

ARTICLE

Logical Positivism or Critical Theory as the Methodological Foundation of *The Authoritarian Personality*?

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Abstract

In this paper, the central research question discusses to what extent logical positivism or critical theory forms the methodological core of the seminal work on the authoritarian personality. A central thesis is that due to her background in psychology, logical positivism and psychoanalysis and her neglected but central role in the authoritarian personality study, Else Frenkel-Brunswik has had a much more lasting and productive influence on authoritarianism research than Adorno as the representative of critical theory. This was certainly not reflected in the public discourse or in intellectual discussions, at least in Europe. This article shows how the original F-Scale was changed in subsequent research and how the application of psychometric techniques improved. However, by employing Lakatos' concept of the research programme, I analyse how authoritarianism research developed in a degenerative way by reducing the number of factors from nine to three and giving up the psychoanalytic explanation of the underlying mechanisms, a systematic test of sociological and contextual factors, and the original mixed method approach of combining surveys and qualitative interviews. Finally, the issue of the effects of idealisation of parents on the measurement of the items and the use of typologies were not tackled in later research. Employing data from the German General Social Survey (ALLBUS), I describe how some of Frenkel-Brunswik's central methodological and theoretical ideas have been tested using confirmatory factor analyses and structural equation models. Finally I summarise the way in which the research programme can be developed more fruitfully by integrating developmental psychology, sociology, political science, psychoanalysis and statistical generalised latent variable models.

Keywords

Critical theory, logical positivism, F-scale, ethnocentrism, research programme, mixed methods, latent variables, cluster analysis, typologies, confirmatory factor analysis

INTRODUCTION

The topic of this paper¹ are the contributions by Else Frenkel-Brunswik to the content and to the methodology of the seminal book *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950), contributions that have largely been repressed and forgotten. As a consequence, especially in Germany and Austria but also in Europe more generally, *The Authoritarian Personality*—including the F-Scale—was almost exclusively attributed to T. W. Adorno. Furthermore, I want to demonstrate that her methodological background—in contrast to the methodology of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory—was based on logical positivism and corresponded more closely to later quantitative modelling of authoritarianism, ethnocentrism and antisemitism within political psychology, social psychology, political science and sociology. The basic motive behind the view of Adorno as one major representative of the Frankfurt School seemed to be his negative attitude towards empirical social, differential and developmental psychology and quantitative methods (Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004: 12), although he stressed correctly the neglect of context and situational factors in psychology. However, both competency in and knowledge of all these subdisciplines are necessary prerequisites for research in this area (see Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004).

The study of the origins of dictatorships and autocratic regimes, including fascist movements, represents one of the central research questions investigated in several academic fields in the social sciences, including political science, social psychology, sociology and history. Published more than 70 years ago, *The Authoritarian Personality* (TAP) has been the most influential and most discussed contribution to date; Google Scholar lists over 20,000 citations (on 2 May 2022 the number of hits was 22,407). Its appearance sparked critical discussions that focused in particular on the methods used in TAP (Samelson 1986; Sanford 1986). This discussion gave rise to a book edited by Christie and Jahoda (1954) and an ongoing debate followed (cf. Stone et al. 1993). For a long time no innovative or new studies on authoritarianism were undertaken until the reformulation of the concept of authoritarianism and the development of the corresponding RWA Scale by Altemeyer (1981; 1998) gave the research new impetus, as did Feldman and Stenner's (1997) reformulation.

Despite international recognition, in Germany, as Heintz (1957) has remarked, the reception of TAP was more or less non-existent. One of the Frankfurt School's—and Adorno's—major accomplishments was to bring TAP into scientific and public discourse (Jay 1973; Wiggershaus 2010) after the remigration of Adorno and Horkheimer to Germany in 1950. However, the German reception was very one-sided and biased. First, the earlier contributions of Reich (1933) and later Fromm (1936) were mentioned neither in Adorno et al.'s (1950) publication nor at any later time. In addition, the publishing house Suhrkamp only had the parts of the publication authored by Adorno translated into German (Adorno 1995; 2019). Over the years there has been only one follow-up study conducted in Germany by Freyhold (1971), which originated within the Frankfurt School. Another issue has been the ignorance and initially subtle but later intense devaluation of critical rationalism and psychology (Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004) and of the empirical and logical positivism approach taken by all the other authors of TAP (Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford) and by representatives of the Cologne school of empirical social research such as Roghmann (1966). This cumulated in the most important scientific controversy within sociology in post-war Germany, known as the *Positivismusstreit* [Positivism Dispute] (Adorno et al. 1972), which also attracted international attention.

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Unfortunately, in academia this dispute led to a mutual process of misunderstanding and devaluation. The representatives of the Frankfurt School no longer focused their empirical research on authoritarianism and instead concentrated more on philosophical issues. Furthermore, the School's adherents did not follow up with the development of modern developmental psychology, social psychology or the psychometric latent variable models used to empirically test social science theories (Fahrenberg and Steiner 2004).²

Finally, the contributions made by Adorno's co-authors—Frenkel-Brunswik, Sanford and Levinson—were never given their due respect either by academic researchers or in broader public discourse in Germany or Europe in general (for the American context see Samelson 1986; Sanford 1986). The specific achievements of Frenkel-Brunswik have been dealt with in recent times only by Hopf (2015). Beside her general achievement of being a member of the team of authors of the complete study in 1950, she was the sole author of five chapters and co-author of the chapter on the development of the F-Scale. Adorno, like Frenkel-Brunswik, was co-author and not leading author of the chapter on the F-Scale, and sole author of an additional introduction and four chapters on the qualitative study of ideology. Looking at Frenkel-Brunswik, the following topics have been especially remarkable (see Adorno et al. 1950; 2019): Firstly her co-authorship of chapter 7 on the development of the F-Scale (F denoting Fascism). Secondly her focus on the analysis of qualitative interviews (chapters 9-13; see also Darowska in this special issue) and its connection to quantitative interviews. Thirdly her chapter on the issue of the idealisation of parents during the socialisation process by persons with high authoritarianism and the impact of this on the validity of the quantitative measurements (chapter 10). And finally, her extensive knowledge and application of the covering law model of Hempel and Oppenheim (1948) and Hempel's (1952) concept of two languages and its application in her explication of psychoanalytic explanations (chapter 12).

To evaluate and follow up on the intellectual contribution made by Frenkel-Brunswik, especially to authoritarianism research, I want to employ Lakatos' (1970) concept of a research programme. Specifically, this implies that there are three different components of a research programme: (1) Meta-physical assumptions, which cannot be tested empirically but are set; (2) theoretical hypotheses employing theoretical constructs called core theory; and (3) measurement theory, often denoted as operationalisation connecting latent variables with observed indicators (Hempel 1952; 1973). Lakatos (1970) argues that a research programme develops well if it can explain more observable phenomena in comparison with the existing state. However, if there is no progress in explaining phenomena, the programme is regarded as stagnant. In the worst case, a research programme becomes degenerative, that is, it explains less over time than at the beginning. In the case of authoritarianism research and the role of Frenkel-Brunswik, I concentrate on the development of the core theory and the measurement theory and on the underlying assumptions of the research.

In the following sections, I begin with a brief discussion of Frenkel-Brunswik's academic development in Vienna, focusing on her training and experience with psychoanalysis, developmental psychology and the Vienna Circle of logical positivism (*Wiener Kreis des logischen Positivismus*), since this was very important for her further intellectual development. Then, in the next section, I discuss how the underlying measurement model of authoritarianism has been developed. While following

² The most likely motive for this deficit emerges from Adorno's disdain for empirical social psychology and differential psychology. Both of these fields of expertise, however, are indispensable for this research. This scientific-historical review therefore contributes to the understanding of why innovative and large-scale investigations of the authoritarian personality did not take place in post-war Germany.

on from her contributions in essence (Frenkel-Brunswik 1947; 1996), a reduction took place from the original nine to three constructs, and there has been no systematic integration of qualitative studies on authoritarianism with later surveys on authoritarianism by other researchers. Although both changes represent a degenerative development over time, I must point out that a great deal of progress was made in developing reliable and valid scales for the reduced number of (only) three constructs. Nonetheless, this development has been degenerative because the six omitted scales could have been used to explain other phenomena outside the three remaining constructs, or could have had different impacts on the same dependent variable. Furthermore, by leaving out the qualitative interviews and not following a mixed-methods approach, the validity of the scales was reduced.

Concerning the theoretical core of the theory and in contrast to the measurement theory, it is important to point out that no explicitly formulated hypotheses containing contextual or individual determinants of authoritarianism were postulated in the study on authoritarianism (Adorno 1950; 2019). Continuing the work of Frenkel-Brunswik on intervening constructs (Frenkel-Brunswik 1954; 1996), I show how modern methods of latent variable analysis allow me to formalise and test these concepts. Further, I demonstrate how her ideas of integrating psychological and sociological as well as individual political and contextual variables (Frenkel-Brunswik 1952; 1996) can be formalised and tested by employing structural data models on data from the German General Social Survey (*Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften*, ALLBUS). This is followed by a discussion of how her ideas about the idealisation of parents (Frenkel-Brunswik 1948; 1996) were formalised and tested using cluster analysis. Finally, I present a summary of my main findings.

