

is estimated that over 600,000 died or were massacred. Perhaps the most horrendous example is National Socialism in Germany, under which systematic extermination of Jews was an official policy of the government. During the period from 1933 to 1945, it is estimated that from 18 to 26 million persons were gassed, put to death by lethal injections, starved, or otherwise killed in the concentration camps and crematoria of the Nazis.

Intolerance continues to be a problem in contemporary life, even if its manifestations are less virulent than those of World War II days. One need only call to mind apartheid in South Africa, Arab-Israeli antagonism in the Middle East, the Hindu-Sikh conflict in India, and the many ways in which anti-black and anti-minority feelings are detectable in the United States today.

From the standpoint of social science, the key questions are, why does prejudice exist and how can it be reduced or eliminated? Various theories to explain prejudice have been proposed, including dislike of what is different, transference of hostile feelings to scapegoats, and the tendency to generalize from the imperfections or transgressions of individuals to all members of the same group.

In regard to differences, the notion of ingroup versus outgroup is appropriate. What characterizes the ingroup is acceptable, reasonable, and natural, whereas what characterizes the outgroup is alien, strange, and unacceptable. Thus, the "stranger" is distrusted and feared. Albert Camus's novel *L'Étranger* is an excellent psychological analysis of what can happen to a stranger in a time of crisis.

Projection in either conscious or unconscious ways of unwanted and objectionable feelings onto another person or object is at the heart of scapegoating. K. M. Gould (1946) has given many examples of the practice. For instance, the Bhars of India sought to ward off cholera epidemics by frightening the evil spirits of the possession into a water buffalo, which was then driven from the community. In Borneo, natives filled small boats with food so as to attract the evil spirits, and then set the boats adrift. The word *scapegoat* derives from Jewish antiquity, in which the sins of the people were symbolically placed on the head of a goat, which was then allowed to escape into the wilderness.

Stronger scapegoating practices are found in the human sacrifices of the Mayans, the Aztecs, the Yoruba of West Africa, and others. The troubles and wrongdoing of the tribe were transferred to the sacrificial victim, with the shedding of blood intended to propitiate the gods and to expiate its sins.

Stereotyping, or the overattribution of certain qualities to any particular group, can be related to what in cognitive psychology is called *stimulus generalization*. Social stereotypes assume quite specific form, as was shown

Personal Attributes of People Described by Others as Intolerant

Harrison G. Gough and Pamela Bradley

Animosities between groups leading to conflict, disparagement, dislike, and even warfare seem to be almost ineluctable phenomena in human history. For example, anti-Jewish feelings are expressed in the writings of the Roman poet Juvenal, who attributed to Jews an unwavering hostility to others, and also by the Roman philosopher and dramatist Seneca, who complained of Jewish "separatism." Even in the Bible, in the Book of Esther, comments appear about the distinctive differences of the Jews in comparison with all other ethnic and religious groups inhabiting the Persian Empire. In the thirteenth century, the scholastic theologian John Duns Scotus suggested that a certain number of Jews be deported to a distant island and maintained there at Christianity's expense to the end of time.

In more recent times, influential claims concerning the superiority of certain races and the inferiority of others have been published. For example, in 1856 the English translation appeared of Comte Joseph de Gobineau's four-volume *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, in which he alleged the primacy of whites, and in particular the Aryans, over all others. In 1899, Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* insisted on the superiority of the Teutons, physically describable as tall, fair, and dolichocephalic. In Britain, Thomas Carlyle and Rudyard Kipling, among others, tended to view imperialism as a beneficent activity that among other things would bring enlightenment to the benighted members of other races.

More tangible expressions of animus have been all too frequent—for example, the Russian anti-Jewish riots of 1881, anti-black riots and lynchings in the United States, the Japanese attack on Korean residents of Tokyo in 1923, and the 1915 expulsion of the Armenians from Turkey, in which it

in the classic study of Katz and Braly (1933), discussed in Chapter 2. They asked 100 college students to select from a list of 84 traits those that were most characteristic of each of ten groups: Americans, Chinese, English, Germans, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Negroes, and Turks. Germans were consensually described as industrious and stolid, Italians as artistic and impulsive, Irish as pugnacious and quick-tempered, Negroes as superstitious and lazy, and Jews as shrewd and mercenary.

An important query in regard to negative stereotypes is whether or not they will be related to actions. R. T. LaPiere (1934) reports an ingenious study in which he and a Chinese couple traveled across the United States, staying at 66 hotels and eating at 184 restaurants. On only one occasion were they denied service. At the end of the trip LaPiere wrote to the 250 establishments asking whether they would serve Chinese; of the 128 that replied, 92 percent said they would not.

Negative stereotypes may apply even to fictitious groups, as demonstrated in a study by E. L. Hartley (1946), who used a social distance scale (see below) to assess the degree of acceptance of a number of ethnic groups, and included among them three that were nonexistent: "Danireans," "Pireneans," and "Wallonians." Respondents who tended not to accept the real groups also tended not to accept the three fictitious ones, with correlations ranging from .55 to .85 for Danireans, Pireneans, and Wallonians when rejection of them was related to rejection of the authentic groups.

In Hartley's study we move from generalized, undifferentiated analyses of intolerance to the consideration of individual differences in level or degree of intolerance. This is important, because even in cases of intense intergroup hostility there will always be individual differences in the extent to which antagonistic attitudes are accepted and acted on. Certain individuals will be more trusting and benign, whereas others will be more distrustful and punitive. A challenging task for the psychology of personality is to discover what it is about some people that makes them less likely to adopt prejudicial views, and what it is about others that makes intolerance more likely.

To conduct analyses of this kind, some method of calibrating the degree or level of tolerance is required, so that individuals whose views are different in this regard can be examined. One of the earliest measures for this purpose was the social distance scale developed by Emory S. Bogardus (1925) as an operationalization of Robert E. Park's (1924) concept. In the Bogardus scale the respondent is asked to give a reaction to each of these assertions for a typical member of the ethnic group being studied: (1) would admit to close kinship by marriage, (2) would admit to my club as personal friends, (3) would admit to my street as neighbors, (4) would

admit to employment in my occupation in my country, (5) would admit to citizenship in my country, (6) would admit as visitors only to my country, and (7) would exclude from country. The closer the degree of personal intimacy indicated by the answers, the smaller the social distance assumed between the respondent and the group under study.

A less direct method of assessment was used by Eugene L. Horowitz (1936), who employed pictures of white and Negro children. In one subtest, 12 of these pictures were ranked in order of preference. In another, the respondent was asked which of the children in the pictures he or she would want as a companion in designated activities. Scores among the various methods of responding correlated significantly with each other, with magnitudes increasing over the age of the children (from 5 to 14 years); this suggested that the strength and configuration of prejudicial attitudes were following a developmental gradient.

The California Public Opinion Study

Techniques for measuring individual differences in intolerance were a primary focus of effort for the psychologists involved in the California Public Opinion Study carried out during and just after World War II. A classic, general report on their work is contained in the book *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950). One of their measures was a scale for anti-Semitism (Levinson and Sanford 1944) containing items describing Jews as offensive, threatening, intrusive, and seclusive, plus items stating actions the respondent would take so as to minimize the influence of Jews. Intercorrelations of the subscales for each of these themes ranged from .74 to .86, showing that even logically contradictory beliefs (for instance, seeing Jews as both intrusive and seclusive) were accepted by those with high scores on the scale.

The second scale was for ethnocentrism, with subscales dealing with Negroes, other minorities, and patriotism. These three subscales intercorrelated from .74 to .86, and the full ethnocentrism scale correlated .80 with the anti-Semitism scale.

