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**ANOMIE, AUTHORITARIANISM AND ETHNOCENTRISM:  
UPDATE OF A CLASSIC THEME AND AN EMPIRICAL TEST**

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*Abstract* Are the sources of ethnocentrism rather more sociological than psychological in nature? In order to answer this question, we review a classic debate between sociologists and psychologists. From this debate we distil two implicit theoretical models which are transposed into explicit and competitive models. A number of lacunas are filled with recent theoretical contributions and, subsequently, these models are tested. It turns out that one's social environment brings about anomic feelings that induce ethnocentrism. But these effects are for the major part mediated by a psychological characteristic, i.e. by authoritarianism.

**Introduction**

Most European countries have been faced with an increasing amount of prejudice toward outgroups during the eighties. This was ascertained by a committee of the European Parliament (Evrigenis, 1986), but even more convincingly indicated by a steadily growing number of voters for extreme right-wing parties. Therefore, the need for a more comprehensive understanding of the sources of these anti-minorities attitudes has become more urgent. Are these sources more sociological or more psychological in nature?

In fact, this was the subject of a classic debate. This debate started with a paper by Srole, presented at the conference of the American Sociological Association in 1951. It was eventually published in 1956. Srole's provocative conclusion was that attitudes toward minorities could be explained by a sociological factor, i.e. by anomie, independently of personality trends, as measured by authoritarianism. But his results were seriously challenged by Roberts and Rokeach. They presented their results at a meeting of the American Psychological Association in 1952 and eventually published

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them also in 1956. Thereupon a lively discussion developed between sociologists and psychologists.

We will reconstruct this discussion, distil implicit theoretical models and crucial hypotheses from it, update these with recent theoretical views and finally test these competitive models for the case of the Netherlands.

### A classic debate

Srole's crucial hypothesis was that "...anomia...is associated with a rejective orientation toward outgroups in general and toward minority groups in particular" (1956, 712). In order to test it, he designed a conceptual framework to represent components of the concept of anomie as derived from Durkheim's classic study on suicide (1897), in which he used this concept to describe a type of suicide induced by societal dysfunctions. But Srole defined anomie in terms of subjective feelings or attitudes regarding societal dysfunctions. In fact, he distinguished five anomie components that could be labelled as: political powerlessness, social powerlessness, generalized socio-economic retrogression, normlessness and meaninglessness, and social isolation (1956, 712-713). For each of these components he designed an item to measure respondents' perceptions regarding these conditions of societal dysfunctions.

But only one year before Srole's survey, the concept of authoritarianism had been introduced. It had been designed to measure at a personality level "...prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group" (Adorno et al., 1950, 151). This concept contained nine components or sub-syndromes as the authors labelled them: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, conventionalism, superstition and stereotypy, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, anti-intraception, projectivity, and concern with sex (Adorno et al., 1950, 157). Adorno et al. had successfully shown that authoritarianism could predict not only prejudice but more generally: an ethnocentric ideology. By then, Srole realized that he would have to control for authoritarianism in order to test his own hypothesis adequately. That is why he incorporated a five-item version of the so-called F-scale in his survey, together with three scales to measure attitudes toward minorities.

Srole found that both scales, anomie and authoritarianism, satisfied criteria of unidimensionality; and that both scales correlated relatively strongly with each other as with the anti-minorities scales. But more interesting, first, was his finding that anomie was more strongly related to prejudice, controlling for authoritarianism than the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice, controlling for anomie. Second, he found that his finding remained intact in the low, middle and high social stratum. From these results he deduced that it was anomie rather than authoritarianism that might cause prejudice in any social stratum.

Substantially more interesting was his post hoc speculation, derived from studies by Fromm (1941) and Merton (1949), regarding the relationship between anomie and authoritarianism. He put forward that anomic people who feel helpless, alone and powerless, might try to escape from this situation into compulsive conformity or into authoritarianism. In short, he speculated that anomie would cause authoritarianism

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(1956, 716); and that authoritarianism in turn would mediate between anomie and prejudice. Unfortunately, he failed to make explicit statements as to *why* authoritarianism would have this intermediary function. We will elaborate these statements below.

Roberts and Rokeach replicated Srole's study and challenged his conclusions. First, they found that authoritarianism correlated substantially with ethnocentrism independently of anomie. From this finding they derived that, although Srole had proved that anomie was relevant to the formation of prejudice, anomie was certainly not a predictor that superseded authoritarianism (1956, 358). Second, they found that status had "...no appreciable effect on the relationships existing among anomie, authoritarianism, and ethnocentrism" (*ibid.*, 358). From this finding they derived that Srole's sociological views on the relationship between social status and these attitudes were irrelevant. Some years later their results were confirmed by Rhodes (1961), as Srole's findings were confirmed by Rose (1966). Unfortunately, this discussion had become rather empiricistic, without paying any attention to theoretical arguments.

Then McDill (1961) tried to solve the controversy. He attempted to clarify the discussion, as the title of his article suggested, by speculating that there would be '...a common dimension underlying these three attitude areas which accounts for the almost identical correlations among them' (1961, 242). That was why he executed factor analysis on items tapping the concepts concerned and found a general factor on which all items had substantial loadings. He labelled this factor "negative Weltanschauung", representing a dim world view. And this world view was strongly related to "...the socio-cultural environment to which one has been exposed" (1961, 245).

This factor-analytic finding was then rejected by Struening and Richardson (1965) who found that anomie and authoritarianism were related but empirically distinct dimensions; it was also rejected by Lutterman and Middleton (1970) as well as by Knapp (1976). Knapp concluded that the scales used in his analysis were '...nowhere near being explicable by one factor' (1976, 210).

But this line of research regained its character of a debate between psychologists and sociologists, when McClosky and Schaar published their study in 1965. They attacked the sociological perspective on anomie. Instead, they stated that certain personality dispositions, like the ones mentioned by Adorno et al., could produce anomie. They found that "...personality factors are correlated with anomie at all levels of mental disturbance, and that they function independently to produce anomie among people in all educational categories and in all sectors of society" (1965, 39). They put forward that people with certain personality traits might be hampered to interact effectively and hence might have less opportunities to escape from social isolation and learn social norms. Hence, they speculated that personality factors, as indicated by authoritarianism, would cause a state of personal dysfunction, as indicated by anomie. Now, before we will try to summarize this debate, we will try to reduce a number of theoretical omissions.

Theoretical lacunas filled with recent contributions

Several authors in this controversy made a conceptual error. They used the concepts of prejudice and ethnocentrism alternately without distinguishing one from the other. But none of them realized that ethnocentrism refers to *two* distinct attitudes: an unfavourable attitude toward outgroups, i.e. prejudice, accompanied by a favourable attitude toward the ingroup, i.e. nationalism. This was put forward by Sumner (1906) and was shown by Adorno et al. (1950). More recently this bifactorial structure of ethnocentrism was proven to be present in the Netherlands (Eisinga and Scheepers, 1989).

The crucial characteristic of ethnocentrism is that people consider their ingroup(s) as being superior whereas they consider outgroups as being inferior. From this perspective the question becomes: why are people inclined to feel superior to others whom they preferably regard as being inferior? The authors in this controversy failed to pose this important question as they failed to shed some light on the matter why anomie and/or authoritarianism would cause ethnocentrism.

The answers to these questions may be derived from a theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979) (cf. Tajfel, 1981; 1982a; 1982b; and Turner, 1982; Brown, 1986), which is known as C.I.C.-theory (social categorization, social identification, social comparison) or Social Identity Theory. This theory suggests that individuals have a permanent need for a positive social identity. That is why they categorize others as inferior as compared to themselves. In previous studies (Felling et al., 1986; Eisinga and Scheepers, 1989; Scheepers et al., 1989; 1990) we described the mental processes by which people establish and preserve this positive social identity. One process was labelled social identification, i.e. the accentuated perception of predominantly favourable characteristics among members of the ingroup, which is presumably accompanied by another mental process labelled social contra-identification, i.e. the accentuated perception of predominantly unfavourable characteristics among members of outgroups. These processes eventually result in ethnocentrism.

Now, anomie as well as authoritarianism were considered to cause ethnocentrism. Why? In the discussion described above one finds some elements, but certainly no consistent theory to answer this question. Here the Social Identity Theory might offer a fruitful contribution. It may be argued that anomic people who are subject to powerlessness, meaninglessness and normlessness and who feel socially isolated, *therefore* have a strong urge to re-establish a positive social identity by means of social identification, possibly accompanied by social contra-identification. And it may be argued that authoritarian people, who are characterized by a weak ego counterbalanced by a strong super-ego, *therefore* have a strong need to fortify their ego by identifying socially with their own group and simultaneously contra-identifying with outgroups. This is how we interpret the relationships between anomie and authoritarianism on the one hand and ethnocentrism on the other hand, based on recent theoretical contributions.

Next, we turn to factors that might explain both anomie and authoritarianism. Srole speculated that the social environment could effect anomie, whereas McClosky and Schaar assumed that personality factors would produce anomie independently of the social environment, to paraphrase them freely. In order to test these hypotheses, we

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derived from recent reviews the most important factors related to one's social environment. It appeared that social status and educational level are the most important predictors in this respect (Dekker and Ester, 1987), compared to which other predictors are very weak or non-significant (Scheepers, Felling, Peters, 1990; Scheepers, Eisinga, Van Snippenburg, 1989; 1991; Van Snippenburg and Scheepers, 1991).

But we would like to add two predictor variables related to anomie. This concept was introduced by Durkheim to characterize suicides of people in a state of socio-economic crisis. He speculated that people in such circumstances felt morally disorientated. Considering the socioeconomic developments in the eighties, it seems reasonable to suspect that there has been a widespread social and economic uncertainty: people *have* feared to lose their status, which might be labelled as status anxiety; and they *have* experienced some loss of income, which may be labelled as socioeconomic frustration. These experiences may be quite painful in Western societies, where traditional bourgeois values, like getting on in life, are strongly emphasized and highly valued, as was ascertained in previous studies in the Netherlands (Felling et al., 1983a; 1983b). That is why we speculate that feelings of status anxiety and socioeconomic frustration might contribute to explain anomie.

But what about the crucial question? Does anomie cause authoritarianism, as may be derived from a sociological perspective put forward by Srole: because anomic people, who feel isolated and helpless, try to escape from this situation into authoritarianism? Or does authoritarianism cause anomie as may be derived from a psychological perspective put forward by McClosky and Schaar: because people with an authoritarian structure are hampered in their interactions and hence become isolated and helpless. Both arguments are valid in a way and based on some empirical but not very convincing findings. In fact, both models have not been tested effectively by means of multivariate analysis. That is why we will test both models simultaneously as competitive models.

### **Two competitive theoretical models**

Now that we have paid attention to all relationships within the implicit theoretical models that may be distilled from this interesting debate, we will present two competitive theories. Both offer perspectives to explain ethnocentrism: the first is distilled from authors with a predominantly sociological perspective, and the second is distilled from authors with a predominantly psychological perspective. Our aim is to present the main differences between both perspectives by means of the graphical representations below.

The main differences are: that the sociological model, in figure 1A, emphasizes the importance of the social environment that is considered to be of negligible importance in the psychological model, in figure 1B; and, that the sociological model hypothesizes that anomie causes ethnocentrism intermediated by authoritarianism, whereas the psychological model hypothesizes a causal sequence according to which authoritarianism causes ethnocentrism, intermediated by anomie.

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Figure 1A: Ethnocentrism explained from a "sociological" perspective.

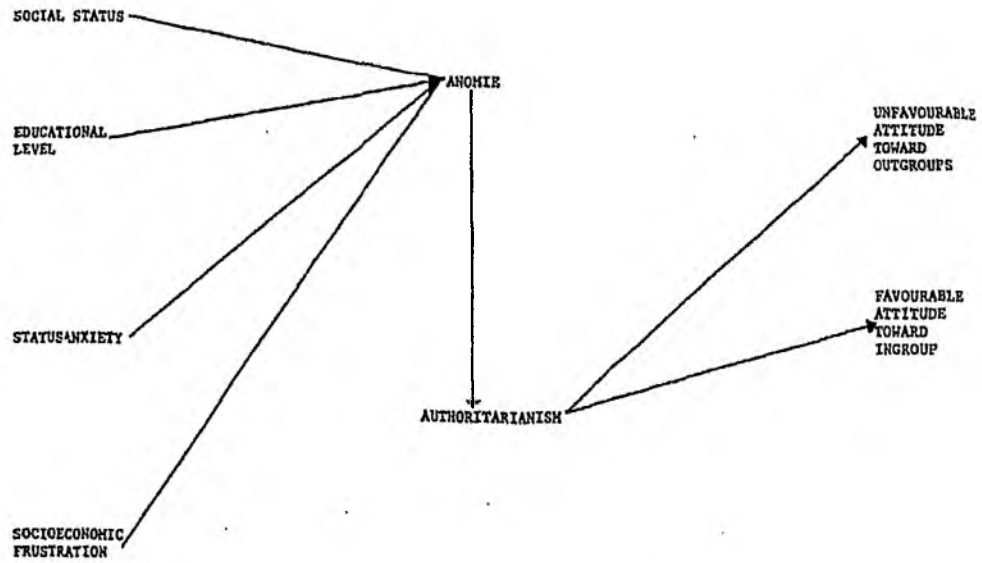
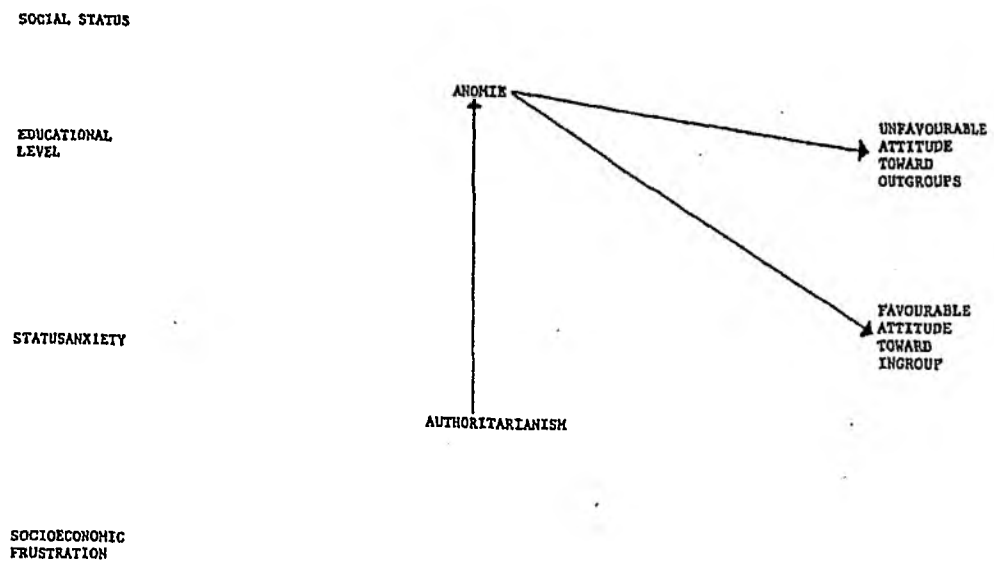


Figure 1B: Ethnocentrism explained from a "psychological" perspective.



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Figure 2A: Empirical findings of the "sociological" model.

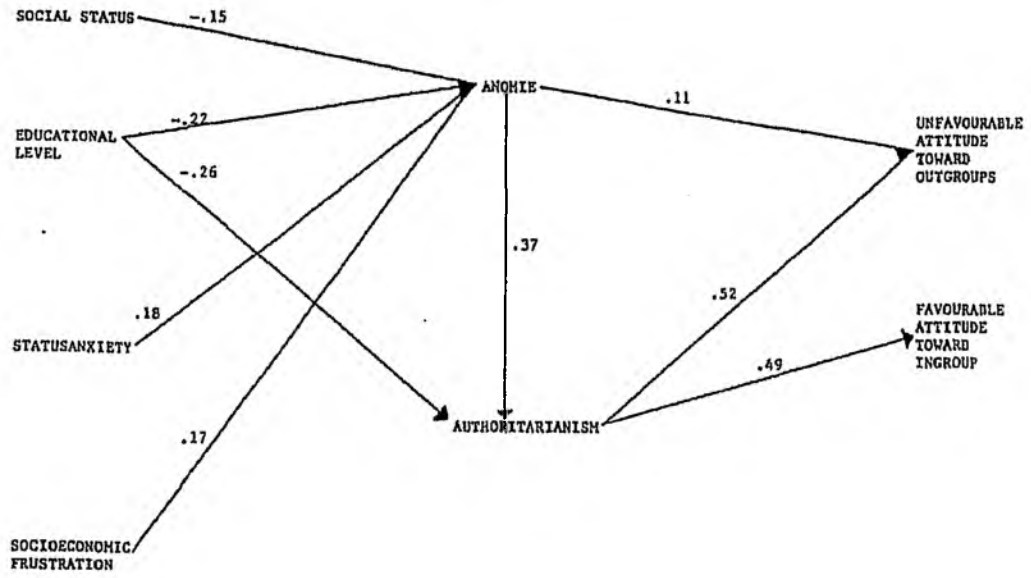
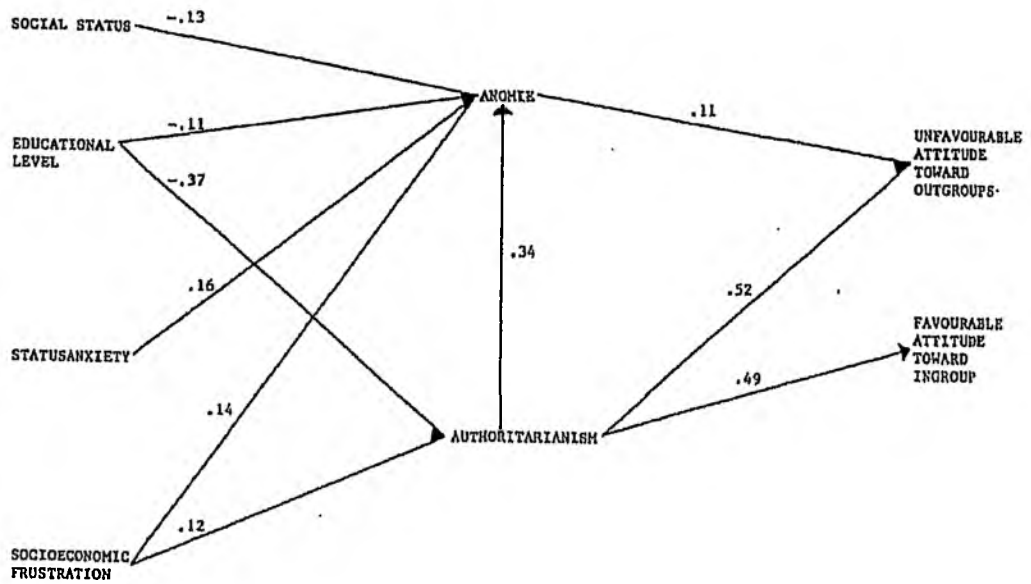


Figure 2B: Empirical findings of the "psychological" model.





### Sample and measurement scales

Within the framework of a research project, "Social and cultural developments in the Netherlands", a two-stage random sample of the Dutch population was constructed. In the first stage, a number of municipalities was selected in such a way that the distribution of regions as well as the degree of urbanization would be represented proportionately to the national distribution. In the second stage, people aged from 18 up to 69 were randomly selected out of the registers of the selected municipalities. This sample turned out to be representative of the whole Dutch population regarding sex, age, and marital status (cf. Felling et al., 1987).

We considered social status and educational level as the most important indicators of social environment. *Social status* was operationalized with a metric classification, based on the status ascribed to the profession concerned, according to a scheme developed by Sixma and Ultee (1983). It ranges from low status professions to high status professions. *Educational level* was measured by the highest school level that respondents had completed. This variable has seven metric categories ranging from having finished only primary school to completion of university.

*Status anxiety* was operationalized with six items referring to a subjective uncertainty regarding one's future economic position as well as one's future status. A scale, ranging from 0 up to 6, was constructed out of these items by means of probabilistic scalogram analysis (Mokken, 1970). Its reliability ( $\rho$ ) amounts to .76 and its scalability (H) is .39.

*Socioeconomic frustration* was operationalized with two items that refer to a recent loss of one's socioeconomic position and the degree of dissatisfaction with this loss. The scale ranges from 2 up to 10. Although the reliability of this scale is rather low (Cronbach's alpha is .51), we used it because of a lack of other valid indicators.

The operationalization of *anomie* and *authoritarianism* was carried out with items derived from the original studies: 5 items for the concept of anomie as designed by Srole (1956) plus one additional item, and 9 items for the subsyndromes of authoritarianism as designed by Adorno et al. (1950). These items are contained in Appendix 1. In order to reduce measurement problems, like response set (Christie and Jahoda, 1954; Brown, 1965; Carr, 1971), these items were more or less randomly distributed over a questionnaire dealing with a number of widely varying themes.

The operationalization of *ethnocentrism* was carried out according to theoretical notions as put forward by Sumner (1906), Adorno et al. (1950), and Levine and Campbell (1972). We refer to Eisinga and Scheepers (1989), where a more extensive account of this operationalization is presented. We used 10 items to measure the unfavourable attitude toward outgroups and 8 items for the favourable attitude toward the ingroup. These items are also presented in Appendix 1.

Next, we performed principal factor analysis (FACTOR, PA2 of SPSSx) on these Likert-type items involving anomie, authoritarianism and both aspects of ethnocentrism. The number of factors to be extracted was determined by the criterion: Eigenvalue  $> 1$  (cf. Kim and Mueller, 1978; 1984). Items with a communality below .20 were eliminated from the analysis, which applied to one anomie item and one authoritarianism item. We tried to rotate to a simple structure by exploring both varimax and oblimin solutions. Because there appeared to be considerable correla-

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tions between the four factors extracted (cf. Appendix 2), we considered the oblimin solution to be the most appropriate simple structure.

The final results are presented in Appendix 1. We found four factors representing respectively: an unfavourable attitude toward outgroups (Cronbach's alpha: .92), anomie (alpha: .76), a favourable attitude toward the ingroup (alpha: .82) and authoritarianism (alpha: .78). Although we found reasonably strong correlations, it can be ascertained that four empirically distinct factors appear from the analysis. All items have major loadings on the factors they were conceptually considered to tap, and only a few items have minor loadings on one of the other factors. Therefore, we have to reject McDill's (1961) one-dimensional solution, as Lutterman and Middleton (1970) and Knapp (1976) have done before us. Finally, we calculated factor scores for each of these factors (by means of the default procedure of FACTOR of SPSSx).

### Methods

In order to test our theoretical models, we performed multiple regression analysis by means of linear structural analysis (LISREL VI by Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1984). Before the actual analysis, we checked whether assumptions of regression analysis (like normality, linearity, additivity, homoscedasticity and lack of multicollinearity) were violated (cf. Berry and Feldman, 1985). As it turned out that these assumptions were not violated, we computed a matrix of correlations for further analysis. This matrix is presented in Appendix 2.

Next, we specified two full recursive structural models: one representing the sociological model and one representing the psychological model. Both full models were estimated. Then, non-significant relations between latent variables were eliminated, i.e. restricted, based on the statistical criterion:  $t > 1.96$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $N > 120$ . Finally, we specified two restricted models that were estimated and that will be presented.

### Results

We present our results graphically in order to facilitate comparisons between the theoretical models as specified in figures 1A and 1B with the empirical models in figures 2A and 2B. We present only significant standardized regression coefficients, representing the direct effects from independent on intermediate variables; and from intermediate on dependent variables. For reasons of surveyability, we have omitted direct effects of independent on dependent variables<sup>1</sup>, and correlations between independent variables<sup>2</sup>, and correlations between errors<sup>3</sup>.

Let us start with the sociological model. This model fits the data well, considering conventional LISREL-statistics:  $X^2$  is 5.92 with 8 degrees of freedom ( $p = .656$ ). None of the modification indices indicate that improvements can be made in this model.

All predictors indicating the social environment of respondents have significant though moderate effects on anomie (ranging from -.22 to .18). There is one significant effect namely from educational level on authoritarianism (-.26). All this implies that part of Srole's hypothesis, i.e. that anomie is determined by one's social environment,

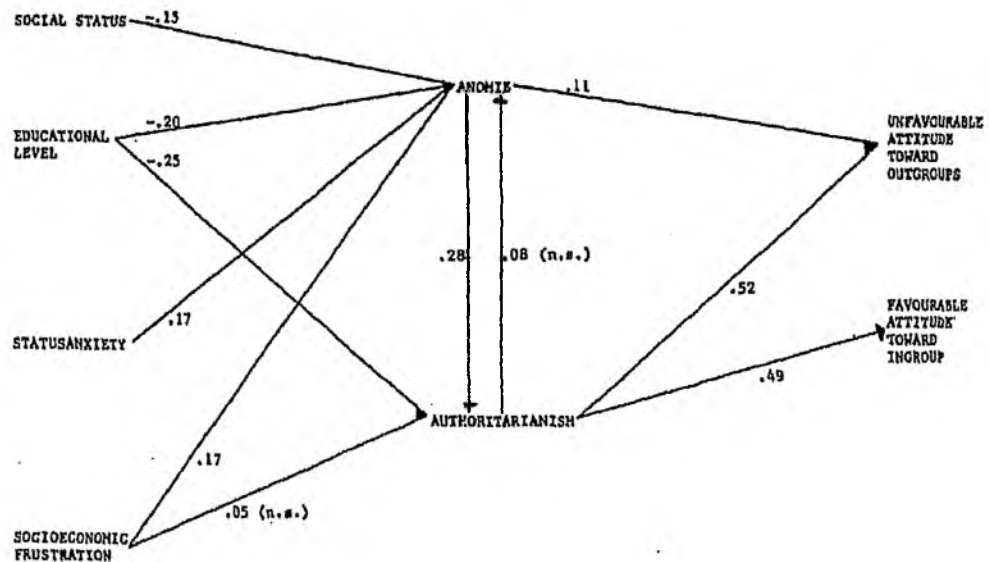
is generally not falsified. Further, there appears to be a fairly strong effect from anomie on authoritarianism (.37) that in turn has strong effects on both aspects of ethnocentrism (.49 and .52). The effect from anomie on the favourable attitude toward the ingroup appears to be spurious whereas the effect of anomie on the unfavourable attitude toward outgroups is relatively weak (.11). This also implies that Srole's view was right because it appears that the effects of anomie on ethnocentrism are for the major part mediated by authoritarianism.

Now, let us turn to the psychological model. This model also fits the data well:  $X^2$  amounts to 9.60 with 7 degrees of freedom ( $p = .212$ ).

In this model there are also moderate effects of variables indicating the social environment of respondents on anomie. This implies that the hypothesis put forward by McClosky and Schaar, that authoritarianism produces anomie independently of the social environment, is falsified. There is a fairly strong effect of authoritarianism on anomie (.34), which in turn has only a moderate effect on the unfavourable attitude toward outgroups (.11), whereas the effect of anomie on the favourable attitude toward the ingroup is non-significant. Hence, it can be ascertained that the main effects of authoritarianism on both aspects of ethnocentrism are not mediated by anomie but are direct effects. In this respect, the psychological model does not differ from the sociological model.

But a modification index indicated that the fit of the model would be improved if one restricted relationship was to be estimated: this concerned the effect of anomie on authoritarianism. Accordingly, we re-estimated the psychological model, in which then a non-recursive relationship between authoritarianism and anomie was specified. This model is presented in figure 3.

Figure 3: Final findings (n.s. = non-significant).



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This model showed an improved fit ( $X^2=3.64$ ,  $df=6$ ,  $p=.722$ ). It turned out that the effect of authoritarianism on anomie was non-significant, when we controlled for the effect of anomie on authoritarianism. This also applied to the effect of socioeconomic frustration on authoritarianism. This implied that both these effects could be eliminated from the model without a significant loss of explained variance. After elimination, i.e. restriction of these parameters, we ended up with the sociological model as estimated previously and presented in figure 2A. Thus, our conclusion is that the so-called sociological model fits the data best. Both aspects of ethnocentrism are explained relatively well, in terms of explained variances ( $R^2$  of the unfavourable attitude toward outgroups is .42; and  $R^2$  of the favourable attitude toward the ingroup is .35).

### **Conclusions and discussion**

In this study, we reviewed a classic debate between sociologists and psychologists on the explanation of ethnocentrism. It appeared that they used two contradictory, competitive theoretical models to explain this phenomenon. We made these models explicit and pointed out omissions that we tried to reduce by utilizing recent theoretical contributions derived from Tajfel's and Turner's Social Identity Theory. Then, we tested both competitive models. We ended up with an empirical model that explains ethnocentrism fairly well and that fitted the Dutch data.

It turned out that one's social environment, indicated by objective factors like a low social status and having reached merely a low educational level, as well as by subjective feelings like high status anxiety and high socioeconomic frustration, brings about anomic feelings. Anomic people, in turn, are inclined to have ethnocentric feelings, but these effects are for the most part mediated by authoritarianism.

The relation between anomie and authoritarianism was interpreted by Srole, who speculated that anomic people flee into authoritarianism to escape from their feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. In turn, an authoritarian personality is characterized by a weak ego, counterbalanced by a strong super-ego. We interpreted the relation between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism by speculating that authoritarian personalities might wish to fortify their ego by socially identifying with their ingroup and by simultaneously contra-identifying with outgroups. We may safely state that the sources of ethnocentrism are primarily sociological in nature, as indicated by the effects brought about by one's social environment on anomie. But these social conditions have, via anomie, effects on a psychological characteristic, i.e. authoritarianism, which in turn has by far the strongest explanatory power regarding ethnocentrism.

These empirical findings lend support to a more general theoretical model proposed by a prominent member of the early Frankfurt School, Erich Fromm. He ascertained in the early thirties that one's ideology, in particular the ethnocentric ideology, could not be explained adequately in terms of classic materialism, from which perspective one's social being (Sein) was considered to be directly linked to one's social consciousness (Bewusstsein). That is why Fromm proposed to insert a personality trait, i.e. authoritarianism, into the materialistic scheme to explain this ideology (Fromm,

1936; 1941). This theoretical postulate was recognized to be fruitful by Srole, who incorporated it into his anomie theory. We updated and complemented this theory with the more recent Social Identity Theory. This eclectic theory is, in general, not falsified.

#### Notes

1. These effects are significant but moderate. There are direct effects of social status and educational level on the unfavourable attitude toward outgroups (-.05 and -.11 respectively); as there are direct effects of social status and educational level on the favourable attitude toward the ingroup (-.11 and -.11 respectively).
2. These correlations can be derived from the matrix in Appendix 2.
3. We specified only one correlated error, i.e. between both dimensions of ethnocentrism. It is specified for two reasons. First, there are no theoretical considerations to assume a causal sequence between both dimensions of ethnocentrism. Second, specification of a non-recursive relationship between both dimensions would create problems of model identification, whereas this problem is avoided by means of a correlated error. Considering its location in the causal sequence of the model, this specification can not influence any substantial conclusions. This error correlation amounts to .26.

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*Anomie, authoritarianism and ethnocentrism*

Appendix 1: Principal factoranalysis on Likert-items tapping anomie, authoritarianism and both aspects of ethnocentrism (N=924, listwise deletion); loadings below .20 were eliminated.

<i>anomie</i>	<i>h</i> <sup>2</sup>	I	II	III	IV
There is little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.	.42		.59		
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.	.38		.58		
In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.	.26		.62		
These days a person doesn't really know whom he he can count on.	.38		.50		-.27
Criticizing the government is useless, because the government just sticks to the policies it thinks proper.	.46		.65		
It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.	.-				
<i>authoritarianism</i>	<i>h</i> <sup>2</sup>	I	II	III	IV
People can be divided in two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.	.32		.20		-.39
Familiarity breeds contempt.	.33		.31		-.27
Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up, they ought to get over them and settle down.	.38			.22	-.44
Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked and feeble-minded people.	.32				-.42
What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, fearless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.	.38				-.50
A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.	.24				-.40
Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment: such criminals ought to be whipped publicly, or worse.	.31				-.35
If people would talk less and work harder, everybody would be better off.	.37				-.55
Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.	.-				



*ethnocentrism*

unfavourable attitude toward outgroups	$h^2$	I	II	III	IV
Most Moroccans are rude people.	.46	.70			
Foreigners carry all kinds of dirty smells around.	.55	.78			
Gypsies drive around in big caravans at the expense of the social security funds.	.59	.72			
With Moroccans you never know for certain whether or not they are going to be aggressive.	.62	.83			
Most people from Surinam work quite slowly.	.54	.69			
Gypsies are never to be trusted.	.64	.79			
Most Turks are easy-going.	.61	.80			
People from Surinam are short-tempered.	.54	.70			
Turks have so many children because they are slightly backward.	.44	.60			
When you deal with Jews, you have to be extra careful.	.50	.62			
favourable attitude toward ingroup	$h^2$	I	II	III	IV
Everywhere in the world Dutch people are beloved.	.29			.46	
We, the Dutch people, are always willing to put our shoulders to the wheel.	.37			.59	
Generally speaking, Holland is a better country than most other countries.	.27			.50	
We, the Dutch people, have reason to be proud of our history.	.43			.69	
Other countries can learn a lot of good things from our country.	.31			.52	
Every Dutchman ought to pay honour to our national symbols like the national flag and the national anthem.	.42		-.21	.46	-.33
At the striving for international co-operation, we have to take care that no typical Dutch customs get lost.	.39			.50	-.25
I am proud to be a Dutchman.	.43			.68	

explained variance = 51.0 %

*Anomie, authoritarianism and ethnocentrism*

Appendix 2: Correlation between latent variables.

SES	1.00							
EDUC	.53	1.00						
STANX	-.15	-.16	1.00					
SEF	-.15	-.17	.32	1.00				
ANOM	-.32	-.36	.29	.29	1.00			
AUTHO	-.25	-.39	.14	.18	.46	1.00		
OUT	-.27	-.37	.14	.16	.40	.62	1.00	
FIN	-.29	-.36	.08	.10	.29	.56	.63	1.00
SES	EDUC	STANX	SEF	ANOM	AUTHO	OUT	FIN	

LEGENDS:

- SES = social status
- EDUC = highest educational level
- STANX = status anxiety
- SEF = socioeconomic frustration
- ANOM = anomie
- AUTHO = authoritarianism
- OUT = unfavourable attitude toward outgroups
- FIN = favourable attitude toward ingroup