FROM VIENNA TO BERKELEY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METHODOLOGICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE APPROACH OF FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK

In Vienna in 1926, Frenkel-Brunswik began to study mathematics and physics. However, in the course of her studies she became more and more interested in psychology. After two semesters she switched her major to psychology and began her close cooperation with Charlotte Bühler and her work on child and developmental psychology. Furthermore, she became interested in the biographical approach to studying human development. Particularly her qualitative approach in TAP and the idealisation hypothesis concerning perception of the parents were influenced by these earlier academic experiences. Her experiences and connections with psychoanalysts in Vienna and the intensive contact she had at this time with the Böhlers and their experimental approach led to an ambivalent relationship to psychoanalysis during her years in Vienna (Paier 1996). However, after her emigration to the United States, she defended psychoanalysis and argued that psychoanalytic theories should be reconstructed in accordance with logical positivism and as part of the Unity of Science movement, which was propagated in particular by Neurath (1940; 1954; 1983).

Even during her studies in Vienna she began to communicate with members of the Vienna Circle and was in frequent contact with Moritz Schlick and Rudolf Carnap and, later, especially with Otto Neurath (Paier 1996). This had a lasting effect on her methodological orientation. I now turn to the differences in methodological positions between Frenkel-Brunswik and Adorno as well as Horkheimer. In his seminal paper, Max Horkheimer (1937) differentiated between traditional theory and critical theory. Traditional theory as a label meant the empirical sciences setting up explicit hypotheses and then testing these using data. He did not mention the publications of the Vienna Circle but referred only to the contributions of Descartes and Poincaré (for details see Keuth 1993: 7ff.). A detailed criticism of the Frankfurt School's programme from the point of view of critical rationalism

has been outlined by Keuth (1993). Specifically, Keuth argues that Horkheimer was not sufficiently knowledgeable in areas relating formal logic in the empirical sciences (Keuth 1993: 23).

In contrast to the concept of traditional theory, the concept of critical theory contains not only empirically tested theories but also value judgements and political activities (Horkheimer 1937; Keuth 1993). The use of this distinction demonstrates that Frenkel-Brunswik must be seen as a representative of traditional theory in Horkheimer's sense of the term (1937), as I will illustrate below.

Frenkel-Brunswik maintained her personal contacts with the members of the Vienna Circle until 1938, particularly with Moritz Schlick, Otto Neurath, and Rudolf Carnap (Paier 1996: 31). From 1939 onwards she had continuing contact with those members who had emigrated to the United States, mainly Gustav Bergmann, Rudolf Carnap, Herbert Feigl, Carl Gustav Hempel, and Hans Reichenbach (Paier 1996: 57).

Six major aspects of the transfer of the Vienna Circle's concepts (Stadler 2015) and their later development—especially by Hempel (1952; 1965; 1973)—appear to be especially important to her work (Frenkel-Brunswik 1940; 1954; 1996a; 1996d).

- (1) The use of a deductive approach for theory construction that formulates falsifiable hypotheses, also in psychoanalytic theories and explanations as developed in Hempel and Oppenheim's (1948) deductive-nomological model (D-N model) of scientific explanation (Frenkel-Brunswik 1954; 1996d: 123–127)—according to Frenkel-Brunswik, the Henkel-Oppenheim model can be applied to the explanation of general concepts and individual acts (Frenkel-Brunswik 1940; 1996a: 79).
- (2) Employing dispositional terms (Carnap 1936) or theoretical constructs (Hempel 1952) and intervening constructs (MacCorquodale and Meehl 1948; Frenkel-Brunswik 1940; 1996e: 117–122) instead of pure operationalism or empiricism with propositions employing only observational terms.
- (3) The necessity of correspondence rules or even correspondence hypotheses (Hempel 1973; Frenkel-Brunswik 1996d: 123–127) to connect observational terms with theoretical terms—this implies the formulation of hypotheses connecting latent and observed variables and making theory-driven decisions on the causal direction.
- (4) The conceptualisation of psychoanalytical concepts (e.g., unconscious or desire) as latent constructs and not viewed in the tradition of hermeneutics: postulated relationships are deductive hypotheses (Frenkel-Brunswik 1940; 1996a: 79ff.)—explanation of general concepts and of individual acts takes place by applying the deductive nomological approach, and this was later elaborated on especially by Grünbaum (1988).
- (5) For complex theories (like psychoanalysis), higher-order factors and intervening, not directly measurable constructs are needed (MacCorquodale and Meehl 1948), which should, however, have an indirect connection to observed variables (Frenkel-Brunswik 1996d: 117–122). This was formalised later on by the concept of phantom variables in latent variable models (Rindskopf 1984).
- (6) Following the ideals of the Unity of Science movement (Carnap 1938; Neurath et al. 1938; Seymons et al. 2011; Frenkel-Brunswik 1996d: 142–147)—it is assumed that the principles of theory, construction, testing, and applications are equal for all disciplines of science including psychoanalysis and the humanities. Furthermore, most practical problems need transdisciplinary research for their solution and, therefore, Frenkel-Brunswik (1952; 1996c) stressed that there should be no border thinking between the disciplines.

In the following section I focus firstly on her approaches to the third element of her research programme, that is, the underlying measurement theory and then on the second element, that is, the core theory. Before this I turn a discussion of how she made use of the concepts of analytical philosophy. To elaborate on this, I begin by discussing the formalisation of hypotheses and operationalisations via latent variables models and the discriminant and convergent validity of concepts such as authoritarianism, antisemitism and anti-foreigner sentiments and higher-order confirmatory factor analysis. Furthermore, we will address the topic of model specification for intervening constructs using phantom variables and multiple indicator and multiple causes (MIMIC) models (Muthén 2002).

THE MEASUREMENT MODEL OF TAP

I will now look at the relationship between latent variable models (Jöreskog 1973) and the liberalised two-language theory (Hempel 1973), on the assumption that—in science—we have to differentiate between statements with observable variables and statements with theoretical constructs. This allows a connection (Schmidt 1977) between modern psychometrics and the follow-up of positivism labelled the liberalised version of Hempel's (1965; 1973) two-language theory.

In the framework of the TAP study, Frenkel-Brunswik, Sanford, and Levinson, as the trained psychologists within the team, used exploratory factor analysis to test the measurement theory—the available method at the time when this study was carried out—in order to construct the Fascism (F) Scale, the Ethnocentrism (E) Scale and the Antisemitism (AS) Scale. The F (Fascism) Scale itself (Sanford, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik and Levinson 1950) consisted of 38 items in its first version (Form 78) and was characterised by being indirect but formulated in the manner typical of opinion polls. This form was administered to four different social groups to increase external validity and calculate the reliability of the scale. Next, the authors performed an item analysis using the discriminatory power as the criterion and revised the scale (Sanford et al. 1950: 144). Based on these results they developed the next version, Form 60, and again computed the reliability and performed an item analysis. Employing this Form 60, the new versions (Form 45 and Form 408) were developed. The items of these new forms had good discriminatory power and sufficient reliability. For the question wording see the Appendix and for the underlying measurement model of the items, see Figure 1. However, the samples used were not representative samples of the American population but 14 heterogeneous groups, which included prisoners, students and service club members. For the validation, Sanford et al. (1950; 2019) used case studies of the F-Scale, AS-Scale, and E-Scale, and for the discriminant validation they performed a simultaneous exploratory factor analysis of the Fascism Scale, Antisemitism Scale and the Ethnocentrism Scale. The factor correlations indicated that discrimination of the three constructs was possible. The correlation between antisemitism and authoritarianism was, for example, .53 (Sanford et al. 1950: 263). Although Frenkel-Brunswik formulated a priori the measurement model with some precision, including the relations to the two other scales, the relationship between the nine postulated constructs and the factors in the exploratory factor analysis was not clear.

Now I want to discuss the relation between latent variable models (Jöreskog 1973) and the liberalised two-language theory (Hempel 1973). The latter was used also by Frenkel-Brunswik assuming that in science we have to differentiate between statements with observable variables and statements with theoretical constructs. There is a close connection (Schmidt 1977) between modern psychometrics

and the follow-up of positivism labelled the liberalised version of the two-language theory (Hempel 1965; 1973).

However, through the development of confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modelling (SEM) (Jöreskog 1973), a generalization of regression analysis taking into account random and non-random measurement errors (Goldberger 1971), even more sophisticated methods to model the substantive ideas and methodological viewpoints of Frenkel-Brunswik became available later on. Whereas in the discussion between Carnap (1956), Hempel (1965) and Popper (1965) the calculus of predicate logic was used and no connection to the development of exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis or regression analysis was established, it is possible to establish a one-to-one connection between the liberalized version of the two-language theory and latent variable models in statistics. This was initially done by Tuomela (1973) and Schmidt and Graff (1975). Table 1 shows how the concept of the liberalised version of Hempel’s (1973) theory of two languages has been formalised within the structural equation approach and forms its theoretical background.³

	Structural equation models (Jöreskog 1973)	Liberalised version of the theory of two languages (Hempel 1973)
1. Variables	Indicator, measured variable $Y = (y_1, \dots, y_p)$ $X = (x_1, \dots, x_q)$ Theoretical variables a) Exogenous theoretical variables $\xi = (\xi_1, \dots, \xi_n)$ a) Endogenous theoretical variables $\eta = (\eta_1, \dots, \eta_m)$	Observation variable Theoretical construct
2. Statements	‘structural relations’ ($\eta = B\eta + \Gamma\xi + \zeta$) ‘expected relations’ (Σ) Measurement/correspondence hypotheses $(y = \Lambda\eta + \varepsilon)$ $(x = \Lambda\xi + \delta)$	Theoretical postulate (theoretical core) Empirical laws Correspondence rules or correspondence hypotheses (measurement theory)

Table 1: Latent Variable Models (SEM) (Jöreskog 1973) and Liberalised Version of the Two-Languages Approach (Hempel 1973). Legend: Y = Vector of indicators of endogenous latent variables; X = Vector of indicators of exogenous latent variables; ξ = Vector of exogenous latent variables; η = Vector of endogenous latent variables; Γ = Matrix of effects of exogenous on endogenous latent variables; B = Matrix of the effects of endogenous latent variables on each other; ζ = Vector of errors of endogenous latent variables; Σ = Matrix of expected covariances; Λ = Matrix of effects of latent variables on their respective indicators; ε = Vector of random measurement errors of y indicators; δ = Vector of random measurement errors of x indicators. However, this kind of correspondence table was challenged and it gave rise to a longer critical discussion (Marraun and Gabriel 2013) about the relation between latent variables and factors on the one hand, and constructs in substantive theories on the other. Therefore, one cannot assume an isomorphic (one-to-one) relationship between the formalisation in the SEM model and the concepts and verbal propositions formulated in the tradition of the theory of two languages.