The third scale was for political and economic conservatism, with emphasis on (1) support of the U.S. status quo, (2) resistance to social change, (3) favoring of conservative beliefs, and (4) conservative preferences for the balance of power among business, government, and labor. Total score on this scale tended to correlate in the .40s with anti-Semitism and in the .50s with ethnocentrism.

The fourth and best known of the measures was that for authoritarianism, designated as the F scale (for "Fascism"). It was hypothesized that this scale, based on antidemocratic values, would tap deep feelings of in-

tolerance and rejection of others and be less dependent on open acknowledgment of prejudicial views than the other three scales just discussed. Several other very brief questionnaires were developed for the project, such as those used by Else Frenkel-Brunswik (1948) in her studies of children, but for the most part the findings for the F scale were central, and it is this scale that has become one of the standard measures in psychology, down to and including present-day assessment.

Initially, the F scale contained 38 items, representing nine categories hypothesized as relevant to antidemocratic values: conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception (resistance to introspection), superstition and stereotype, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and the perception of sexuality as ego-alien. Statistical analyses led to the dropping of half of the original items, and the 19 items retained were then augmented by 15 new ones. Subsequent analyses resulted in the dropping of 7 of these 34, and the adding of 3 others, giving rise to the final 30-item scale.

The research program and the measure itself were soon recognized as important. For instance, in the chapter on prejudice and ethnic relations in the 1954 edition of the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Harding et al. 1954), the work was characterized as an outstanding example of the individual differences approach. By the 1960's, it was being described as "truly seminal" (Klein, Barr, and Wolitzky 1967), and in the 1970's as "classic" (Scheibe 1970).

Basic analyses in the study pitted high scorers on the F scale (and to a certain extent the other scales) against low scorers, drawing inferences from in-depth interviews, projective tests, and biographical data. The root elements of the authoritarian personality, defined and studied as indicated, included repression as a preferred mode of ego defense, externalization of negative feelings, conventionality of beliefs and values, cathexis of power, and rigidity. Age played a part in this syndrome, as children were in general less prejudiced than adults. Parental influences, especially the methods of socialization applied by the parents, were also important. Harsh discipline, parental dominance producing submission by the children, and emphasis on conventional practices such as neatness and deference were all associated with higher scores on the F scale. This broad formulation of the authoritarian or prejudiced personality is still widely accepted, and found in current textbooks on personality and social psychology.

Measures to augment or extend the F-scale syndrome followed on the original work. One of the most significant follow-ups was that by Milton Rokeach (1960), who introduced scales for both right and left opinionation, for dogmatism, and for rigidity. Another important derivative was the Machiavellianism scale introduced by Richard C. Christie

and Florence Geis (1970). Their Mach-IV 20-item scale is widely used to identify manipulative and exploitative propensities. An interesting recent study (Mullins and Kopelman 1988) has revealed Mach IV to have a median correlation of .41 with four different scales for narcissism. Narcissism, as defined by current psychiatry, consists of grandiosity, fantasies of unlimited power and success, exhibitionism, and disturbances of interpersonal relations such as exploitativeness and feelings of entitlement.

Nevertheless, in spite of widespread and continuing acceptance of work on the authoritarian personality, significant problems have been noted. H. J. Eysenck (1953), for example, believed that two underlying dimensions of (a) liberalism to conservatism and (b) tender-mindedness to tough-mindedness had gone relatively undetected in the studies of Adorno et al. (1950). When he rearranged the anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, and F-scale variables in the two-dimensional grid generated by the two axes, high scorers on the three scales were placed primarily in the quadrant for tough-minded conservatism, whereas low scorers were found in the quadrant for radical or liberal tender-mindedness. Thus, Eysenck alleged, the original comparison was principally between strongly prejudiced conservatives and strongly unprejudiced liberals. Left out of the clinical examinations were tough-minded liberals (likely to be intolerant) and tender-minded conservatives (likely to be tolerant).

This line of criticism has remained visible over the years, for example, in the writings of J. J. Ray, who contends that leftists are, in fact, just as prejudiced as rightists (Ray 1984), and who complains (Ray 1990) that scales for conservatism such as that used by R. H. Weigel and P. W. Howes (1985) in their analysis of symbolic racism are "more a leftist's caricature of what conservatives believe than a proper and comprehensive survey of contemporary conservative thought." Bob Altemeyer (1988), on the other hand, has insisted that authoritarianism is solely a right-wing phenomenon.

A second line of criticism of the F scale is that by its harsh wording and unidirectionality (all items are negative in tone), defensive response sets will be triggered in which the form more than the substance of the items will be important. For instance, negative correlations with ability measures are usually found, which could easily arise from the clearer awareness on the part of intellectually able persons that endorsement of such blunt and aggressively worded statements is inadvisable.

The effect of any such influence on a test-taking disposition to deny negative feelings would be to lower the scores of persons who in fact hold and act on prejudicial beliefs, but who are either too intelligent to put them in the uncompromising language of the F scale or simply tend not to agree strongly with any list of attitudinal assertions. In psychometric

terms, any such trend will augment the number of "false negatives" generated by the scale, where a false negative is someone who in fact holds intolerant beliefs but whose score on the scale presages otherwise.

A third problem is the fact that the F scale depends wholly on the self-reports of the respondents. Indeed, nearly all of the work done to date on the personality factors associated with intolerance has started with what amounts to self-definition or (to put it more strongly) self-incrimination. What about those people whose intolerance is apparent to others, but who go undetected by self-report measures?

One way to circumvent this problem is to treat the self-report measures as predictors rather than as criteria. Classificatory data in regard to intolerance must then be sought elsewhere. For example, if extensive descriptions of each other could be obtained from spouses, these could be calibrated for the degree of attributed intolerance. Or if similar descriptions of individuals by well-acquainted peers could be gathered, these characterizations could also be coded for manifestation of prejudicial attitudes. In essence, this approach employs observer-based data for estimating degrees of intolerance, rather than self-report data as has typically been done in the past. In the remainder of this chapter, we report a series of analyses in which descriptions by observers are used to establish criteria for intolerance.

Samples

An important consideration in the use of observer-based data is that the observers be closely enough acquainted with the people they are asked to describe so as to make sure that superficial facades and veneers of self-representation can be penetrated. The same self-concealing tendencies that can lead an actually quite intolerant person to achieve a low score on the F scale can just as easily be deployed to mislead a casual observer. For this reason, we wanted samples in which reasonable authenticity of description could be assumed.

The first of our samples consisted of 236 married or enduringly associated couples, in which each partner was described by the other on the Gough-Heilbrun (1983) Adjective Check List (ACL). The 300-item ACL attempts to cover the full range of the personality sphere, such that any consequential trait or syndrome of reaction can be indexed by a cluster of words. The individuals in the sample of couples ranged in age from the early twenties to the mid sixties, with a median age of thirty-eight. The average number of years they had been married or been living together was approximately ten.

Life history interviews were conducted with each of these 472 persons, and each person took a battery of psychological tests and answered

questionnaires. The couples were participants in studies at the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research (IPAR) on issues such as population psychology and interpersonal dependency.

The second sample was composed of 194 college males who were members of eight different fraternities at the University of California, and 192 college females who were members of the same number of sororities. The organizations in this sample had agreed to take part in a project seeking normative and interpretational data for a number of tests. Each of the 386 students was described on the ACL by a panel of three peers.

