## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>Preface by Max Horkheimer</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>A. The Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Methodology</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. General Characteristics of the Method</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The Techniques</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Procedures in the Collection of Data</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. The Groups Studied</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. The Distribution and Collection of Questionnaires</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. The Selection of Subjects for Intensive Clinical Study</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Part I

#### THE MEASUREMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. The Contrasting Ideologies of Two College Men: A Preliminary View</td>
<td>R. Nevitt Sanford</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mack: A Man High on Ethnocentrism</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Larry: A Man Low on Ethnocentrism</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Analysis of the Two Cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ideology Concerning the Jews</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. General Ethnocentrism</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Politics</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Religion</td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vocation and Income</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. The Study of Anti-Semitic Ideology</td>
<td>Daniel J. Levinson</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Introduction</td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Construction of the Anti-Semitism (A-S) Scale</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. General Rules in Item Formulation</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Major Subdivisions or Areas: The Subscales</td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Total Anti-Semitism (A-S) Scale</td>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

C. RESULTS: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SCALE
   1. Reliability, 72; 2. Intercorrelations of the Subscales, 74; 3. Internal Consistency: Statistical Analysis of the Individual Items, 76

D. THE SHORT FORM OF THE A-S SCALE
   83

E. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE A-S SCALE
   89

F. DISCUSSION: THE STRUCTURE OF ANTI-SEMITICIDEOLOGY
   92

IV. THE STUDY OF ETHNOCENTRIC IDEOLOGY—Daniel J. Levinson
   A. INTRODUCTION
   102

   B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE ETHNOCENTRISM (E) SCALE
      1. Major Subdivisions or Areas: The Subscales, 105; 2. The Total Ethnocentrism (E) Scale, 109

   C. RESULTS: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SCALE
      1. Reliability, 112; 2. Intercorrelations Among the Subscales, 113; 3. Internal Consistency: Statistical Analysis of the Individual Items, 114; 4. Second Form of the E Scale (Form 78), 116

   D. THE INCLUSION OF ANTI-SEMITISM WITHIN GENERAL ETHNOCENTRISM
      1. The Third Form of the E Scale (Form 60), 123; 2. The Fourth Form of the E Scale (Forms 45 and 40), 127; 3. A Suggested Final E Scale, 141

   E. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE E SCALE
      143

   F. CONCLUSIONS: THE STRUCTURE OF ETHNOCENTRIC IDEOLOGY
      145

V. POLITICO-ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY AND GROUP MEMBERSHIPS IN RELATION TO ETHNOCENTRISM—Daniel J. Levinson
   A. INTRODUCTION
   151

   B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM (PEC) SCALE
      1. Some Major Trends in Contemporary Liberalism and Conservatism, 153; 2. The Initial PEC Scale (Form 78), 157; 3. The Second PEC Scale (Form 60), 163; 4. The Third PEC Scale (Forms 45 and 40), 168; 5. Discussion: Some Patterns of Contemporary Liberalism and Conservatism, 175

   C. THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND CONSERVATISM
   178

   D. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE PEC SCALE
   183
E. THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPINGS 185
F. CONCLUSIONS 207

VI. ETHNOCENTRISM IN RELATION TO SOME RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES—R. Nevitt Sanford 208
A. INTRODUCTION 208
B. RESULTS 208
1. Religious Group Memberships, 208; 2. "Importance" of Religion and the Church, 215; 3. Scale Items, 218
C. DISCUSSION 219
D. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 220

VII. THE MEASUREMENT OF IMPLICIT ANTIDEMOCRATIC TRENDS—R. Nevitt Sanford, T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, and Daniel J. Levinson 222
A. INTRODUCTION 222
B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE FASCISM (F) SCALE 224
1. The Underlying Theory, 224; 2. The Formulation of Scale Items, 241
C. RESULTS WITH SUCCESSIVE FORMS OF THE F SCALE 242
1. Statistical Properties of the Preliminary Scale (Form 78), 242; 2. Item Analysis and Revision of the Preliminary Scale, 244; 3. The Second F Scale: Form 60, 247; 4. The Third F Scale: Forms 45 and 40, 252
D. CORRELATIONS OF THE F SCALE WITH E AND WITH PEC 262
E. DIFFERENCES IN MEAN F-SCALE SCORE AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS 265
F. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE F-SCALE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY 269
G. CONCLUSION 279

VIII. ETHNOCENTRISM IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE AND EDUCATION—Daniel J. Levinson 280

Part II
PERSONALITY AS REVEALED THROUGH CLINICAL INTERVIEWS

IX. THE INTERVIEWS AS AN APPROACH TO THE PREJUDICED PERSONALITY—Else Frenkel-Brunswik 291
A. INTRODUCTION: COMPARISON OF GROUPS 291
B. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS FOR THE INTERVIEWS 294
1. Basis of Selection, 294; 2. Representativeness of the
CONTENTS

Interviewees, 295; 3. Approaching the Interviewees, 300

C. THE INTERVIEWERS

D. SCOPE AND TECHNIQUE OF THE INTERVIEW

1. General Plan for the Interview, 302; 2. "Underlying" and "Manifest" Questions, 303; 3. General Instructions to the Interviewers, 303

E. THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE


F. THE SCORING OF THE INTERVIEWS


X. PARENTS AND CHILDHOOD AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS—Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. INTRODUCTION

B. ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTS AND CONCEPTION OF THE FAMILY


C. CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD ENVIRONMENT


D. CHILDHOOD EVENTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SIBLINGS

1. Definition of Rating Categories and Quantitative Results, 376; 2. Attitudes Toward Siblings, 377; 3. Childhood Events, 382; 4. Status Concern, 382

E. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ON FAMILY PATTERNS
CONTENTS

XI. SEX, PEOPLE; AND SELF AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS—Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX

B. ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE

C. ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT SELF

D. CONCEPTION OF CHILDHOOD SELF

XII. DYNAMIC AND COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS—Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. DYNAMIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE

B. COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION
  1. Definition of Rating Categories and Quantitative Re-
CONTENTS


XIII. COMPREHENSIVE SCORES AND SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW RESULTS—Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. THE DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE MAJOR AREAS STUDIED
   1. Verification of Anticipated Trend by Categories, 468; 2. Composite Ratings for Seven Major Areas, 470

B. VALIDITY OF OVER-ALL SCORES AND RATINGS OF THE INTERVIEWS
   1. Individual Composite Score Based on All Areas of Rating, 471; 2. Over-all Intuitive Rating and Its Agreement with the Composite Score, 472; 3. Agreement with the Questionnaire Results, 472

C. SUMMARY OF THE PERSONALITY PATTERNS DERIVED FROM THE INTERVIEWS

PART III

PERSONALITY AS REVEALED THROUGH PROJECTIVE MATERIAL

XIV. THE THEMATIC APPEARCEPTION TEST IN THE STUDY OF PREJUDICED AND UNPREJUDICED INDIVIDUALS—Betty Aron

A. TESTING PROCEDURE
   1. The Sample Tested, 490; 2. Technique of Administration, 493; 3. The Pictures Used, 493

B. METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF THE STORY PROTOCOLS
   1. The Murray-Sanford Scheme, 496; 2. Thematic Analysis, 506

C. THE T.A.T.S OF MACK AND LARRY
   1. Larry’s Stories, 530; 2. Mack’s Stories, 534; 3. Analysis of the Stories, 537

D. SUMMARY
CONTENTS

XV. PROJECTIVE QUESTIONS IN THE STUDY OF PERSONALITY AND IDEOLOGY—Daniel J. Levinson 545

A. INTRODUCTION 545
B. QUANTIFICATION BY MEANS OF SCORING CATEGORIES 548
C. SCORING MANUAL: CATEGORIES OF PROJECTIVE QUESTION RESPONSE 550
D. RESULTS 579
1. Reliability of Scoring, 581; 2. Projective Question Scores in Relation to Standing on the E Scale, 584; 3. Validation by Means of Case Studies: Mack and Larry, 592
E. CONCLUSIONS 595

PART IV
QUALITATIVE STUDIES OF IDEOLOGY

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS 603

XVI. PREJUDICE IN THE INTERVIEW MATERIAL—T. W. Adorno 605

A. INTRODUCTION 605
B. THE "FUNCTIONAL" CHARACTER OF ANTI-SEMITISM 609
C. THE IMAGINARY FOE 612
D. ANTI-SEMITISM FOR WHAT? 617
E. TWO KINDS OF JEWS 622
F. THE ANTI-SEMITE'S DILEMMA 627
G. PROSECUTOR AS JUDGE 629
H. THE MISFIT BOURGEOIS 637
I. OBSERVATIONS ON LOW-SCORING SUBJECTS 644
J. CONCLUSION 653

XVII. POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN THE INTERVIEW MATERIAL—T. W. Adorno 654

A. INTRODUCTION 654
B. FORMAL CONSTITUENTS OF POLITICAL THINKING 658
reaucrats and Politicians, 693; 8. There Will Be No Utopia, 695; 9. No Pity for the Poor, 699; 10. Education Instead of Social Change, 700

C. SOME POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS 702

XVIII. SOME ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AS REVEALED IN THE INTERVIEW MATERIAL—T. W. Adorno 727
A. INTRODUCTION 727
B. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS 730
C. SPECIFIC ISSUES 733
1. The Function of Religion in High and Low Scorers, 733; 2. Belief in God, Disbelief in Immortality, 736; 3. The Irreligious Low Scorer, 738; 4. Religious Low Scorers, 742

XIX. TYPES AND SYNDROMES—T. W. Adorno 744
A. THE APPROACH 744
B. SYNDROMES FOUND AMONG HIGH SCORERS 753
C. SYNDROMES FOUND AMONG LOW SCORERS 771
1. The "Rigid" Low Scorer, 771; 2. The "Protesting" Low Scorer, 774; 3. The "Impulsive" Low Scorer, 776; 4. The "Easy-Going" Low Scorer, 778; 5. The Genuine Liberal, 781

PART V

APPLICATIONS TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO SPECIAL GROUPS

XX. GENETIC ASPECTS OF THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY: CASE STUDIES OF TWO CONTRASTING INDIVIDUALS—R. Nevitt Sanford 787
A. INTRODUCTION 787
B. THE CASE OF MACK 788
1. Environmental Forces and Events, 789; 2. Deeper Per-
CONTENTS

sonality Needs, 794; 3. Dynamics of Surface Behavior and Attitudes, 800
C. THE CONTRASTING CASE OF LARRY 809

XXI. CRIMINALITY AND ANTIDEMOCRATIC TRENDS: A STUDY OF PRISON INMATES—William R. Morrow 817
A. INTRODUCTION 817
1. The Problem, 817; 2. Sampling and Administration, 818; 3. Plan of Discussion, 822
B. ETHNOCENTRISM 823
C. POLITICO-ECONOMIC ATTITUDES 835
D. MORALS AND RELIGION 844
E. DEFENSES AGAINST WEAKNESS 856
F. HETEROSEXUALITY 866
G. ANTI-INTRACEPTIVENESS AND CHILDHOOD 873
H. ATTITUDES TO PARENTS 875
I. “CRIMINALITY” IN HIGH AND LOW SCORERS 887

XXII. PSYCHOLOGICAL ILL HEALTH IN RELATION TO POTENTIAL FASCISM: A STUDY OF PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC PATIENTS—Maria Hertz Levinson 891
A. INTRODUCTION 891
B. THE NATURE OF THE SAMPLE 892
C. STATISTICAL RESULTS FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE 896
D. RELATIONSHIP OF ETHNOCENTRISM TO VARIOUS PSYCHIATRIC CLASSIFICATIONS 897
1. Ethnocentrism in Relation to Neurosis and Psychosis, 904; 2. Ethnocentrism in Relation to Specific Diagnostic Categories, 906
E. ETHNOCENTRISM IN RELATION TO THE MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY 910
F. PERSONALITY TRENDS AS REVEALED BY PATIENTS’ “STATEMENT OF PROBLEM” IN THE FIRST PSYCHIATRIC INTERVIEW 917
G. CLINICAL PICTURES AND PERSONALITIES OF HIGH AND LOW SCORERS 942
CONTENTS

1. The High Scorers, 942; 2. The Low Scorers, 951;
3. The "Middles," 959

H. CONCLUSIONS 961

XXIII. CONCLUSIONS 971

REFERENCES

INDEX 983