³ A connection to the non-statement view developed later on has yet to be established (Sneed 1979; Westmeyer 1992; Balzer 2009).

However, this problem is rarely discussed in empirical applications of exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis. The model has been generalised to model higher-order latent variables (phantom variables) and any type of causal directions (Graff and Schmidt 1982; McArdle 2005). This generalisation also allows modelling of intervening constructs without indicators, mentioned by Frenkel-Brunswik in her discussion of intervening constructs and psychoanalytical concepts, given that the identification problem is solved.

However, the existence of this correspondence was challenged and a longer critical discussion (Maraun and Gabriel 2013) took place about the relationship between latent variables and factors on the one hand and constructs in substantive theories on the other. Therefore, one cannot assume an isomorphic (one-to-one) relation between the formalisation in the SEM model and the concepts formulated in the tradition of the theory of two languages. In other words, it is not always clear whether in a factor analysis of the F-Scale using these items, a factor such as authoritarian aggression is identical to the theoretical concept itself, which is—in most cases—even more general. The generalisation by Schmidt and Graff (1975) also allows the modelling of intervening constructs without indicators, something mentioned by Frenkel-Brunswik (1954; 1996) in her discussion of intervening constructs and psychoanalytical concepts. In light of this, the identification problem is solved, implying that all unknowns in the equations can be solved unanimously (Brown 2015; Jöreskog 1973).

Frenkel-Brunswik (1940; 1996a; 1996d) used a deductive process model of the underlying social mechanism to explain the origins of authoritarianism in children and young adults. Fathers of authoritarian persons were regarded as cold and distant. In cases of children's resistance, fathers reacted with harsher punishments. As a consequence, the children developed repressive behaviour towards the father. In such cases, hostility is suppressed and replaced with superficial affection, with love on the one hand and submission on the other hand. One outcome of this process is that the repressed hostility is projected onto minorities, which are regarded as hostile and dangerous. Therefore, the perception and rationalisation of aggression towards minority groups is merely a substitute for the hatred of authority figures including, ultimately, the father, since he is superior and the child has no possibility of escaping his exercise of power. This leads, therefore, to aggression directed at weaker objects. As this process model can only be tested quantitatively and qualitatively through longitudinal studies beginning in early childhood and by measuring at least some of the intervening constructs, Frenkel-Brunswik also used retrospective approaches like biography research and, in the TAP project, intensive interviews for measuring the origins of authoritarianism.

The F-Scale, the E-scale, and the AS-Scale thus have to be regarded as outcome variables of this developmental process. From this point of view, the explanation of authoritarianism using psychoanalytical terms within a process model employs personality traits. However, the scales themselves might be regarded as measures of attitudes towards different objects and the underlying mechanism, which uses psychoanalytical terms, is not directly or indirectly tested.

The explication of the original measurement model of the F-Scale is represented in the path diagram illustrated in Figure 1. The F-Scale consisted of the following nine subdimensions (Sanford et al. 1950: 249):

- n1 = Conventionalism (4 items)
- n2 = Authoritarian submissiveness (7 items)
- n3 = Authoritarian aggression (8 items)
- n4 = Anti-Intracception (4 items)
- n5 = Superstitions and stereotypes (6 items)

- n6 = Power and robustness (7 items)
- n7 = Destructiveness and cynicism (2 items)
- n8 = Projectivity (5 items)
- n9 = Sexuality (3 items)

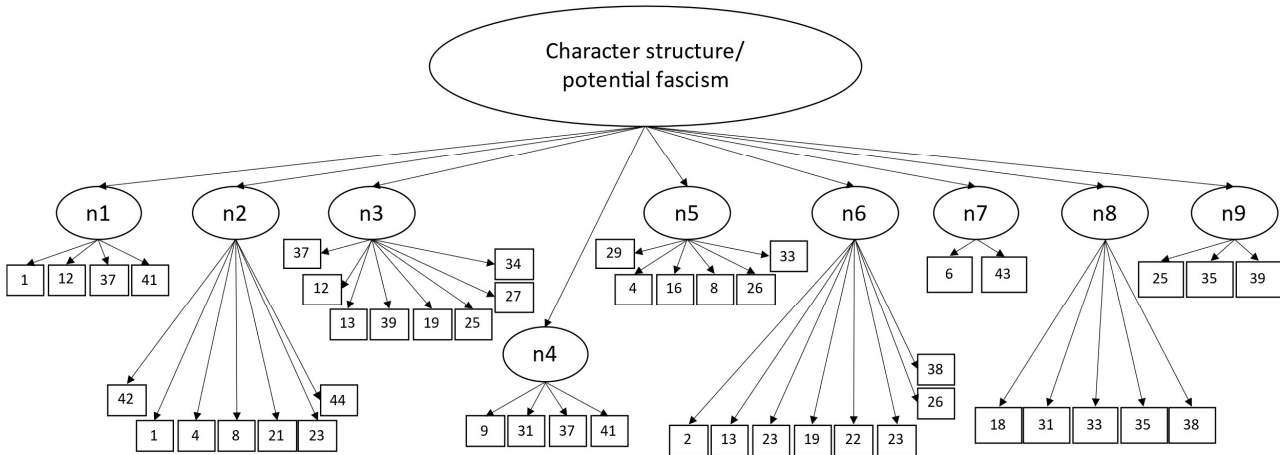


Figure 1: Original Measurement Model F-Scale (Path Diagram)

As the path diagram in Figure 1 demonstrates, some items (Items 1, 12, 37, 41, 31, 35, 4, 8, 23, 13, 39, 19, 25, 31, 26, 33, 38) were connected to more than one factor. In Appendix 1, the exact item wording and the original numbers given in Form 45 and 40 (Adorno et al. 1950: 224–260) are listed. Apart from reliability analysis, no further simultaneous factor analysis was performed by the authors. However, the relationship between the F-Scale and the AS-Scale and E-Scale was significant and positive as expected. Although, implicitly, a second-order factor model (Brown 2015) was postulated, this was neither tested empirically nor subjected to an alternative, person-centred procedure approach such as cluster analysis or latent class analysis, even though the authors repeatedly used the terms personality type or syndrome in different parts of the study (e.g. syndrome was used as a general term on pages 228, 261f., 279, 811, 971ff., authoritarian syndrome on page 759ff., conventionalism on page 256ff., and types was used in general on pages 744ff. and 972 and specifically for ethnocentric individuals on page 751ff). Such typological hypotheses have a different form than correspondence rules or hypotheses (Hempel and Oppenheim 1936; Hempel 1965), and they could have been tested by cluster analysis or the latent class analysis developed by P. F. Lazarsfeld, who cooperated with both Adorno and Frenkel-Brunswik (Paier 1996).

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEASUREMENT MODEL OF TAP

Most of the ensuing discussions concentrated on the F-Scale itself and its explanatory value for explaining fascism and right-wing authoritarianism. Although the scale received extensive methodological criticism (Christie and Jahoda 1954; Stone et al. 1993), it was never fully replicated (Meloan 1993) with all these items. Further developments with subsets of items are found in the works of Kagitcibasi (1970), Lederer (1982; 1983), Lederer and Kindervater (1995), Lederer and Schmidt (1995), Oesterreich (1993), Feldman and Stenner (1997), Funke (2005), Rippl and Seipel (2000),

Stellmacher and Petzel (2005), Stenner (2010), Duckitt and Bizumic (2013) and Beierlein et al. (2014). As Duckitt (2015: 256-257) stated, the reconceptualisation of the F-Scale as dogmatism by Rokeach (1954) and as conservatism by Wilson (1973) did not succeed in measuring a unitary construct and they still had a high level of correlation with the F-Scale. The concept itself later regained prominence when it was revived in the work of Altemeyer (1981; 1988; 1991; 1998), who used a subset of three dimensions and 21 items (1991). He conceptualised them either as personality attributes or as attitudes, but substituted the explanatory psychoanalytic paradigm for rather general statements concerning the use of cognitive learning theory (Rotter 1966; Bandura 1977). However, his basic achievement was the refinement and reduction of the measurement model of the F-Scale.