For the couples, each of the 300 adjectives had a 1 or 0 dummy weight, depending on whether it was checked or not checked by the observer. For the students, each adjective was rated on a five-step scale, going from very uncharacteristic of the person being described to very characteristic. These ratings by the three observers were combined into a single appraisal, and the sums for each adjective were standardized within the fraternity or sorority of which the target person was a member. This adjustment put all of the ratings for all of the organizations on an equal footing.

The ACL Intolerance Index

To derive an observer-based ACL Intolerance Index, the 300 adjectives were reviewed by each author separately, and those that seemed to be clearly and unambiguously indicative or contra-indicative of intolerance were noted. We experimented first with a six-item cluster, including the descriptions *intolerant*, *prejudiced*, and *suspicious* as indicative, and *fair-minded*, *tolerant*, and *trusting* as contra-indicative. The inter-item alpha coefficients of .59 and .52 for the male and female spouses, respectively, were too low to warrant going ahead with this cluster.

We next tried a cluster of fourteen adjectives, for which the alpha reliability coefficients were acceptable, but within which two of the items had marginal relations to the total. We then reduced the cluster to twelve items, all of which had self-evident implications for the tolerance-intolerance continuum, and which generated acceptable alpha coefficients. Specifically, the alpha coefficients for this twelve-item cluster were .73 for the descriptions of husbands by wives, .71 for the descriptions of wives by husbands, .85 for the descriptions of males by peers, and .88 for the description of females by peers.

In this observer-based index there were six indicative items: *cynical*, *distrustful*, *intolerant*, *prejudiced*, *suspicious*, and *vindictive*. There were also six contra-indicative items: *cooperative*, *fair-minded*, *reasonable*, *sympathetic*, *tolerant*, and *trusting*.

For the spouses' descriptions of each other, total scores on the Intol-

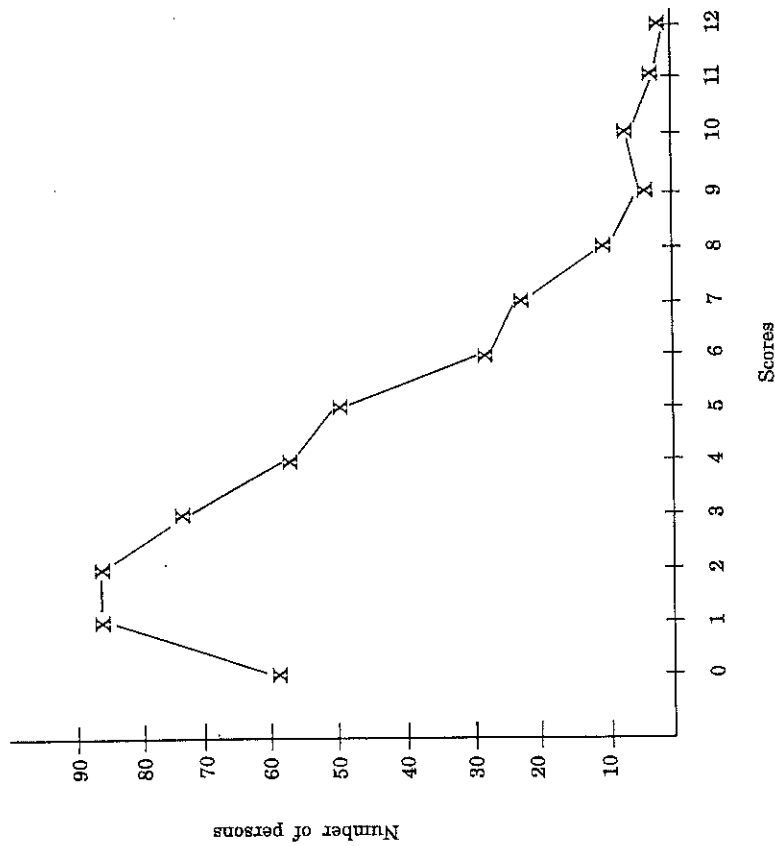


Fig. 3.1. Frequency distribution of scores on the cluster of 12 adjectives selected to assess intolerance, for 472 adults each described by a spouse or partner.

erance Index could vary from -6 (no indicative items checked and all contra-indicative adjectives endorsed) to $+6$ (all indicative and no contra-indicative adjectives checked). To avoid negative numbers in our tallies and computations, a constant of 6 was added to each sum, giving a range of scores from 0 to 12. Figure 3.1 displays the number of persons at each of the 12 scores.

The range of scores went from 0 (57 persons) to 12 (1 person), with means of 3.24 (standard deviation = 2.50) for males and 2.92 (standard deviation = 2.26) for females. From these means it can be seen that the spouses tended to describe each other more often with contra-indicative than indicative words—that is, as being at least moderately free of observable intolerance. Nevertheless, six males and four females had scores of 10 or above.

For the students, because standard scores with means of 50 were used

for each adjective, the possible range went from -300 to $+300$. A constant of 300 was added to each score to avoid any negative numbers. In this array, the means were 300.04 for the males and 299.79 for the females, near the midpoint, as would be expected, because of the prior standardizing of the adjectives.

Because subsequent analyses were projected in which all 858 subjects would be pooled into a single sample, the ACL Intolerance Index scores were standardized to means of 50 and standard deviations of 10 separately for the 472 adults and 386 students.

The Intolerance Index and the F Scale

Table 3.1 presents descriptive information on a 15-item shortened version of the F scale (Gough and Lazzari 1974) administered to 201 of the couples. This shortened version was developed based on a sample of 255 subjects. Each of the 30 items in the original scale was correlated with total score. Those with largest correlations were designated for retention, guided by the requirements that at least one item from each of the nine taxonomic categories on which the F scale was based should appear in the shortened version. Another consideration was to drop items that were very harsh in tone, or that dealt with time-bound issues. The 15-item version developed in this way correlated .95 with the full 30-item scale in the sample of 255 persons, and in a new sample of 70 subjects produced a correlation of .96.

Examination of the means in Table 3.1 reveals that with only two exceptions, our respondents tended to disagree with the attitudes expressed by the items. The exceptions were for very slight positive endorsement of the statements "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn," and "What the country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith." Neutral responses (that is, a rating of 4 on each) to all 15 items would produce a score of 60, approximately 10 points higher than the observed means of 50.51 for males and 49.38 for females.

Correlations of each item and the total score with the ACL Intolerance Index appear in the last column. Only two of the items had statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) coefficients, and the total score produced a very modest and statistically insignificant correlation of .08. From these findings it is clear that in our sample, scores on the F scale were only minimally related to the ranking of subjects according to the ACL cluster.

