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A CROSS CULTURAL STUDY OF AUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES
IN ENGLISH AND JORDANIAN CULTURES

BY

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ABSTRACT

This study has two aims. In the first place, it undertakes a cross-cultural comparison between the levels of authoritarianism in the attitudes of a Jordanian and an English sample of male University students. The Jordanian sample emerges as significantly more authoritarian. Secondly, using the material obtained in the samples, it establishes a correlation between a generally authoritarian outlook, as measured on the F scale, and a specifically authoritarian attitude in family matters as measured on the TFI scale. The theoretical and methodological background to the research undertaken is discussed in the opening Chapter. The history and theory of the measurement of attitudes, especially with regard to authoritarianism, are presented, as are the results of previous research conducted in the Middle East on the same subject using a comparative sample of Eastern and Western students. In general, methodological problems of cross-cultural studies are also considered.

The Author's primary interest is in the results of the Jordanian sample. An account of the major aspects of Jordanian culture precedes the presentation of the data in view of the context which it supplies.

The data was obtained from a sample of 184 students from Durham University on the English side, and 200 students from the University of Jordan. The close correlation between the results on the F scale and those of the TEI scale clearly raises the question of the role of the family in encouraging the authoritarian features of Jordanian culture. An examination is, therefore, undertaken in conclusion of those aspects of Jordanian family life which appear to promote and reinforce this authoritarianism.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The term "attitude" in social psychology was employed as early as 1862 by Spencer. It was, however, established as a concept in the field of psychology through the influence of Freud and the psychoanalytical theory, which equated attitude with the stream of unconscious life. Before 1918 the term appeared only sporadically in sociological literature, and the credit for instituting the concept as a permanent and central feature in sociological writing, since adopted by many writers, must be assigned to Thomas and Znaniecki who gave it prominence in 1918 in their study of the Polish peasants.

"Attitude" is a word not susceptible to easy definition. Any attempt to define it must be sufficiently broad to cover the many kinds of attitudinal variables which psychologists today recognise, and at the same time narrow enough to exclude those types of determinations which are not ordinarily referred to as attitudes. Some definitions, such as "Attitude=the specific mental disposition toward an

incoming (or arising) experience, whereby that experience is modified; or, a condition of readiness for a certain type of activity", (Warren 1934), consider "attitude" as a form of readiness. Yet, while these offer certain helpful suggestions, their chief weakness is frequently their failure to distinguish between "attitudes" (which are general) and "habits" (which are always limited in their scope). Fishbein (1967) recommends the following definition of "Attitudes" on the ground that it has the merit of being inclusive. The definition has the additional virtues of being flexible and of securing agreement from psychologists.

"An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". (Fishbein, 1967, p.8)

"Attitudes" have an influence on the individual personality in that they affect knowledge and regulate the ego defensiveness of the person. They are not necessarily a sufficient cause of behaviour but are a contributing cause: alongside norms, habits and expectations. They operate in a social context. "Attitudes" predispose a class of

reactions to a particular class of social situations. They act as a medium through which specific social situations can be negotiated, and thus facilitate the adjustment and the value expressiveness of individuals in a society.

It was not until the 1920's that any systematic attempts were made to differentiate individuals according to verbal indications of social attitude. One of the most significant events in the history of the measurements of attitudes was Thurstone's method of equal appearing intervals of favourableness or unfavourableness. One widely used scale of this type is the test of "social distance" devised by Bogardus in 1925. Attitudes were measured here in terms of the degrees of "distance" that his subjects wanted to keep between themselves and the members of the group being tested. In 1932 - 1933, the Likert scale was devised, which measures the location of individuals on a positive-negative continuum. Subjects are required to indicate the direction and degree of affect they feel toward an object, event, etc. Finally, the Guttman scale produced what is a quite straightforward ordinal scale that does not pretend to suggest relative distances between scale categories, and has more control over the problem of irregular responses.

The determination of the formation of attitudes, and the consequences of certain types of formations, became a matter of central concern among psychologists during the 1940's and 1950's. The Authoritarian Personality by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, (1950) attempted to "demonstrate a close correlation between a number of deep - rooted personality traits of overt prejudice" (Foreword, P. VI). One of the means used to measure these traits among various strata of the population was the F scale, and it is a version of this which will be utilized in this study.

As the basis for the construction of a test such as the F scale, investigators interested in the field of authoritarianism first attempted to form a definition of authoritarian characteristics. According to Adorno et al; (1950), authoritarians are characterized by:

- a) Conventionalism. This consists of rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.
- b) Authoritarian Submission. As reflected in submissive, uncritical attitudes toward idealized moral authorities of the in-group.
- c) Authoritarian Aggression. Characterized by the tendency to be on the lookout for, to condemn, to reject, and to punish, people who violate conventional values.

- d) Anti-intracception. Which consists of opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, and the tender-minded.
- e) Superstition and Stereotype. Characterized by a belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate and the disposition to think in rigid categories.
- f) Power and "Toughness". Represented by a preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimensions: identification with power figures; over-emphasis upon the unconventionalized attributes of the ego; and exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.
- g) Destructiveness and Cynicism. Reflected in a generalized hostility, and vilification of the human.
- h) Projectivity. Which appears in the disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world and the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.
- i) Sex. Shown by exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on". (Adorno, 1950 p. 228)

THE PLACE OF AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE STRUCTURE OF PERSONALITY

Authoritarianism bears a close relation to other

attitudes in the personality structure. Research has demonstrated correlations between the scores of F scale and other tests; e.g. ethnocentrism, anti-semitism, and anti Negro attitudes. Correlation between the F scale, on the one hand, and ethnocentrism and anti-Semitism, on the other, is shown clearly in the works of Adorno, et al (1950). A scale devised by Kelly, Ferson, and Holtzman (1958) to test anti-Negro attitudes showed a correlation with the F scale of 0.33. Klein (1963) also tested a sample of 1000 undergraduates from different parts of the U.S.A. On the F scale and on a measure of prejudice toward negroes N.A.S. (the negro attitude scale), his results showed a correlation of 0.17 between the scores of the two scales. Thus there is a positive correlation between authoritarianism and prejudice as Byrne (1966 p. 237) observes in his definition of authoritarianism.

"Authoritarianism refers to an attitudinal system which consists of a number of interrelated antidemocratic sentiments including ethnic prejudice, political conservatism, and a moralistic rejection of the unconventional".

HOSTILITY

Highly authoritarian individuals also manifest hostile attitudes directed toward the outgroup and violaters

of cultural norms. According to Meer (1955), authoritarians are capable of tolerating emotional ambivalence toward parents when they are young. This unquestioned submission causes a repression of intense hostile feelings which later on are directed towards the out-group. Siegel (1956) studied a more generalized type of hostility. In his study an attempt was made to determine the authoritarian personality's predisposition toward hostility. Statistical analysis of the relationship between authoritarianism and the Manifest Hostility Scale used by Siegel indicated that authoritarians have greater overt hostility than non-authoritarians.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BELIEFS

According to Adorno, et al (1950), adherence to conservative politics and the right wing is a characteristic of authoritarians. To test this view, Leventhal, Jacobs, and Kadirka (1964) conducted two experiments during the American Presidential election campaign of 1960 investigating the relationships between F scale and ideological preference for the candidates of a particular party. The hypothesis was that those who are low in authoritarianism would back Kennedy because of his liberal policy, while Nixon's preference for the status quo would appeal to those high on authoritarianism. Seventy-six students were tested and a significant relation-

ship was found between F. scale and political choice, with egalitarians preferring Kennedy, while Nixon's support came from the authoritarian group. Milton and Waite (1964) administered the Traditional Family Ideology scale of Levinson and Huffman to 401 subjects at the University of Georgia. Students were asked to show their preference between Goldwater, Johnson, and Wallace. Those who were high on the scale preferred Wallace while those who scored the lowest preferred Johnson. Due to this we might be able to conclude that authoritarians tend to support conservative rather than liberal politics, regardless of party label. Furthermore, military ideology is highly acceptable to authoritarians.

MALADJUSTMENT

In past studies, authoritarians have often been described as rigid, conforming, repressing, denying, projecting and displacing, which has suggested that authoritarians are maladjusted. Singer and Feshbach (1959) predicted a relationship between the F scale scores and a measure of anxiety. Using the Taylor Manifest anxiety scale as an anxiety measure with 147 students they came out with an 0.34 correlation, (other studies have reported a correlation of 0.69). When Kates and Diab (1955) studied the authoritarian ideology and attitudes on parent-child relationships, their

results showed that authoritarian beliefs were partially associated with attitudes similar to those held by parents of problem children.