As a basis for his work, Altemeyer (1988; 1998) used nominal definition D1 to define the general construct of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) as follows:

D1: Right-wing authoritarianism = subordination of individual freedom and autonomy to the collective and its authority.

The three subdimensions (D2–D4) were defined as follows:

D2: Authoritarian Aggression defined as a tough attitude towards violations of social rules, norms and laws.

D3: Conservatism defined as obedient and respectful support for societal authorities.

D4: Traditionalism defined as favouring traditional, religious social norms and values.

Altemeyer dismissed psychoanalysis as an explanatory theory but, in a cursory way, he incorporated cognitive learning theory in the tradition of Rotter (1954) and Bandura (1977). According to Altemeyer (1981: 257), authoritarianism should be regarded as the covariation of three attitudes conceptualised as subdimensions representing RWA. However, he did not clarify whether the relations between RWA and the three subdimensions were definitional relations or whether RWA was a reflective or formative construct (Brown 2015) connected to the three subdimensions via empirical relations. These attitudes and RWA itself are—according to Altemeyer—acquired during childhood and even changed during adulthood by imitation or learning from models or direct experience of rewards and punishment. This can be experienced by means of personal experience with the objects that are the subject of the attitudes (direct learning). The determinants of attitude learning are the extent to which individuals are rewarded for learning the attitude. The rewards can be symbolic rewards (such as imitation) or tangible (like recognition) or monetary or intrinsic ones.

In the meantime, researchers have developed different versions of this scale. Duckitt and Bizumic (2013) first developed a revised instrument with a smaller number of items for the three factors and, later on, Bizumic et al. (2018) developed a scale with only six items (2018). Beierlein et al. (2014) developed a slightly different German instrument comprising three items per factor to control for every form of random and non-random measurement error. They tested a confirmatory second-order factor model with RWA as a reflective second-order factor. The three factors were labelled authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, and conventionalism. Based on this scale, Heller (2020) developed an ultrashort scale with only three items especially suited to large multi-topic surveys. A recent study (Heller et al. 2022) confirmed Beierlein et al.'s (2014) model structure by comparing two successive time points (repeated cross-sections). The aim of the Heller et al. (2022) study was to validate the short scale for authoritarianism (*Kurzskala Autoritarismus*; KSA-3) by investigating its measurement invariance on two levels (three first-order factors and one second-order fac-

tor) using two German representative samples (N = 4.905). Specifically, the authors looked at differences in a specific societal threat before and during/after the first national lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic (2017 vs. 2020). While measurement invariance held on both levels in all conditions, a decrease in latent means in 2020 was found, contrary to expectations. Table 2 presents the original German items of Beierlein et al.'s (2014) KSA-3 scale and the English translations of these items used in Heller et al.'s (2022) study.

Looking at the other results, as expected latent means were higher in the former East German states than in the former West German states, in older age groups than in younger age groups, in the less educated compared to those with higher formal education, and in men compared to women.

Item 1 Authoritarian Aggression	Outsiders and under- performers in society should be severely punished	Gegen Außenseiter und Nichtstuer sollte in der Gesellschaft mit aller Härte vorgegangen werden.
Item 2 Authoritarian Aggression	Troublemakers should clearly feel the effects of the fact that they are unwanted in society.	Unruhestifter sollten deutlich zu spüren bekommen, dass sie in der Gesellschaft unerwünscht sind.
Item 3 Authoritarian Aggression	Social rules should be enforced without compassion.	Gesellschaftliche Regeln sollten ohne Mitleid durchgesetzt werden.
Item 4 Authoritarian Submission	We need strong leaders in order to live safely in society.	Wir brauchen starke Führungspersonen, damit wir in der Gesellschaft sicher leben können.
Item 5 Authoritarian Submission	People should leave important decisions to those in charge/the leaders.	Menschen sollten wichtige Entscheidungen in der Gesellschaft Führungspersonen überlassen.
Item 6 Authoritarian Submission	We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what we should do.	Wir sollten dankbar sein für führende Köpfe, die uns genau sagen, was wir tun können.
Item 7 Conventionalism	Traditions should absolutely be cultivated and maintained.	Traditionen sollten unbedingt gepflegt und aufrechterhalten werden.
Item 8 Conventionalism	Established procedures should not be questioned.	Bewährte Verhaltensweisen sollten nicht in Frage gestellt werden.
Item 9 Conventionalism	It is always best to do things in the usual way.	Es ist immer das Beste, Dinge in der üblichen Art und Weise zu machen.

Table 2: Original KSA-3 Items in Beierlein et al. (2015) and Their English Translation in Heller et al. (2020)

This model was empirically confirmed (Beierlein et al. 2014), and the factor loadings on the first-order factors and their regression coefficients on the second-order factor were all higher than .5. The corresponding path diagram can be found in Figure 2.

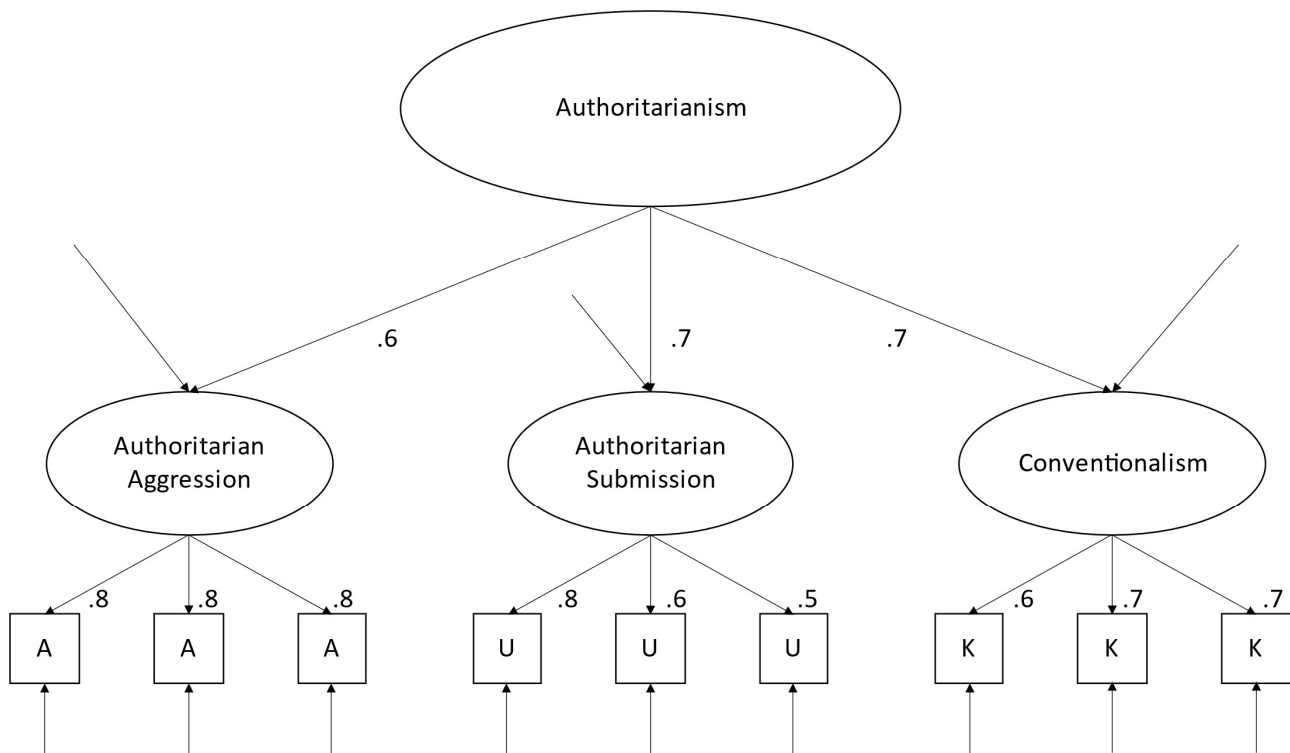


Figure 2: Short-Version of Altemeyer RWA Scale of Authoritarianism: Second Order Factor Model

The most frequently researched development of authoritarianism has been what is known as the Dual Process Model (DPM) of ideology and prejudice (Duckitt and Sibley 2017). It implies that RWA and social dominance orientation (SDO) are expressions of motivational goal dimensions, which become salient due to people's personalities and beliefs. SDO itself is seen as an attitudinal expression of the values of power, dominance and superiority over others. Finally, the motivated cognition theory of ideology by Jost and colleagues (2003) views RWA and SDO as two components of a higher-order factor they term conservatism.

MODEL SPECIFICATIONS FOR AUTHORITARIANISM, ANTISEMITISM AND ETHNOCENTRISM AS SECOND-ORDER CONFIRMATORY FACTOR MODELS

I now turn to a discussion of the relation of the F Scale to the other two scales, which measure anti-semitism and ethnocentrism. Even in the late 1940s, before publication of *The Authoritarian Personality*, Frenkel-Brunswik et al. (1947) reported in detail on the development of all three scales: authoritarianism, antisemitism and ethnocentrism.

The original AS-Scale included five subscales containing 52 statements, and the E-Scale included three subscales and 12 items. The items in this scale focused on various minorities, with the exception of Jews, who were the focus of the AS-Scale. The first subscale of the E-Scale dealt only with African Americans. The second subscale dealt with other minorities. This refers to the idea of a generalised outgroup attitude, which was later discussed in detail by Allport (1954), who stated that those individuals who hate Jews also hate Catholics, African Americans and homosexuals. The third subscale

dealt with nationalism, that is, the idealisation of one's own group. Antisemitism and ethnocentrism were all framed as ideology whereas authoritarianism was conceptualised as a personality variable.

Whereas in both Sanford et al. (1950) and Altemeyer (1988; 1998) authoritarianism was treated as an independent scale to antisemitism (AS-scale; Levinson 1950a) or ethnocentrism (E-Scale; Levinson 1950b), the final ethnocentrism scale also contains the antisemitism scale. Furthermore, Frenkel-Brunswik (1947; 1996) argued that both ethnocentrism and authoritarianism are part of an antidemocratic personality, which implicitly implies a second-order factor model. Heyder and Schmidt (2000; 2003) formalised the underlying theoretical ideas by specifying a multiple indicator multiple causes (MIMIC) model based on the original conception by Sumner (1906). In their formalisation, ethnocentrism was a latent phantom variable explained by authoritarianism. Ethnocentrism itself was conceptualised using the two components of outgroup rejection and ingroup idealisation.

Following Lakatos (1970), this was a step taken not only to test the measurement theory for authoritarianism but also to test empirically hypotheses of the core theory, which argued that authoritarianism was influencing outgroup rejection and ingroup idealisation. Instead of testing three correlated scales as in TAP (F-Scale, E-Scale and AS-Scale), they proposed employing the theory of ethnocentrism as initially framed by Gumpłowicz (Bizumic 2014) but broadly disseminated by Sumner (1906). As a determinant of authoritarianism, as it developed in the adult population through certain educational practices in youth, ethnocentrism was seen as a second-order factor with two first-order factors of outgroup rejection (attitude towards foreigners and antisemitism) and one first-order factor of ingroup idealisation (proud to be a German) (see Figure 3).

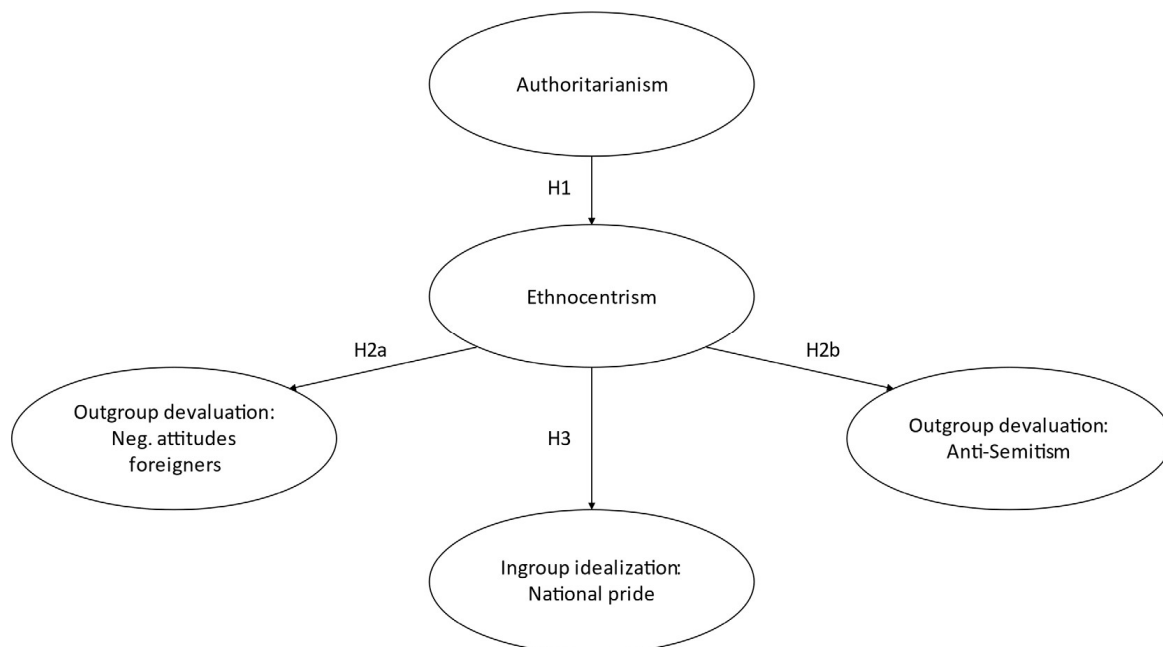


Figure 3: Path Diagram of Authoritarianism, Ethnocentrism, Outgroup Devaluation and Ingroup Idealisation

This second-order factor, ethnocentrism, can be regarded as an intervening construct in the sense of Frenkel-Brunswik (1954; 1996d: 121). See Figure 4 for the corresponding path diagram.

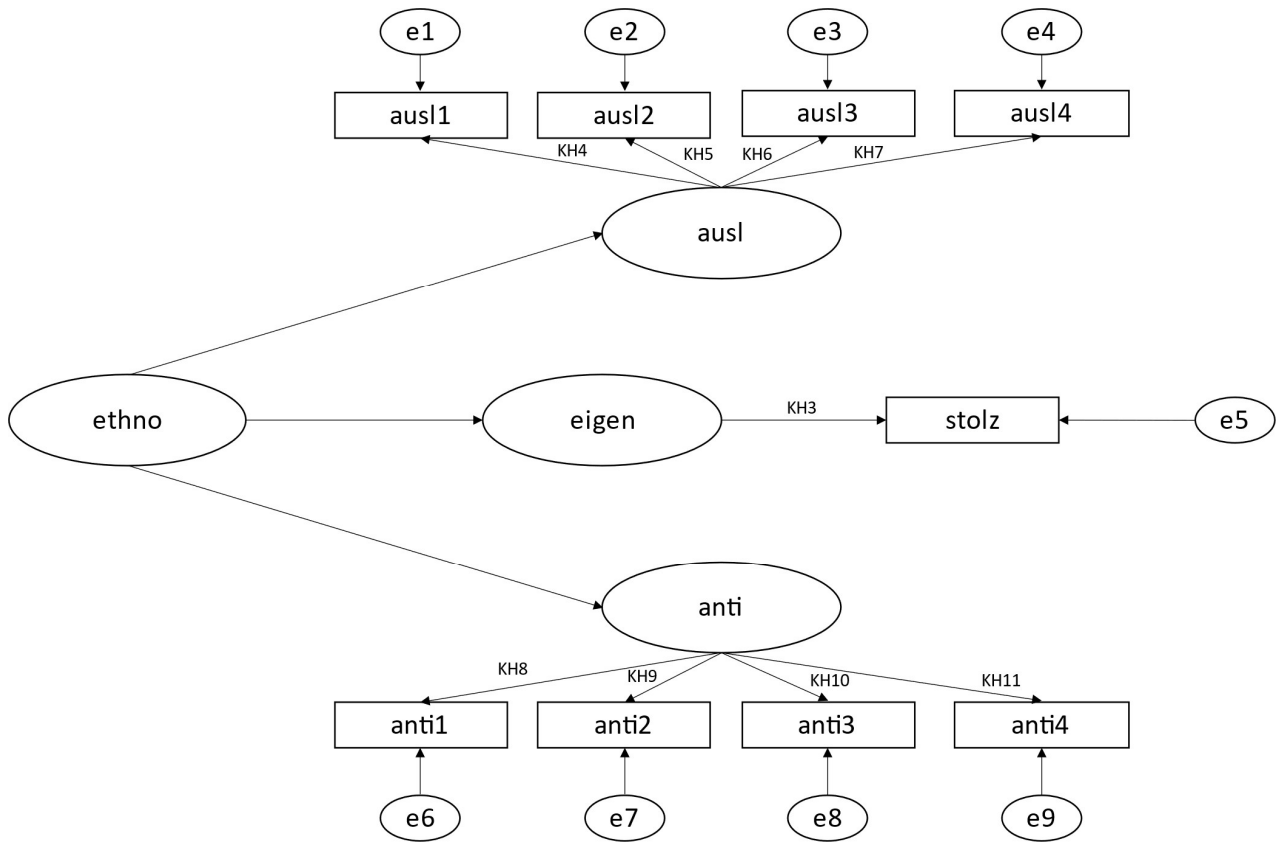


Figure 4: Ethnocentrism as a Second-Order Factor. Note: Ethno = ethnocentrism, eigen = ingroup favouritism, ausl = anti-foreigner sentiment, anti = antisemitism, stolz = proud to be a German; KH= correspondence hypothesis of the measurement model, and H = Hypothesis of the structural model.

SPECIFICATION AND TEST OF STRUCTURAL RELATIONS: STRUCTURAL EQUATION AND MIMIC MODELS

In the TAP study, only correlations between authoritarianism and antisemitism or attitudes towards other minorities and groups were discussed. However, in her 1952 paper in the *American Political Science Review*, Frenkel-Brunswik discusses the interaction between psychological and sociological factors in political behaviour in more detail.

Using data from the 1996 German General Social Survey, Heyder, and Schmidt (2003) took up this idea and combined it with Sumner's (1906) concept of ethnocentrism. The items that were used are reported in Table 3.

Authoritarianism
1) We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what to do and how to do it.
2) It usually helps children in later years if they are forced to conform to their parent's ideas.
Negative attitudes towards foreigners
1) The foreigners living in Germany should adapt their lifestyle a little bit more to that of the Germans.
2) If workplaces become scarce, foreigners living in Germany should be sent back to their home countries.
3) All foreigners living in Germany should be forbidden from engaging in any political activity.
4) The foreigners living in Germany should marry within their own ethnicity.
Antisemitism
1) Jews have too much influence in the world.
2) I'm ashamed that Germans have carried out so many atrocities against the Jewish people.
3) Today, many Jews try to take advantage of past National Socialism and let the Germans pay for it.
4) Because of their behaviour, Jews are not innocent of their persecution.
Ingroup idealisation
1) Are you proud to be a German?

Table 3: Item Formulations

Table 4 gives an overview of the models tested.

Model 1	Second-order confirmatory factor model ethnocentrism in Figure 3
Model 2	Full SEM model with authoritarianism as exogenous variable and ethnocentrism as intervening phantom variable in Figure 4 (theoretical model) and Figure 5 (tested model with standardised coefficients)
Model 3	MIMIC model 1996 and 2006 with East and West Germany as contextual determinants representing socialisation in different political systems and age and education as control variables (Table 5, 1996 and Table 6, 2006).

Table 4: Sequence of Models Summarised

The postulated model is depicted in Figure 3 (Schmidt and Heyder 2000: 454). To concentrate on the core theory, however, the measurement model is not included here.

The empirical results are given in Figure 5.

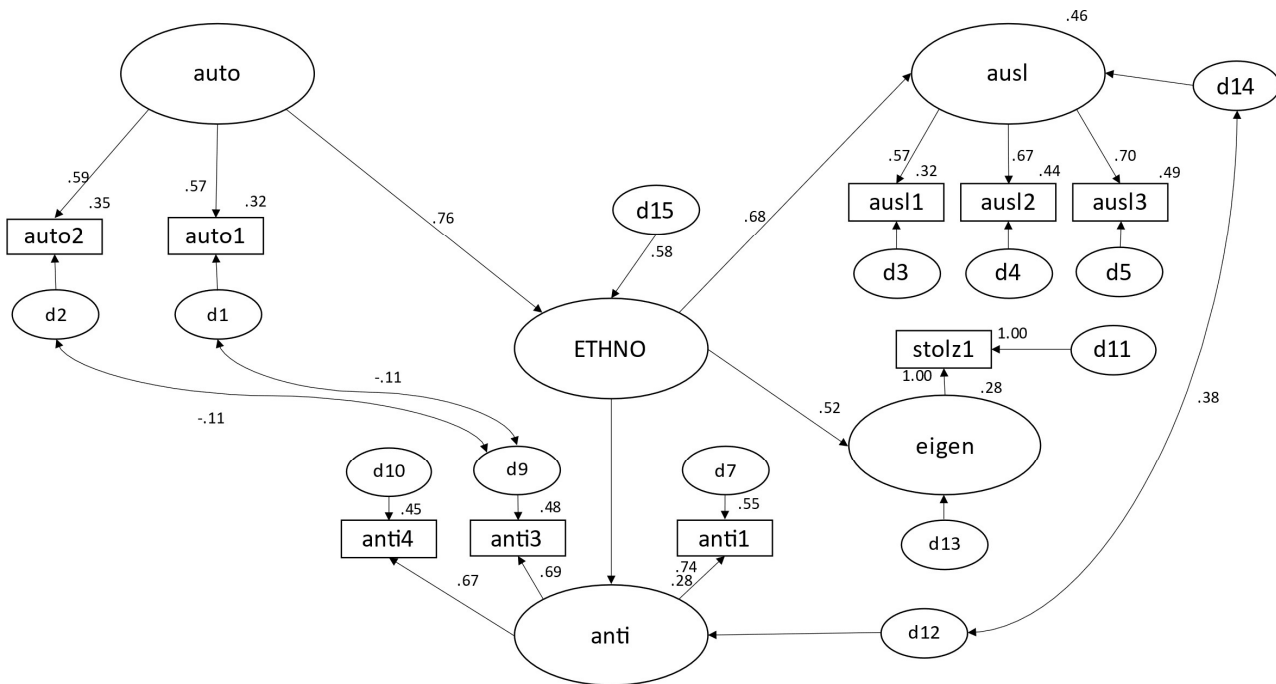


Figure 5: Authoritarianism and Ethnocentrism: ALLBUS DATA Germany 1996, Based on a Structural Equation Model. Note: Auto = authoritarianism, ethno = ethnocentrism, eigen = ingroup favouritism, ausl = anti-foreigner sentiment, anti = antisemitism, stolz = proud to be a German; d1 – d15 = Numbers beneath the paths are standardized factor loadings or standardized regression coefficients. Measurement errors and errors of the latent endogenous variables. The numbers above the rectangles representing items are explained variances of these items, e.g. .74 % of the variance of item anti 1 is explained, whereas regarding the latent variable Antisemitism 28 % of the variance is explained. Double arrowed paths represent error correlations.

All relations (standardised regression coefficients) are positive, strong and significant. Two additional steps tested demographic and contextual factors as determinants of authoritarianism and ethnocentrism. Although this topic was discussed in Adorno (1950b), the authors did not explicate specific hypotheses or conduct any empirical testing of such relationships. A later theory-driven attempt was made by Scheepers et al. (1990), in which they analysed the hypotheses of TAP from their point of view. They set up a model using sociodemographic predictors such as objective class to explain outgroup rejection, ingroup idealisation and authoritarianism. Employing the model depicted in Figure 5 that relates authoritarianism, outgroup rejection and ingroup idealisation, Heyder and Schmidt (2003) expanded the model specification of Scheepers et al. (1990) by introducing, as a contextual variable, East versus West German place of residence as proxy for having lived in a more authoritarian state (GDR; German Democratic Republic, i.e., former East Germany) or a less authoritarian state (FRG; Federal Republic of Germany, i.e., former West Germany), in addition to age and education. This model was again implemented by using a longitudinal perspective in a structural equation model using data from two waves (repeated cross-sections) of the ALLBUS, 1996 and 2006. A contextual variable, East versus West Germany, was used to represent the effect of two different political systems from 1945 to 1991. The analyses revealed two remarkable differences in East and West Germany in 1996 (seven years after reunification of the FRG and GDR). Employing a multi-group structural equation model, they found that the relationship between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism and the relation between ethnocentrism and anti-foreigner sentiments was much lower in East Germany. The replication with data from 2006 showed further remarkable differences (Heyder et al. 2012). The effect of authoritarianism on ethnocentrism decreased significantly in former East and

West Germany, although the relationship was still significantly higher in West Germany. The effect of ethnocentrism on antisemitism became much stronger, with the values from East Germany approaching those of West Germany. Finally, the effect of ethnocentrism on anti-foreigner sentiment weakened significantly in West Germany, and the differences between East and West Germany were no longer significant.

The empirical results, based on a structural equation model, are depicted in Tables 5 and 6.

	Autho- Ethno	Ethno- Foreign	Ethno-Anti	Ethno- Ingroup	Anti- Foreign
East	.38	<i>1.16</i>	<i>.86</i>	<i>.68</i>	<i>.20</i>
West	.54	<i>1.16</i>	<i>.86</i>	<i>.68</i>	<i>.41</i>

Table 5: Authoritarianism and Ethnocentrism in East and West Germany 1996

East Germany, n=1,110

West Germany, n=21,885

Note: Equal relations between East and West Germany are in italics. Auth=Authoritarianism; Ethno= Ethnocentrism; Foreign=Negative attitudes towards foreigners; Anti=Antisemitism; Ingroup=Ingroup idealisation. The relation between Antisemitism and negative attitudes towards foreigners is a covariance, other relations are unstandardized regression coefficients.

	Autho- Ethno	Ethno- Foreign	Ethno-Anti	Ethno- Ingroup	Anti- Foreign
East	.13	<i>.61</i>	<i>1.63</i>	<i>.77</i>	<i>.16</i>
West	.22	<i>.61</i>	<i>1.63</i>	<i>.77</i>	<i>.16</i>

Table 6: Authoritarianism and Ethnocentrism in East and West Germany 2006

East Germany, n=1,098

West Germany, n=2,044

Note: Equal relations between East and West Germany are in italics. For variable names, see Table 5.

IDEALISATION OF PARENTS AS A CHALLENGE FOR MEASUREMENT

An additional methodological challenge in TAP has been the topic of glorification in the perception of family structure (Frenkel-Brunswik 1948; 1996b: 172.). This implies that, due to authoritarianism, respondents will tend to glorify when asked retrospective questions concerning the extent of their parents' cold and punitive behaviour. This issue has been underlined in particular by Christel Hopf (1987; 1992; 1997; 2000), who has carried out several studies on this topic. Initially, Lederer and Kindervater (1995) employed scales developed by Lederer (1983) and Seipel et al. (1995) and performed confirmatory factor analysis of general authoritarianism and the perception of family structure in Germany, Austria, United States, and Japan. The four items of Lederer and Kindervater's (1995) glorification family structure measure are presented in Table 7.

A child should feel deeply committed to fulfilling the expectations of his parents.
Children should always stand by their parents.
Children should not do anything without the consent of their parents
Everyone should feel deep love, gratitude, and respect for their parents.

Table 7: Glorification: Family Structure Items (Lederer and Kindervater 1995)

The correlations of the composite scores between this scale, measuring authoritarian family structure, and the scales assessing core authoritarianism, non-specified authority, and state authoritarianism ranged from .31 to .45 in West Germany in 1991 (Rippl et al. 1995: 130). Schmidt et al.'s (1984) international comparison, which employed multi-group confirmatory factor analysis, uncovered similar relationships (see Table 8).