The findings do not mean, however, that scores on the F scale were without personological implications. One way to discover these implica-

Average Scores and Correlations with the ACL Observer-based Intolerance Index for Items and Total Score on the Shortened F Scale

F-scale item	Average scores		Total	r
	Male	Female		
1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	4.48	4.18	4.33	.02
2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough willpower.	5.02	5.29	51.6	-.02
3. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.	2.70	2.81	2.75	.01
4. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.	3.65	3.57	3.61	.03
5. 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.	2.62	2.41	2.51	.00
6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.	3.93	3.96	3.95	.00
7. 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.	4.17	4.24	4.21	.07
8. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.	3.22	3.47	3.35	.04
9. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.	2.40	3.13	2.27	.11*
10. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.	2.73	3.17	2.40	.03
11. Wars and social troubles may some day be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.	2.67	2.97	2.82	.09
12. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.	2.40	2.20	2.30	.07
13. 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.	3.58	3.40	3.49	-.02
14. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.	3.99	3.85	3.92	.07
15. Familiarity breeds contempt.	3.06	2.74	2.90	.14**
Total	50.51	49.38	49.94	.08

NOTE: Items were answered on a scale going from 7 = agree strongly, to 4 = neutral, to 1 = disagree strongly. N: 201 males, 201 females (402 total).
* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$.

tions is to correlate the F-scale scores with the 300 adjectival descriptions the spouses gave of each other. With 402 persons in the sample, correlations of .13 or beyond are significant at the .01 level of probability. Five adjectives with positive correlations, hence related to higher F-scale scores, were at this level: *conservative* ($r = .23$), *interests narrow* ($r = .18$), *prejudiced* ($r = .17$), *simple* ($r = .14$), and *nervous* ($r = .13$). It is interesting that the adjective *prejudiced* appears in this list, giving in itself a positive validation. The descriptions pertaining to conservatism, narrowness of interests, and simplicity suggest a theme consonant with the anti-introspective and politically conservative views found among criterion subjects in the original research on the authoritarian personality.

There were 18 adjectives with negative correlations larger than $-.13$, too many to report or assimilate easily. The 10 with largest coefficients were: *reflective* ($r = -.26$), *assertive* ($r = -.21$), *insightful* ($r = -.20$), *idealistic* ($r = -.20$), *unconventional* ($r = -.20$), *individualistic* ($r = -.17$), *complicated* ($r = -.16$), *initiative* ($r = -.15$), *intelligent* ($r = -.14$), and *tolerant* ($r = -.14$). These descriptions, having negative correlations, are all associated with low F-scale scores. The validating term *tolerant* appears in the list, it is reassuring to note. The other terms pick up themes of personal complexity, reflectiveness, and self-assertion.

The description *intelligent* merits specific comment, and can be compared with what happens when both direct and indirect measures of intellectual ability are related to the scale, and to the ACL Intolerance Index. The 402 spouses took the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Gough 1987), which contains an Intellectual Efficiency (Ie) scale to assess personological concomitants of intellectual ability. The Ie scale correlated $-.16$ with the Intolerance Index, but $-.42$ with the F scale. It thus appears that an intellectual component is more strongly embedded in the F scale than in the observable syndrome of social intolerance. An experimental College Vocabulary Test was given to 82 of the spouses. Its correlation was $.02$ with the Intolerance Index, but $.22$ ($p = .05$) with the F scale. The correlation of $.22$ also suggests an overweighing of intellectual ability in the F scale.

Attitudes Toward Child Training

Frenkel-Brunswick (1948) found that strict, judgmental attitudes toward children were characteristic of authoritarian personalities, and that they favored firm discipline and control in their child-training practices. To check on this issue, 82 of the spouses (41 of each sex) were administered the Harris-Gough-Martin (1950) Child Training Questionnaire (CTQ). This questionnaire has three sections, one on attitudes toward children

TABLE 3.2
*Items from the Child-training Questionnaire Heuristically Related to the
 Adjective Check List Observer-based Intolerance Index*

Item	Mean	SD	r	p
A parent should see to it that his child plays only with the right kind of children (true/false)	0.38	0.49	.17	(.13)
When he doesn't get his own way, my child cries, screams, or storms around. (usually/sometimes/rarely)	1.68	0.63	.23	(.03)
My child resents the discipline that I give him (very much/somewhat/very little)	1.49	0.53	.18	(.10)
A child should never be permitted to set his will against that of his parents (true/false)	0.21	0.28	-.21	(.06)
My child is easy to manage (usually/sometimes/rarely)	2.63	0.48	-.15	(.19)
If my child does not want to do what I ask, I "give in" to him. (usually/sometimes/rarely).	1.48	0.53	-.24	(.03)

NOTE: For items answered as true or false, true = 1, false = 0. For items answered as usually, sometimes, or rarely, usually = 3, sometimes = 2, and rarely = 1. For the item answered very much, somewhat, or very little, very much = 3, somewhat = 2, and very little = 1.
 n: 82 parents (41 males, 41 females).

and their control, a second citing specific methods for managing children, and a third presenting vignettes of common problems (such as poor eating), followed by questions about preferred ways of dealing with these problems. The items in parts 1 and 2 of the CTQ were correlated with the ACL Intolerance Index, with results as reported in Table 3.2.

The findings were disappointing, in that only six items reached even heuristic levels of association with the criterion. Even so, the trend in meaning of these items is in agreement with earlier formulations. Our parents ranking high on the intolerance criterion saw their children as difficult to manage, as resentful of parental discipline, and as vociferous in their resistance when wishes were denied. When a child does not do what is asked, it is the lower-ranking person on the Intolerance Index who gives in.

Biodata and Marital Satisfaction

Relationships between the ACL Intolerance Index and biographical data were next explored. Mean age for the 236 men was 31.12 (standard deviation = 5.26), and for the 236 women mean age was 28.56 (standard deviation = 6.20). For all 472 persons, age in years correlated .01 with the Intolerance Index scores.

Years of education were next considered. The means were 13.73 (stan-

dard deviation = 1.80) for the men, and 13.46 (standard deviation = 1.76) for the women. The correlation in the total sample between education and the Intolerance Index was .05.

Occupational status was indexed by the Minnesota Occupational Rating Scale (Goodenough and Anderson 1931), which assigns occupations to a seven-step scale going from the professions and top managerial positions (step 7) down to unskilled labor (step 1). For the men, a mean rating of 4.34 was obtained (standard deviation = 1.64). For those women who reported jobs, the mean rating was 4.23 (standard deviation = 1.54). Correlations with the Intolerance Index were -.06 for men, and -.15 for the women; neither coefficient was significant at the .05 level.

Marital satisfaction was reported on a three-step scale, with "3" indicating happy or very happy, "1" indicating unhappy or mostly unhappy, and "2" indicating in-between, not sure, or both happy and unhappy. Mean satisfaction scores were 2.6 for the men and 2.64 for the women, with standard deviations of 0.54 and 0.60, respectively. Correlation between the satisfaction reports of the men and women was .46 ($p < .01$).

Husband's own marital satisfaction correlated -.25 with his intolerance score (that is, with his wife's description of him). Wife's own marital satisfaction correlated -.16 with her Intolerance Index. Both coefficients are significant at the .01 level, although both are low in magnitude. They indicate that the happier the marriage is reported to be, the lower the intolerance attributed to the rater by his or her spouse will be.

Marital satisfaction also appears to affect the ACL descriptions given of the spouse. The husbands' marital satisfaction correlated -.30 with the intolerance score calculated from their descriptions of their wives. The wives' own marital satisfaction correlated -.27 with the intolerance score calculated from their descriptions of their husbands. Thus, for both men and women, more tolerance was attributed to the spouse if the marriage was seen as above average in happiness.

Personality Inventories

The well-known Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was administered to 192 of the males and 221 of the females, and its scales correlated with the observer-based Intolerance Index as shown in Table 3.3.