INTOLERANCE OF AMBIGUITY

The concept of tolerance-intolerance of ambiguity, and the relationships of these variables to the authoritarian syndrome, was first dealt with by Frenkel and Brunswik. The intolerance of ambiguity may be defined as "the tendency to perceive or interpret ambiguous situations as sources of threat" (Budner, 1962, p. 29). Frenkel and Brunswik (1949) described authoritarians as more intolerant of ambiguous situations than non-authoritarians, because the former adhere to simple firm laws already known to the group.

The projective attitude in authoritarianism was studied by Rothstein (1960). In his paper "authoritarianism and men's reaction to sexuality and affection in women", he formed the following hypothesis:

1. "Authoritarians should tend to overemphasize the sexual aspects of a women's behaviour, even though she is shown to be affectionate and kindly as well.
2. Authoritarians should show dichotomous sex

attitudes as evidenced by their splitting of sexuality and affection" (Rothstein, 1960, p.329)

CONFORMITY

Concerning conformity, authoritarians have been found to be more responsive to group pressures and less effective in dealing with group tasks. Garfein (1961) in his paper "Conformity behaviour and the authoritarian personality" hypothesized that a highly authoritarian person is more of a conformist than an egalitarian, but the hypothesis has not yet been proved.

Finally, as far as resistance to change is concerned, authoritarians are more likely to change their opinions in response to demands from an authority figure than egalitarians.

The present paper deals with a cross cultural study of authoritarianism, a field in which considerable work has been done. In the specific field of Arab-Western comparisons, cross-cultural studies of levels of authoritarianism have been conducted by a psychologist at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. Melikian (1959) examined authoritarianism in Egyptian culture and in the U.S.A., and hypothesized that authoritarianism is stronger in the Middle East than in the U.S.A., due to the following features of the Middle Eastern

way of life.

- 1) The presence of tribal organization, which tends to strengthen authoritarian ties in the family.
- 2) The strong emphasis on in-group loyalties.
- 3) The submission to elders demanded by religion.

He administered the California (F) scale on the samples of college students in the Middle East and the United States. The results of the U.S. sample ranged from 55.8 (Protestant males) to 59.4 (Catholic females). In Egypt results ranged from 65.2 (Christian females) to 68.2 (Moslem males). (Melikian 1959).

Both Christians and Moslems in Egypt scored higher than did Americans, thereby demonstrating the significant influence of culture on the attitude of individuals. Prothro and Melikian (1953) and Melikian (1956), reported a significantly higher level of authoritarianism in college students, whether Moslem or Christian, from various Arabian cultures, than that found in corresponding student groups in the United States. Meade and Whittaker (1967) investigated the personality dimension in authoritarianism in six cultures: American, Arab, Rhodesian, Chinese, Indian, and Brazilian; using college students as subjects. The mean F scale scores

for the six cultural groups were 3.16, 4.45, 4.91, 4.61, 5.06, and 4.02 respectively.

Even in single societies with a population of diverse ethnic background, differences in authoritarianism have been noted. In the introduction to their work, Meade and Whittaker state that Garcia and Courtney et al. have observed significant differences in various American sub-cultures on the F scale, and that Minkourish and Shaked have reported considerable variations in authoritarian tendencies in various subcultures in Israel. Such differences are related by Adorno et al. (1950) to family and cultural conditioning.

The present study, which establishes significant differences between Jordanian and British students on the scale of authoritarianism, was conducted in England and Jordan between December 1972, and March 1973. A questionnaire using the F scale as a basis was employed, with adjustments of the kind appropriate to a cross cultural study which, as the following chapter observes, raises several methodological problems. In view of the need to place the results firmly in context, a brief description of Jordanian culture is included in Chapter 3. The results of the questionnaire itself (Chapter 4) can, however, only be under-

stood properly in the context of the role of the family in transmitting the authoritarian values of the culture, and it is to this crucial role that the final chapter will be devoted.

P R O B L E M S I N

C R O S S - C U L T U R A L R E S E A R C H

A psychologist concerned with cross-cultural research on authoritarianism will be faced with two outstanding problems. Firstly, the test which he uses to determine the degree of authoritarianism of his subjects cannot be identical to that devised by Adorno et al. because (a) there is a variation in authoritarianism, culturally, i.e., between different cultures, and therefore (b) to locate the most authoritarian members of a certain group, the test must be devised with the cultural specificity of any particular culture in mind. This difficulty relates to the second problem, common to any scientific investigation, that of the representativeness of the sample. All cultures can be defined by their;

- a) Categories: Humans often tend to categorize experience by giving the same response to discriminably different stimuli. The association of categories with other categories leads to the formation of elementary cognitive structures. Beliefs are included in some of the important cognitive structures.
- b) Attitudes: A predisposition to respond either positively or negatively toward an object.
- c) Stereotypes: A special category of beliefs linking ethnic groups with personal attributes.
- d) Norms: Involving relationships between a personal category and a behavioural category, thus specifying whether the behaviour is appropriate.
- e) Ideals: A criterial attribute adopted by members of a cultural group as appropriate for defining "good" members of a category; e.g., women should be faithful.
- f) Roles: Appropriate behaviour for persons holding a position in a social system.
- g) Values: An individual's preference for certain types of action; e.g. when a person feels good about the proposition "man should be the master of himself".

An important goal of cross-cultural studies is the comparison and analysis of these norms, roles and values as they appear in different societies, with a view to the elaboration of general behaviour laws. This elaboration is to be achieved through the uncovering of causal relationships and the extension of intra-cultural group comparisons. A second and related important goal of such study is the investigation of the generality or variability of some psychological characteristics through the demonstration of whether the culture affects them or not.[⊕]

The attempt to discover general laws or principles raises the problem of estimating the equivalence of trans-cultural variables. As Kaplan (1961) points out if we take two psycho-physical variables, operationally defined, the relationship can be found very easily. Thus, taking his example in which X is the duration of dark adaptation Y visual threshold in the human eye, we have a case based on the amount of time in a non-illumination state, where the relationship can be found very swiftly by applying a

⊕ One further valuable function of cross-cultural research as Price-William observes, lies in the possibility for revision of the investigator's culturally given taxonomy of human experience. (1969 p. 32, 37).

psychophysical method for measuring the visual threshold, through observing the interchangeability of indices. The real problem arises when we are dealing with the relationships between two personality variables. For example, the behaviour concept of aggression in a certain culture, (which is a characteristic of authoritarianism) cannot be measured by one single operation. One solution is to look at the relative number of homicides in a culture, and its level of physical violence and injuries. But this is not sufficient since a culture has its own characteristics arising from special elements and their relations.

Transcultural variables, which can be measured in all cultures, are universal properties of man or of his environment (Kaplan, 1961, p. 445) to the extent that there are universal characteristics of people as biological organisms and universal characteristics of environment, making it likely that there will be transcultural properties of behaviour. The presumption is that when a certain kind of organism interacts with a certain kind of environment, the resulting behavioural repertoires are expected to be conceptualized in the same way. It can be seen that, of course, biologically, structurally and functionally, there are a number of basic characteristics in man, a warm-blooded mammal, with primary and secondary drives, who eats and

drinks, sleeps and engages in sexual activities, etc. The difficulty lies in the specification of the universalities in the human environment because of its two aspects, the human and the non-human, the physical. The actions of man in his environment are defined in terms of the environmental events they tend to produce. The details of the actions that bring about such environmental events differ radically from culture to culture, but the events should be identical for sound conclusions to be drawn.

THE EMIC-ETIC CONTRAST

The methodology adopted by different social sciences can differ in its applicability to cross-cultural studies, and, indeed, in the degree to which the aim of discovering universal laws is given any priority at all. Thus, as Triandis points out:

"Most anthropologists take the position that cultures must be understood in their own terms. Psychologists, on the other hand, search for universal laws of human behaviour" (1972 p.39). The first approach stresses the description of social phenomena and the examination of only one culture, and is concerned with the structure

of behaviour or attitudes from within the culture. The other approach is more universally oriented. It emphasizes the most general description of social phenomena, with concepts that are culture free. Emic, the first approach, is not particularly effective in our kind of cross-cultural work. At the same time the second approach (Etic) may encourage the omission of some of the most important factors we are studying unless the necessary variables are taken into consideration. That is why a researcher doing cross-cultural work must apply great care to the building of a good design for his psychological study. Adequate solutions to the problems of sampling, communication and translation are particularly important.

SAMPLING

The principal approach employed by psychologists or anthropologists dealing with cross-cultural studies, or with the analysis of a culture, is to place subjects of a specific cultural or biological group in a test situation, present them with a large number of tests, and observe their responses. This approach is based on the fact that a large number of psychological concepts are inferred from consistencies in a given situation.

In order to be successful, a psychologist must be able to define the social unit being studied and the various features of the method employed in selecting subjects from these social units. Lloyd (1972) suggests four criteria to define a social unit, or a cultural homogeneity: group members should have a common name, speak the same dialect, have social contact and share decision-making authority concerning the group's general welfare. But even if the homogeneous community is to be considered as a unit, there may be no appropriate list available from which to draw a sample, Lloyd (1972) suggests that because of this obstacle, part of the solution for an investigator is to draw his samples from published ethnographies, which describe the various aspects of social organization with reasonable consistency. The alternative is to regard a tribe or a culture as a unit, then select samples from a small community that has been described in the ethnography.

Apart from the representativeness of the samples and the procedures employed, (i.e. the number of subjects, the questions, and how, when, and where to make the sample), one of the basic problems of sampling according to Triandis (1972) is the small size and the limitation of the samples which make it difficult to rule out a host of alternative

explanations for the findings. Furthermore, the sampling of individuals to be studied within a society has been generally poor since, due to the investigator's lack of time or money, most samples are picked from university groups which do not have homogeneous characteristics, or adequately represent the culture. The present study utilizes university groups as its sample, with the accompanying limitations of interpretation possibilities as regards the evaluation of their societies as a whole. But in the Jordanian case, the sample is representative of a significant national unit: young Jordanians from traditional backgrounds under the influence of advanced education.

The success of a cross-cultural study depends on the need to ensure that an investigation will produce data in one culture which is comparable with the data collected from another. (Lloyd, 1972). In other words, will a test which is constructed to test certain attitudes in a western culture yield significant results and test the same traits in a non-western culture? This can be found out by testing the reliability and the validity of the test. But in many cases, a total failure on a test represents a lack of communication between the experimenter and his non-western subjects about the nature of the task. Translation must here be taken into consideration. "The strategy of deve -

loping several versions of the same instrument is strongly recommended, together with the use of Multi-stage interactive translations, in which one starts from the original language O, employs bilinguals to translate to T, a new set of bilinguals to go to O2, and monolingual judges who judge the similarity of O and O2, one now modifies O and makes it similar to a T that might have been developed in the other culture. The new O, let us say O3, leads to T2, and the process continues until $T_{n-1} = T_n$ or $O_{n-1} = O_n$ ". (Triandis, 1972, p. 45). In the present study, the problems arising from translation were not overwhelming, however, and a more simple procedure could be adopted. Since the Jordanian sample was educated, and since the questions themselves were precise and dealt with concepts easily recognised by Jordanian society, the present author, himself a native of the society, experienced no difficulties of communication in Jordan, or in England when the test was given there.

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The problems of cross-cultural study require a substantial range of inter-cultural talent and cooperation if they are to be solved to the maximum extent possible. One problem besetting cross-cultural studies at present is a lack of cooperation between psychologists. A certain

psychologist often studies a certain trait in a certain group of a culture, while another psychologist studies a different trait in another group of the same culture, ... as a result of lack of coordination with present and past work. More coordination would give us better information about the manner in which the same people respond to different topics, methods or variables. Culturally, it is perhaps unfortunate that most of the cross-cultural work in social psychology has been done by western investigators. This prevents the work in this field from being truly comparative, and also leads to considerable difficulties and validity problems in interpreting the data. These problems have led Lambert (1971) to insist that when Westerners start to study another culture using another language, they must first show a substantial awareness between themselves and the new culture, in order to prove that there is some communication. Only then can they systematically show the differences in the behaviours. In terms of interdisciplinary cooperation, cooperation between researchers in different cultures is, moreover, essential. "The future of comparative psychology depends on having active and equal participation by research workers in many cultures in order to resolve the ambiguity that arises in work or from investigators from one culture. Participation in the research by workers who know the cultural context is crucial also to a full understanding of

cross-cultural findings". (Lambert, p. 10). Successful cross-cultural work must be the result of cooperation between well trained psychologists, who come from different cultures with shared facilities and relationships in order to achieve real validity. Another suggestion by Lambert (1971) is that since social scientists might have different cognitive structures, anthropological and sociological consultations would help in making the interpretation of data maximally meaningful.

To sum up, for an investigator to assume that his cross-cultural tests are appropriate and entirely fitting, valid and reliable in the western culture and other cultures, a careful integration of sources of data, scrutiny and continued exploration is required. (Kaplan (1961) suggests a series of issues which may be a future guide for psychologists dealing with cross-cultural work.

- a) Have we been asking broad questions that do not elicit precise meaningful answers? By using our test in other societies will it secure responses similar to the responses of the local subjects? If the answers are negative and positive respectively, then the psychologist can apply his usual methods of

analysis. Otherwise, the questions must be rephrased and made more explicit to yield successful results relevant to the hypotheses formulated.

- b) Relying upon test data alone is completely unreasonable. The analysis of belief and myths in a social structure is of the utmost importance, so that a full understanding of the culture, and a proper interpretation of the test results is achieved.
- c) No science can afford to be completely insular in its methodology or source data, and in this respect anthropological investigations have proved useful in certain psychological studies. It is the proposition here that one such area is cross-cultural analysis.

In view of considerations (b) and (c), a general background to Jordanian society and culture will be presented in the next chapter as the context against which the questionnaire results must be regarded.

D E S C R I P T I O N

O F J O R D A N I A N C U L T U R E

In this paper, authoritarianism is examined in the relatively authoritarian culture of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and in the relatively non-authoritarian culture of the United Kingdom.

Geographically, the East Bank of Jordan can be roughly divided into two unequal parts. The smaller comprises a strip just east of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. The bulk of Trans-Jordan's population is engaged here in cultivating most of the million acres of Jordan devoted to rain-fed cereals. This is also the domain of the sheep and goat nomads who wander over a narrow range. To the east and south of this region is the territory of the wider-ranging camel nomads.

A) The villagers: The term "fellaah" refers to a man who owns land and derives his main income from it whether he tills it or not, provided he is not an absentee from the village. It can also refer to a share cropper who works land as an equal partner, contributing capital along with the owner. Each family of a fellaah ploughs and cultivates a piece of land, and the members of the family stick together in order to carry out this productive task. A better term for this kind of a family is a household, which is defined by the existence of a common purse to which all members contribute. This purse is spent for the general welfare of everybody by the oldest adult male, who is the head of the household. The main income of the household is supplied by the males. In cases where the household has a large piece of land, the father and his sons engage in the same activity (farming). In other cases, where the land does not need so many working hands, the father deals with the land, while the sons join the army or emigrate, but still have to contribute to the purse of the family. "Thus, the very families that.

might be expected to cooperate in productive activity due to the manpower they represent do not do so. They do not operate as work teams under the direction of the household. They do, however, form units of 'organic solidarity' in the sense that the development of different occupational specializations contributes to the maintenance of a single social and economic unit - the household". (Antoun: 1972, p. 49). In our case: the families are usually very large, but they are still nuclear families. The rate of emigration, moreover, is not high, because of the existence of the army, the Arab Legions. This offers a useful occupation since soldiers receive a regular monthly salary, in general much higher than the income they get from agricultural work, however substantial the amount of land is. It can thus be concluded that the number of males in a household is a matter of substantial importance, in view of their role as the main source of income to the common purse, as cultivators of the land, and protectors of the general welfare of the household.

A lineage in a Jordanian village can be defined as a local group, like a clan, all of whose members reside in a village. It consists of patrilineally related men living in the village along with their wives and children and bearing the same name. The rights cousins have upon each other and the prerogatives of the first cousin in general matters, are conspicuous. This was affirmed clearly by one of the elders in Antoun's work (1972) with the words "the son of the father's brothers has priority", which clearly states a general principle. In time of difficulties or decision making for the general welfare of the group, the members of the lineage stick together and decide upon important issues.

THE FEMALE ROLE :

In such societies females play a significant role, albeit one not clearly visible to an outside observer. First, females are the source of children, especially male children. Secondly, females help their men by working with them side by side in the fields, as well as by taking care of the household. (In this case women working in the fields are bound to mix with foreign men. More protection is consequently imposed upon the female by her household, which means an increase in autocratic behaviour). Thirdly, the importance

of the matricentral unit (the mother and her children) is reflected, in particular, in the strength of the mother-son tie. In the autocratic system on which the whole unit of the household is built, the mother is the main channel of correspondence and understanding between the father and the son. "In our case the relationship between the father and a son is not a give-and-take one. What a father says is an order". Finally, and according to household practice any marriageable person has a large number of "father's brothers" and priority drops from one to the other to the limits of claimed descent. If the girl is married to her first cousin, the wealth of the lineage naturally remains within the lineage. But even if the girl marries an outsider, the Mahr (a large sum of money or land given by the groom to the bride's family) given to the bride's parents is a big contribution to the purse of the household.

B) The Nomads: Tribes and tribal groups are widely spread in Jordan. Some of the most important tribes in Jordan are the Riwala, the Beni Sakhr and the Huwaytat.

The Riwala reportedly number between 4000 and 5000 tents which belong to the Aneze Tribal confederation. They are divided into five subtribes. The head of the Riwala is the Ibn Sha'lan family of the Al Mered.

The Beni Sakhr is the largest camel-breeding tribe, which reportedly numbers about 6500 tents. Its wandering territory extends from the south - east of Amman to the eastern part of Jordan. Finally the Huwayatat consists of two main groups : the Ibn Jazi, and the Ibn Nejad. They have wandering areas in the Jordan desert, and are also camel-breeders, reportedly with about 3000 tents.

According to Marx (1967) Bedouin tribes are usually classified into nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary categories. The essential characteristic of a Bedouin is that a member is distinguished by belonging to a specific group, and by carrying the name of that group, and not to a specific village or place. Part of these nomads lead a wandering life and usually travel in small bands of about ten to thirty tents, in order to avoid crowding at wells and pastures. Camels and goats constitute the wealth of a Bedouin, by supplying his diet and enabling him to buy necessities, find a dowry for his wife, and pay the Diya (blood money) if necessary. Horses and donkeys provide him with transportation. Semi-nomadic tribes mainly breed sheep, and they

engage in agricultural activities.

Finally, there are the settled tribal groups which lead a completely sedentary life, with agricultural work as their main occupation. Some of them have even entered private business. The Jordanian Government has played an important role in helping them financially and agriculturally, while education is spread as widely as possible by means of free government schools. The main bulk of the Army and the Air Force is composed from people of Bedouin background. No matter how high they may climb on the social ladder, however, the influence of their background still governs their habits and their way of life. Respect for the elders is seen everywhere, and the old people continue to decide on the general welfare. The superiority of the male over the female is always present, and the separation of the two sexes is still practised.

- C) The Circassians: are an ethnic minority in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan which occupies a high position of social importance, yielding political and economical power. Originally from the Caucasus, they are renowned for the personal valour of their men and their pride.

Within the community, the old tribal hierarchy, and distinctions between aristocrats and their retainers still play an important role. The internal social and cultural life of the community is centred round the Circassian Charitable Association which is designed to insure that no Circassian is reduced to the status of a public ward or beggar. One of their most interesting cultural practices is "brother avoidance", carried out in order to minimize the feared potentialities of incest. Younger brothers are expected to have minimal contact with their older brothers; if a man arrives at a club, and finds one of his brothers already there, for example, he is expected to withdraw. A pattern of social strain and tension between fathers and sons is also evident. "Some of the Circassian adult males have literally never had any direct conversation with their fathers. Such a situation is considered as a recommendable example of proper filial respect". (Lutfiyya, 1970, p. 97)

ISLAM AND JORDANIAN CULTURE

Anderson (1959) stated that Islam is regarded as a divine law, firmly founded as a revelation of eternal validity. Indeed, it covers every aspect of life and every field of

human behaviour, and in Jordan, the majority of the population believes that only through Islam can one hope to gain salvation. "The Islamic tradition which stems from the teachings of the Qu'ran and the Sunnah imposes on the community a strict way of life that tends to govern the thoughts and the actions of the villagers. Islam, it should be noted, provides its followers with a complete system of social conduct based on divine sanction. It demands a close adherence to divine law, promising rewards for practising and punishment for neglecting it". (Lutfiyya, 1970, p. 44 - 45.) Many religious attitudes, such as the dependency on God, and the fear of His punishment, are deep-rooted in Jordan. Phrases such as "If God wills it", "There is no God but He", and "Let Him be praised in all circumstances", are heard constantly. When the phrase "thank you" is used, the answer is usually "Let your thanks be to God". Since a Moslem feels that God is keeping a close watch over him, he is, moreover, always aware of God's punishment or reward according to his bad or good deeds in his everyday behaviour.

Islam with its code of ethics designed to govern the behaviour of Moslems at all times has a significant reinforcing effect upon the Jordanian way of life. By providing the people in the area with a deep-seated respect for tradition and the past, it influences them to respect their

ancestors and resent any social change that conflicts with tradition, or any person that rejects the customs of the past. The Islamic influence is also seen in a larger number of obligatory forms of politeness and respect, to which forms of etiquette the average Bedouin or villager conforms with ease and informality, because they are so generally accepted in the society. (People are taught from childhood to show great respect for elders and it is very common to see children kiss the hands of elder people, when they are introduced to them. In their presence, children do not speak out but only listen with great politeness; a young man never sits, unless all the elders are seated, and should there be no space, young people remain standing and offer their seats to the elders. This unquestionable respect stems out of the belief that God always answers the prayers, and the curses of older folks, while old people's blessings are part of the blessings of God. A good Moslem child is supposed to kiss the hand of his parents - especially the father - every day. He always does his best to gain their good prayers, to avoid anger, and to respond to their smallest wishes. He will never do anything that might displease his parents, such as smoking, cursing, or drinking, in their presence. Complete obedience to parents is obligatory; a boy never sits down, if his father is still standing. If his father rebukes him he never answers back, or tries to protect himself from being beaten by raising his

hand. This complete obedience continues even after marriage. A man's first duties are toward his parents, the wife coming second). ⊕

Although most of the people in Jordan are nomads who roam in the desert, or villagers depending mainly on agricultural means for survival, a sizeable number are now, settled in cities and towns, have become part of an urban economy and have received higher education. But the influence of their background on their way of thinking remains visible.

⊕ This information is based upon the writer's personal observations.

D E S I G N A N D R E S U L T S .

From the University of Durham 184 students volunteered to participate in this study. Their ages ranged from 18-23 years. All were first -year art students, and all were males from middle class backgrounds. (According to British standards, a family is classified as middle class when the yearly income ranges from £2500 - £5000 and is derived from an occupation with a high status.) In the Middle Eastern sample, 200 students from the University of Jordan, Amman, participated in the study. Again, they were all first-year male art students; their ages ranged, however, from 19-24 years, and 146 were Moslems and 54 Christians.

INSTRUMENTS.

The F scale (California Fascist scale) was employed for the sample. The criterion of authoritarian conformity was obtained by means of a single administration of a balanced F scale previously developed and standardized by Robert E. Lee,

and Peter B. Warr (1969). The questions consisted of fifteen positive and fifteen negative items. Two of the negative items (20 and 24) were omitted because they do not apply to non-American users. The subjects were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement with each statement, on a scale ranging from one (complete disagreement), through four (uncertainty); to seven (complete agreement).

The fact that the F scale is a unidirectionally worded instrument, responses to which are scored high if they are in agreement and low if they disagree with it, suggests cases where a total F score may be partly due to acquiescence on the part of the respondent. To overcome the problem of acquiescence would involve the construction of a scale which also contains negative items. But two major problems give rise to suspicion of reversed F scale items. Firstly, there is the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory reversal, whose meaning accurately reflects the opposite of the original item. Secondly, to insert "not" or "no" into a scale item, or to make similar alterations requiring reversals is not an appropriate way to construct a scale. These issues have been examined by Christie; [⊕]and others; and the arguments need not be presented in detail.

⊕ Christie, R. Havel, J., and Serdenberg, B. Is the F scale irreversible? Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958 56, 143 - 159.

ACQUIESCENCE AND PROBLEMS OF REVERSAL.

The F scale used in this study is statistically at least as good as the original F scale. It was developed by Orthodox Likert scaling procedures. At first 100 statements were drawn from the literature on authoritarianism, 50 of which were negative items. After the initial examination 18 positive and 18 negative items were deleted because of the negative correlations between these items and the total score. After analysing the remaining 64, 20 more items were dropped. Eight of the ensuing 44 were inadequate. The remaining 36 were next examined separately and six more were discarded. The internal reliability of the used scale was assessed by equalling the number of positive and negative items before calculating split-half correlations. The coefficients obtained were similar to those reported by Adorno.

Evidence about test-retest reliability has also been obtained by administering the scale to a group of 34 Princeton undergraduates. The stability coefficients were all pleasingly high, being 0.86, 0.82, 0.77 and 0.83 for D, Total R, positive F items, and negative F items, respectively. Other internal reliability data were reported by Robert E. Lee and Peter Warr (1969), together with stability and validity information. These investigations have centred upon correlations with other personality indices, with anti-negro prejudice and academic preferences and performances, with political orientation, and with memberships in selected criteria groups. In all cases the balanced instrument performed in a very satisfactory manner.

T A B L E 1(a)
 MEAN F - SCALE SCORES
 AS A FUNCTION OF STUDENTS' MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY

G r o u p	Humanities	Social Sciences	Natural Sciences	Engineering
UNDERGRADUATES				
Mean F	81.4	85.6	92.4	96.8
SD	20.2	16.9	14.1	15.2
N	61	22	41	28
GRADUATE STUDENTS				
Mean F	80.2	91.2	88.7	
SD	21.9	12.4	19.6	
N	36	28	71	

(Robert, Lee and Peter, Warr, 1969, p.125)

T A B L E 1(b)
 MEAN F - SCALE SCORES OF SELECTED STUDENT SAMPLES.

Measure	Peace Corps trainees	Princeton Undergraduates & graduate students	Princeton funda- mentalists	Nonachieving high school students	Right- wing	"Neutral"	Left- wing
Mean F	80.2	87.5	108.5	107.9	102.5	94.9	61.1
SD	18.7	16.5	16.4	6.8	22.0	18.2	8.6
N	54	556	6	14	12	29	16

(Robert, Lee. and Peter, Warr, 1969, p.127)

TRADITIONAL FAMILY IDEOLOGY (TFI):

Levinson and Huffman (1954) constructed the TFI from current ways of thinking, regarding family structure and functioning. The orientations in this study are placed along an autocratic-democratic continuum. This continuum makes the TFI scale of great importance to our present study. The autocratic viewpoints, which involve an hierarchical conception of familial relationships, an emphasis on discipline in child rearing, submissiveness, and a sharp dichotomization of sex roles, apply very well for some traits in our eastern sample. The same goes for the democratic extreme in relation to the western sample.

Since the present study focuses only on certain group differences between the two extreme positions, it is only a first step in the total analysis of authoritarianism in different cultures. The 40 questions (TFI) included 15 dealing with parent-child relationships, and child rearing techniques, (e.g., "It helps the child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents' ideas"), eight covering husband and wife roles and relationships, (e.g., "Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters"), 13 covering male-female relationships; concepts of masculinity and femininity, (e.g., "It goes against nature to

place women in positions of authority over men"), and four covering general values and aims, (e.g., "The family is a sacred institution, divinely ordained"). The subjects were instructed to indicate the degree of their agreement or disagreement with each item on a scale ranging from 1 (complete dis agreement), through 4 (uncertainty), to 7 (complete agreement). It was intended that a high score should represent strong adherence to "traditional" or autocratic family ideology, and that a low score should represent opposition to this viewpoint. Of the 40 scale items, 34 were regarded as autocratic, 6 as democratic. For the democratic items the scoring was reversed.

According to Levinson, and Huffman (1954), the TFI scale shared significant relationships with several independent measures. TFI correlated 0.65 with the ethnocentrism scale and 0.73 with the F scale. An abbreviated 12-item form of the TFI scale was presented to five groups (N=507) in the Bolton area. The groups' means averaged 32.6, the SD 10.7. The reliability of this form is about 0.9. In these groups, TFI correlated in the neighbourhood of 0.6 with the ethnocentrism scale, 0.7 with the F scale, and 0.5 with the religious conventionalism scale.

PROCEDURE.

The Jordanian subjects in the test were tested in

the University of Jordan, Amman. These were three groups, consisting of 70, 70, and 60 subjects. The F scale and the traditional family ideology scale were administered to the subjects at the same time. Each subject had his own sheet of instructions. The instructions were also read by a psychologist from the University. The English subjects were groups of 3 and 4 due to the difficulty of obtaining a large group at the same time. The two tests were also administered to the subjects at the same time. The instructions were given by the researcher.

RESULTS.

From the administration of the two tests, two yielding means were calculated for each subject. Each statistic was computed for the 67 items, from which mean of means values were reported. The average scores, and standard deviations are presented in Table 1, while the T test values and the significance of results are reported in Table 2. Table 3 presents the average score and standard deviations of Melikian's study. Item mean values of the F scale are presented in Table 4, while Table 5 presents the TFI scale item mean values. The item significance values of the F scale and the TFI scale are presented in Table 6, and 7 respectively.

T A B L E - 1

		<u>No.</u>	<u>Average Score</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
English	F Test	184	29.8	0.62
English	TFI Test	184	25.1	0.72
Eastern	F Test	200	39.5	0.50
Eastern	TFI Test	200	40.6	0.71
Moslem Eastern	F Test	146	39.6	0.32
Moslem Eastern	TFI Test	146	40.6	0.75
Christian Eastern	F Test	54	39.6	0.54
Christian Eastern	TFI Test	54	41.2	0.66

T A B L E - 2

English	F Test	V.S Eastern	F Test	T. Value	16.84	⊕
English	TFI Test	V.S Eastern	TFI Test	T. Value	21.12	⊕

⊕ (P < .01)

CORRELLATIONS.

Variable I	English F Test	V.S. English	TFI Test	r Value	0.054
Variable II	Eastern F Test	V.S. Eastern	TFI Test	r Value	0.132

T A B L E - 3

<u>U.S.</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Protestant males	667	55.8
Protestant females	673	57.2
Catholic males	221	59.1
Catholic females	99	59.4

EGYPT.

Moslem males	443	68.2
Moslem females	301	67.6
Christian males	143	67.0
Christian females	79	65.2

(Melikian (1959)

T A B L E 4.

ITEM MEAN VALUES OF THE F SCALE.

	<u>English</u>	<u>Arabs</u>	:		<u>English</u>	<u>Arabs</u>
Item 1	2.1	4.0	:	Item 15	1.9	4.6
Item 2	2.4	4.7	:	Item 16	3.8	3.8
Item 3	3.4	4.0	:	Item 17	3.0	4.1
Item 4	3.0	3.7	:	Item 18	2.5	3.6
Item 5	2.6	3.9	:	Item 19	2.1	3.4
Item 6	4.7	4.8	:	Item 20	4.3	4.0
Item 7	4.4	5.1	:	Item 21	4.1	3.5
Item 8	2.0	4.3	:	Item 22	3.6	4.0
Item 9	2.1	4.2	:	Item 23	3.1	3.6
Item 10	3.2	3.6	:	Item 24	2.0	3.4
Item 11	1.8	3.6	:	Item 25	2.3	3.5
Item 12	3.2	4.0	:	Item 26	4.4	3.8
Item 13	2.8	4.3	:	Item 27	2.6	4.0
Item 14	2.1	3.9	:	Item 28	1.8	3.6

T A B L E 5.

ITEM MEAN VALUES OF THE TFI SCALE.

	<u>English</u>	<u>Arabs</u>	:		<u>English</u>	<u>Arabs</u>
Item 1	2.5	3.7	:	Item 21	1.3	3.8
Item 2	1.7	4.0	:	Item 22	1.5	3.6
Item 3	2.4	4.4	:	Item 23	2.0	3.4
Item 4	2.4	4.1	:	Item 24	1.6	4.8
Item 5	2.7	4.6	:	Item 25	2.6	4.5
Item 6	2.8	4.5	:	Item 26	1.8	5.3
Item 7	1.7	4.2	:	Item 27	1.6	4.4
Item 8	2.3	5.3	:	Item 28	2.7	5.6
Item 9	3.7	4.3	:	Item 29	2.3	4.5
Item 10	2.8	4.0	:	Item 30	1.7	3.6
Item 11	2.1	3.9	:	Item 31	1.6	4.8
Item 12	2.6	3.6	:	Item 32	2.9	4.3
Item 13	2.0	3.3	:	Item 33	2.2	3.9
Item 14	4.4	4.6	:	Item 34	1.9	3.7
Item 15	2.7	3.3	:	Item 35	2.7	2.9
Item 16	2.4	3.7	:	Item 36	2.4	4.8
Item 17	2.8	3.3	:	Item 37	2.6	4.8
Item 18	3.5	4.2	:	Item 38	2.9	4.7
Item 19	3.1	4.5	:	Item 39	3.0	3.4
Item 20	2.1	4.5	:	Item 40	1.7	4.2

T A B L E 6.

THE ITEM SIGNIFICANCE VALUES OF THE F SCALE.

Item 1	:	T = 1.6890	Non Significant.
Item 2	:	T = 1.7830	Non Significant.
Item 3	:	T = 0.5354	Non Significant.
Item 4	:	T = 0.6390	Non Significant.
Item 5	:	T = 1.4462	Non Significant.
Item 6	:	T = 0.6947	Non Significant.
Item 7	:	T = 0.4872	Non Significant.
Item 8	:	T = 2.0457	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 9	:	T = 1.8860	Non Significant.
Item 10	:	T = 0.3471	Non Significant.
Item 11	:	T = 1.8850	Non Significant.
Item 12	:	T = 0.5940	Non Significant.
Item 13	:	T = 1.0650	Non Significant.
Item 14	:	T = 1.6323	Non Significant.
Item 15	:	T = 2.4250	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 16	:	∞	
Item 17	:	T = 0.9430	Non Significant.
Item 18	:	T = 0.2815	Non Significant.
Item 19	:	T = 1.3922	Non Significant.
Item 20	:	T = 0.2076	Non Significant.
Item 21	:	T = 0.4830	Non Significant.
Item 22	:	T = 0.3116	Non Significant.
Item 23	:	T = 0.3839	Non Significant.
Item 24	:	T = 1.3373	Non Significant.
Item 25	:	T = 1.1813	Non Significant.
Item 26	:	T = 0.4630	Non Significant.
Item 27	:	T = 1.3572	Non Significant.
Item 28	:	T = 1.9734	Non Significant.

T A B L E 7.

THE ITEM SIGNIFICANCE VALUES OF THE TFI SCALE.

Item 1	:	T = 1.0954	Non Significant.
Item 2	:	T = 1.8678	Non Significant.
Item 3	:	T = 1.8699	Non Significant.
Item 4	:	T = 1.4979	Non Significant.
Item 5	:	T = 1.4983	Non Significant.
Item 6	:	T = 1.4327	Non Significant.
Item 7	:	T = 2.1960	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 8	:	T = 2.1927	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 9	:	T = 0.4743	Non Significant.
Item 10	:	T = 1.3093	Non Significant.
Item 11	:	T = 1.9188	Non Significant.
Item 12	:	T = 0.9921	Non Significant.
Item 13	:	T = 1.4253	Non Significant.
Item 14	:	T = 0.1384	Non Significant.
Item 15	:	T = 0.4919	Non Significant.
Item 16	:	T = 1.2154	Non Significant.
Item 17	:	T = 0.4923	Non Significant.
Item 18	:	T = 0.5708	Non Significant.
Item 19	:	T = 1.4446	Non Significant.
Item 20	:	T = 2.2835	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 21	:	T = 2.3293	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 22	:	T = 2.7672	Significant at 1% Level.
Item 23	:	T = 1.5893	Non Significant.
Item 24	:	T = 3.0793	Significant at 1% Level.
Item 25	:	T = 1.6245	Non Significant.
Item 26	:	T = 2.9840	Significant at 1% Level.
Item 27	:	T = 2.8343	Significant at 1% Level.
Item 28	:	T = 2.3522	Significant at 5% Level.
Item 29	:	T = 1.8701	Non Significant.
Item 30	:	T = 1.5950	Non Significant.
Item 31	:	T = 2.9589	Significant at 1% Level.
Item 32	:	T = 1.2112	Non Significant.
Item 33	:	T = 1.7287	Non Significant.
Item 34	:	T = 1.7583	Non Significant.
Item 35	:	T = 0.2067	Non Significant.
Item 36	:	T = 1.9728	Non Significant.
Item 37	:	T = 1.8232	Non Significant.
Item 38	:	T = 1.4375	Non Significant.
Item 39	:	T = 0.3664	Non Significant.
Item 40	:	T = 2.4901	Significant at 5% Level.

DISCUSSION.

The data was very clear in demonstrating the higher level of authoritarianism in the eastern sample in comparison with the western sample. From the data, it was also clear that the average scoring per sample on each of the two scales (F scale, TFI scale) is relatively close. This is due to the fact that the construction of the traditional family ideology (TFI) scale followed similar lines to those employed in the construction of the "Authoritarian scale", although there is one difference worth noting. The items of the TFI scale are more related to familial aspects and are not as general as the ones employed in the authoritarian scale. But concerning different issues of family life and ideological aspects, individuals tend to be consistent in their stand on the democratic vis-à-vis autocratic continuum in a way that appears to be related directly to their own family background. Egalitarian individuals tend to come from democratic homes, and the same applies to authoritarian individuals and their autocratic background.

By comparing the means of Tables 1 and 3 it is noticeable that while the difference in the means of Melikian's Protestant males and Moslem males is 12.4, in our test the difference between the means of the F scale is 9.7. Another noteworthy point is that the clustering

of means in Melikian's test for all subjects is high, while in our test the means value drops more. The explanation for this difference seems to be due to the fact that Melikian's test was administered 15 years ago, and people in the East, as in the West, have since become more open-minded. Another important factor is the age differential and the level of education between our subjects and Melikian's, who were both older (and therefore more fixed in their ideas) and less well educated.

Although the F test and the TFI test are built on the same continuum, one is meant to test authoritarianism in general, while the other is more specific in testing familial concepts. The fact that they are independent, and do not simply measure the same aspects, is seen in the value of r for both variables I and II in Table 2 ($r_1 = 0.054$) ($r_2 = 0.132$). Further evidence of the independence of the two tests is seen in the significance of the results. In the F test approximately all the items (apart from 8, 15) were non-significant, while in the TFI test, the number of significant items was higher than those of the F scale, (these items dealt with the husband-wife relationship, parent-child relationship and definition of "masculinity" and "femininity").

The item non-significance which is the cause of the non-correlation between the two tests clarified the attitude

study by showing the conflicting attitude of the two samples upon the majority of the issues but also by underlying areas where the different points of views agreed about other issues, such as the "husband-wife relationship" and the definition of "masculinity" and "femininity".

In a scale like the F scale and the TFI scale each item is conceived to be a part of a larger idea system. In order to evaluate the individual items and to demonstrate the differences between individuals, an item analysis was carried out. The components of authoritarianism assessed by the F scale appear to be as follows:

Factor one concerns the family and parental discipline (i.e. items: 3, 10, 14). By studying the item mean, it is very clear that the eastern sample is more submissive to parental discipline than the western sample.

The second factor (items 1, 18) is a censorship factor, in which the eastern individual also scored higher.

The third factor (items 7, 21, 22 and 28) may be termed as an institutional toughmindedness factor. Here Jordanians also scored higher, as members of a traditional society, known for its decisive actions when family values are at stake.

The fourth factor (items 9 and 26) is one of authoritarian submission, while the fifth factor (items 17, 19 and 25) is one of conventionalism. Here, as elsewhere, the eastern scores were higher.

The sixth factor (items 2, 4, 5, 8 and 15) is one which concerns in-group sovereignty and the punishment of those who violate group and moral standards. Eastern people scored much higher.

On the TFI scale, the "traditionalistic" orientation toward child rearing techniques is reflected in items 1 - 15. These lay stress on the importance of obedience and respect in the child, and on the value of strict control. On all these items, eastern subjects scored high, doubtless because of the autocratic way in which they were brought up. Items 16 - 23 bring out several facets of the traditional husband and wife roles and relationships, and the mean items enable traditional ideas in the eastern society concerning what makes a good wife to be clearly detected.

Items 24 - 36 are concerned with general male-female relationships, and concepts of masculinity and femininity. A comparison of the item mean makes the closed-mindedness of the eastern society very obvious. Men are expected to be tough and masculine, while females are expected to be pure and warm. Pre-marital sex is rejected.

The last four items are more concerned with general values and aims. Item means reveal the extent to which the family is sacred in the East. "Free love" is seen as a cause of moral corruption in a society. Another important finding is evident in items 30 and 40, which show the extent to which the life of the individual is centred around his family.

THE JORDANIAN FAMILY AND THE INCIDENCE OF
AUTHORITARIANISM IN JORDANIAN CULTURE.

"The human family constitutes the beginning and the essential element of the society, every beginning points to some end of the same nature, and every element to the perfection of the whole of which the element is a part". Saint Augustine, The City of God, Book XIX, Chapter XVI.

This Chapter will be devoted to an examination of the role of the Jordanian family in encouraging authoritarian traits in Jordanians. A significant correlation was observed in our sample between the scores of the TFI and the authoritarian F scale and it is therefore important to indicate the areas in which the Jordanian family structure itself seems to contribute to Jordanian authoritarianism.

When discussing "familialism" and socialization, Patai (1958) mentions that the influence of the family on the life of the individual in Jordan is very great, in contrast to that in the urban society of the Western world.

"In fact, the entire culture of the country is permeated with family loyalty and influence. The individual is much more the product of his family and much less that of other socializing factors than is true in the West. Well beyond the onset of adulthood and deep into his middle age, his life is joined to his extended family; reliance on the authority and advice of elders remains a characterizing trait of men in their future. Ingrained habits of family loyalty are so strong that even in public and official positions it is extremely difficult for the individual to divest himself of a protective attitude toward his kinsmen". (Patai, 1958, p.142). The importance of the role of the family in a society is also mentioned by Goode (1964), where he advises every wise student of society to give serious thought to the importance of the system. Although the family is made up of individuals, it is also part of the larger social network. According to Allen (1968), the family as a focal point for the study of culture and personality, can be a distinctive contribution to help us arriving at a more reliable and objective statement of the culture patterns of a given society, and to have a better understanding of the relationship between culture and the individual. Through deep studies of the family in a society, the links between the conceptual extremes of the culture and the individual emerge far more clearly. The family thus becomes the middle term in the culture -

individual equation, and provides a context in which the interrelationship between culture and individual factors in the formation of the personality can be observed more clearly. Through consideration of individual and the personality differences within the framework of the family, an examination of the drawing of conclusions relating these findings to broader cultural patterns becomes more feasible.

In the present study, the family is analyzed from the institutional level, and is regarded as a social system consisting of roles, status and functions. Concentration is focused upon the following aspects of the family system in the East: the male roles 'husband' and 'father', the female roles of 'wife' and 'mother', the definition of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', 'husband-wife' and 'parent-child' relationships, problems of authority and the distribution of power, separation of the two sexes, specific child rearing practices and attitudes, moral pressures relating to sex and aggression, general values and norms. The effect of all this upon the individual will be examined in detail.

In general, the Jordanian family is characterized by six basic traits:

- 1) It is extended; that is, the family consists of the father, his wife and his unmarried daughters and sons, as well as his married sons with their wives and children.

- 2) It is patrilineal; that is, every man is regarded as belonging to his father's family and not to the mother's family.
- 3) It is patrilocal; that is, generally upon marriage, the young couple move to the house of the bridegroom's father.
- 4) It is patriarchal; which means that the father is the master of his own nuclear family.
- 5) It is endogamous; that is, close marriages within the extended family are very common.
- 6) It is occasionally polygamous. (Patai, 1958).

Another important trait in the structure of Jordanian families, is basically the same as in the West, in that the father is the head of the family. In the Arab case, however, the father exercises greater authority. In his role as father, the qualities ascribed to him by his sons and the other males in the family are: distant, determined, a successful man who worked his way up, authoritative, and one who must be obeyed. Women in the family look upon him as a hardworking provider, the protector and the source of security. According to Berger (1962), Patai (1958), Harris (1958), and Reese (1969), the proper roles of the family are laid out more clearly than in the West. Formal respect is due to the father in the manner in which others in the household speak to him and in which they behave in his presence both at home and in public. As

the family's main contact with the world outside the house, he is expected to be a forceful and a generous person. On the other hand, the Arab mother, who is formally more subordinate to her husband than a mother or wife in the West, has the sole responsibility of rearing the young children and of acting as the guardian of household finance, and is expected to be frugal and industrious. In consequence, men look upon her as sacrificing, warm, understanding, sociable, lovable and a moral model. Other women expect her to be cautious and thrifty.

The husband-wife relationship is one where the husband is the superior partner and enjoys the highest positions in the family. According to Ammar (1966), he is "the supporting pillar, and the vantage of the house", who is expected to make all the important decisions. On the whole, the structural attitude of husband and wife is one of possession and protection. It can be seen from Mohsen (1967), Ammar (1966), Randal (1968) and Lutfiyya (1966) in their discussion of inter-family relationships in Jordan, that while the wife is the absolute manager of the house and the husband is not expected to interfere with his wife's domestic work, he is nevertheless socially responsible for her actions, and she is meant to tell her husband all the major events of the house, without him enquiring about anything. Naturally, the wife is supposed to be submissive, devoted and respectful to her husband. In

daily life, she attends to his needs, serves him first at meals, opens the door for him when he knocks, and gives him priority in every respect. The relationship between man and wife, especially in public, is somewhat more formal and there is no obvious physical intimacy of any sort in public or in front of the children. The wife is also expected to be faithful to her husband, and in case of adultery the husband has the right to divorce his wife. But a woman can, in turn, divorce her husband if she claims that he is unable to perform his marital duties.

The second noteworthy pattern of relationships is that between father and children. According to Reese (1969), Harris (1958), and Patai (1958), the father avoids excessive intimacy in order to be respected and obeyed by his children as well as by his wife. The children consider him, in turn, to be the powerful agent in administering the moral and social code of conduct. Theoretically, the father controls both his sons and daughters, but in practice he has more to do with the sons, and the mother with the daughters. Amongst the children, the eldest son is favoured by his parents and he is the first to relieve his father of some of his tasks. On the other hand, the relations of children to the mother are warmer, more intimate and more affectionate. This mother's tenderness is repaid in obedience, service and respect on the children's part. Between brothers, the relationship is expected to be one of complete solidarity.

Yet, in spite of the fact that brothers are expected to stand by each other through thick and thin, they are not encouraged to play, sit or walk together, especially after the age of thirteen. Between sisters, the relationship is mainly based on affection and mutual cooperation.

PROBLEMS OF AUTHORITY AND DISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

Submission to authority and a desire for a strong leader, have frequently been set forth as important aspects of an authoritarian attitude. In the authoritarian personality F scale and the traditional family ideology scale, the questions connected with submission to parental authority and so on were formulated in such a way that agreement with them would indicate not merely a realistic, balanced respect for valid authority but an exaggerated, emotional need to submit. After examining the scores of the eastern sample, all questions relating to parental authority were highly agreed upon by the subjects, and they were also fully accepted. Apart from the religious and social factors already discussed, the reason for this lies in the fact that the father in a Jordanian household enjoys the highest position in the family. It is he who makes all the important decisions, and he is the one with whose decisions there can be no argument. In such a social atmosphere, no fair distribution of power can exist. While it is true that the older son has some role to play in the general affairs of the house, he eventually makes decisions after obtaining

the approval of the old man. The hierarchical structure of the family slopes downwards from the father to older sons, then to younger ones, all of whom enjoy more authority than girls. According to Adorno (1950), in the authoritarian system of values, obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues that children should learn. This obedience without question to the decision of higher authority is considered to be probably due to some failure in the development of an inner authority, i.e. conscience. "Another hypothesis was that authoritarian submission was commonly a way of handling ambivalent feelings toward authority figures: underlying hostile and rebellious impulses, held in check by fear, lead the subject to overdo in the direction of respect, obedience, gratitude, and the like" . (Adorno, 1950, p.232).

SIBLING RIVALRY.

Of the events of childhood affecting both the social and psychological aspects of the personality, sibling rivalry plays an important role in the Middle East area. Owing to the large size of families it is very common for a mother to have more than one child in her care. (Patai, 1958, Reese, 1969, Harris, 1958). Since very young the age differences between these children are not very large, jealousy easily arises between older brothers and the younger ones who took the attention of the parents away from them,

(e.g., after the birth of a new-born baby a baby previously used to sitting on his mother's lap is now expected to go and play with the other siblings in the courtyard). Later on, the child has to accept the new-born baby by looking after it or taking it out to play. Such behaviour becomes more important in the process of growing up when it is realized that the child is not allowed to manifest his anxiety or pain over his deprivation from his mother. The young children in the area are known to be rough in their games, and a great deal of this roughness and aggression displayed in children's play outside the house could be considered as a cultural outlet for repressed hostility. Sibling rivalry is used as an incentive in child development, (Benjamin - 1950). If jealousy is induced between siblings, a troublesome child can be made to act in a certain way, the moment that the same form of behaviour is requested from the other child. Ammar (1966) cites, as an example of this, an incident in one of the families where the mother asked Fatima, the naughty girl, who was reluctant to comb her hair, to come to her before Sakina, the good girl, did so. Fatima was still disobedient, and so the mother started combing Sakina's hair. Fatima immediately dashed towards her mother and lowered her hair for combing. The same approach is followed for feeding problems. A boy who does not like a certain meal sits with the other children around the table, without getting enough to eat. After a period his rivalry with the

other children will be stimulated, and he will begin to compete with them in eating. Subsequently, he will compete in playing, running errands, and so on. The justification for this emphasis on sibling rivalry is that it is considered as a means of motivating the child to abandon his boyish attitudes and behave according to his age.

MORAL PRESSURES RELATING TO SEX AND AGGRESSION.

"A strong inclination to punish violators of sex mores may be an expression of a general punitive attitude based on identification with in-group authorities, but it also suggests that the subject's own sexual desires are suppressed and in danger of getting out of hand". (Adorno, 1950, p. 241). Another important feature of an authoritarian male is the purity he expects from a female - what ~~Freud~~ ~~Brunswick~~ refers to as a "pure" as opposed to a "bad" woman.

Although the relations between men and women in the Arab world are changing every day, they are still governed, especially in the less sophisticated social classes and geographical areas (e.g., farmer's households and lower classes), by old and strict codes of meeting, mating and the creation of new families. In Jordan there is exceptional emphasis upon the code governing relations

between the sexes. Young people are not free to meet as they please, and most women are chaperoned when they go out. Love is not a particularly important factor in bringing about marriage in the society. Arrangements by which young people come together are made largely by the parents, taking into account family needs and positions. In certain cases, the wishes of the young people are taken into consideration. The reason for this closed-mindedness concerning the relation between the two sexes is the value placed upon premarital chastity in women and upon fidelity in marriage. Loss of chastity in a girl is considered a grave form of misbehaviour and a disgrace to the family. According to Daghestani (1932), a wife who misbehaves injures the honour of her husband and it is the husband's jealousy for his pride and familial honour rather than his love for his wife, that makes him punish her.

In such circumstances the restriction upon the relations between young people causes the continued frustration of male sexual vigour. The result of unsatisfied male desires may be noticed in the increasing aggression observable in male daily life.

In this study authoritarianism has been compared in two different cultures. Particular emphasis has been placed on the role of the family and its effect upon individuals in instilling authoritarianism in the Jordanian case.

In general Jordanians showed highly autocratic attitudes. Furthermore significant correlations were found between the F and TFI Scales. This indicates that family background and authoritarian attitudes are linked. In consequence, the questions of the role of the family are raised and the above discussion has indicated the several ways in which the Jordanian family instills authoritarianism into its individuals. The thesis has thus gone some way towards examining authoritarianism, even though it has only tested university students within a limited age range from both cultures. The suggestions advanced in it might be further investigated by examining and comparing the minority groups (e.g., Circassians, Drouz and other communities) that exist in Jordan. A similar procedure could be applied for English culture, by studying authoritarianism in the various social classes as they are geographically distributed in different areas of the country. Finally, although the representativeness of a student sample may be in doubt as far as the culture as a whole is concerned, the implications of the study relating to the role of the family in society raise a subject which deserves the widest investigation possible.

A P P E N D I X E S

F AND TFI SCALES.

F. Scale

1. The minds of today's youth are being hopelessly corrupted by the wrong kind of literature.
2. An insult to our honour should always be punished.
3. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
4. The facts on crime and sex immorality suggest that we will have to crack down harder on some people if we are going to save our moral standards.
5. No person who could ever think of hurting his parents should be permitted in the society of normal decent people.
6. Few weaknesses or difficulties can hold us back if we have enough will power.
7. The poor will always be with us.
8. The worst danger to our country during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
9. We should be grateful for leaders who tell us exactly what to do and how to do it.
10. In the final analysis parents generally turn out to be right about things.
11. Divorce or annulment is practically never justified.
12. There is a divine purpose in the operations of the universe.
13. Army life is a good influence on most men.
14. It usually helps the child in later years if he is forced to conform to his parents' ideas.
15. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse.
16. The church has outgrown its usefulness and should be radically reformed or done away with.
17. What a youth needs most is the flexibility to work and fight for what he considers right personally even though it might not be best for his family and country.
18. Most censorship of books or films is a violation of free speech and should be abolished.
19. It is the duty of a citizen to criticize or censure his country whenever he considers it to be wrong.
20. A world government with effective military strength is one way in which world peace might be achieved.
21. Unless something drastic is done, the world is going to be destroyed one of these days by nuclear explosion or fallout.

22. Science declines when it confines itself to the solution of immediate practical problems.
23. As young people grow up, they ought to try to carry out some of their rebellious ideas and not be content to get over them and settle down.
24. Disobedience to the Government is sometimes justified.
25. Honesty, hard work, and trust in God do not guarantee material rewards.
26. One way to reduce the expression of prejudice is through more forceful legislation.
27. One of the greatest threats to our way of life is for us to resort to the use of force.
28. Members of religious sects who refuse to salute the flag or bear arms should be treated with tolerance and understanding.

Traditional Family Ideology.

1. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.
2. There is a lot of evidence such as the Kinsey Report which shows we have to crack down harder on young people to save our moral standards.
3. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
4. A well-raised child is one who doesn't have to be told twice to do something.
5. A woman whose children are messy or rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother.
6. It isn't healthy for a child to like to be alone, and he should be discouraged from playing by himself.
7. If children are told too much about sex, they are likely to go too far in experimenting with it.
8. A child who is unusual in any way should be encouraged to be more like other children.
9. The saying "Mother knows best" still has more than a grain of truth.
10. Whatever some educators may say, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds, even in these modern times.
11. It helps the child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents' ideas.
12. A teen-ager should be allowed to decide most things for himself.
13. In making family decisions, parents ought to take the opinions of children into account.
14. It is important to teach the child as early as possible the manners and morals of his society.
15. A lot of the sex problems of married couples arise because their parents have been too strict with them about sex.
16. Women who want to remove the word obey from the marriage service don't understand what it means to be a wife.
17. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters.
18. A man who doesn't provide well for his family ought to consider himself pretty much a failure as husband and father.
19. Faithlessness is the worst fault a husband could have.

20. In choosing a husband, a woman will do well to put ambition at the top of her list of desirable qualities.
21. A wife does better to vote the way her husband does, because he probably knows more about such things.
22. It is a reflection on a husband's manhood if his wife works.
23. Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems as well as in their families.
24. A man scarcely maintain respect for his fiancée if they have sexual relations before they are married.
25. It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.
26. It is a woman's job more than a man's to uphold our moral code, especially in sexual matters.
27. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.
28. The most important qualities of a real man are strength of will and determined ambition.
29. Women can be too bright for their own good.
30. Women have as much right as men to sow wild oats.
31. Petting is something a nice girl wouldn't want to do.
32. Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional.
33. Almost any woman is better off in the home than in a job or profession.
34. It doesn't seem quite right for a man to be a visionary; dreaming should be left to women.
35. Even today women live under unfair restrictions that ought to be done away with.
36. It's a pretty feeble sort of man who can't get ahead in the world.
37. The family is a sacred institution, divinely ordained.
38. One of the worst problems in our society today is "free love", because it misses the true value of sex relations.
39. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
40. A marriage should not be made unless the couple plans to have children.

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