	Germany	Austria	United States	Japan
Covariance	.46	.41	.60	.44
Correlation	.72	.70	.75	.88

* All covariances are significant at a 5% level

Table 8: Glorification: Comparison Authoritarianism and Respect for Parental Authority (Schmidt 1986)

This raised the question of the extent to which respondents' accounts of their parents' behaviour were being idealised due to idealisation processes in addition to the underlying social mechanisms. Cold and distant fathers were found more frequently among individuals with high authoritarianism. In addition, it was assumed that the father was dominating a submissive, long-suffering but morally restricted mother. Discipline was used by the parents as a tool to apply conventionally accepted rules instead of general values that took into account the needs of the child (Frenkel-Brunswik 1948; 1996b: 171). However, in most research on authoritarianism, this explanatory sketch was not measured nor discussed intensively. In addition, Altemeyer (1988) und Oesterreich (1993) found only very weak empirical relationships between authoritarianism and the parenting style of the parents. Hopf (1992) argued that one reason might be that the use of quantitative methods would not sufficiently take into account the idealisation of parents as discussed by Frenkel-Brunswik (1950, Part 2, Chapter X) in the TAP study. She found that persons scoring high on ethnocentrism had a strong tendency to conventional idealisation in contrast to low scorers, who had a much more critical and objective view of the parental style of their parents. Therefore, to study this in more detail, she performed several qualitative studies in which she also incorporated attachment theory and found, in contrast, very strong relations and that the roles of mothers were stronger than postulated in TAP (Hopf 1992: 142 ff.). However, all of Altemeyer's (1988) and Oesterreich's (1993) analyses were variable-centred (and not person-centred) approaches, which do not take sample heterogeneity for granted but test whether it exists (Muthén 2002). To test the perception of parental style by authoritarians, Berger and Schmidt (1995) used a person-centred method and performed a cluster analysis of the perception of family structure and parenting styles in Germany, based on a representative youth survey. Their analyses revealed eight interpretable clusters, thus indicating that this relationship is much more complex than originally conceptualised. Three of the eight clusters were different types of authoritarians. The highest values of authoritarianism in their study were found in Cluster 2. This cluster is characterised as follows:

- Ideal fathers are not supposed to be demanding in contrast to the mother
- Controlling characteristic plays an important role
- Inner rejection of parents is perceived more strongly
- Problems tend to be kept quiet in these families

Taking these findings into consideration, I can summarise that Frenkel-Brunswik's results are still very relevant but unfortunately have been grossly neglected in most authoritarian research on this topic.

SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

Especially in Europe, but also beyond its borders, the role of Frenkel-Brunswik in designing, executing and publishing the TAP study has been both neglected and underestimated for a very long time. Her underlying philosophy of science, which was rooted in the Vienna Circle, and its further development by Hempel and Popper has been almost completely ignored by most researchers. This is especially the case in Germany and Austria, where the conceptions of critical theory—and not traditional theory—were seen as the basis for TAP. The representatives of the Frankfurt School devalued differential, social and developmental psychology, as well as quantitative empirical studies and their underlying methodology. This led to an end of the activities of the Frankfurt School in authoritarianism research. The only and last empirical study was carried out by Freyhold (1971). The book *The Authoritarian Personality* was never published in German and was only available as an illegal copy. The part authored by Adorno was published in German by Suhrkamp (11th edition), which also resulted in the impression within the academic world that TAP was mainly the work of Adorno, although Sanford was the lead author of the F-Scale and Frenkel-Brunswik one of the co-authors. Altemeyer's (1981, 1998) rejection of psychoanalytical explanations, such as those provided by Frenkel-Brunswik, was made without carrying out systematic comparison of psychoanalytic theory and developmental and social psychological theories or empirical testing of theoretical explanations based on these theories against each other. This led to a degenerative change in the research programme on the authoritarian personality, concentrating only on scale development without developing the theoretical background. An exception here has been the work of Feldman and Stenner (1997) and Stenner (2010). However, they also continued to ignore the psychoanalytic explanations.

The development and refinement of the authoritarianism scale has been successful in terms of classical psychometric approaches. However, the overall result has been a loss of the original scales beneath Altemeyer's selection of three scales. Those left out by Altemeyer, which have become particularly relevant in recent years in various forms, were the scales assessing projection and conspiracy theory.

To date, empirical evidence of the underlying theoretical approach (learning theory and psychoanalytic explanation) have been assumed but not explicitly tested.

Another factor to take into account are the perceptual distortions often found in retrospective measurement, especially in emotionally significant areas—as postulated by the glorification hypothesis.

Frenkel-Brunswik's proposal of combining knowledge from political science, sociology and psychology in order to explain authoritarianism has been taken up in the form of dual-process theories. It is also stressed by Pettigrew (2021) in his call for a contextualisation of social psychology and his call to bring together authoritarianism, fraternal and relative deprivation and intergroup contact theory in one model to explain prejudice and outgroup rejection (Pettigrew 2016). This combination of individual level factors and contextual factors can be well accounted for by multi-group structural equation models and multi-level analyses.

As the later studies on authoritarianism did not apply a multi-method approach like that taken in TAP through its combination of surveys with intensive interviews, this also shows a degenerative development of the research programme.

To take the legacy of Frenkel-Brunswik seriously would imply stopping the degenerative development of the research programme and directing it back to a more progressive development path.

Mixed method designs integrating intensive qualitative studies like those carried out by Frenkel-Brunswik have not been utilised; rather, quantitative scales were almost always used exclusively to measure authoritarianism in the years following the publication of the TAP study.

As a consequence of all these arguments, the following conclusion is clear: Frenkel-Brunswik's substantive and methodological legacy has unfortunately been neglected for more than seven decades. However, upon reflection it is very clear that her ideas are in fact very fruitful—not only is her work compatible with modern psychometrics, philosophy of science and mixed-methods approaches, it is also highly influential in current authoritarianism research (e.g., Decker, Kiess, and Brähler 2022; Heitmeyer 2018).

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Author biography

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Appendices

Items of the KSA Scale in German

Autoritäre Aggression
1. Gegen Außenseiter und Nichtstuer sollte in der Gesellschaft mit aller Härte vorgegangen werden.
2. Unruhestifter sollten deutlich zu spüren bekommen, dass sie in der Gesellschaft unerwünscht sind.
3. Gesellschaftliche Regeln sollten ohne Mitleid durchgesetzt werden. (A3)
Autoritäre Unterwürfigkeit
1. Wir brauchen starke Führungspersonen damit wir in der Gesellschaft sicher leben können.
2. Menschen sollten wichtige Entscheidungen in der Gesellschaft Führungspersonen überlassen.
3. Wir sollten dankbar sein für führende Köpfe, die uns genau sagen, was wir tun können. (U3)
Konventionalismus
1. Traditionen sollten unbedingt gepflegt und aufrechterhalten werden.
2. Bewährte Verhaltensweisen sollten nicht in Frage gestellt werden.
3. Es ist immer das Beste, Dinge in der üblichen Art und Weise zu machen.
Autoritarismus (Gesamtskala)

Die Befragungspersonen geben ihre Antwort auf einer 5-stufigen Antwortskala mit den folgenden Antwortkategorien an: (1) stimme ganz und gar nicht zu, (2) stimme wenig zu, (3) stimme etwas zu, (4) stimme ziemlich zu, (5) stimme voll und ganz zu

Items of the KSA-3 scale in English

Authoritarian aggression
1. We should take strong action against misfits and slackers in society.
2. Troublemakers should be made to feel that they are not welcome in society.
3. Rules in society should be enforced without pity.
4. We need strong leaders so that we can live safely in society.
Authoritarian submissiveness
1. People should leave important decisions in society to their leaders.
2. We should be grateful for leaders telling us exactly what to do.
Conventionalism
1. Traditions should definitely be carried on and kept alive.
2. Well-established behaviour should not be questioned.
3. It's always best to do things in the usual way.
authoritarianism Scale (total score)

Items are answered using a fully labelled 5-point rating scale: (1) do not agree at all, (2) hardly agree, (3) somewhat agree, (4) mostly agree, (5) completely agree.

Items of the F-Scale in German

Konventionalismus
Die moderne Kirche, mit ihren vielen Vorschriften und ihrer Scheinheiligkeit, spricht den tiefreligiösen Menschen nicht an; sie wirkt hauptsächlich auf den naiven, unsicheren und unkritischen Menschen.
Man sollte in der Öffentlichkeit Dinge vermeiden, die anderen falsch erscheinen, auch wenn man weiß, daß sie in Wirklichkeit in Ordnung sind.
In den Colleges wird den intellektuellen und theoretischen Themen zuviel und den praktischen Dingen und schlichten Tugenden des Lebens zu wenig Wert beigemessen
Muße ist zwar eine feine Sache, aber gute harte Arbeit macht das Leben erst interessant und der Mühe wert.
Was ein Mensch macht ist nicht so wichtig, solange er es gut macht.
Welche der folgenden Eigenschaften sind für den Menschen am wichtigsten? Bezeichnen sie die drei wichtigsten mit X. (künstlerische Veranlagung und Sensibilität; Beliebtheit, gute Wesensart Energie, Entschluß- und Willenskraft; großzügige, menschlich soziale Einstellung; Gepflegtheit und gute Manieren Feingefühl und Verständnis; Leistungsfähigkeit, praktische Veranlagung und Sparsamkeit Verstandeskraft und Ernsthaftigkeit emotionale Ausdruckskraft, Wärme, Kontaktfreudigkeit; Freundlichkeit und Nächstenliebe)
Autoritäre Unterwürfigkeit
Der besondere Wert der fortschrittlichen Erziehung liegt in der großen Freiheit, die sie dem Kind gewährt, um jene natürlichen Impulse und Wünsche auszudrücken, die der konventionelle Mittelstand so oft mit Mißfallen betrachtet.
Wirklich verächtlich ist, wer seinen Eltern nicht unaufhörliche Dankbarkeit und Achtung entgegenbringt.
Um zu lernen und nützliche Arbeit zu leisten, ist es wichtig, daß unsere Lehrer und Vorgesetzten im einzelnen auseinanderlegen, was zu tun ist.
Jeder Mensch sollte einen festen Glauben an eine übernatürliche Macht haben, die über ihm steht, der er gänzlich untertan ist, und deren Entscheidungen er nicht in Frage stellt.
Wissenschaften wie Chemie, Physik und Medizin haben die Menschheit sehr weit gebracht, aber es gibt viele bedeutsame Dinge, die der menschliche Geistwahrscheinlich niemals verstehen kann.
Gehorsam und Respekt gegenüber der Autorität sind die wichtigsten Tugenden, die Kinder lernen sollten.
Was dieses Land braucht, sind weniger Gesetze und Ämter, als mehr mutige, unermüdliche, selbstlose Führer, denen das Volk vertrauen kann.
Kein gesunder, normaler, anständiger Mensch könnte jemals daran denken, einen guten Freund oder Verwandten zu kränken.
Autoritäre Aggression
Es ist nur natürlich und rechtens, daß Frauen in gewissen Dingen Beschränkung auferlegt wird, in denen Männer mehr Freiheit haben.
Wirklich verächtlich ist, wer seinen Eltern nicht unaufhörliche Liebe, Dankbarkeit und Achtung entgegenbringt.
Homosexualität ist eine besonders verderbte Art von Vergehen und sollte streng bestraft werden.
Wer unsere Ehre kränkt, sollte nicht ungestraft bleiben.
Sittlichkeitsverbrechen wie Vergewaltigung und Notzucht an Kindern verdienen mehr als bloße Gefängnisstrafe; solche Verbrecher sollten öffentlich ausgepeitscht werden.
Anti-Intrazeption
Romane oder Geschichten, die vom Denken und Fühlen der Menschen erzählen, sind interessanter als solche, die hauptsächlich Handlungen, Liebesgeschichten oder Abenteuer zum Inhalt haben.
In den Colleges wird den intellektuellen und theoretischen Themen zuviel und den praktischen Dingen und schlichten Tugenden des Lebens zu wenig Wert beigemessen.
Es gibt Dinge, die zu intim oder zu persönlich sind, als daß man sie selbst mit den engsten Freunden besprechen könnte.
Muße ist zwar eine feine Sache, aber gute harte Arbeit macht das Leben erst interessant und der Mühe wert.
Was ein Mensch macht, ist nicht so wichtig, solange er es gut macht.
Bücher und Filme sollten sich nicht so sehr mit der schmutzigen und unerfreulichen Seite des Lebens befassen, sondern sich auf unterhaltende und erbauende Themen konzentrieren.
Aberglaube und Stereotypie
Mögen auch viele Leute spotten, es kann sich immer noch zeigen, daß die Astrologie vieles zu erklären vermag.
Es ist mehr als ein bemerkenswerter Zufall, daß Japan am Tage von Pearl Harbor, am 7. Dezember 1944, ein Erdbeben erlebte.
Jeder Mensch sollte einen festen Glauben an eine übernatürliche Macht haben, die über ihm steht, der er gänzlich untertan ist, und deren Entscheidungen er nicht in Frage stellt.

Wissenschaften wie Chemie, Physik und Medizin haben die Menschheit sehr weit gebracht, aber es gibt viele bedeutsame Dinge, die der menschliche Geist wahrscheinlich niemals verstehen kann.
Es ist durchaus möglich, daß diese Serie von Kriegen und Konflikten ein für allemal durch ein Erdbeben, eine Überschwemmung oder sonstige Katastrophe beendet wird, welche die Welt vernichtet.
Machtdenken und ‚Robustheit‘
Zu viele Menschen führen heute ein unnatürliches, verweichlichtes Leben; wir sollten zu unseren alten Grundlagen, zu einer vitaleren, aktiveren Lebensweise zurückkehren.
Es sind einige so krass unamerikanische Dinge im Gange, daß, falls die verantwortlichen Stellen nichts unternehmen, der wachsame Bürger das Gesetz in die eigene Hand nehmen muß.
Wer unsere Ehre kränkt, sollte nicht ungestraft bleiben.
Viel stärker als die meisten Menschen erkennen, wird unser Leben durch Verschwörungen bestimmt, welche die Politiker insgeheim aushecken.
Was dieses Land braucht, sind weniger Gesetze und Ämter, als mehr mutige, unermüdliche, selbstlose Führer, denen das Volk vertrauen kann.
Destruktivität und ‚Zynismus‘
Amerika entfernt sich so weit vom echten American way of life, daß er vielleicht nur noch mit Zwang wiederherzustellen ist.
Zu viele Menschen führen heute ein unnatürliches, verweichlichtes Leben, wir sollten zu unseren alten Grundlagen, zu einer vitaleren, aktiveren Lebensweise zurückkehren.
Wenn wir die Deutschen und die Japaner erledigt haben, sollten wir uns auf andere Feinde der menschlichen Rasse konzentrieren, wie etwa Ratten, Schlangen und Ungeziefer.
Vertraulichkeit erzeugt Geringschätzung.
Heute herrscht überall Unsicherheit; wir müssen auf eine Periode ständigen Wechsels, ständiger Konflikte und Umwälzungen gefaßt sein.
Berichte über Greuelthaten in Europa sind zu Propagandazwecken stark übertrieben worden.
Es sind einige so krass unamerikanische Dinge im Gange, daß, falls die verantwortlichen Stellen nichts unternehmen, der wachsame Bürger das Gesetz in die eigene Hand nehmen muß.
Ganz gleich, wie sie nach außen hin handeln, die Männer sind an den Frauen nur aus einem Grund interessiert.
Nach dem Krieg müssen wir mit einer Welle von Verbrechen rechnen; die Kontrolle von Gangstern und Raufbolden wird eins der größten gesellschaftlichen Probleme werden.
Es wird immer Kriege und Konflikte geben, die Menschen sind nun einmal so.
Wenn man es genau betrachtet, liegt es in der menschlichen Natur, bei allem, was man tut, auch auf den eigenen Vorteil zu schauen.
Projektivität
Die sexuellen Ausschweifungen der Griechen und Römer sind Kindergartengeschichten im Vergleich zu dem, was heute bei uns zuweilen getrieben wird, selbst in Kreisen, wo man es am wenigsten erwarten würde.
Nach dem Krieg müssen wir mit einer Welle von Verbrechen rechnen; die Kontrolle von Gangstern und Raufbolden wird eins der größten gesellschaftlichen Probleme werden.
Es ist durchaus möglich, daß diese Serie von Kriegen und Konflikten ein für allemal durch ein Erdbeben, eine Überschwemmung oder sonstige Katastrophe beendet wird, welche die Welt vernichtet
Viel stärker als die meisten Menschen erkennen, wird unser Leben durch Verschwörungen bestimmt, welche die Politiker insgeheim aushecken.
Heutzutage, wo so viele verschiedene Menschen ständig unterwegs sind und sich untereinander so frei bewegen, muß man sich besonders sorgfältig gegen Infektionen und Krankheiten schützen.
Sexualität
Homosexualität ist eine besonders verderbte Art von Vergehen und sollte streng bestraft werden.
Ganz gleich, wie sie nach außen hin handeln, die Männer sind an den Frauen nur aus einem Grund interessiert.
Die sexuellen Ausschweifungen der Griechen und Römer sind Kindergartengeschichten im Vergleich zu dem, was heute bei uns zuweilen getrieben wird, selbst in Kreisen, wo man es am wenigsten erwarten würde.
Sittlichkeitsverbrechen wie Vergewaltigung und Notzucht an Kindern verdienen mehr als bloße Gefängnisstrafe; solche Verbrecher sollten öffentlich ausgepeitscht werden.

Die Befragungspersonen geben ihre Antwort auf einer 5-stufigen Antwortskala mit den folgenden Antwortkategorien an: (+3) volle Übereinstimmung, (+2) Übereinstimmung in wesentlichen Teilen, (+1) geringe Übereinstimmung, (-1) geringe Ablehnung, (-2) Ablehnung in wesentlichen Teilen, (-3) volle Ablehnung.



Items of the F-Scale in English

Conventionalism
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
Authoritarian submission
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.
Authoritarian aggression
A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
An insult to our honour should always be punished.
Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feeble-minded people.
If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.
Anti-intracception
When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.
Superstitions and stereotypes
Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
Someday it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
Power and 'toughness'
No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough willpower.
What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
An insult to our honour should always be punished.
It is best to use some pre-war authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos.
What this country needs most, more than laws and political programmes, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.



Most people don't realise how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
Destructivity and 'cynicism'
Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
Familiarity breeds contempt.
Projectivity
Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
Most people don't realise how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
Sexuality
Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
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Items are answered using a fully labelled 6-point rating scale.