No significant ($p \leq .05$) correlations were found for the males, but six significant relationships were noted for females. Females ranked higher on the Intolerance Index also scored higher than others on the MMPI F scale for infrequent and unusual responses, and on the scales for hypomania, psychopathy, schizophrenia, anxiety, and psychasthenia. Within the normal range of scores on these scales, where our subjects were found, the

TABLE 3.3

Correlations of MMPI Scales with the Observer-based Adjective Check List Intolerance Index

	Correlations	
	Males	Females
L (improbable virtues)	-.03	-.08
F (unusual responses)	.04	.29**
K (cautious responses)	-.13	-.12
His + .5K (hypocondriasis)	.02	-.01
D (depression)	.03	.12
Hy (hysteria)	-.09	-.10
Pd + .4K (psychopathy)	.10	.20**
Mf (femininity)	-.06	-.04
Pa (paranoia)	-.08	.11
Pt + K (psychasthenia)	-.09	.15*
Sc + K (schizophrenia)	-.02	.19**
Ma + .2K (hypomania)	.09	.21**
Si (social introversion)	.04	.07
A (first factor, anxiety)	.08	.18**
R (second factor, repression)	-.13	-.11
ES (ego strength)	-.06	-.06

n: 192 males (76 adults, 116 students); 221 females (76 adults, 145 students).

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$.

correlations suggest that observably intolerant women tend to be extra-punitive and impulsive, somewhat indifferent to conventional proprieties, and vulnerable to the experience of anxiety.

In Table 3.4, correlations are given for the Intolerance Index versus the scales of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Gough 1987). Here the patterns of correlations for males and females are quite similar.

For the first seven scales (Do through Em), pertaining to interpersonal skills, self-confidence, and assurance, the coefficients are generally negative, but low in magnitude. Larger coefficients appear in the second cluster (Re to To), which includes measures of pronormative attitudes and the acceptance of internal control. For instance, the So scale for Socialization, which seeks to assess the automatization of socially sanctioned ways of living, correlated $-.25$ with the Intolerance Index among males and $-.18$ among females.

In this same sector, the To (Tolerance) scale, originally constructed against the Levinson-Sanford (1944) anti-Semitism scale as a criterion, correlated negatively with the Intolerance Index for both sexes, well beyond the .01 level of significance. In the next sector of three scales assessing achievement motives and intellectual efficiency, all six of the correlations for both sexes were negative, and significant beyond the .05 level.

From the twenty folk measures (Do through F/M) on the CPI profile sheet, it is clear that the strongest predictors of higher scores on the Intolerance Index are those related to the internalization of societal values and self-discipline, all with negative relationships. Then, to a lesser degree, persons with strong intellectual-cognitive achievement drives rank lower on the index than do their counterparts. Very modest negative relationships with the index appeared for males only on the scales assessing interpersonal skills and self-assurance.

The next section in Table 3.4 presents correlations for the three structural scales of the CPI. Because these relationships will be elaborated later, in a different way, their functions in the inventory need to be spelled

TABLE 3.4

Correlations of CPI Scales with the Observer-based Adjective Check List Intolerance Index

Folk scales	Correlations	
	Males	Females
Do (dominance)	-.06	.03
Cs (status)	-.15**	-.04
Sy (sociability)	-.11*	-.03
Sp (social presence)	-.13**	-.06
Sa (self-acceptance)	-.07	-.03
In (independence)	-.03	.00
Em (empathy)	-.23**	-.04
Re (responsibility)	-.19**	-.23*
So (socialization)	-.25**	-.18**
Sc (self-control)	-.10*	-.23**
Gi (good impression)	-.12**	-.24**
Cm (communality)	-.09*	-.20**
Wb (well-being)	-.15**	-.28**
To (tolerance)	-.30**	-.28**
Ac (achievement via conformance)	-.17**	-.18**
Ai (achievement via independence)	-.17**	-.13**
Ie (intellectual efficiency)	-.10*	-.15**
Py (psychological mindedness)	-.10*	-.11*
Fx (flexibility)	-.10*	.01
F/M (femininity)	.01	-.08
<i>Structural scales</i>		
v.1 (detachment)	.07	-.14**
v.2 (norm-favoring)	-.11*	-.14**
v.3 (self-realization)	-.21**	-.22**
<i>Special-purpose scales</i>		
Anx (anxiety)	.14**	.22**
Nar (narcissism)	.15**	.28**

n: 430 males (236 adults, 194 students); 428 females (236 adults, 192 students).

* $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$.

out here. Over the years, in many factor and smallest-space analyses of the CPI, two primary vectors have repeatedly been identified. The first, dealing with interpersonal orientation, defines a continuum going from involvement and participation at one pole to detachment and privacy at the other. This continuum can be somewhat captured in scales such as Dominance and Social Presence, but a more effective assessment is furnished by the scale called v.1. There is a slight tendency for the more detached or introverted women to have lower scores on intolerance, but this relationship does not hold for men.

The second basic theme in the inventory is one pertaining to normative orientations, generating a continuum going from norm-doubting dispositions at one pole to norm-accepting proclivities at the other. It can be assessed to a certain extent by scales such as Responsibility and Socialization, but it is more accurately appraised by the second vector scale, v.2. For both sexes, as reported in Table 3.4, there is a weak trend toward lower intolerance scores for norm-favoring persons.

The v.1 and v.2 scales were constructed so as to be uncorrelated with each other. Conjoint treatment of the two scales thus gives rise to four different categories, in each of which approximately 25 percent of the norm sample of respondents for the CPI are located. Each of these categories represents a way of living, or lifestyle. The Alpha lifestyle combines involvement and affiliation with the acceptance of norms. The Beta way of living combines detachment with pronormative views. The Gamma category brings together a participatory mode with dubiety about the way most groups function and about the way in which economic and other rewards are allocated. The Delta lifestyle derives from a preference for distance and privacy, with doubts about the legitimacy of normative sanctions.

For each of these lifestyles, there are specific, characteristic ways in which potential can be realized. Alphas, for instance, when functioning at their best are natural leaders, capable of charismatic appeal to followers. Betas can be saintlike in their virtue and selflessness. Gammas, because of their insight into the imperfections of social structure, and into the flaws in all intellectual constructions, can be creative innovators. Deltas, struggling inwardly with the inherent contradictions of life, can produce reconciling visions in art, music, literature, and other liberating pursuits.

At their worst, persons of each lifestyle will be problems both to themselves and to others. Alphas can be dictatorial and invasive. Betas can be unutterably banal. Gammas can be asocial and even criminal in their oppositional tendencies. And Deltas can be torn apart by their inner battles.

What is needed in this theoretical system is some way of indicating

where any individual is in regard to the avoidance of the pitfalls of his or her type, and the attainment of its potentialities. The v.3 scale, for vector 3, serves this purpose. The higher the score on v.3, the more likely that the respondent has moved in the direction of ego integration or self-actualization. Because the v.3 scale is uncorrelated with both v.1 and v.2, the system allows for self-realization in equal frequency for all four ways of living. Scores on v.3 are expressed in seven categories, going from 1 for the lowest, least effective degree of ego-integration, on up to 7 for the highest. Thus, an Alpha-4 would be someone of the Alpha lifestyle functioning in an average way. A Gamma-7 would be someone of the Gamma type coming close to an optimum degree of self-realization. We should note that for both sexes those respondents who report a stronger sense of personal integration on v.3 have significantly ($p < .01$) lower scores on intolerance.

In a moment, the relationship of this three-dimensional theoretical system to the observer-based Intolerance Index will be explored. Before doing that, however, attention is directed to the two "special-purpose" scales cited in Table 3.4. The organization of variables in the CPI calls first for the twenty folk concepts already discussed. Then come the three structural scales. Finally, there is an open category of special purpose scales, now some fifteen in number, which may be introduced into any analysis as a researcher wishes. The Anxiety (Leventhal 1966) and Narcissism (Wink and Gough 1990) scales were chosen for inclusion because of their hypothesized relevance to the criterion; in fact, both are positively and significantly ($p < .01$) correlated with the interspousal attributions of intolerance.

A Type/Level CPI Analysis

Table 3.5 presents an analysis of variance for the 858 individuals for whom both CPI data and the ACL Intolerance Index were available. To ensure a sufficient number of persons in each cell, grouping by level was needed. Subjects ranking at levels 1, 2, and 3 were pooled, then those at levels 4 and 5 were considered separately, and finally those at levels 6 and 7 were combined. The numbers in each cell, the mean Intolerance Index in standard scores for each cell, and the marginal frequencies, means and standard deviations are all reported.

The F-ratios for both type and level were statistically significant ($p \leq .05$), but that for the interaction of type and level was not. In regard to type, the highest intolerance scores were noted for Gammas, followed by Deltas, Alphas, and Betas. In regard to level, there was a steady downward progression in observed intolerance as level increased. This monotonic

TABLE 3.5
CPI Types and Levels Versus the Observer-based ACL Intolerance Index for 858 Subjects

Type	N	Levels				Total
		1+2+3	4	5	6+7	
Alpha	45	62	47	47	47	201
	Mean	52.07	48.53	48.35	47.76	49.10
	SD	*	*	*	*	9.35
Beta	32	45	31	29	29	137
	Mean	50.63	48.94	46.63	46.04	48.20
	SD	*	*	*	*	9.40
Gamma	77	100	86	57	57	320
	Mean	52.94	51.68	50.49	48.65	51.12
	SD	*	*	*	*	10.03
Delta	63	64	37	36	36	200
	Mean	54.69	49.10	48.55	46.75	50.34
	SD	*	*	*	*	10.74
Total	217	271	201	169	169	858
	Mean	52.93	49.90	49.04	47.55	50.00
	SD	11.56	9.51	8.75	9.11	9.99

ANOVA for: df F p
 Type 3 3.24 .02
 Level 3 10.27 .00
 T x L 9 0.62 .78

trend held for levels within each type, as well as for the overall means shown at the bottom.
 Although the findings pertaining to the relationship between the CPI theoretical model of personality and the criterion of observer intolerance is completely expressed in Table 3.5, it is hard to visualize the trends. Figure 3.2 makes the relationships easier to see.

The standardized baseline of 50 on the Intolerance Index is indicated by the solid horizontal line at that point. Then the four trend lines for each lifestyle are drawn within the figure. All four lifestyles tend to manifest observable intolerance (mean scores above 50) when their levels are low, specifically at levels 1, 2, and 3. At levels 4 and 5, only those in the Gamma category are still being described as above average in intolerance. At levels 6 and 7, the ACL Intolerance Index means are below 50 for all four ways of living.

Note that the Betas, who prefer a private, reflective world in which societal goals (including respect for others) are accepted, are least likely to be described as intolerant, especially at levels 5, 6, and 7. Deltas at levels 1, 2, and 3 are most likely to be viewed as intolerant, but at levels 6 and 7 rank second-lowest to Betas.

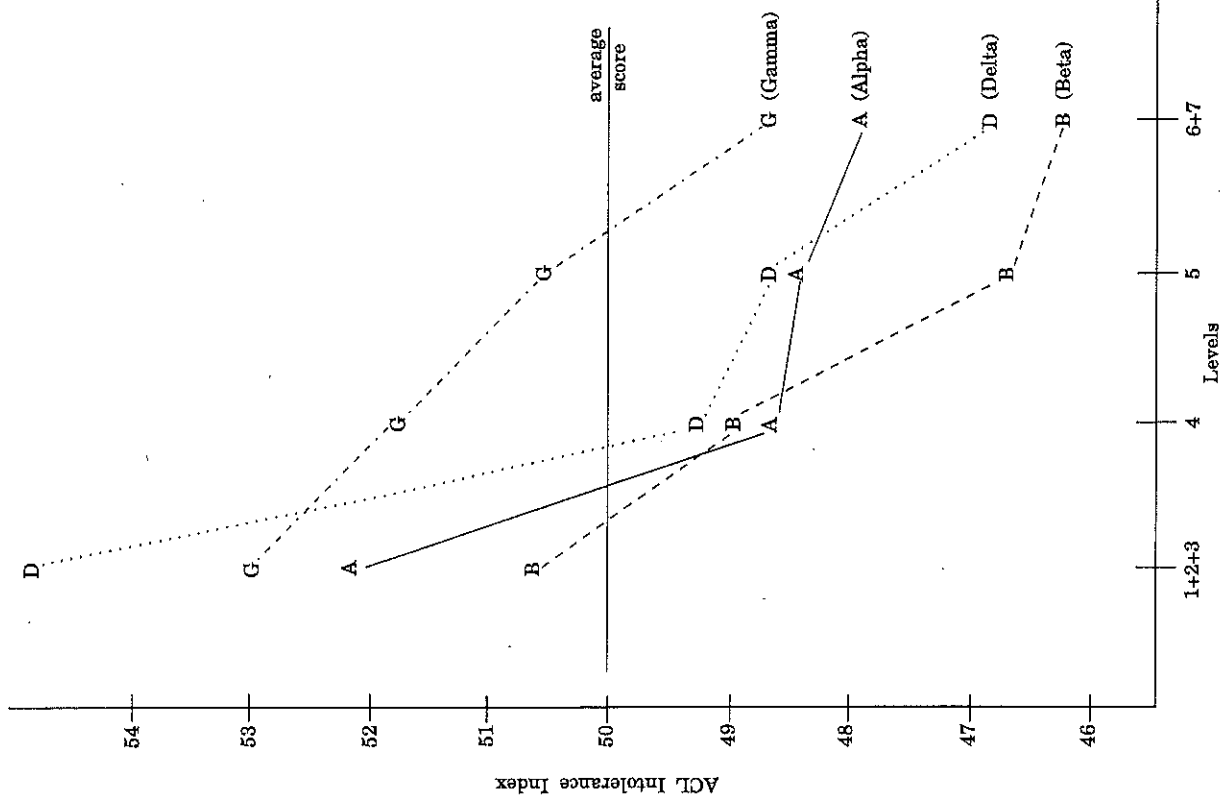


Fig. 3.2. Relationship of lifestyles and level of ego integration, as assessed by the California Psychological Inventory, to scores on the observer-based index of intolerance.

What the figure as a whole suggests is that all persons whose levels of integration are low, and whose functioning is therefore dissatisfying to both self and others, will tend to behave in ways that others perceive as intolerant and distrustful, but that as self-realization improves, observable intolerance diminishes. Intolerance is therefore not a free-standing, isolated personal disposition, but rather an integral part of the way individuals express their feelings of incompleteness and inefficacy.

Case Studies

Finally, to conclude our analysis, we want to present two case illustrations to show concretely how the nomothetic trends reviewed above find expression in the lives of individuals. The highest means for intolerance in Figure 3.2, it will be recalled, were for Deltas at levels 1, 2, or 3. Our first case, therefore, will be a Delta-1 male. His CPI profile is given in Figure 3.3.

At the time of the interview, case Delta-1 was 23 years old, working, like his father, as a truckdriver. He had married his first wife when he was 20, but didn't get along with her at all, and they were divorced within a year. The next year he married his present wife, and they have been together about two years. There are no children from either marriage. Delta-1 has a high school diploma, but never cared much for school. On a list of 77 items for describing an ideal wife, he checked good-looking, physically attractive, sex appeal, neat and clean, and open-minded on questions of morals and ethics, as the five most important. He estimates that he has had sexual relations with around 30 different women.

He describes a typical day as getting up at 6:00 A.M., going to work for eight hours, then coming home and drinking a six-pack of beer before and after supper. Then he watches TV until 9:00 P.M. or so, when he goes to bed. Altogether he thinks he spends around 40 hours a week watching television.

He remembers his father as mean and cold, hitting his children when angry. His mother was overprotective and loved to gossip. His upbringing was strict, based on "an iron hand and a rubber hose."

At age nineteen he was jailed for assault and battery, and for grand theft plus dealing in narcotics. He was also found guilty of carrying a concealed weapon. Since then he has had no further trouble with the law.

He sees himself as a loner, indifferent to others. When asked if he would like children, and what kind of a father he would be, his answer was yes, probably just one, and that he would be a "lousy" father because of his bad temper and impatience. In the interview with his wife, she commented that he would try to be a good parent, but that he probably wouldn't suc-

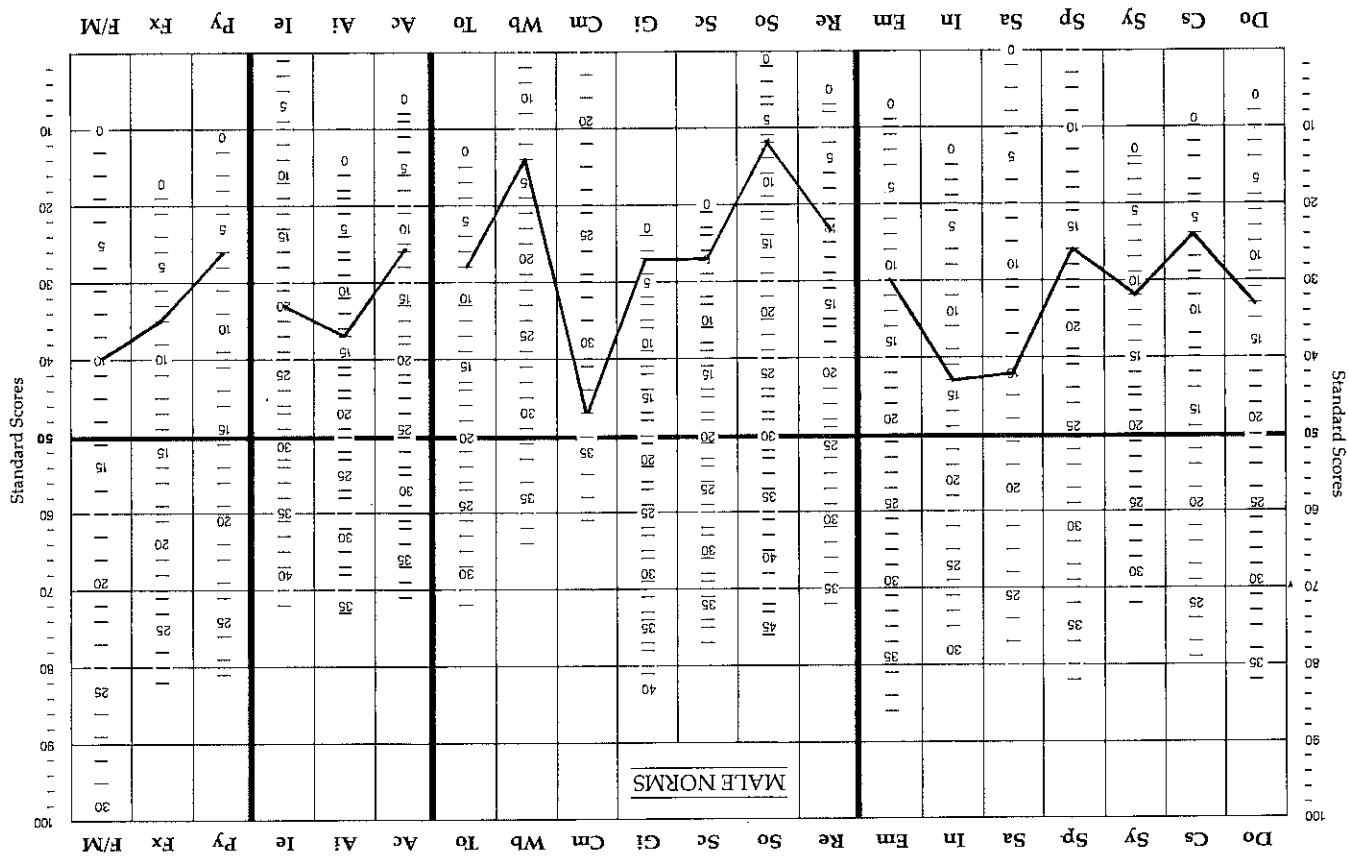


Fig. 3.3. California Psychological Inventory profile form for a Delta-1 male with an ACL Intolerance Index of 11. Reproduced by special permission of the publisher, Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., Palo Alto, CA 94303, from CPI: California Psychological Inventory Administrator's Guide, by Harrison G. Gough, Ph.D., © 1987. Further reproduction is prohibited without the publisher's consent.

ceed. They both feel that their marriage is above average in happiness. His remarks on what is good about it were "knowing that there's someone that cares, who doesn't expect much or try to change me, who accepts me for what I am."

The Delta-1 classification on the CPI indicates a detached, unaffiliative mode of responding to others, along with deep doubts that many of the good things in life will come his way. In the interpersonal domain, he lacks self-confidence and poise and tends to remain on the sidelines. In the realm of values and the internalization of normative guidelines, he is clearly below par, ill-equipped to live by the rules and stay out of trouble. In the achievement domain, he has very little drive for success and poor intellectual skills should he attempt to improve his situation. He is un-insightful about others, poor at coping with change and the unexpected, and traditionally masculine in attitudes and behavior. In this regard, he mentioned in the interview that the only sports he enjoyed were boxing and motorcycling.

From his wife's ACL portrait of him, a score of 11 on the Intolerance Index was obtained. This total converted to a standard score of 83. From what we know about this man, it seems that his intolerance of others originates in his own psychology, not from any ideological, economic, or political basis. We close our discussion of Delta-1 with the character sketch submitted by his life history interviewer.

Mr. Delta-1 is not a happy man. He is alienated from his surroundings, and pays little attention to what goes on around him. He describes himself as a "loner" and asserts that he drinks too much for his own good. Possessed of a "foul temper," he has come to the attention of the police more than once. A lack of self-confidence and purpose in living characterizes this man. Although he is not well educated, he seems to see some aspects of social interaction and the motivations of others with a common sense that is unexpected. He is a hard worker who likes his job because of its variety and absence of routine. He appears vaguely to want to improve his personal situation, but lacks the confidence or knowledge to know where to begin. This liability and his hardened character makes change unlikely. These problems, augmented by his lack of maturity and impulsiveness, presage rocky times ahead.

Case 2, whose CPI profile is shown in Figure 3.4, is a 24-year-old Gamma-2 female of Hispanic background. She graduated from college with a degree in business and now has a good job with a large company. She met her husband when she was in high school and he was a first-year college student. Several years later they began living together and subsequently married. They have no children, and she is not sure that she wants any.

Her husband is also from a minority background, in his case, Chinese. She sees him as competent, but as demanding and critical. She would like

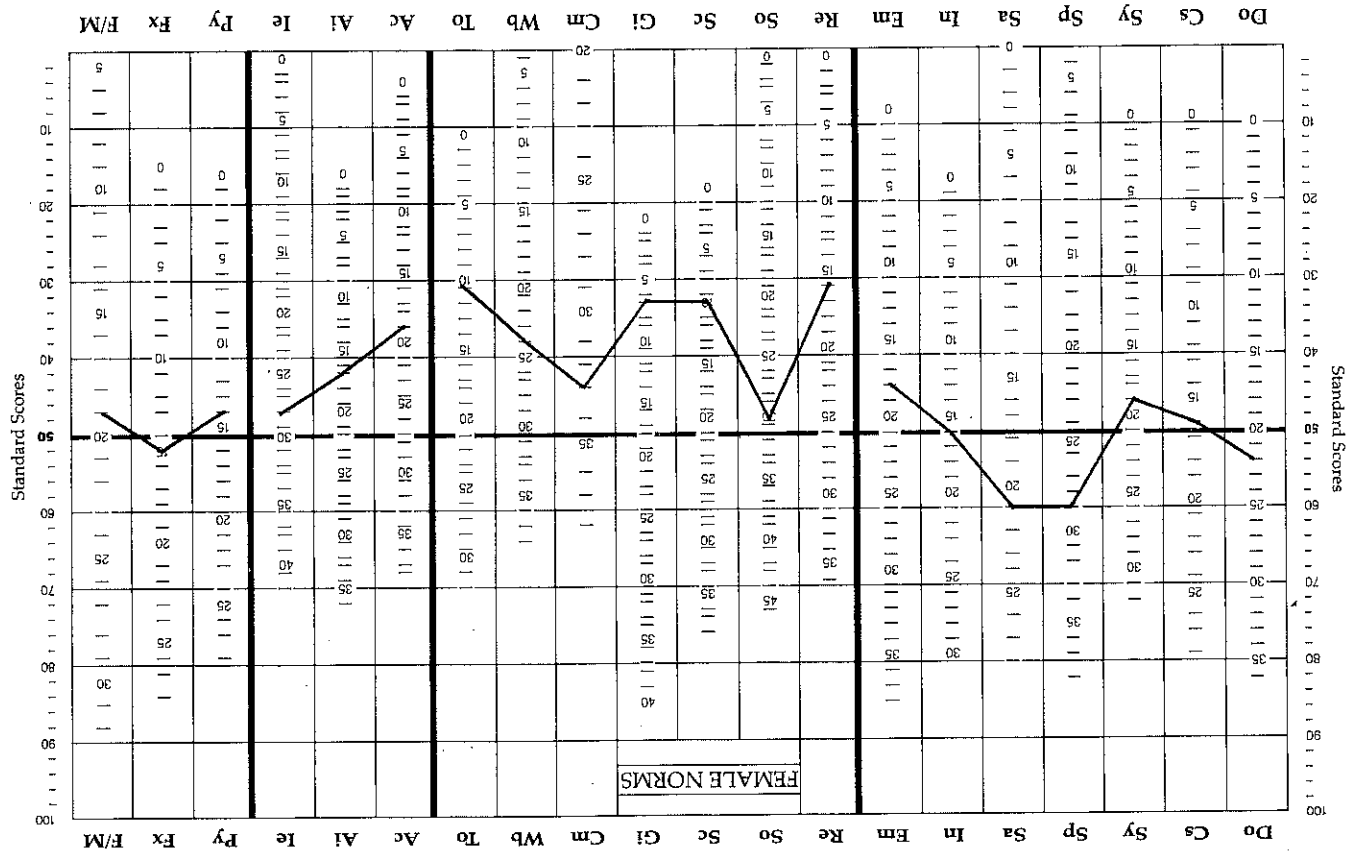


Fig. 3.4. California Psychological Inventory profile form for a Gamma-2 female with an Intolerance Index of 10. Reproduced by special permission of the publisher, Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., Palo Alto, CA 94303, from CPI: California Psychological Inventory Administrator's Guide, by Harrison G. Gough, Ph.D., © 1987. Further reproduction is prohibited without the publisher's consent.

Gamma-2 is a vivacious, attractive young woman whose drive and spunk have worked to her advantage in a successful business career. Her strong will, emergent during a difficult adolescence in a racially mixed family, with an over-bearing father and friction-producing sibling rivalries, has left her with a lasting sense that she must always fight for what should be hers.

Perhaps because so much of her energy has gone into perfecting a social persona of competence, she seems on closer scrutiny to be both discontented and shallow. She is only now beginning to wonder if the trappings of success will be satisfying to her in the long run. Also in spite of striving for more spontaneity and adventurousness in her own character, she married a man whose own values of formality and planfulness are dominant in their relationship. Behind her social poise and lively energy, this woman seems to be an emotional, inwardly shy person, whose "dog-eat-dog" world view has kept her from achieving an integrated and resilient sense of self.

Conclusions

We began with an interpersonal observer-based criterion of intolerance, using a cluster of twelve adjectives that functioned in an integrated, consistent way when their inter-item matrix was examined.

Expressed attitudes, including those registered in a shortened form of the F scale, had only moderate relationships to this criterion; however, personal dispositions, in particular those concerned with the internalization of social values, showed significant linkages. Specifically, persons with less conflicted and more pronormative ego controls were seen by others as less prejudiced than their counterparts. Another factor of importance was the self-perceived level of integration. Persons with a good sense of self-realization were seen as more tolerant and fair-minded than those with feelings of incompleteness or unfulfillment.

Finally, in two case vignettes, it was clear that the way in which sociological, psychological, and other factors come together in individuals manifesting different levels of tolerance or intolerance is always distinct and psychologically meaningful. Nomothetic analysis of general trends and relationships is vital, but by itself cannot give a complete picture of how individuals function.

him to be more understanding and spontaneous. He sees their relationship as basically good, but adds that he probably dominates too much and too often tries to impose his will on her. Her mood seems to depend on him—if he is feeling unhappy, she gets depressed; if he is happy, she is happy. To the question, "What would happen if you lost your mate through separation or death?" she replied that she would miss him deeply, and that she doubted whether she would ever remarry. His reply was that it would be a traumatic but not debilitating experience, that he would suffer for a while, but would then look for another person.

Both parents of Gamma-2 were immigrants, and both were eager to do well economically. She described her father as "unbearable to live with," and as being stubborn, too strict, and too bossy. Her mother, on the other hand, was understanding, open-minded, and helpful. The parents did not get along very well and eventually were divorced. Her mother is still important to her, but she rarely sees her father.

While growing up, Gamma-2 was shy at school, associated mostly with children from minority families, and felt that she was discriminated against. In high school she became more self-confident and developed a wider circle of friends. In college she became still more outgoing and expressive, but retained inner doubts about the degree to which she was truly accepted by others.

Her husband's description of her in the ACL produced an Intolerance Index score of 10, equivalent to a standard score of 70. On the CPI profile in Figure 3.4, her lowest score is on the scale for Tolerance. Thus there is evidence both from observer-based and self-report data of a problem in the acceptance of others. But at the same time there are quite positive elements in the profile—for instance, above average scores on Social Presence and Self-acceptance.

Going from left to right on the profile, the small overall elevation on scales in the interpersonal sphere suggests at least moderate feelings of confidence in dealing with others and with social demands. In the realm of interpersonal controls, however, she scores low, in particular on Responsibility, Self-control, interest in creating a good impression (Gi), and Tolerance. The achievement sector is low, particularly for someone with a superior scholastic record in college. An impression is gained of a woman with inner doubts about her own ego strength, but with a veneer of spontaneity and responsiveness that can conceal these worries from non-intimate others. The profile shows the mix of these two facets, and the v.3 scale itself, at level 2, shows that she feels far from being actualized or fulfilled.

We close, as before, with the formulation submitted by her life history interviewer: