such but rather represented a particular political ideology, and consequently tapped into only one form of authoritarianism. This failure "to capture authoritarianism per se as displayed in other forms of political ideologies" (Shils, 1954, p.193), raises the debate whether the F Scale is a measure of personality or of ideological belief.

4.3. Anti-semitism as core element

The notion that anti-Semitism is a core element in the personality structure of the potential fascist also came under critical scrutiny. On purely methodological grounds a bias was detected by Hyman and Sheatsley (1954), in that only those items correlating with anti-Semitic attitudes were retained in the final scale. This assumption of the crucial importance of racialistic themes in fascist thought prevented the researchers from placing equal emphasis on political and economic factors. Contrary to Weber's earlier statement that anti-semitism is a "red-herring" (in Billig, 1978, p.40), Horkheimer stressed it as

"a spearhead of fascism" (in Billig, 1978, p.40). Billig cites the example of Italian fascism, which did not start from an anti-Semitic stance, to illustrate this point. Only later, he states, did it develop an overt anti-Semitic stance. He suggests that in contemporary Britain anti-black prejudice would be a more suitable criterion for gauging potential fascism and the point therefore to be stressed is that the social psychological relationships entailed by fascism may be altered depending on time and place. Therefore, "the patterns of potential fascism, uncovered empirically by Adorno et al. in the United States just after the war, may not be repeated in contemporary Britain" (Billig, 1978, p.42).

4.4. The causal model

Tajfel (in Tajfel and Fraser, 1978) has questioned the validity of the causal model underpinning the notion of the prejudiced individual. Although he admits the possible existence of such a type of person, he doubts whether the study has provided clear evidence of the assumed causal nature of the personality dynamics involved. Tajfel refers specifically to the idea that the authoritarian personality is characterized by a strong sense of ethnocentrism coupled with feelings of hostility to outgroups. Tajfel mentions examples that contradict this notion: In those cases where the notion does seem to hold, the members of these ingroups cannot all be classified as authoritarian or ethnocentric. Secondly, strong ingroup affiliations exist which are not coupled with strong outgroup hostility. Finally, changes over time in general manifestations of outgroup hostility can be

linked more to the social, economic, and political conditions of the moment (p.409).

4.5. Intolerance of ambiguity thesis

The assumption that the authoritarian personality is intolerant of ambiguity has become ingrained in social psychology. Allport, in The Nature of Prejudice (1954), described the concept as "the most momentous discovery of psychological research in the field of prejudice" (p.170). However, as Billig (1978, p.59) poignantly points out, the assumption is severely undermined by the methodological construction of the questionnaire scales. The items, far from being simply worded, "were deliberately constructed to contain the very ambiguities, hedgings and lack of categorical assertion which are supposed to threaten the authoritarian". These assumptions suggest that the potential fascist would not respond as hypothesized if the scales consisted of unambiguous declarations of fascism. Altemeyer (1981) endorses this sentiment that there is no clear support for the intolerant of ambiguity thesis, although he does add, that many of the later tests used to operationalize the construct "have little more in common than the name" (p.53).

4.6. Childhood origins

The hypothesized importance of childhood experiences in the genesis of potential fascism has subsequently been found substantially lacking in experimental support (Altemeyer, 1981, p.48). One of the original researchers, Sanford, was later forced to admit that "rightist authoritarianism ... owes less to

early childhood experiences than the authors of The Authoritarian Personality supposed" (in Altemeyer, p.49). Christie (1954) has pointed to studies which indicate that changes in authoritarianism have occurred as a result of experiences in adulthood, and concludes, "that the relative importance of early versus late environment is one which cannot yet be definitely answered" (in Christie and Jahoda, p.195). This tenuous conclusion remains to this day, alluding perhaps to the complexity of intertwined factors involved in the subject matter.

4.7. Unidirectional wording of the F scale

There has been much criticism of the scale over the unidirectional wording of its items. That is, all of the F scale's items express views which the potential fascist would be expected to agree with. Although this argument is not without its critics, (Rorer, 1965; Samelson, 1986), who argued that acquiescent response set is a myth, the theory has generally, appeared to have found support over the years (Bass, 1955; Altemeyer, 1981; Ray, 1979). Attempts have been made at reversing the items of the F scale, with very little success however. The reversed-meaning items failed to correlate as expected with the original unaltered items. Instead of correlating in a highly negative fashion, they tended to correlate almost insignificantly (Ray, 1984). Moreover, the attempts focussed only on the grammatical and psychological meanings of the items. The possibility of political reversals was not explored, so that the items would reflect an opposition to a fascist viewpoint, thereby discerning the respondent as someone who rejects fascist

propaganda from someone who accepts anti-fascist propaganda. Billig (1978) feels that this inability to come to grips with the complexities of political language constitutes a weakness in methodological criticisms of the type mentioned above.

4.8. Sampling

Hyman and Sheatsley (1954) pointed out that the conclusions of The Authoritarian Personality rested on an inadequate sample of respondents, from which broad generalizations were incautiously drawn. The subjects, they indicated, were almost exclusively from a middle socio-economic background. This inattention to methodologically correct sampling procedures "tends to perpetuate the implication that the level of organization of sentiments is a kind of universal, an intra-psychic process which bears little relation to environmental conditions" (in Christie and Jahoda 1954, p.60). And Christie and Jahoda's (1954) citing of research that has shown a negative correlation between F scale scores and socio-economic status, lends further support to the argument.

4.9. Non-psychodynamic explanations

In similar vein to the above, in their analysis of the data the authors exercised no control over the variable of educational status, despite the fact that national surveys had shown that many of the differences attributed to ethnocentrism may have reflected variations in individual educational levels. Hyman and Sheatsley concluded from this weak handling of the data that the researchers, "invariably work in favor of the assumptions" (in Christie and Jahoda, 1954, p.119) and believed that these

methodological oversights reflect the authors' penchant for psychodynamic explanations, which led them to:

"ignore the widespread distribution of certain sentiments in the American population, their frequent correlation with formal education, and obvious social determinants, and to attribute them instead to psychodynamic processes unique in the ethnocentric individual" (p.121).

4.10. Correlation studies

Further evidence of this implicit bias supporting the theory was discerned in the correlation studies. A positive relationship, between authoritarianism and political conservatism was declared, although the two scales measuring these constructs manifested a marked overlap in content (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1954, p.119). In similar vein, a significant relationship between F scale scores and a measure of anti-Semitism was claimed, when in fact, in the process of constructing the F scale, only those items which had indicated a strong relationship with anti-Semitism were retained. In this way, critics stated, the interpretations became, "mere statements of opinion" (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1954, p.120).

4.11. Summary

Hyman and Sheatsley (1954), in their cogent methodological critique of The Authoritarian Personality reach the conclusion that, "the theory itself may be correct and provable, but the methodological weaknesses of the present study prevent its demonstration on the basis of these data" (p.32). Altemeyer (1981), has since mirrored a similarly bleak indictment after a comprehensive psychometric evaluation of numerous studies which had subsequently used the F scale: "It was hard to see how the

test could work as a measure of right wing authoritarianism (or anything else), although obviously hundreds of researchers have believed it would" (p.77). He believes that not only is "the theory unconfirmed ... but also that all of this research was incapable of testing the theory from the start" (p.80).

5. Subsequent research in authoritarianism

After The Authoritarian Personality was published, a shift from an emphasis on fascism to a notion of universal authoritarianism occurred. This change within psychological research reflected the broader societal preoccupations of the time. The defeat of fascism in 1945 was soon to be replaced with another concern: the threat of communism. The opening of this new chapter in history, the Cold War, was to have a direct bearing on the shape of social-psychological theory.

The consequences of the shift, apart from an implicit upgrading of the importance of psychological factors to the detriment of political and economic determinants of prejudice, was a theoretical gravitation towards a general psychology of totalitarianism, which was to declare itself ahistorical and politically neutral.

This trend away from the importance of social and political factors was simultaneously reflected in the writings of several American sociologists. Bell, for example, in The End of Ideology

(1961), asserted confidently that, "ideology, which was once a road to action, has come to be a dead end" (p.393). Furthermore, he stressed a link between ideology and emotionality: "One might say that the most important latent function of ideology is to tap emotion" (p.395). The inherent assumption in a perspective of this type is, as Billig (1978) notes, that the liberal perspective standing in opposition to fascism and communism, conceived itself to be a universal guarantee of intellectual and political freedom. Subsequent research in authoritarianism, by attempting to remove political argument from the psychology of politics was to embody this assumption.

5.1. Eysenck: Tender-Toughmindedness scale

Soon after Adorno et al.'s study was published, Eysenck, in The Psychology of Politics (1954), proposed that political behaviour could be understood in terms of two independent dimensions. Forwarding a similar argument to that of Shils (1954), he reiterated that there was a tendency to conceptualize political belief in terms of a single continuum, when in fact it appeared that on an individual level, "there is a considerable similarity between fascists and communists; so much so indeed, that there is very little to choose between them" (p.110). He consequently distinguished between a dimension of Left-to-Right political belief and a dimension of tender/toughmindedness, the latter corresponding to authoritarianism. He postulated that tough-mindedness predisposed one to extreme political views, both of the Left and the Right. And the fact that the traits of tough and tendermindedness did not operate in a vacuum, they were expressed

along the Left to Right continuum. Eysenck's argument was that the tough-minded radical becomes a communist, and the tough-minded conservative a fascist. The R scale was subsequently developed to measure the radicalism/conservatism of political attitudes, while the T scale provided a measure of tough/tendermindedness.

Eysenck's empirical findings, purporting to have distinguished clearly between fascists and communists on the R scale coupled with similar tough-minded scores, has come under a barrage of intense methodological criticism. Altemeyer (1981) concluded scathingly that, "seldom has a study been shown to be so seriously flawed from beginning to end" (p.88). The criticisms leveled, extended from the validity of the scales used, the "unjustifiable manipulations of the data" (Christie and Jahoda, 1954, p.123) and the conclusions drawn from these results. Among the major criticisms, it was alleged that the scales were not balanced between Left and Right-wing statements. Also; there were no items that could be described as peculiarly tough or tender-minded, rather a variety of Leftist and Rightist attitudes which Eysenck chose to name tough or tender-minded (Ray, 1982, p.34). Eysenck was also accused of omitting significant items from the scales in order to eliminate the difference between the tough-mindedness of fascists and communists. In short, although Eysenck's conceptualization has proved useful to the understanding of political behaviour, the immense empirical difficulties associated with it have subsequently impeded renewed research interest.

5.2. Rockeach: Dogmatism scale

Rockeach (1960), reiterated Shils' point that only one form of authoritarianism had been articulated in Adorno et al.'s study, but instead of focussing on authoritarianism of the Left he proposed that there were general psychological properties common to all forms of authoritarianism. He believed that one could "conceive of authoritarianism in an ahistorical way so that it will be equally applicable to all stages of history and to alternative forms of authoritarianism within a given historical stage" (1960, p.9). Therefore the structural properties of belief systems were more important than the actual content of these beliefs. What was therefore required was a means of separating the measurement of political attitudes from their underlying personality dynamics. Rockeach attempted to fulfil this task of developing a politically unbiased measure of authoritarianism.

His Dogmatism Scale (D Scale), intended to replace the F scale, was devised to tap into dogmatic and openminded thought. In his formulation, communists and fascists may be opposed ideologically but both were dogmatic or closed-minded (in Ray, 1982, p.35). These closed-minded people were proposed as following pre-set ideas in responding to new information, hence lacking the capacity for critical and independent thought. On the other hand, open-mindedness stemmed from placing trust in pre-ideological beliefs.

Rockeach's ideas, although theoretically appealing have not withstood empirical validation. Several researchers (Parrot and Brown, 1972; Hanson, 1984) have concluded that the D scale is flawed by an ideological bias in a conservative direction. Similarly, Billig (1982) states that there are reasons to believe that the scale does not methodologically demonstrate a clear distinction between the content and the style of a belief, but instead the items can be agreed or disagreed with on the grounds of political content as opposed to underlying mode. A related criticism is that closed-mindedness may to an extent be common to both Fascists and Communists but Ray (1982, p.35) questions whether it actually constitutes the definitive overlap or even a fundamental aspect of it. Altemeyer (1981) sums the above criticisms up in his assessment that, "... the D Scale does not measure what it was intended to measure, and is psychometrically so poor an instrument that it is difficult to know what it is measuring (p.91).

5.3. Wilson: Conservatism scale

A further example of the shift from a psychology applicable to a particular historical, economic and political context to one conceiving of itself as universally relevant independent of political discussion is highlighted by the Wilson's Scale of Conservatism, which was also intended to replace the F scale as a measure of right-wing prejudice. By "conservatism" Wilson meant, "resistance to change and the tendency to prefer safe, traditional and conventional forms of institutions and behaviour" (in Altemeyer, p.91). He conceived it as a general structure

which underlies the entire range of social attitudes, and was therefore understood to reflect a single personality dimension. The scale he developed to tap into this dimension is probably the most distinctive feature of Wilson's approach. He objected to the length and grammatical complexity of the F scale items and instead devised a scale consisting of catch phrases to which the subject responded in a simple "yes", "no" or "dont know" format.

Although the C Scale has been described by its innovators as unidimensional in content with high internal consistency, Altemeyer (1981) finds no sound evidence for these claims. On a theoretical level the implications of the C Scale's format has been criticized. It has been pointed out that there are many reasons why a subject may agree or disagree with an item, and although using propositional statements in scale design also constitutes a problem, the interpretative search is more clearly delineated. Items on the C scale therefore seem to be more ambiguous, not less so, to both the subject and the interpreter than do the usual questionnaire propositional items. Billig (1978, p.57) reinforces this skepticism of reducing the complexities of political judgement to simple responses, citing researchers (Lane, 1962 and 1972; Litwak et al., 1973) who believe that even relatively unsophisticated individuals have more elaborate political viewpoints than yes-no reactions to catch-phrases.

5.4. Ray: Directiveness scale

Subsequent to The Authoritarian Personality doubts were frequently expressed as to the validity of attitudinal items as a measure of personality. Ray (1976) indicated that the F scale did not show a clear and consistent relationship with actual behavioural measures of authoritarianism, and concluded on this basis that the F scale cannot be regarded as a valid measure of authoritarianism. Ray subsequently went on to develop a concept of authoritarianism very different from traditional perspectives. As an alternative he presented the notion of 'directiveness' as a new measure grounded in the assumption that the central element of authoritarianism could be defined as "the desire or tendency to impose one's will on others" (1976, p.314). The Ray Directiveness scale was proposed as a behaviourally valid measure of authoritarian personality. Research using this scale has consequently intimated that authoritarian personality and the endorsement of authoritarian attitudes or ideology may be quite independent dimensions (Heaven, 1981; Ray, 1976; Duckitt, 1983).

However, Rigby (1984) suggests that Ray has defined authoritarianism too narrowly, and although the element of 'directiveness' is thought to constitute an important element, it ignores the issue of the highly directive person's attitude to authority, which he states, is an element of equal importance (p.172). Furthermore; Duckitt (1983) notes that the validity of Ray's conceptualization would appear to require the critical assumption that the concept used by Ray to understand authoritarianism of personality was similar to Adorno et al.'s

handling of the term. Reviewing the work of both, Duckitt suggests that the conceptualizations appear to be quite theoretically distinct, and concludes that "research using the directiveness scale could neither validate nor invalidate the theory of the authoritarian personality" (p.12), adding his belief that, "the development of a behaviourally valid measure of authoritarian personality firmly based on the theory of Adorno et al. would therefore appear to remain a major research priority" (p12).

5.5. Summary

Periodically there have been further attempts at replacing the F scale by allegedly more superior scales and conceptualizations but still the original exists, in one form or the other, despite the huge problems that have been associated with it. Although authoritarianism has been one of the most heavily researched topics in social psychology,

"the failure to make progress seems to indicate that something is terribly wrong with the way this research has proceeded.... After 35 years of research involving hundreds of studies...we may rightly ask ourselves what we really know about right wing authoritarianism. I submit that we still know practically nothing."
(Altemeyer, 1981, p.112)

Altemeyer's conclusion is seemingly not presented without justification. On the contrary, it is buttressed by an impressive methodological critique of social psychological work on authoritarianism. In what is probably one of the most exhaustive critiques to be found in social psychology, Altemeyer

discerned several major failings in the research on authoritarianism, which he summarized as follows:

- Conceptualizations have been very casually constructed.
- Scales have usually been developed very quickly and published before they were ready for useful scientific investigation.
- The research which has been done with these scales has been quite deficient methodologically.
- The vast majority of papers in this literature report the results of one-shot, unreplicated studies. (1981, p.114)

Altemeyer's view is that, "the failure of authoritarianism research to accomplish anything other than tying itself up in knots" (p.115), is attributed to a looseness of conceptualization and in particular, to seriously inadequate measurement, rather than to the personality model per se postulated by Adorno et al. His comprehensive review of the literature forms the foundation for the central thrust of his work, Right Wing Authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981). After summing up that, "the papers in this literature are so replete with conceptual, methodological, analytical, and repertorial errors" (p.115), the remainder of the volume is committed to redressing the problem, and the subsequent development and validation of a new measure.

In the light of the historical overview presented above the aim of the present work is to evaluate Altemeyer's contribution to social psychology.

CHAPTER TWO

RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM

1. The theory

1.1. Origins of the theory

The covariation of three attitudinal dispositions is central to Altemeyer's definition of "right-wing authoritarianism" (RWA). This definition has its conceptual roots in the Adorno et al. theory of authoritarianism and consequently has essentially an inductive base.

The "attempt to induce a viable conceptualization of authoritarianism from empirical data" (p.155), was derived from a rigorous series of item analyses using a large pooled sample of items drawn from the F scale and other traditional measures of authoritarianism. Consistent with research that had used these scales previously, the bulk of the items manifested almost insignificant psychometric covariation with one another. However, according to Altemeyer, one cluster of items repeatedly indicated substantial intercorrelation, which he identified as tapping into the authoritarian sentiments of submission, aggression and conventionalism.

In their original form, the items constituting these sentiments were worded in the protrait direction - in his critique of earlier research, Altemeyer had highlighted the distorting

influence of response sets in attitude scales - but later studies showed that contrait items, expressing nonconformist, rebellious or pacifist sentiments also covaried with the central cluster. Moreover, these attitudinal dispositions to an authoritarian orientation were not situation nor issue specific but appeared to be broadly based, incorporating a wide range of social contexts. The implication Altemeyer drew from this was that, "authoritarianism apparently need not be as multifactored a construct as previous theorists have argued" (p.172) .

Through this process of item creation, Altemeyer was also able to determine which items did not covary. Most important, contrary to the Adorno et al. theory, items measuring ethnocentrism and prejudice failed to relate significantly to the core cluster.

After confirming the reliability and generality of this covariation by conducting further item studies involving large student and nonstudent samples, Altemeyer proceeded to construct an attitude scale, the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA scale) possessing sufficient internal consistency, and balanced against acquiescence, to measure this covariation which he interpreted as reflecting an underlying personality trait of right-wing authoritarianism.

1.2. The right-wing authoritarian

The right-wing authoritarian to emerge from Altemeyer's conceptualization derived inductively, was defined as being predisposed to the following sentiments:

- Authoritarian submission: a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in the society in which one lives;
- Authoritarian aggression: a general aggressiveness, directed against various persons, which is perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities; and
- Conventionalism: a high degree of adherence to the social conventions which are perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities. (p.148)

By submission to established authority Altemeyer intended the notion to extend to "those people in our society who are usually considered to have a general legal or moral authority over the behaviour of others" (p.152). Submission was not only owed to parents and husbands but also to government authorities. To a greater extent than nonauthoritarians, the right-wing authoritarian believes that established authorities have an inherent right to decide for themselves how they may act, including being above the law in times of crisis. There is also no underlying assumption, Altemeyer states, that the government in power need be right-wing to demand this submission: "Right-wing authoritarians say they will even submit to legally established left-wing governments, at least more so than nonauthoritarians will submit to a government they do not like" (p.152).

Authoritarian aggression includes a predisposition to cause injury to someone, in the broad usage of the term, when it is

associated by the belief that it has been sanctioned by established authority or that it will aid towards preserving the status quo. This predisposition may be enacted physically or as is more often the case, occur vicariously in the form of approval. The targets of this authoritarian aggression are random but certain groups are attacked more readily. Minority groups and socially unconventional people such as homosexuals would be considered as potential targets. However, "the power of authority figures to direct the hostility of authoritarians against almost any target increases the danger of authoritarian aggression to all in a society" (p.153). Authoritarians appreciate the value of physical punishment and advocate it in childrearing and beyond. They view transgressors of the law in a serious light, believing that punishment will return people to the ways expected by society. "All in all, there is an 'Old Testament harshness' in their approach to human conduct" (p.153).

Altemeyer's authoritarian possesses a strong acceptance of and commitment to, the established traditional social norms of the society, many of which are derived from Judeo-Christian religions. The authoritarian's code of conduct is conventional because it is founded on historical tradition and custom, not because it necessarily reflects how most people are in fact behaving. It is "a code of how people ought to act, not how they do" (p.155). The authoritarian does not accept the notion that people should be permitted to develop their own ideas about morality, adhering rather to fundamental teachings of religion. Underlying the strict acceptance of traditional social norms is

the notion that these are imperative for social as well as moral well-being: "The authoritarian rejects the proposition that social customs are arbitrary, and one nation's customs can be as good as another's. Other ways of doing things are wrong" (p.154).

1.3. The construct validity of the RWA scale

Altemeyer, in an unprecedented study for social psychology, undertook to empirically evaluate claims made by various researchers' concerning their authoritarian scales, proposed as superior alternatives to the original F scale.

The construct validity of six purported measures of authoritarianism including the RWA scale, was assessed in a pitting experiment involving a sample of nearly a thousand Canadian students. The criteria used to assess the validity of the respective scales were respectively: a) the internal consistency of the measures, discerned by examining interitem correlations and performing a factor analysis on the scores for each test; (b) their relationship with several measures of authoritarian sentiments which had been suggested in past theory and research, which included: orientation to established authority and the law; the perception of law as moral code; punitive attitudes towards sanctioned targets and; religious and political affiliation.

a) Internal consistency findings: Altemeyer discovered that the RWA scale exhibited the highest alpha reliability (determined by the level of interitem correlation and test length) Secondly,

the factor analysis indicated that this scale was the most unidimensional of the tests compared. One general factor was extracted accounting for 23% of the variance.

b) Empirical relationships with theoretically correlated variables: The RWA scale emerged the superior predictor of authoritarian dispositions and behaviour on five of the six criteria, the exception being a laboratory shocking experiment. All its items had significant relationships in the hypothesized direction indicating that the relationship was not merely due to those items which had obvious links with the criterion, but rather reflected an underlying dimension. One anomaly encountered however, was that the test was unable to account for a large part of the variance of continued acceptance of home religion and political party affiliation, despite the theoretical significance of these variables. Regarding the latter finding, Altemeyer added that "the differences in party authoritarianism were strongly, and sensibly moderated by the interest subjects had in politics. ... Right-wing authoritarianism becomes a sharper discriminator among party supporters as interest increases" (p.213).

In order to assess the generality of his findings, Altemeyer performed a cross-validation of the pitting studies, with four other samples, one of which was a nonstudent sample. The results indicated that, although the differences were not as significant as they were in the original pitting experiment, there was no

evidence that the relative superiority of the RWA scale was confined to the population in which it was developed.

In his evaluation of the RWA scale's performance in the pitting studies Altemeyer posed the imperative question as to whether this performance was adequate, "in absolute terms, to be scientifically useful in our attempts to understand human behaviour?" (p.212). He argued that a distinction be made between an "important relationship" and a "statistically significant" one. The RWA scale accounted for 25% of the variance, "good for our science at this time and worthwhile in its own right" (p.213), but this nevertheless, leaves 75% unaccounted for. He admitted that, although an amount of this would be accounted for by subsequent more refined measures of authoritarianism, "there is a definite limit to how complete an accounting any measure of personal authoritarianism can make of behaviour" (p.213), adding that, "experience has shown that trait analyses of behaviour will be seriously incomplete if the effects of situational variables, or other traits, are ignored" (p.215).

The admitted importance of the role of situational factors and their interaction with personal authoritarian dispositions was taken up by Altemeyer in an attempt to narrow this gap.

1.4. Covariates of authoritarianism

Endeavouring to isolate situational variables interacting with personal authoritarianism, Altemeyer reported his findings derived from several studies which indicated a significant

relationship between RWA scale scores and hypothesized covariates of authoritarianism. These relationships with the dynamics of right-wing authoritarianism were assessed by linking RWA scale scores with situational variables of interest which theoretically appeared to be associated with authoritarianism. The assessment proceeded by relating RWA scores of Canadian and American student samples with several variables, discussed under the following broad headings:

- (a) RWA scale relationships with political matters;
 - (b) the dynamics of authoritarian aggression;
 - (c) authoritarianism and religion;
 - (d) demographic covariates of RWA scale scores; and
 - (e) cross-sectional changes in authoritarianism scores over time.
- (p.216)

Exploring the relationship between authoritarianism and political party preference, Altemeyer discovered consistently, that students identifying with more politically conservative parties tended to score significantly higher on the RWA scale than those subjects supporting the more liberal parties. However, in accord with the previous finding, this relationship was moderated by an individual's interest in political matters.

Identifying those factors which appeared to affect the way high scorers would react to governmental abuses of power Altemeyer noted, contrary to expectations, that political orientation of the victim of the abuse did not play a significant role. His

second expectation, that the victim's conventionality would affect an authoritarian's attitude, was confirmed. In every case RWA scale scores were strongly related with tolerance of injustices committed against victims perceived as unconventional.

Exploring the dynamics of authoritarian aggression, it was apparent that in determining the nature of punishment to be meted out in a hypothetical criminal case, "a criminal's conventionality, social respectability, or authority status mediates the relationship between authoritarianism and punitiveness" (p.234). However, victim-based factors also appeared to have a moderating affect on this finding. Earlier Altemeyer had suggested that authoritarians are more likely to be prejudiced against minority groups who are conventional victims of discrimination because of their tendencies to express aggression against perceived sanctioned targets. Correlating RWA scores with a measure of prejudice seemed to reinforce this hypothesis that prejudice in high RWA scorers is another form of authoritarian aggression, particularly since the highest correlations obtained between prejudice and authoritarian scores were contributed by those items tapping general sentiments of aggression, without mention of any ethnic group.

Altemeyer, relating RWA scale scores and religious affiliation found that authoritarianism and religious variables mutually determine one another. Different levels of authoritarianism were associated with different religions. Those respondents who had no religious affiliations tended to be less authoritarian than those

who had a Jewish or Christian background, and Jews scored lower than Christians. Altemeyer attributed these variations to the:

"Profound differences among religions in the extent to which members are required to submit to the authority of a governing board, the ministry, and scripture Secondly, religions vary considerably in the extent to which they tolerate, are prejudiced against, and even attack "sinners" and people with different backgrounds or beliefs. Thirdly, organized religions try, to varying degrees, to shape their members' attitudes on a host of social issues, such as sexual morality. But together, such attempts promote the three elements of right-wing authoritarianism" (p.240).

Assessing the relationships between authoritarianism scores and the demographic variables of gender, age, occupational status, and education, the findings suggested that these variables do not appear to be significant covariates of personal authoritarianism. No consistent evidence emerged reflecting a significant difference between males and females on the measure. Furthermore, the studies failed to indicate that a strong link between RWA scale scores and occupational status exists. Also, while education may lower authoritarian scores, the relationship could not begin to support this alternate hypothesis of authoritarianism, postulated as a reflection of variations in education and class.

A cross-sectional analysis of scores revealed that the responses became significantly more authoritarian over time. Altemeyer noted that this difference could probably be attributed, not to the notion that the majority of the sample became more conservative but rather that the finding was due to a thinning of the political left ten years after the original 1969 study.

Altemeyer predicted from this: "If significant events in our culture create a student activist left again, the way the civil rights movement and the war in Vietnam did in the 1960s" (p.246), the levels of authoritarianism would probably decrease. The enhanced levels of authoritarianism over time were simultaneously coupled by a drop in interitem correlations which Altemeyer suggested, were open to several interpretations: It was possible that the covariation of sentiments may have exhibited a shift over time, the items of the scale may have dated, and the semantic framework altered. Secondly, the relationship between items may have changed over time as a result of social and political events, which would either strengthen or loosen the associations of particular sentiments at the individual level.

2. Conclusions

Working within the general framework of the Adorno et al. account, Altemeyer has presented a powerful case for a more refined and less complex conceptualization of authoritarianism. After providing probably the most comprehensive psychometric review of authoritarian research available, he concludes that the dismal failure of this enterprise to accomplish anything other than entangling itself can be attributed to seriously inadequate methodological procedures. This critique provides the basis for the subsequent description and reworking of a new measure of authoritarianism. The reworking is shown to be methodologically tighter than earlier efforts, more sharply defined and more

carefully delineated. The operational definition of the construct, the RWA scale, evolved inductively and therefore remains faithful to the conceptualization. In an exhaustive series of reliability and validity studies the RWA scale consistently emerged the psychometrically superior of the measures tested. Methodologically, the testing procedures were standardized, the samples large, the instruments reliable and the research sustained. Altemeyer has accumulated a considerable amount of evidence lending support to the validity and power of the RWA scale. In every study, the measure demonstrated adequate if not superior psychometric properties. It would appear to have demonstrated itself to be an essentially unidimensional measure of the covariance of authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. On the basis of these claims, it would be foolhardy not to assign further attention to this contemporary investigation of authoritarianism.

3. The South African research context

Altemeyer's work has clear implications for research on authoritarianism in South Africa. The local research studies in this area appear to mirror the demoralizing conclusions Altemeyer arrived at. Louw-Potgieter (1988), in a poignant criticism, highlights several discernible trends in South African studies that tend to lend support to these conclusions:

- Conceptualizations of authoritarianism have varied which has prevented a coherent theory from evolving and consequently restricted comparisons, imperative for purposes of construct validation and reliability;
- A host of different measuring instruments have been employed in the studies compounding the above mentioned problem;
- There have been unaccounted for variations in research findings, implying discrepancies in conceptual and methodological issues; and
- There has been an absence of critical social and political analysis of South African society.

Louw-Potgieter concludes, "that the time has arrived for South African social-psychologists to abandon the futile activity of endless reconceptualizations of authoritarianism, restandardizations of the F scale or creations of a new measure, and calculations of new correlates of these new concepts or measures" (p.84), and explore instead the crucial importance of factors not psychological. Although Louw-Potgieter stresses the importance of critical social analysis, which she correctly notes, is dismally absent in the majority of South African studies, her conclusion might not warrant the exclusion of a personality based model of authoritarianism in psychology. Louw-Potgieter possibly does not take fully into account the possibility that it is not the personality model of authoritarianism per se that is not relevant, but rather the conceptual and methodological confusion surrounding it that has led to this dire situation.

If one is to proceed along this line of thought, that the Adorno et al. model of personality-based authoritarianism may be fundamentally tenable, although the methodological weaknesses of the original and subsequent studies has failed to demonstrate its conceptual validity, it would therefore be unwise to deny the prospect of a more refined conceptualization of authoritarianism at the personal level and a scale operationally defining it, more superior to all that has preceded it. This study proposes to evaluate that possibility.

CHAPTER 3

THE STUDY

1. Research goals

1.1. Assessing comparability and equivalence

The theoretical notions of cross-cultural comparability and equivalence are intrinsic to the aims of the present study, as well as posing on a general level, some of the most fundamental problems in cross-cultural research (Retief, 1988, p.23). It has been argued that a "number of discontinuities occur when psychology is practiced in an environment different from which it emerged" (Gilbert, 1989, p.91). To compare two phenomenon, they must share some common feature. In other words, only when a shared underlying process exists, is it justified to interpret observed differences. "When such dimensional identity or common underlying process is demonstrated, then comparability is established" (in Berry and Triandis, 1980, p.8).

Dimensional identity can be established by demonstrating an underlying universal, or by the empirical search for equivalence. As Berry points out though (in Berry and Triandis, 1980), the existence of universals or equivalences should not be interpreted as evidence for lack of variation, "for the existence of variation or differences in a phenomenon is what makes comparison a worthwhile enterprise; if such differences were not to be

found, then comparative enquiry would soon cease to be worthwhile" (p.8).

Berry suggests three forms of equivalence, each providing evidence for dimensional identity in the data collected from two or more samples cross-culturally:

- functional equivalence
- conceptual equivalence
- metric equivalence

Functional equivalence: This is said to exist when two or more behaviors are related to functionally similar problems. "If similar activities have different functions in different societies their parameters cannot be used for common purposes" (Berry and Lonner, 1986, p.66). Functional equivalences are discovered, not created, as they must pre-exist as naturally occurring phenomena.

Conceptual equivalence: Similarity in meaning is usually associated with this term. It entails that the meaning of research materials (including stimuli, tests, concepts, and items) or behaviours, must be equivalent before comparison may proceed (Retief, 1988, p.26). Stated in another form, Hudson et al. (in Berry and Lonner, 1986) have argued that both stimulus and response equivalence of meaning is a necessary precondition for conceptual equivalence to be demonstrated. Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike (in Berry and Lonner, 1986) advocate a less differentiated view, contained in the notion of linguistic

equivalence. They recommend a two-way procedure of translation and back-translation of instruments and preliminary testings with bilingual subjects to create instruments which allow for valid comparisons. Conceptual equivalence is a precondition for comparison; only if common meaning is discovered, is a legitimate basis for comparison ensured.

Metric equivalence: When the psychometric properties of two or more sets of data exhibit essentially the same coherence or structure, metric equivalence is said to exist (Berry and Triandis, 1980, p.10). Two general approaches are contained in this notion. "Subsystem validation" (Berry, 1980, p.10) requires that statistical relationships among variables remain stable, regardless of the source of the variation. Secondly, scalar equivalence may be demonstrated by similarity in correlation matrices or by common factor structures. In both cases the requirement is that measurements should be structured similarly within groups before comparisons across groups are permitted (Berry, 1980, p.10). Unlike functional and conceptual equivalence, metric equivalence is established subsequent to data collection and analysis.

Only when the three forms of equivalence are demonstrated is it possible to address the notion of construct validity. Poortinga (in Berry and Lonner, 1986) sums this up succinctly: "In an analysis of comparability the main question is whether the same construct is being measured rather than which construct" (p.26). Furthermore, the demonstration of construct validation across

cultural groups does not remain within the confines of psychometric assessment.

"Psychometric analysis should not be seen as the 'via regia' towards the solution of the equivalence problem....Essential improvement in our understanding and explanation of cross-cultural differences requires first and foremost theories which enable us to make very specific statements about the interrelationships between phenomena. As long as the desired theories are not available, psychometric techniques to analyze comparability deserve serious attention" (in Berry and Lonner, 1986, p.251).

1.2. Definition of aims

In line with this theoretical overview: notwithstanding its scope, large samples, and absence of precedent in authoritarianism research, Altemeyer's work only indicates that the RWA scale performs relatively well within the population in which it evolved. It is possible that the attitudes and their underlying structure are idiosyncratic to the particular North American samples that were employed in the studies. On the basis of this possibility, the proposed area of research had its broad underlying goal as:

- to assess the performance of the RWA scale as a psychometrically reliable and valid measure of authoritarianism within a South African context;

To achieve this goal the following specific aim was proposed:

- By means of a psychometric analysis, to assess separately, the performance of the RWA scale in a white South African

student population and one comprised of black students. The aim here was to gauge the extent to which the RWA scale could be applied as a valid psychometric measure of authoritarianism across different South African settings.

2. Method

To achieve the goal outlined above, the following methodological framework was adhered to:

2.1. A pilot study

The aim of this component was to clarify any possible ambiguities inherent in the items of the RWA scale when administered to a South African sample. It was anticipated that items tapping political sentiments may in the present South African context, be open to diverse interpretation and therefore it was deemed necessary to standardize these meanings in clearer terms. To elucidate semantic problems presented by items, black and white students were interviewed by the researcher to evaluate the items on the RWA scale in terms of semantic differentiation and ideological connotation.

2.2. Sampling

White and black students from Rhodes University and the University of Fort Hare constituted the two populations of the study. The rationale for drawing independent samples of black and white students was grounded in the very political fabric of South

African society, as well as the possibility of cultural variations between the two groups.

2.3. Instruments

Both samples were administered Altemeyer's 24 item RWA scale, adapted to South African conditions. In line with Altemeyer, Louw-Potgieter and other writers on the subject, stressing the importance of variables not specifically psychological, subjects were requested to supply additional information - issues such as group membership, religious and political affiliations - variables that have been postulated as covarying with personal authoritarianism. This additional data was to be used in subsequent analyses and discussion, in an attempt to root the psychometric data within a broader, more theoretically valid framework.

2.4. Data analysis

The aim of the computational data analysis was to explore the psychometric properties of the RWA scale scores derived from the samples mentioned above. Item and factor analysis were employed in this phase of the research to gauge the degree of reliability and validity of the RWA scale.

Taken together, the components of this research project constituted an exploratory attempt at providing a conceptual critique and assessment of the practical applicability of the RWA scale within the contemporary socio-political South African context.

CHAPTER FOUR

PILOT STUDY

1. Establishing common meaning

As was outlined in the previous chapter, the goal of the present research was to assess the performance of the RWA scale as a valid and reliable measure of authoritarianism across different populations, in this case black and white South African students.

It was anticipated that several of the items on the RWA scale would not exhibit common meaning across the two samples employed in the study. Given the extreme cultural diversity of South African society as well as its divided political existence rooted in apartheid, the problem of equivalence was perceived to be especially salient in the South African research context. For this reason it was imperative that those items manifesting an ambiguity at the level of interpretation be identified and modified to reflect common meaning. It was deemed crucial that this possible ambiguity in item interpretation be clearly articulated and rectified prior to the main study as it would facilitate clarification as to whether subsequent scores reflected actual personality variations in terms of the construct being measured or merely semantic conflict at the level of individual interpretation. It was hypothesized that this problem of meaning would be particularly prevalent in those items tapping political attitudes. Given the political status quo in South

Africa, it was assumed that a respondent was likely to respond to an item in a manner that reflected his or her specific socio-political context and the relations determined by it. Consequently, there was an inherent danger, that any observed findings would possibly be related to variations in group membership and ideological factors rather than personality factors per se. The attempt to separate these non-psychological factors from those more personality-based determinants of attitudes, constituted a research priority in this endeavour. Therefore it was necessary to standardize items in terms of establishing common meaning for the different groups employed.

1.1. Conceptual standardization of the RWA scale

Three options, each with its own theoretical and practical implications, were considered, in a systematic attempt to address the problem of conceptual equivalence in the RWA scale across a wider range of individuals and groups than that in which the measure evolved. These are now discussed in relative depth as the resolution of the problems constituted by each, are contingent on a more general theoretical level, to the notion of equivalence.

a) Specifying on those potentially ambiguous items given the South African context: For example, item 6, "national anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men" (see Appendix A for the original version of the RWA scale), would be ambiguous and non-equivalent across samples as it is not specified which

anthem and flag is being referred to, and therefore depending on the referent, very different responses might be elicited. In a country where the majority of the population does not recognize the government of the day and the institutionalized national symbols as legitimate, attitudes would obviously reflect group attitudes rather than individual ones. Consequently a shift in the referent or stated context may possibly result in a corresponding shift in response. Therefore specifying referents was considered as a possible means to resolve this problem. This would still however make it impossible to discern the underlying nature of the variation in responses that may occur between individuals and groups.

b) The option of modifying items to convey general principles removed as far as possible from any specific socio-political context, was then considered. This would implicitly be an attempt to isolate personality dispositions from the social determinants of a respondent's attitudes. For example, item 1 could be modified to read, "In any country laws have to be strictly enforced if the society is to preserve its way of life". The major flaw of this approach is that, instead of holding socio-political variables constant, it fails to take them into account, thereby giving rise to irrelevancy in socio-political terms.

c) Outlining specific hypothetical scenarios would address the problems outlined above. To discern more accurately between responses shaped by the political policy of enforced separation,

ideological factors and those more personality based, problematic items would need to be elaborated into several sub-items. For example, the referent of "national anthems" in item 6 could possibly have been divided into:

- "Die Stem ..."
- "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika ..."
- "Anthems in general ..."

From a theoretical point of view this option appeared attractive. However, the practicalities of it were clearly not feasible, as well as opening the study to the criticism that the assessment was not of the RWA scale but rather a transformed version that bore little resemblance to the original.

It became clear to the researcher that there was no ready rule by which to standardize the meanings of problematic items on the RWA scale. It was decided therefore to seek a dialectical synthesis of the options, one that was intended to strike a balance between social and political relevance in South Africa by striving to remain faithful to the experiential world of the respondents, while simultaneously conveying conceptually similar meanings and connotations across various populations. This balance was to guide throughout the attempt at modifying a scale that would be amenable to valid psychometric analysis.

1.2. Method

Subjects: The sample constituting the pilot study consisted of 14 first year psychology students at Rhodes University. The sample was roughly balanced according to age, sex, and ethnic grouping. The group consisted of eight females and six males. They comprised six white English-speaking students, four Xhosa, two 'Coloured' and two Muslim students. The mean age was 19.2.

Measuring instruments: A paper and pencil questionnaire methodology was followed. The piloted questionnaire consisted of four distinct sections:

a) Introduction - The aim here was to provide a context to the subsequent sections, although without referring directly to the notion of "authoritarianism" directly, thereby providing sufficient background and direction to the respondent while simultaneously avoiding a possible bias which may have been induced had the subject known the exact nature of the questionnaire.

b) Demographic information - In this section respondents were requested to provide demographic data as well as information on religious and political affiliations.

c) Social Attitudes Survey - This comprised Altemeyer's 24-item RWA scale (Appendix A), of which several items had already been modified by the researcher as they were blatantly inappropriate for South African use. Subjects were requested in this section

to code their responses to the statements along a 7-point Likert scale extending from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

d) Debriefing - An opportunity for feedback on layout, item and scoring comprehension, as well as any general comments, was provided here to facilitate problem identification and subject involvement.

1.3. Procedure

Stage one

The questionnaires were distributed to separate groups in four sessions spread over a week. The groups comprised approximately three to four students. It was hoped that by using a small group design it would still be possible to probe individual responses while simultaneously generating group discussion.

The groups were provided with a brief explanation as to the nature of a pilot study in general. The introduction was brief so as to simulate the main study. Subjects were asked to each complete a questionnaire noting any problems they experienced with it, which would be discussed afterwards. The time taken to complete the questionnaire was noted.

Stage two

Once all the subjects had completed the questionnaire, the following interview schedule was adhered to in each session to articulate any potential ambiguities that may have been encountered:

- Identifying systematically any problems encountered within each section of the questionnaire;
- Articulating individually and as a group why this constituted a problem;
- Proposing possible alternatives to rectify the problem.

1.4. Results

Introduction: There was a general consensus that although the purpose of the study had not been explicitly stated, there was sufficient introduction for the respondents to feel that the questionnaire had an overall coherence and underlying meaning to it. As revealed later in individual comments, individuals experienced the exercise as interesting and relevant given the nature of the content, despite not quite knowing "what it was all about".

Demographic information: This appeared to be the least problematic area. Subjects found the instructions clear and scoring easy to proceed with. One issue that did arise however concerned question 9, "political party preference". Some felt that insufficient options on the political Right were listed, the Conservative Party constituting this pole. After indicating that the samples to be used in the main study were to be drawn from Rhodes University and Fort Hare, it was agreed that it was unlikely that there would be significant support for groups more Right than the Conservative Party.

Social attitudes survey: This section formed the focus for the greater part of the 45 minutes allotted for each session. Discussion proved extremely useful in generating alternatives which the researcher had not previously considered. Several items were consistently identified by the sample as ambiguous and subsequent individual and group attempts were made to standardize the meanings, the referents and the connotations of these polemical items. Appendix B highlights the specific areas of concern identified in the respective original items and a brief description as to the nature of the problem, while Appendix C comprises a modified form of the RWA scale which was finally decided upon by the researcher. As explained above, the guiding rule was to create items that retained their original meaning and immediacy as far as was possible, which were generally equivalent at the level of interpretive meaning, irrespective of the respondent's ethnic background. Furthermore, only those items which reflected a discrepancy in meaning and not variations in attitude were modified. Several items were perceived by individuals to contain ambiguous content when the problem was in fact one of conflict between a personal attitude and that conveyed in the particular item.

Debriefing: a) Scoring: Half of the items on the RWA scale are contrait worded to control for acquiescent response sets, identified by Altemeyer as a major problem in previous research in this area. Although respondents did not discern this directly as they were not aware of the presence of an underlying construct to the scale, they noted that they had to consider more carefully

their coded responses on several of the items. Apart from this, scoring did not cause undue problems. Also, the response categories were sufficiently broad to capture their feelings on a subject. However, subjects noted a problem inherent to questionnaires of this type in general, that being the absence of opportunity for qualified response.

Layout: All of the respondents found the layout very clear, noting in particular the system of providing the response scale at the top of each page for facilitated scoring.

Threatening items: It had been anticipated that subjects would possibly feel threatened by some of the items. This did not however prove to be the case with the pilot sample, the only exception being "political party preference" (item 9, Demographic section).

2. Conclusion

At this phase of the research, it was already evident that the RWA scale was by no means, in this context, a politically neutral research instrument. The measure in its original form clearly cannot be used in South Africa in a generalized manner without cautious prior consideration of the sample to be assessed. Furthermore, it must be conceded that, the aim for a standardized measure, outlined in this chapter, may not have been entirely fulfilled, given the intricacies of the cultural and political issues involved, as well as the stratified nature of South African society. The extent to which this endeavour has been

successful will be answered in a more explicit light in the analyses and discussion to follow later.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHOD

1. Subjects

Sample one: Rhodes University

The subjects were 215 white English speaking undergraduates. The sample consisted of 88 males and 127 females.

Sample two: Fort Hare University

Subjects were 400 black undergraduate students. The sample comprised 158 males and 242 females.

2. Measuring instruments

As was stated in the previous chapter, a questionnaire design was adopted for the study, among its advantages, the potential for capturing data from large samples of respondents, hence increasing the power to generalize results, its standardized format, and the resultant amenability to quantitative analysis. To recap, the final modified version of the questionnaire comprised four sections:

- Introduction: this included brief background to the research, and an assurance of anonymity,
- Demographic information: controlling variables as well as suggested covariates of RWA were subsumed here;

- Altemeyers RWA scale comprising 24 attitude statements tapping the three postulated personality dispositions of, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism. Half of the items were contrait worded to control for possible acquiescence response set bias. Responses to the statements were coded on a 7-point Likert scale.

3. Procedure

3.1 Data collection

The data collection both at Rhodes and Fort Hare, was conducted within a formal tutorial setting during normal class hours. This ensured enhanced control over test conditions and high questionnaire return rate.

3.2 Data Analysis

The coded raw data from both samples was punched into separate computer files for statistical analysis. The rationale behind treating the samples independently lay in the assumption that the two groups were more likely to show variations in their mean responses, due to cultural as well as political factors, rather than close overlap. This assumption was to be assessed in subsequent analyses.

For purposes of facilitated layout, the analyses performed will be described as a series of steps:

Step one - Simple Data Description

Using a statistical software package, BMDP, simple descriptive statistics were computed for the demographic groupings of the respective samples.

Step two - Item analysis

The unidimensionality of the RWA scale was assessed for the respective samples separately in a series of computations which aimed to discern the nature and degree of relationship between individual items, between groups of items, and between items and the scale taken as a whole.

Step three - Factor analysis

A factor analysis was performed on the responses to the RWA scale for each sample as a means of interpreting the major dimensions represented on the scale.

Step four - Analysis of variance

To investigate the interaction of RWA scores and other variables of interest, several multiway analyses of variance were computed under the following rubrics:

- Demographic covariates of RWA scale scores;
- Authoritarianism and religion;
- Relationships between authoritarianism and political affiliation.

Step five - Data description and comparison: RWA scale scores
An item breakdown of the RWA scale for the respective samples,
according to response mean and standard deviation, was computed.
The means were also compared across the samples and their
subgroups using analysis of variance.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS

1. Data description: demographic groupings

Table 1 presents a demographic breakdown of the two samples selected for analysis, according to sex, age, home background, and religion. The reader will note that the N-values do not remain fixed throughout. This is a reflection of missing or incomplete data in the questionnaires analyzed.

Table 1. Demographic groupings

	Rhodes (N=215)		Fort Hare (N=400)	
Sex	N	%N	N	%N
Male	88	41	158	40
Female	127	59	242	60
Age	(\bar{X} =19,1)		(\bar{X} =23,9)	
17 TO 20	189	88	123	32
21 TO 24	24	11	145	38
> TH 24	2	1	113	30
Background				
Urban	187	87	233	60
Rural	27	13	157	40
Religion				
Christianity	205	95	306	76
Judaism	10	5	0	0
Zionism	0	0	11	3
Islam	0	0	5	1
Hinduism	0	0	1	0
Other	0	0	78	19

A clear discrepancy between the two groups in terms of age is evident. The Fort Hare subjects, despite being drawn from the same academic year, tended to be several years older than their white counterparts. This can be attributed to several factors, of which political and financial constraints are probably pertinent. A subsequent analysis of variance (see page 90) confirmed however, that age did not play a significant role in any of the observed relationships.

Although strictly speaking, the variables of "religious acceptance", "political interest", and "political party preference", do not constitute demographic data, but rather represent postulated covariates of authoritarianism, they were nevertheless included in this section for the purpose of cross-analysis. Table 2 presents a comparative breakdown of these variables which further highlights the absence of homogeneity between the two samples.

Table 2. Covariate groupings

Religious Acceptance	Rhodes		Fort Hare	
	N	%N	N	%N
Not at all	16	7	33	8
Somewhat	86	40	123	31
Mostly	77	36	150	37
Completely	36	17	95	24
Political Interest				
Very interested	46	21	161	40
Quite interested	105	49	135	34
Slightly interested	52	24	81	20
Not interested	12	6	25	6
Political Preference				
AZAPO	0	0	8	2
ANC	19	9	289	73
CP	2	1	0	0
DP	109	52	8	2
Inkatha	6	3	1	0
NP	43	21	3	1
PAC	0	0	37	9
SACP	0	0	11	3
None	30	14	40	10

The most glaring difference between Rhodes and Fort Hare students is discerned in their political affiliations. The Fort Hare sample indicates overwhelming support for the ANC, whereas Rhodes students tend to politically align themselves with the DP, and to a lesser extent, the NP. The pattern of these alignments were to a large degree expected, given the political background of South Africa and the nature of both universities in this context, in terms of ethnic make-up and ideological standpoint.

There is a less obvious variation between the samples in terms of "interest in politics". Black students appear to be rather more politically aware and involved than whites are, judging by the

proportion of "very interested" responses, which is twice that of the Rhodes group. However, the remaining spread of scores appears relatively homogeneous between the samples, which is open to a tentative interpretation. Given the recent political changes in South Africa, the student activist movements at both universities may have shifted somewhat to a less active involvement, particularly at Rhodes. This variation was nevertheless to be tested for any relationship it might possibly have had with other variables of interest.

2. Item Analysis

2.1. RWA scale as one measure

An initial analysis was performed using the RWA scale in its intended form, that is, as a single measure. In this analysis the correlation between each item and the rest of the scale was computed, thereby aiding the researcher's understanding of an item's contribution to the scale. The correlations of this analysis are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. RWA scale as one measure

Item	Rhodes	Fort Hare	Item	Rhodes	Fort Hare
1	.2350	.0601	13	.4139	-.0052
2	.4105	.1437	14	.4440	.1444
3	.3364	.1453	15	.4638	.2433
4	.3695	.0293	16	.3489	.0784
5	.1814	.0202	17	.4089	.1060
6	.3811	-.0840	18	.4313	.0674
7	.5040	-.0001	19	.3875	.1797
8	.3612	.1173	20	.5270	.1078
9	.2209	.1409	21	.4658	.1197
10	.5384	.2590	22	.2732	.0691
11	.4033	.0416	23	.4070	.1003
12	.4786	.1327	24	.2787	.0882
Mean	99.57	105.27			
Std Dev.	18.88	11.98			
Alpha	.8323	.4268			

Rhodes sample: The relatively high alpha value of the Rhodes analysis indicates that in this context, the scale manifests homogeneity. The finding here is in accord with an earlier local exploratory study by Hodgson (1988) who obtained a value of .85. The fact that the items appear to relate well to the scale as a whole, already suggests that the RWA scale could be used as a single scale.

Examining the intercorrelations between the items and the overall measure, they are, on the whole, significant (greater than 0.3), the exceptions (bolded) comprising item 1, 5, 9, 22, and 24. The content of items 1, 5 and 9 would theoretically be subsumed under the rubric of "authoritarian aggression" as they cover issues of law and its enforcement. Item 22 deals with the topic of a woman's submission to a man, whereas item 24, also tapping into "authoritarian submission", is of a more political nature. It is

unclear at this stage of the analysis why these items do not relate well to the scale as there are others, with parallel content, which exhibit significant correlations. However, rather than speculate at this point why these discrepancies exist, it would be more useful to address the issue at a later stage when information of a more detailed nature is at hand.

Returning to the significant correlations, there already seems clear evidence that they are measuring something in common, that there appears to be an underlying dimension. There are several strong correlations (.5 and greater) which might reveal the nature of the core components of this dimension. Items 7, 10, and 20, manifesting the strongest correlations do in fact represent respectively, the proposed themes of authoritarian aggression, submission, and conventionalism.

Fort Hare: In contrast to the preliminary Rhodes analysis, which at this point appears optimistic, the picture to emerge from the Fort Hare context, is a dismal one indeed. The index of internal reliability, Cronbach's alpha, is a mere .4268. This very low figure is in accord with the correlations between the items and the scale. No single case is present with a significant correlation of .3 or more. In fact, upon inspection, very few items have correlations greater than .2. This clearly suggests one thing: that the scale has fallen apart in this research context. The fact that the alpha value and the correlations are extremely low, means that the scale has failed to measure anything but a range of apparently disparate attitudes. This may

indicate one or more problems of equivalence. The problem would not seem to be one of translation and comprehension as the responses appeared to be consistent throughout. This was supported by an inspection of the mean responses (Table 4), given to the "Debriefing" section in the questionnaire (Appendix D), which was aimed to assess the nature and extent of any problems experienced in understanding the content and coding of the items.

Table 4. Debriefing scores

Item	Rhodes	Fort Hare	Item Content
1	6.3	5.8	Instruction comprehension
2	6.0	5.4	Item comprehension
3	6.4	5.7	Questionnaire too long
4	5.7	5.3	Difficulty scoring responses
5 (RW)	1.3	1.9	Fear to respond honestly
6 (RW)	2.2	3.2	Threatened by item content

RW - Reverse worded item
 - Items scored on a 1 to 7 point scale

Neither group appeared to experience undue difficulty with the layout of the questionnaire and the instructions provided (items 1 and 3), item and scoring comprehension (2 and 4), and emotional response to the survey (items 5 and 6). This discrepancy therefore lays the ground for tentative interpretation which will be addressed further.

The fact that two markedly discrepant sets of data are being dealt with implies that the issues to be discussed in accounting for these differences are themselves different. For this reason the sample data were handled independently in the subsequent analyses and the degree of analysis varied for the respective

samples due to the very fact that much of the Fort Hare data was not amenable to several of the analyses employed in this section.

2.2. RWA scale - significant items only (Rhodes)

The second analysis again used Altemeyer's scale as a single measure, the difference this run however, entailing the omission of those items which had showed correlations of less than 0.3 in the preceding step.

The step was exploratory, taken to refine the scale as a whole, enhancing its unidimensionality within a specific research context. However, to simply remove an item for the sake of inflating the alpha value would be theoretically destructive if it was executed without careful consideration of the actual content of the items, its relation to the other items, and to the construct as a whole. A scale could exhibit high internal consistency simply because it taps a narrow range of content, and would therefore be of limited meaning and retard theory development. Bearing this in mind, the RWA scale was modified by removing those low correlating items and noting the overall impact.

The alpha value for this run was .8439, compared to the .8323 obtained using all 24 items. Although the value reflected an improvement in terms of internal reliability, one needs to consider whether this trade-off is justified as far as the scale's construct validity is concerned. In other words, it is crucial to differentiate between an item that is redundant and

one that remains theoretically meaningful despite its low correlation.

Taking item 1 (law enforcement to preserve the nation's way of life): its wording and referents thread through several other items in the scale (e.g. 7 and 15). This suggests that this item could be discarded due to its content overlap.

Item 5, referring to capital punishment requires more careful handling. It deals with a controversial issue that has become a topical area of discussion in South Africa given that many of the death sentences handed down in the past have been for politically motivated acts. The process of political transition the country has experienced since February 1990, has had a marked effect on attitudes towards the death sentence, culminating in the present suspension of hangings across the political spectrum for ideologically motivated crimes. In this context, attitudes surrounding the political debate are clearly in a state of relative flux. The fact that politically motivated murders and the punishment thereof have been generalized across the political spectrum means that the item, general in it's wording, will be interpreted in a rather uncertain light by individuals representing either a Left or Right ideological standpoint. In terms of the underlying construct therefore, the item reflects this social reality by showing no clear association with the overall scale. However, given greater definitive clarity in the political arena, the present uncertainty surrounding the debate tapped by item 5 would likely dissolve and again constitute an

important component of authoritarianism. But until such time, the item remains unsuitable as it fails to discriminate a polarity of attitude that may normally be associated with the issue covered.

The low correlation of item 9 (prison conditions and the treatment of prisoners) can be explained in similar terms to that of item 5. In this research context the item may not have relevance in terms of the underlying dimension due to its political connotations and the subsequent blurring of interpretive clarity. Within the white sample the connotations associated with this referent may be in conflict, thereby pointing to an item lacking clear unambiguous meaning and dependent on the political reality of the day. Again in this setting therefore, the item is not suitable due to its ideological nature.

The low loading (.2732) of item 22 (a "women's place") is likely due to the homogeneous nature of attitudes elicited by it in a setting of university students where issues such as a woman's social equality, are generally taken for granted. This hypothesis was borne out by an inspection of the mean score of the item (6.31) and its standard deviation (1.05), both of which suggest a uniformity of attitude in the sample.

Situating item 24 (loyalty owed to an elected leader) within a political context it is clear why the item fails to load appreciably. Given the uncertainty surrounding South Africa's

political future, the correlation of the item appears to mirror the current political circumstances. The overall mean of the item (3.8 - neutral/unsure), and the standard deviation (1.9) portrays a general picture of uncertainty across the sample and the absence of clearly demarcated attitudes in this regard. Even those individuals with an authoritarian bent probably exhibit this uncertainty simply due to the perceived likelihood of a future black government. Their attitude on this item may therefore reflect an unwillingness to submit themselves to the idea of a black leader. The attitudes surrounding the item are therefore clearly situationally dependant, being directly contingent upon political developments, both historical and current. For this reason item 24 is inappropriate as a measure of personality in the immediate South African context.

2.3. Protrait and contrait items on the RWA scale

Past research has pointed to the difficulty of evoking the opposite response in a contrait-worded item from one worded in the protrait direction. To assess this problem in the RWA scale an analysis was performed using the sum of protrait and contrait items as separate scales and comparing the results. These are shown here:

Table 5. Protrait-contrait interscale correlations

Scale	No. Items	Alpha	Correlation
Protrait	12	.8052	.6374
Contrait	12	.7359	

Both protrait and contrait scales exhibit adequate internal reliability (.8052 and .7359 respectively), the lower contrait alpha value reflecting a difficulty, either by the respondents in coding their responses, or in the original construction of contrait items.

3. Factor Analysis

Essentially, what is sought after in the cross-cultural use of questionnaires is a form of factor or construct invariance (Retief, 1988, p.74). If the factor loadings of tests are demonstrated to be similar across different research settings a more meaningful base for comparison is ensured. Such metric equivalence also implies conceptual equivalence, "because it seems highly improbable that variables with different meanings could have the same factor pattern" (Retief, 1988, p.74).

The aim of this step therefore, was to ascertain the extent to which Altemeyer's conceptualization of authoritarianism, comprising the covariation of three underlying dimensions, could be psychometrically replicated within different South African settings. If the dominant factors extracted in this analysis were to exhibit similar structure in terms of their item loadings, and if it emerged that the dimensions accounting for the major variance appeared to represent respectively, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism, as they were defined by Altemeyer, a secure case is advanced for the

RWA scale as a metric, as well as conceptually equivalent research instrument. This demonstration would not in itself provide conclusive evidence for its construct validity, but would nevertheless, lay the ground for such a demonstration.

The findings derived from this multivariate statistical procedure are presented and discussed for both the Rhodes and Fort Hare sample.

3.1. Factor analysis of white student data

Table 6. Rhodes factor analysis

Item	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
1	76	00	00	00	00	00
2	00	81	00	00	00	00
3	00	00	00	69	00	00
4	26	00	57	00	00	00
5	00	00	00	00	57	52
6	00	30	34	-27	54	00
7	55	26	00	00	00	28
8	00	56	00	00	00	00
9	00	00	00	00	00	81
10	00	00	52	27	29	00
11	00	00	47	26	44	00
12	29	00	33	39	00	00
13	00	33	00	00	65	00
14	51	00	28	00	00	00
15	72	00	00	00	00	00
16	00	67	00	00	00	00
17	33	00	26	00	41	00
18	00	42	51	00	00	00
19	28	46	00	00	00	25
20	41	00	31	42	26	00
21	33	00	28	00	00	54
22	00	26	00	72	00	00
23	00	31	00	50	44	00
24	00	00	69	00	00	00

 Note: - Loading than 0.25 replaced by 00
 - Decimal point omitted

The first interesting characteristic to note from the table is that the magnitude of the correlation for each item with one or more factors is, in all except one case (item 12: .39), greater than .40. This is positive in terms of the overall cohesiveness of the scale and provides initial evidence for its factorial integrity.

However, the fact that six factors were extracted in the varimax rotation (versus Altemeyer's general factor model comprising three covarying dimensions), invites a cautious interpretation of this unidimensionality, as the number of factors may suggest several unconnected dimensions, or a complexity not theoretically accounted for.

The first task is to assign some meaning to the pattern of factor loadings. Variables with higher loadings are considered more important in this stage of the factor interpretation as they are seen as representing the core of the factor in question.

Factor 1 - Authoritarian Aggression: The three highest loadings on factor 1 seem to reflect Altemeyer's notion of authoritarian aggression. In this case, hostility directed toward "deviants and troublemakers", is of a more political nature, again a reflection of the present South African situation . It is striking though, how similar these items are in their content, as well as the fact that all three were modified to read, "in a future South Africa ..." (for the explicit purpose of standardization), which likely would have contributed towards eliciting a similar response.

This may have contributed to a degree of the overlap within the factor.

Item 14 (importance attached to "respectable appearances"), also has its highest loading on the first factor. This anomaly, propagating standards of respectability, seems to advocate aggression towards those not conforming to these standards. Item 4 and 20 (issues of enforcing respect for cultural tradition and ensuring that children conform to conventional social standards) contain a similar structure viz., that of more than one sentiment subsumed under the same item.

Factor 2 - Religious and moral conventionalism: This factor provides for problematic interpretation. The highest loadings, it is true, tap sentiments of conventionalism, but the content appears specific to a conventionalism of a religious and moral type. Whether the remaining items cluster on this theme is open to debate. Several of them do possibly imply issues of religious morality (19 - drug abuse; 13 - ethical issues of military service, particularly relevant in South Africa; 6 - the notion of "brotherhood"; 23 - homosexuality). If the overall variance of this factor were to be accounted for, it seems that the label "conservatism" would appear too general for it to be theoretically accurate.

Factor 3 - Authoritarian Submission: The highest loadings on factor 3 seem to support Altemeyer's model. In this instance the central cluster would appear to represent a general sentiment of

"submission". The content of these items imply that submission and respect for authority extends to several domains of social life, and not specifically confined to immediate settings such as family. This is positive support for the proposed generality of the model.

Factor 4 - Puritanical outlook: The factor derived here contains five items which have their highest loadings on the dimension, two of which (24, 3) have an exclusive loading. Examining their content, the key theme running through these items is the notion of a woman's submission. Examining the content of items 23, 20, and 12, confirms a tentative link with the former two items. These items cover issues respectively of, homosexuality, childrearing, and teaching people "right from wrong". The underlying theme discerned by the researcher, is one of a puritanical outlook on life, a rigid categorization of people and attitudes. This theme would therefore encompass the covarying nature of authoritarian aggression, submission and conventionalism, although in this case the covariation is possibly of a more specific nature than what Altemeyer proposes.

Factor 5 - Liberalism: The dominant loadings in factor 5 comprise items from seemingly disparate dimensions (13,5,6). The only association discernible is that between item 6 and 13 ('glorification of one's country', and 'national service'). The idea of youth refusing to fight in a war (13) may well be linked to the "rebellious ideas" of young people (17). Other than this,

an underlying dimension and subsequent appropriate label corresponding to the construct described is not strongly evident.

Factor 6 - Aggression towards criminals: The final factor extracted is interestingly enough, comprised purely of items originally intended to tap attitudes of authoritarian aggression, but specifically related to the treatment of criminals. Ironically, this is the most unidimensional factor to emerge from the analysis, as it clearly measures one thing. The factor approximates an ideal in terms of interpretation, an ideal which few of the previous dimensions were able to embody.

In order to assess the relative importance of each factor in accounting for the variance associated with the items, the eigenvalues were noted. The total percent variance was then computed from these values as a means of determining how effectively the factor solution accounted for what the variables together represent. Theoretically, if the items were very different from each other, this index would be low. On the other hand, if they fell into one or more redundant or related groups, and if the extracted factors accounted for all the groups, the index would approach 100 (Hair et al., 1978, p.240). The results of this procedure for the rotated factor solution are as follows:

Table 7. Factor variances - Rhodes data

Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
% Variance	10.2	9.92	9.92	8.47	7.98	6.40	52.89

The data indicates a similar spread of variance, particularly across the first three factors. The variation accounted for by the remaining factors is however, of a similar magnitude to the initial dimensions. This suggests a more multifactored model than that proposed by Altemeyer.

3.2. Factor analysis of black student data

Table 8. Fort Hare factor analysis

Item	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
1	00	00	77	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
2	00	00	00	58	00	00	00	00	00	00
3	00	47	00	00	00	00	34	00	00	30
4	00	00	00	00	00	66	00	00	00	00
5	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	81	00	00
6	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	79	00
7	00	-57	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
8	00	00	00	00	00	00	-44	00	00	00
9	00	00	00	00	44	00	32	31	00	00
10	00	00	00	00	00	54	00	00	-40	00
11	00	00	00	00	00	60	00	00	00	00
12	00	43	00	00	00	00	35	47	00	00
13	-44	36	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
14	70	00	00	00	36	00	00	00	00	00
15	00	00	76	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
16	00	00	00	71	00	00	00	00	00	00
17	45	00	00	36	00	00	00	00	00	00
18	00	00	00	00	78	00	00	00	00	00
19	00	-29	00	56	00	00	00	00	00	00
20	63	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
21	00	00	00	00	00	00	78	00	00	00
22	00	65	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
23	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	-25	00	51
24	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	70

Note: - Loadings less than .25 replaced by 00
 - Decimal point omitted

The bleak impression gleaned from the item analysis as to the performance of the RWA scale within a South African context of black students, is reinforced by the findings of the factor analysis. A total of ten factors were extracted, suggesting

without a doubt, a scale comprising several clusters of items leading more or less independent lives. This factor independence is illuminated further by the fact that 15 of the 24 items do not overlap in their loadings across factors. This is in contrast to the factor structure exhibited by the Rhodes data, which manifested marked factor overlap. In other words, despite content overlap in many of the items, the factor pattern here shows considerable evidence of independence.

Ascribing some meaning to the factors confirms this factor independence and the implied differentiations of the underlying issues represented by these dimensions.

Factor 1 - Conforming: The first factor, taking into account the identified content overlap, is one of conforming to expected social standards, and seems to be confined particularly to matters pertaining to upbringing, with the exception of item 13 ('conscription'), which provides the anomaly here. The item's negative loading mirrors the political status quo, one in which an almost exclusively white military apparatus is perceived as playing a direct role in entrenching Apartheid policy. The inverse relationship, reflecting a modal attitude of blacks against conscription points to the independent nature of the issue it represents in this population, and consequently invalidates the item in terms of any positive covariation it might have with other items and the scale as a whole. On a more general level the example undermines the usefulness of a

personality measure of authoritarianism across various socio-political contexts.

Factor 2 - Morality: The content of the items subsumed under factor 2 seem to contain a general theme of morality, of right versus wrong, in matters pertaining to women (3,23), preserving moral standards (7), war (13), and law enforcement (12). Again though, there is evidence supporting the notion that the issues constituted by the items are experienced on an independent basis in this population, that the issues are evaluated according to social and political criteria, rather than on the lines of personal predisposition. Item 7, loading relatively strongly, has an inverse relationship to the factor. It is also a politically contextualized item ("crack down on deviant groups and troublemakers"), which suggests a rationale for its independence. The sweeping powers granted to the military and police in the past and the subsequent mass arrests of anyone suspected of Left-wing subversive activity provide a logical politically grounded explanation for the psychometric profile observed here.

Factor 3 - Law enforcement: Factor 3 mirrors the extent of disparity the scale as a whole contains, as it consists of only two items, almost identically worded, with high loadings, but accounts for 6% of the overall factor variance. Also the negative loading of item 7 in factor 2 is contradicted by this factor. The items here, tapping sentiments of authoritarian aggression, load strongly in the protrait direction, whereas item

7, also falling under this category, not only fails to load here but also has an inverse relationship with the construct. This seems to indicate, given linguistic equivalence, that item 7, is another case of an item tapping into a dimension other than what it was designed to, conceivably due to it being open to diverse interpretation.

Factor 4 - Religious conservatism: In this factor, item 16 and 2, are clearly related, both tapping religious conservatism. The reason as to why item 19 ("the courts should be easy on drug offenders"), also loading highest here, is related to this cluster is not manifest, unless drug abuse is possibly perceived as a moral issue.

Factor 5: A logical label cannot be assigned for factor 5, if one is to remain within the confines of the present theory. The relationship item 9 ('prisons') has to the theme represented by item 18 and 14, "manners and respectability", is by no means evident.

Factor 6 - Respect: The items comprising factor 6 would seem to tie into a theme of, "respect for customs and authority". However, it is important to note, as is the case in other factors, that although there are other items tapping the same themes, they do not cluster here when theoretically they should do so.

Factor 7: Again, no clearly identifiable theme characterizes this factor.

Factor 8 - Treatment of prisoners: The sole remaining factor not presenting a confounding base for interpretation is factor 8, comprising items tapping attitudes towards prison conditions and the treatment of criminals (9), the death sentence (5), and teaching people right from wrong (12). The low means noted for the sample in the simple data description of RWA scale scores for these items, allude to a political interpretation of these items and the obvious sympathy elicited towards this group of people who are possibly perceived as victims of an unjust system.

Factors 9 and 10: As was the case with several preceding factors there is no discernible pattern of meaning within either of these factors.

An analysis of the variance explained by the respective factors reveals a further indictment in terms of the RWA scale's performance. Table 10 lists a breakdown of this variance for each factor.

Table 9. Factor variances - Fort Hare data

Factor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Variance (%)	6.7	6.5	6.1	5.9	5.8	5.6	5.6	5.3	5.2	5.0
Total (%)	57.7									

The fact that 10 factors were extracted, and added to this, the similar degree of variance accounted for by each factor, delivers another blow to the possibility that the RWA scale might be a widely applicable unidimensional measure of authoritarianism. The scale, it can be concluded in this instance, provides no evidence of an underlying construct termed right-wing authoritarianism, comprising the covariation of submissive, aggressive, and conventional sentiments. Instead, it has tapped into relatively isolated pockets, each comprising a narrow range of sentiments, or alternatively, diverse areas with little theoretical meaning in relation to the construct.

4. Analysis of variance - relationship to other variables

Since the RWA scale did not exhibit the psychometric properties of a unidimensional scale in the black student group, only the Rhodes data was employed in the next step of the research, which comprised a multiway analysis of variance, performed to isolate theoretically relevant variables which may interact with RWA scale scores.

At a broader level, the aim of this step was to address the issue of construct validation. The extent to which the RWA scale measures the dimension it is intended to measure is ultimately a question of overriding import. The scale and its conceptual basis is only useful to the extent that it reflects some real phenomena. Only when hypothesized patterns of meaningful

relationships based on an understanding of the construct is observed, can it be said that the construct validity of the RWA scale is demonstrated. Due to practical constraints a deeper assessment of the scale's construct validity in terms of its relationships with other variables was restricted. However, the item and factor analyses, in conjunction with the following analyses of variance, do aim to shed some light.

Table 10 reports the results of this analysis using several demographic variables of interest, as well as the core of Altemeyer's proposed dynamics of authoritarianism. Only significant findings are reported in the table.

Table 10. Significant authoritarianism covariates

Variable	F-Value	D.F	p-value
Sex	4.52	1	.0347
Religious endorsement	23.46	3	.0000
Political affiliation	8.40	3	.0000

These findings are considerably less favorable than what Altemeyer arrived at. There were no significant F-values for age, urban-rural home background, religion and political interest. This is not entirely consistent with Altemeyer's work, which noted religion as a covariate of authoritarianism, and political interest, which mediated the relationship between political party preference and RWA scores. It must be stressed again though, that the range of several of these variables exhibited by the sample in this study was simply too narrow for meaningful comparison.

However, the emergence of the variables, "acceptance of home religion", and "political party preference", as significant covariates in the white group constitutes a theoretically positive finding. An inspection of the cell means computed in this analysis reveals that respondents adhering to a lesser degree to the teachings of their home religion, exhibited a corresponding lower mean score. Whether it can be inferred from this that the group is overall less authoritarian than those endorsing fully their religious background, is not as clear. The lower means could be explained by those items, of which there were several, advocating a religious outlook. On the other hand, it could be that strong acceptance of the Judaic-Christian religion does instil attitudes of a general type, not only confined to matters pertaining to religion, which may be of an authoritarian character. To clarify this issue, the analysis was repeated at the level of the individual item (refer to Table 11). At a significance level of .01, this step clearly showed that those subjects who had internalized the teachings of their home religion exhibited an authoritarian outlook generalized to issues beyond the realms of religion (2,16). This perspective extended to an embrace of customs and tradition (4,8), sexual behaviour (8,23), respect for authority (10,20,18), and generalized standards of respectability and manners (14,18). In short, these individuals displayed a more conservative attitude than respondents not accepting their home religion to the same degree.

The most optimistic finding in terms of the scale's construct validity revolves around its relationship with areas of political

concern. It emerged in the white group that there was a positive correlation between mean scores and political stances which could be designated along a traditional Left-to-Right political continuum. On the whole, respondents supporting the so-called left-wing parties, in this sample, the ANC, scored lower than those whose allegiances were to parties falling closer to the political right (NP). To illustrate this, the mean scores of ANC supporters was 3.41, that of DP supporters, 4.15, and respondents endorsing NP policy, 4.56. Furthermore, it is interesting to note the mean, 4.05, of those who stated that they would not vote for any of the listed political groups. On the surface, these results appear to support Altemeyer's adoption of a Left-to-Right political continuum and a scale measuring a specific form of authoritarianism, which discriminates between those adhering to attitudes which are generally understood to embody a "right-wing" political outlook and those encompassing an ideology characterized by the Left. The results are perhaps less conclusive when the study is placed more firmly in its political context. To ascertain whether the observed relationship merely reflected those items of a politically biased nature, an analysis was again performed using individual items. The findings were rather uninspiring. Only six items emerged with a significant relationship with "political party preference", several of which, without a doubt, reflect the current political polarization over specific issues. These issues encompassed, the death sentence (5), national anthems and flags (6), and conscription (13). Those respondents endorsing more conservative attitudes would likely support the traditionally more conservative political

parties. Furthermore, the fact that items crucial to the notion of political authoritarian aggression, failed to establish a relationship with the variable of political party preference, undermines the value of the noted overall relationship. Instead, only those items containing an obvious ideological dichotomy concerning current political events, and others, of questionable "authoritarian" content, indicated this relationship.

5. Data description and comparison: RWA scale scores

Given the non-equivalent psychometric properties of the data, a comparative descriptive analysis was nevertheless deemed valuable in that it served to contextualize the subject matter within a broader social reality, thus extending the relevance of the study. Furthermore, the aim was to unravel any other possible threads of evidence that may have provided further insight into the nature of the findings reported above.

Table 11 lists an item breakdown of the RWA scale for the respective samples tested, according to the response mean and standard deviation for each item. The means of every item were also compared using analysis of variance to ascertain the extent and nature of variation between the groups on specific issues of contemporary relevance.

Table 11. Data description and comparison - RWA scores

Item	RHODES		FORT HARE		p-value
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev	
1	5.22	1.47	4.85	1.74	.0130
2 *	3.44	1.98	2.78	2.06	.0035
3	3.43	2.18	5.33	1.74	.0000
4	4.77	1.65	5.85	1.26	.0000
5 *	3.67	2.26	5.21	2.13	.0000
6 *	3.41	1.73	4.67	2.00	.0000
7	5.37	1.49	5.21	1.65	.2711
8 *	4.76	1.58	3.88	1.74	.0000
9 *	3.09	1.53	4.26	2.06	.0000
10	4.08	1.87	5.79	1.55	.0000
11 *	5.11	1.36	4.37	1.80	.0000
12	3.31	1.75	2.60	1.82	.0000
13 *	4.94	1.75	5.11	1.77	.2032
14	5.72	1.34	5.78	1.30	.5896
15	4.95	1.56	4.70	1.77	.1115
16 *	4.33	1.91	3.64	1.75	.0001
17	4.64	1.62	5.49	1.38	.0000
18 *	3.15	1.84	4.11	1.98	.0000
19 *	2.78	1.84	3.41	2.03	.0000
20	3.01	1.54	5.23	1.57	.0000
21 *	4.94	1.61	4.69	1.94	.1699
22 *	6.31	1.05	5.37	1.88	.0000
23 *	4.52	2.06	3.65	2.04	.0000
24	3.82	1.91	5.09	1.79	.0000
Total	99.50		105.80		

 * - Items worded in the contrait direction.
 - Degrees of freedom = 1

Several meaningful patterns were discerned in the data. The first noteworthy variation between the samples would appear to concern a religious theme and the personal morality implied by it. Of note here are items 2, 8, 16, and 23, which manifest consistently a more conservative viewpoint in the black sample on the theme. The two items referring directly to matters of religion (2,16) were found, in a step involving a further analysis of variance (see Table 12 below) to be moderated by the degree of endorsement of home religion. This reinforces an

earlier finding that authoritarian and religious variables would seem to mutually determine one another.

Table 12. Analysis of variance

Item	Variable	D.F	Mean Square	F-value	p-value
2	Race	1	30.43	9.25	.0025
	Rel/end	3	99.19	30.14	.0000
3	Race	1	220.99	60.86	.0000
	Sex	1	72.66	20.01	.0000
16	Race	1	24.62	8.46	.0038
	Rel/end	3	56.82	19.53	.0000
22	Race	1	61.60	28.33	.0000
	Sex	1	24.35	11.20	.0009

 Rel/end - Religious endorsement

A second significant difference between the samples was discerned in their perception of a woman's position in marriage and society (3,24). Inferring from item 3, a woman is clearly expected to play a more submissive role in relation to her husband within an African culture, whereas in a white, predominantly middle class population there appears an acknowledgement of equality. The variable of sex was assessed for its expected contribution to the observed means (Table 12). It was found in both cultures that men perpetuate this more conservative attitude, an obvious reflection of a patriarchal society. This was particularly evident in the black males who strongly endorsed the item. However, when the issue is situated within a broader social domain (item 22), there is a general recognition, although still significantly more conservative in black students, of a woman's equal standing. Again though, the men displayed a more chauvinistic attitude in this regard.

The importance attached to the notion of tradition appears stronger again within a black culture than one influenced by Western society and its concomitant values. Item 4, expounding the importance of "customs and national heritage" reflects this difference in outlook. Also, staying within the realm of culture-specific practices, it is evident that these traditions have a determining influence on orientations toward authority figures and the extent of respect owed to them. Items 10, 11, and 24, convey the notion of an individual's unquestioned respect for figures in positions of authority. In all three cases the black students manifested a greater degree of acceptance for the idea of unquestioned respect towards authority. However, if one examines the means on these items, this unquestioned respect seems relatively confined to a more immediate setting, that of the family. And although the value attached to teaching children respect and obedience (item 10 and 20) is evident for both samples judging by the magnitude of the means for both groups, its generality into political domains, though indicating a difference in attitude between the samples is less obvious. Whether the black group's orientation translates into behaviour of an intrinsically fascist nature is therefore open to later consideration given the obviously normative nature of respect toward authority within the history of this culture.

Those items mirroring aspects of the political status quo in South Africa were also assessed for differentiated patterns of response. Both groups uniformly advocated a draconian approach to the enforcement of law in a future political scenario

(1,7,12,15,21), the white sample, scoring consistently higher, though not always significantly so. This could suggest that with the current political transformations and the imminent likelihood of a future black government, the white responses reflect a response to perceived threat and a preoccupation with minority group protection.

Of further note, are those items tapping attitudes concerned with the treatment of prisoners (5,8). Here the content, being of a political nature given the current connotations surrounding the issue of prisons in South Africa, reveals a reversal of response in the black group. Mean responses for the black sample were significantly lower on attitudes towards the death penalty and prison conditions. This would again seem to reflect the more intense political associations blacks in this country have of prisons. Given the past State of Emergency regulations allowing for detention without trial and the subsequent mass political arrests that took place from 1984 until recently, this 'anomaly' in the data is explained. An issue of import for the present study has been inferred by this example. Items, originally hypothesized to covary in their elicited responses, when applied in a South African context, actually manifest a pattern opposite to that hypothesized in terms of the overall construct.

The above articulation of individual items and the clarification of several apparent inconsistencies has unearthed the following theoretical issue: a conceptual model unable to articulate the relationship between individual and social change, one that does

not specify and account for this relationship, is inevitably tending towards failure. A scale such as the one assessed here, if not situated within a cultural and political reality, is seriously lacking in theoretical usefulness. The magnitude of the point inferred here, is to be reiterated throughout the discussion which now follows.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

1. Summary of results

At this juncture a summary is necessary concerning the empirical findings presented in the previous chapter. A substantial amount of evidence has been accrued which allows for several tentative generalizations and points the way to further critical discussion.

1.1 White student sample (Rhodes)

A synthesis of the item and factor analysis points to several conclusions pertinent to the present study. At a psychometric level, the RWA scale manifested a general cohesiveness in terms of its overall content. This was borne out by the relatively high alpha value of .83, substantially less impressive than the .88 reported by Altemeyer, but nevertheless adequate in terms of the scale's unidimensional properties.

The relatively cohesive nature of the scale was further demonstrated by the correlations between the individual items and the overall measure. In this regard all but five items correlated significantly with the scale. These items, though tapping relatively diverse areas of personal, social and political concern, were related to each other in one or more seemingly theoretical ways. An underlying thread of theoretical

continuity appeared inherent, resulting in a relatively tight cohesiveness between the items. However, it was not wholly apparent why several of the items failed to indicate a stronger relationship, given the correlational magnitude of other items with similar content. Several problems were however identified to explain the anomalies. These included attitude homogeneity regarding certain issues in the samples, as well as cultural and political bias in the scale.

The finding that there appeared a psychometric core to the measure provided initial tentative support for the scale's stable nature within a South African setting of white English-speaking university students.

As was the case in Altemeyer's research, the protrait items of the scale exhibited superior properties of internal consistency over items worded in a contrait direction. Both sets of items did however, reflect adequate internal reliability, which indicated satisfactory reversals of wording, thereby diminishing the possibility that the overall unidimensionality was inflated by the confounding influences of response sets frequently associated with scales of this nature.

Employing the multivariate technique of factor analysis, the initial impression gained of a psychometrically cohesive scale was tentatively confirmed. The satisfactory loadings and the homogeneous spread of variance accounted for by the extracted factors provided some evidence for the factorial integrity of the RWA scale. It was clear that there were several clusters of

connected items linked in a theoretically meaningful manner. The higher loadings in the factors did appear to represent the major dimensions, although in less discernible fashion, of authoritarian aggression, submission and conventionalism, as proposed by Altemeyer. Although there was significant overlap across factors using the "principal components" method (based on the assumption of independent factors), the common variance associated with this overlap was not necessarily discordant with Altemeyer's hypothesis of the covariation of the dimensions. Although Altemeyer had derived a single "general factor" in his analysis, the discrepancy between the findings may largely have lain within the methodology of factor analysis itself as it is generally understood that quite different results can be obtained depending on how the factoring proceeds.

Nevertheless, what did emerge clear from the findings in this research setting, taking into account the problems associated with factor analysis, was that the factors, although related, did not display the degree of cohesiveness originally suggested by Altemeyer. The factor structure extracted indicated in this context a more complex model of authoritarianism. The homogeneous test variance across the six factors and the independent clusters of items with specific content subsumed under several of these factors supported this view. It also suggested that the personal, social and political areas in which these authoritarian sentiments are said to lie, may be less general due to the complexities of South African society.

1.2. Black student sample (Fort Hare)

The findings in this context were in sharp contrast to those elicited from a white sample of South African students. The scale failed unequivocally to demonstrate the psychometric properties of a homogeneous measure. The Cronbach alpha value of .43 immediately indicated that the scale had failed to exhibit sufficient internal reliability. This picture was augmented by the absence of significant correlations between the items and the scale itself. The psychometric profile implied a failure to measure anything but a range of seemingly disparate attitudes.

The dismal scenario highlighted by the item analysis was repeated by a factor analysis of the data. At no point was there evidence indicating a common underlying dimension to the scale, one which could in any manner of speaking be identified as "right-wing authoritarianism". In other words, the psychometric properties of this data failed to exhibit the same coherence or structure as that discerned in Altemeyer's work. Instead the scale tapped a diverse pool of independent issues subsumed under ten factors, each accounting for a similar percentage of the variance. The items comprising these small clusters were connected mainly by content overlap across items as well as their issue-specific nature which reflected either current cultural, social and political norms and debates.

The cited findings that black respondents did not report undue difficulty in item and coding comprehension, that item mean scores and their standard deviations seemed to indicate

systematic patterns of response, and the fact that the apparent anomalies made sense once they had been socially contextualized, suggested that the findings in these analyses could not be attributed to the more manageable problems of translation. Instead, the evidence pointed to an issue of scalar non-equivalence in the black South African sample.

1.3. Covariates of authoritarianism

The most relevant finding here was that endorsement of home religion was significantly related to scores on the RWA scale. This was in accord with Altemeyer's research. The relationship was not only confined to matters pertaining to religion but extended into social and political domains for the white group.

A relationship was also discerned between political party affiliation and scores on the measure. Although this seemed an optimistic finding in terms of construct validity, it was intimated that the link might possibly be due to the ideological nature of the items themselves.

1.4. Comparison between group scores

Deeper insight was gleaned from a comparative analysis focussed at the level of the individual item. Important points of distinction between the samples were noted on personal, social, and political themes embraced by the RWA scale. Considerable light was shed on the apparent incongruities encountered in both the data of the black and white student group. It was increasingly clear at this stage of the research that these

discrepancies could only be made intelligible once situated within a cultural and political nexus.

It is the aim of this discussion to further emphasize the importance of this nexus with reference to the empirical findings and the conceptual issues raised by them.

2. Non-equivalence in the RWA scale

Three possible explanations were open to the researcher interpreting scores on the RWA scale. The scores could reflect either (a) real differences in authoritarianism, (b) non-equivalence in the scale, or (c) a combination of both factors. On several occasions in this study it was intimated that aspects of the RWA scale within a South African context were flawed by a problem of an ideological and cultural nature. This section proposes to address the issue further.

2.1. Personality or political attitudes

Goertzel (1988) pointed out the difficulty of distinguishing between authoritarianism as a personality dimension and attitudes of an authoritarian nature resulting from social, political, or educational influences, and concluded that, "rather than establishing a link between personality and political or social attitudes, many researchers assume such a link by including both in the same measure" (p.8). Similarly, the findings of this inquiry gave clear reason to believe that the RWA scale has not

methodologically demonstrated a clear distinction between the content and style of a belief. Instead, several items could have been agreed or disagreed with on the grounds of political content as opposed to underlying personality mode.

The pilot study: This phase of the research was geared towards establishing neutral referents with respect to the content of the items on the RWA scale. A total of seven items had to be modified (1,6,7,11,13,15,24), on the basis of clear ideological inequity alone. At the outset therefore, the problems associated with constructing a politically standardized scale were already painfully evident.

The main study: The findings here brought to light several other items of an ideologically biased content when applied in a South African setting, and the possibility that the modifications effected in the preceding step were unsuccessful in coming to terms with the complexities of political language.

The evidence clearly showed that current attitudes toward topics such as the death sentence (item 5), law enforcement (1,7,15,) the treatment of criminals and prison conditions (9), are strongly contingent upon political events of the day and may consequently shift accordingly in line with changes at this political level of analysis. This was blatantly apparent in the data of the Fort Hare students. Not only did several items, addressing political attitudes fail to display properties of covariation with other dimensions of the scale, in line with

theoretical expectations, but even failed to establish this positive association to items tapping the same sentiment, which is contrary to these expectations. Item 1 (law enforcement in a future South African political scenario) and item 5 (death sentence) for example, although both constituting authoritarian aggression displayed means in this sample which were diametrically opposed. Secondly, it is also clear that the modification of item 1 shaped responses. Had item 5 also been situated within a future political scenario, the disparity would likely have been absent. This example - which is generalized to the other items mentioned above, therefore by no means the sole anomaly in the data - illustrates the inescapable effect of ideological influences.

This problem of ideological bias was not only confined to the black student data. Although the scale demonstrated substantially more cohesiveness in a white student setting there were clear instances of non-personality based influences shaping scores of politically related sentiments. Again, attitudes encompassing currently controversial issues, reflected the flux of broader socio-political debates.

Given the findings, the attempt to isolate political attitudes from their underlying personality dynamics in the RWA scale is clearly not feasible as it is based upon the erroneous assumption that the socio-political backdrop is a constant and relatively independent of 'personality'. In suggesting that the scores were confounded by factors other than those personality based, the RWA

scale reflects a failure in this context to deal adequately with the political contextual problems associated with the concept of authoritarianism.

2.2. Cultural bias in the RWA scale

A second issue lending support to the contention that the RWA scale failed to clearly demonstrate authoritarianism as an enduring personality trait, relatively constant across time and situation, concerns a problem of cultural non-equivalence.

A superficial comparative analysis between the samples might lead to the possibly erroneous conclusion that the black sample tended to be more authoritarian on issues pertaining to submission and respect for authority and traditional practices (4,10,11,18,20,24). Given the fact that certain attitudes are normative within any cultural value-system, the more 'authoritarian' outlook on the items listed may simply have reflected these norms and the culturally specific practices associated with them. It would therefore be unjustified to compare two groups on a construct not exhibiting equivalence in this regard. It is reasonable to concur that an African society has a different outlook on various issues to one derived from Western values. These differences occur not only in structures within the family nexus itself, but also in various perceptions concerning the role of the community in the life of an individual. Whether these normative values constitute a sentiment termed right-wing authoritarianism is debatable. Although the 'cultural' differences have faded given the

encroaching influence of Western society and the devastating effects of Apartheid, several remnants of discrepancy would appear to remain as the data here has shown. In local research the issue is however, especially polemical, as any analysis of this nature must necessarily link the notion of culture to the material and political structures of South African society to avoid attributing observed differences to the incorrect source. Only once the legacy of Apartheid has faded can these variations possibly be more accurately attributed to determinants of a more or less independent nature.

2.3. Summary

The primary point Altemeyer sought to demonstrate in his research was that there were generalized individual differences in the support of antidemocratic actions and that it was consequently meaningful to speak in terms of "authoritarian people". The findings in the South African context however, have alluded to a failure in this regard, using a scale purporting to measure a personality dimension. This, together with Altemeyer's own finding that authoritarian scores changed over time, and other research evidence alluding to low percentages of variance accounted for by personality factors (Duckitt, 1983; Heaven, 1983), as well as conflicting local findings using personality measures of authoritarianism (Heaven, 1977; Heaven and Ray, 1980; Heaven and Rajab, 1980), would tend to reinforce the conclusion that situational factors tend to take precedence in a context such as that characterized by present day South Africa.

3. Personality and sociocultural factors

It has been argued that, "the psychological and sociological correlates of prejudice are elaborately intertwined and that both are essential to provide an adequate theoretical framework for this complex phenomenon" (Pettigrew, 1958, p.29). The findings derived here would clearly tend to endorse this argument.

3.1. Normative responses to perceived threat

Several score profiles discerned in the data may be more accurately attributed to motivated responses to social influences, rather than actual predisposition. Turning to several items on the RWA scale contributes towards clarifying this thesis. The dimension of authoritarian aggression is a particularly interesting area for illustrative purposes. Although not formally treated in this study or in Altemeyer's as an independent scale, its overall mean for the Rhodes sample was nevertheless noted and indicated a magnitude far exceeding that exhibited by the other scales had they also been employed independently. The overall mean for example, for the 8 items which clearly would constitute authoritarian aggression is 38.07, which is ten points greater than the mean for authoritarian submission (28.89), also constituting 8 items. This notably large disparity would appear to be a direct reflection of a society steeped in a consciousness of violence. It seems to allude to a nation that has become increasingly habituated to everyday occurrences of violent aggression, to the point of normative shift. If the sentiments had in fact covaried in

accord with theoretical expectations, one would have expected the means of these scales to exhibit a relative pattern of congruence. The sharp variation noted however, may indicate as Altemeyer himself has suggested, that the relationships among these sentiments in fact be transient affairs, and the covariation which is said to exist when a test is created may dissolve or shift over time and place. Secondly, these associations may change in cycles of regular or irregular periods. Particularly in South Africa, political events may strengthen or weaken the associations of political aggression in people's minds. The comparatively high means of items tapping authoritarian aggression lends support to this observation. These items advocating a draconian approach towards "deviant groups and troublemakers" have the highest correlation with the overall scale, thereby possibly reflecting the past year's escalation of lawlessness and the subsequent sense of threat South Africans are experiencing. Whether these "authoritarian personalities" would manifest similar responses given an environment of social stability is dubious, and yet would theoretically be required of the personality model of authoritarianism and its operational definition, to constitute validity.

3.2. Culturally sanctioned authoritarianism

In a setting characterized by relatively authoritarian attitudes of a normative nature, it has been stressed (Pettigrew, 1958; Orpen, 1973; Ray, 1980), that sociocultural factors play a more dominant role than personality factors in the development of

these attitudes. Within this theoretical framework the relative importance of personality versus sociocultural variables is largely a function of whether or not authoritarian attitudes are culturally sanctioned (Orpen, 1970). In terms of this view, personality factors are more important in settings where variety of attitudes are tolerated (democratic settings), which give the individual greater latitude in 'selecting' attitudes in accord with inner needs. In line with this thinking therefore, it is possible the items on the RWA scale do not mean the same to South Africans as they do to North Americans and may be tapping into little more than a tough brand of social conservatism.

Whether an endorsement of governmental practices in South Africa constitutes an individual authoritarianism as it is has been construed in the classical sense of the term, is a debatable issue. Endorsing government practice, despite the possible inequitable nature of it, remains a far cry from the extreme Right fanatical political philosophies as characterized by Nazism and Fascism which the study of authoritarianism has traditionally been associated with. Anyone with a conservative orientation would tend, in South Africa, to support a more conservative political party, in this case the National Party and the concomitant principles propagated by it. And conversely, groups not endorsing these attitudes of the day (black student sample) due to their position in relation to the rest of society, would obviously show more support to political groupings which are not necessarily less authoritarian, but nevertheless represent a counter viewpoint to the dominant ideology. The finding that RWA

scores were related to political party preference in the white sample, is therefore not especially revelatory in this case, as so many of the items expressed views which would without a doubt, find a home in past National Party ideology and the core theses of Afrikanerdom which has imposed hegemonic status for the past several decades. Allegiances to the flag and national anthem, both symbols of Afrikaner/white heritage (item 6), patriotic duty to defend the country from both internal and external threat (13), the sanctity of the Church (2,16) Calvinistic preoccupation with sexual morality (8, 23), have all assumed a normative character and manifested a distinct authoritarian flavour.

The disparity between the sociocultural environments within South Africa itself, and that between a local setting and an American one - characterized as discernibly more democratic - in which the RWA scale evolved, may simply be too wide. At a level of functional equivalence therefore, the RWA scale fails to demonstrate its universal application.

4. Opposition to psychological reductionism

An implicit theme guiding this research has been its opposition to psychological reductionism, which the researcher interprets Altemeyer's work to embody. Billig (1976) has stated that any reduction of large scale processes to an individual level involves a distortion and precludes a critical social analysis. Many of the findings arrived at here underscore Billig's

sentiments. The data has alluded not to a particular personality 'syndrome' but rather a dialectical interaction between the subjective world of individuals and their sociocultural patterns. The RWA scale, though possibly constituting a methodological refinement over the original F scale, nevertheless fails to account for the demonstrated observation, "that the limits on behaviour are shaped by the relations between power, politics and people" (Resler and Walton, 1974, p.290).

The model of authoritarianism adhered to by Altemeyer would therefore appear untenable in the longterm and across different cultural settings due to the fact that it is unable to account in standardized fashion for the processes of social, cultural and political change and the concomitant shifts in relationships implied by them. The personality model of authoritarianism is a construct, which almost by definition, is incapable of coming to grips with the dynamic relationship between individual and society. It would seem that the RWA scale assumes the social context of the phenomenon as a constant which may prove justified in an environment characterized by stable social structures. As a consequence of this overemphasis on relatively fixed psychological 'states', the scale clearly has severe limitations when operating in a milieu in which rapid social change and a change of the 'status quo' is the norm (Gilbert, 1989).

What is consequently called for therefore, is a theoretical framework which situates itself in opposition to the more

positivistic and subsequently static conceptual models for understanding behavior in the context of social change. Drawing upon the work of the Soviet socio-historical school of psychology, with its Marxist and materialist theoretical base, Gilbert (1989), describes such a framework which he states, "is based on a conception of humans as self-reflexive beings and a definition of culture as a set of control mechanisms" (p.91). The implication of this interactionist perspective is that an attempt is made at articulating the relationship between individual and society in terms of social action. In the present context, a theory of this nature, able to account for the 'process' versus the 'state' of authoritarianism, one mediating the dynamic relationships between individual and sociocultural context, would in the longterm clearly appear to constitute a more relevant research endeavour in the South African environment. To facilitate this approach there is also the need to investigate the wider ideological issues and their underlying material preconditions. It is clear that a phenomenon such as that discussed here contains ideological implications and it is stressed that the social scientist should not seek to avoid these ideological or political implications. Confining research to the development of a psychometrically reliable measure of authoritarianism which, given the present findings has the potential to become obsolete overnight, would appear to be a futile exercise in the present context.

5. Conclusion

The past year has witnessed the removal of obstacles blocking the way for genuine negotiation politics and raised expectations for meaningful improvements in the South African human rights situation and an apartheid-free future. Political organizations have been unbanned and Nelson Mandela released. President de Klerk has subsequently promised to topple all remaining pillars of apartheid legislation, including the Population Registration Act under which all South Africans are classified on the basis of skin colour. There appears to be no alternative now but to rewrite the political and social rules that govern the country. Once the Population Registration Act is finally repealed, observes Jan van Eck of the Democratic Party, "there will be no black or white South Africans. There will be only South Africans" (in Contreras and Whitmore, 1991, p.32).

However, during this transition towards a new dispensation, the country is also clearly at its most vulnerable. There will be further episodes of political intolerance and new moods of Left Wing and Right Wing militancy concomitant with raised expectations and perceived threat. The dynamics of authoritarianism in this context would appear particularly prevalent. The draconian exercise of power over political opponents, with which the State and its agencies has maintained the status quo is nothing but authoritarian, and the affirmation received for its policies from within its ranks would seem to signify a submission and conventionalism of an authoritarian

type. Also, the country's repressive security laws, which provide the police and military with sweeping powers to detain political suspects remain intact. Similarly, the ruthless display of political intolerance manifested in so-called "black on black" violence, may comprise notions of authoritarian aggression and submission to authority figures. In short, the problem of authoritarianism is unequivocal, manifested equally across the political spectrum, one which contributes a threat to South Africa's long-term survival.

At a descriptive level therefore, the notions of authoritarian aggression, submission and conventionalism would appear directly relevant in this volatile context. However, beyond the simple heuristic value of the concept and the operational definition of authoritarianism presented by Altemeyer, the general applicability and relevancy of this personality model in the immediate future -when placed against a contemporary backdrop typified by cultural, social and political turbulence - would now clearly appear limited indeed.

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APPENDIX A

The 24-item Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (original)

1. Laws have to be strictly enforced if we are going to preserve our way of life.
2. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
3. Women should always remember the promise they make in the marriage ceremony to obey their husbands.
4. Our customs and national heritage are the things that have made us great, and certain people should be made to show greater respect for them.
5. Capital punishment should be completely abolished.
6. National anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men.
7. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.
8. A lot of our society's rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.
9. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve much better care, instead of so much punishment.
10. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
11. Organizations like the army and the priesthood have a pretty unhealthy effect upon men because they require strict obedience of commands from supervisors.

12. One good way to teach certain people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.
13. Youngsters should be taught to refuse to fight in a war unless they themselves agree the war is just and necessary.
14. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still the mark of a gentleman and, especially, a lady.
15. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.
16. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
17. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
18. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.
19. The courts are right in being easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these.
20. If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional, his parents should see to it that he returns to the normal ways expected by society.
21. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so it's best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.
22. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
23. Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one.

24. It's one thing to question and doubt someone during an election campaign, but once a man becomes the leader of our country we owe him our greatest support and loyalty.

APPENDIX B

Non-equivalent items on the original RWA Scale

1. Laws have to be strictly enforced if we are going to preserve our way of life.

Problem: Item politically loaded. Highlighted areas allude to an ethnocentric bias given the political status quo in South Africa. White and Black students tended to perceive the referents as hegemonically related.

2. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.

3. Women should always remember the promise they make in the marriage ceremony to obey their husbands.

4. Our customs and national heritage are the things that have made us great, and certain people should be made to show greater respect for them.

Problem: As with Item 1, politically loaded. Referents again biased towards an ideologically dominant group.

5. Capital punishment should be completely abolished.

6. National anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men.

7. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.

Problem: Again the item showed non-equivalence at the level of interpretation across respondents of varying ethnic background, instead inducing blatantly clear connotations of political oppression enacted in defence of an existing social order.

8. A lot of our society's rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other peoples follow.

9. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve much better care, instead of so much punishment.
10. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
11. Organizations like the army and the priesthood have a pretty unhealthy effect upon men because they require strict obedience of commands from supervisors.
- Problem: Given the inequity of military obligation between black and white, male and female South Africans, as well as the perceived role of the security apparatus in this country as a sustainer of Apartheid policy, the item manifests both experiential non-equivalence and political bias. Secondly, the role of the Church in South Africa was perceived non-equivalently across the pilot sample, black students tending to view it in stronger political terms.
12. One good way to teach certain people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.
13. Youngsters should be taught to refuse to fight in a war unless they themselves agree the war is just and necessary.
- Problem: Similar to that identified in Item 11, the role of the South African Defence Force was perceived along contrasting lines between students of opposing political affiliations.
14. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still the mark of a gentleman and, especially, a lady.
- Problem: A simple problem here of translation across cultural setting. The language employed in this item was perceived as inappropriate for a South African sample of students.
15. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.
- Problem: Situated in an immediate context the item was perceived as a blatant political statement reflecting the current events in South Africa. It was clear that an

individual's group and political affiliation would be directly related to his/her response to the item rather than any hypothesized personal disposition.

16. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

Problem: Item was perceived as possibly posing a problem of comprehension if used in a sample whose home language was not english. Highlighted area therefore viewed as not being grammatically redundant.

17. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

18. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.

19. The courts are right in being easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these.

20. If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional, his parents should see to it that he returns to the normal ways expected by society.

Problem: It was anticipated that referring broadly to "society" might again elicit connotations of political hegemony to the respondent depending on his/her group affiliations, despite the apparent 'neutral' nature of the item. It was therefore deemed necessary to state the item in more specific terms thereby diminishing the possibility of confounding factors influencing an individual's response.

21. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so it's best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.

22. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.

23. Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one.

24. It's one thing to question and doubt someone during an election campaign, but once a man becomes the leader of our country we owe him our greatest support and loyalty.

Problem: Given the present political dispensation the item lacks experiential equivalence and therefore, in its original form would be inapplicable in this research context.

APPENDIX C

The 24-item Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (modified)

1. In a post-apartheid non-racial South Africa, laws will have to be strictly enforced if the nation's way of life is going to be preserved.
2. People should pay less attention to the Bible and other traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
3. Women should always remember the promise they make in the marriage ceremony to obey their husbands.
4. Customs and national heritage are the things that make any society great and people should be made to show greater respect for them.
5. The death sentence as a form of punishment should be completely abolished.
6. In the future, national anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men.
7. The facts on crime and sexual immorality show that in a future South Africa, we are going to have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if the country is going to maintain its moral standards.
8. A lot of our society's rules regarding modesty and sexual behaviour are just customs which are not necessarily any better than those which other societies follow.
9. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve better care, instead of so much punishment.
10. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

11. Organizations that require strict obedience of commands from authority have an unhealthy effect upon individuals.
12. One good way to teach people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.
13. In any society, the youth should be taught to refuse to fight in a war unless they themselves agree the war is just and necessary.
14. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still very important.
15. In a future democratic South Africa, laws will have to be enforced very strictly, especially when dealing with people who are stirring things up.
16. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
17. Most young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
18. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.
19. The courts should be easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these.
20. If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional its parents should see to it that the child returns to the normal ways expected by the culture.
21. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so its best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.
22. A "women's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.

23. Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one.

24. In the event of future democratic elections, it would be one thing to question and doubt someone during an election campaign, but once they become the leader of our country, we owe them our greatest support and loyalty.

APPENDIX D

The Questionnaire

SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

This questionnaire forms part of a Psychology Masters research project being conducted at Rhodes University. The aim of the questionnaire is to gauge student attitudes on a variety of social issues.

Although you may feel that some questions seem irrelevant, each item has in fact, been inserted with a particular research objective in mind.

You are not required to give your name and therefore remain unknown to me. Please fill in the items so that they reflect your opinions and not those of somebody else.

Also, as way of feedback, I would welcome any comments you may have on any aspect of the questionnaire. Space has been provided at the end for this purpose.

Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Paul Leger
Psychology Department
Rhodes University
Grahamstown

Section one: Demographic Information

In this section certain background information is required from you which will later be used in the study to analyse the data provided by the respondents.

INSTRUCTIONS:

In the questions below write the number that corresponds to your answer, selected from a number of alternatives listed. Boxes have been provided next to each question for you to write your responses in. Please write the number of your response clearly in the box.

Here is an example: Suppose that in question 1 you are a male, you would respond in the following way:

1. SEX :

1 = Male 2 = Female

You may now proceed to answer the questionnaire.

1. SEX :

1 = Male 2 = Female

2. AGE (in years) :

3. ACADEMIC YEAR (number) :

4. URBAN\RURAL BACKGROUND :

1 = Urban 2 = Rural

5. FIRST LANGUAGE :

1 = Afrikaans 4 = Xhosa
2 = English 5 = Zulu
3 = Sotho 6 = Other

6. HOME RELIGION :

1 = Christianity 2 = Judaism
3 = Zionism 4 = Islam
5 = Hinduism 6 = Other

7. CONTINUED RELIGIOUS ACCEPTANCE : How completely would you say you now presently accept the beliefs and teachings of the religion in which you were raised?

1 = Not at all 2 = Somewhat
3 = Mostly 4 = Completely

8. INTEREST IN POLITICS : Which of the statements below best describes your interest in South African political matters?

1 = Very interested 2 = Quite interested
3 = Slightly interested 4 = Not interested

9. POLITICAL PARTY\ORGANIZATION PREFERENCE : In the event of future democratic elections, which of the following national political parties\organizations would you consider voting for?

1 = Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO)
2 = African National Congress (ANC)
3 = Conservative Party (CP)
4 = Democratic Party (DP)
5 = Inkatha Movement
6 = National Party (NP)
7 = Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)
8 = South African Communist Party (SACP)
9 = None of the above

Section two: Social Attitudes Survey

The following statements relate to a number of different social attitudes. Please indicate your response to each statement by using this scale:

- 3 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 1 = Slightly Disagree
- 00 = Not Sure \ Neutral
- +1 = Slightly Agree
- +2 = Agree
- +3 = Strongly Agree

As in Section one, which you have just completed, a box has been provided for you next to the statements to write in your answer.

Again an example: Suppose that you slightly agree with a statement. You would therefore write '+1' in the box like this:

+	1
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Please mark your response numbers clearly and remember to include a + or - sign with the number. Also; be sure not to leave any questions out.

The statements now follow:

-
1. In a post-apartheid non-racial South Africa, laws will have to be strictly enforced if the nation's way of life is going to be preserved.

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 2. People should pay less attention to the Bible and other traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.

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 3. Women should always remember the promise they make in the marriage ceremony to obey their husbands.

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 4. Customs and national heritage are the things that make any society great and people should be made to show greater respect for them.

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 5. The death sentence as a form of punishment should be completely abolished.

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 6. In the future, national anthems, flags, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote the brotherhood of all men.

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- 3 = Strongly Disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 1 = Slightly Disagree
 - 00 = Not Sure \ Neutral
 - +1 = Slightly Agree
 - +2 = Agree
 - +3 = Strongly Agree
-

7. The facts on crime and sexual immorality show that in a future South Africa, we are going to have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if the country is going to maintain its moral standards.

8. A lot of our society's rules regarding modesty and sexual behaviour are just customs which are not necessarily any better than those which other societies follow.

9. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve better care, instead of so much punishment.

10. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

11. Organizations that require strict obedience of commands from authority have an unhealthy effect upon individuals.

12. One good way to teach people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.

13. In any society, the youth should be taught to refuse to fight in a war unless they themselves agree the war is just and necessary.

14. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still very important.

15. In a future democratic South Africa, laws will have to be enforced very strictly, especially when dealing with people who are stirring things up.

- 3 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 1 = Slightly Disagree
- 00 = Not Sure \ Neutral
- +1 = Slightly Agree
- +2 = Agree
- +3 = Strongly Agree

-
- 16. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

 - 17. Most young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

 - 18. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.

 - 19. The courts should be easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these.

 - 20. If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional its parents should see to it that the child returns to the normal ways expected by the culture.

 - 21. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so its best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.

 - 22. A "women's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.

 - 23. Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one.

- 3 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 1 = Slightly Disagree
- 00 = Not Sure \ Neutral
- +1 = Slightly Agree
- +2 = Agree
- +3 = Strongly Agree

24. In the event of future democratic elections, it would be one thing to question and doubt someone during an election campaign, but once they become the leader of our country, we owe them our greatest support and loyalty.

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DEBRIEFING:

This section gives you an opportunity to give feedback to the researcher. This feedback and any other comments you may have about the questionnaire is valuable in helping to improve future research.

Please use this scale to respond to the statements below:

- 3 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 1 = Slightly Disagree
- 00 = Not Sure \ Neutral
- +1 = Slightly Agree
- +2 = Agree
- +3 = Strongly Agree

1. I found the layout of the questionnaire clear and the instructions easy to understand.
2. I had no difficulty understanding the questions.
3. I did not find the questionnaire too long.
4. I was always sure what I was supposed to do when indicating my responses.
5. I did not always answer honestly because I was concerned about other people seeing my answers.
6. I found some of the questions threatening.

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COMMENTS:
