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*SOME SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
CORRELATES OF ETHNO-NATIONALIST
ATTITUDES:
YUGOSLAVIA 1995*

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SUMMARY

In the Spring of 1995 an extensive survey was conducted in Subotica, Yugoslavia, dealing with the relationships between social and psychological variables and ethno-nationalist attitudes. Sample of respondents consisted of approximately 700 high-school students. Among other instruments, the study included: a 60-item scale of ethno-nationalism (ETNA60 scale), a 28-item version of authoritarianism scale (AUT scale), a 30-item scale of aggressiveness (PRIMAG scale), and a block of socio-demographic variables. All scales were of the Likert type, with four possible degrees of dis/agreement with each of the items.

Through the application of various statistical method it was attempted to investigate to what extent ethno-nationalist attitudes are determined by personality variables (authoritarianism and primary aggressiveness), and by socio-demographic variables. A number of significant relationships are obtained. The results are interpreted with reference to relevant socio-psychological theories.

Special feature of the study is a comparison of five ethnic groups living in Subotica, concerning the investigated problem.

SOME SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES: YUGOSLAVIA 1995

It is the distant man who pays for your love of your neighbour; and when there are five of you together, a sixth always has to die.

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

INTRODUCTION

Bearing in mind the well known fact from social psychology that humans tend to attribute the causes of others' behavior to relatively permanent dispositions or traits, in contrast to situational causal attribution when interpreting their own behavior, it is not surprising that many philosophers and scientists have followed this route and tried to explain social and political behavior through psychological concepts. For example, among classics, according to Forbes (1989), Plato described psychological characters of population and politicians corresponding to his five types of regimes. He proposed interactive relationship between personality and politics: ruler's personality shapes his governing, while features of a certain type of regime influence character of citizens.

Likewise, the phenomena of racism, nationalism and ethnocentrism frequently have been explained in psychological terms. In one group of such explanations it is claimed that these attitudes and practices are natural and just consequences of genetic, innate psychological differences between groups of people, especially in morality and intellectual abilities. It is also claimed that these subtle, not easy observable differences are followed by various apparent signs, like color of the skin, shape of the nose, language, and many others.

The other group of theories claimed oppositely: that various or all group-centrisms are based on some sort of psychological defect. According to this approach, psychologically inferior are not those who are oppressed or excluded as inferior but those who are excluding them.

Nietzsche, for example, criticizing the hypocrisy of the practice (or even of the very concept) of 'Love of One's Neighbour', stated that the enmity towards 'distant' and 'love of neighbours' is a consequence of psychological weakness. Or, in his words: "Your love of your neighbours is your bad love of yourselves" (Nietzsche, 1961).

In this century advocates of both views, equipped with scientific methodology, attempted to prove their beliefs. Comparisons of IQ scores of different ethnic groups are the famous example of 'proofs' of ethnic or racial psychological inequalities. Adorno *et al's* *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950) is an example of the second approach, and perhaps one of the most widely known studies in social sciences. The authors found, similarly to Nietzsche, that the main characteristic of prejudiced, or ethnocentric personality is ego-weakness. Internal instability, insecurity and repressed aggressiveness of such individuals is channeled by the society against various social groups:

"...once the individual has convinced himself that there are people who ought to be punished, he is provided with a channel through which his deepest aggressive impulses may be expressed, even while he thinks of himself as thoroughly moral. If his external authorities, or the crowd lend their approval to this form of aggression, then it may take the most violent forms, and it may persist after the conventional values, in the name of which it was undertaken, have been lost from sight" (p. 233).

This personality type, so called authoritarian personality, was understood as potential supporter of various 'antidemocratic' movements and ideologies, where anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism are only a part of a broader social orientation.

This study had and still has enormous influence upon social sciences, provoking both criticisms and supporting studies. Besides strong methodological critique, theoretical critique came from both psychologists and sociologists. The former criticized mainly the scientific status of authoritarian personality, emphasizing that it is not a valid psychological concept (e.g. Eysenck, 1994, Cattell, 1970). Sociologists usually criticized the neglect of social influence and sociological variables in explaining ethnocentrism and antidemocratic orientation (Forbes, 1985, Ferrarotti, 1994, Asch 1987).

In spite of a great number of studies which followed *The Authoritarian Personality*¹, discussion about most questions initiated by the authors of the study is still alive, and studies testing and/or developing various parts of the original theory have permanently being published.

¹ According to Scheepers *et al.*(1991), more than 1200 since 1950.

This research is designed basically in the tradition of the Adorno *et al's* study. Its purpose is to highlight some of the relationships between ethno-nationalist attitudes, personality traits and social factors, taking into account contemporary social processes in Yugoslavia.

Conceptual framework of the study is presented in the following figure:

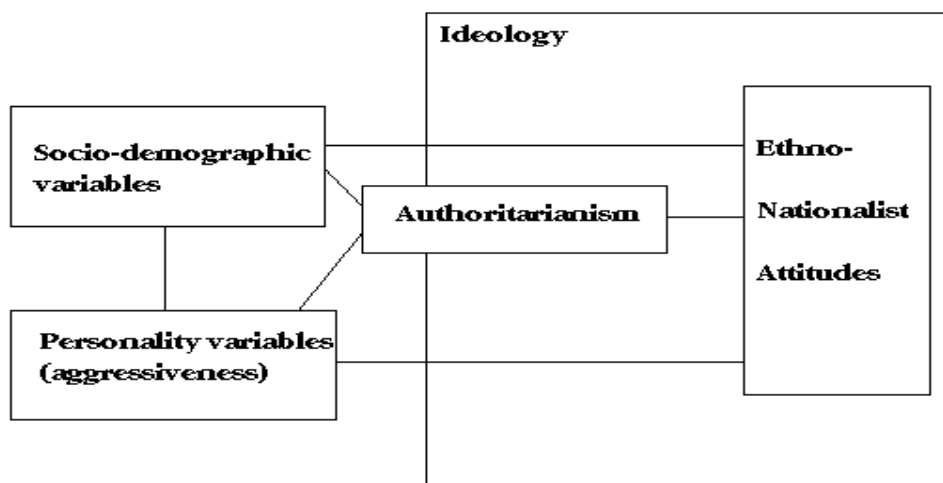


Figure 1 Block-diagram of the model examined in this study

Independent variables in the model are socio-demographic variables and personality variables (primary aggressiveness in this case). Authoritarianism is 'intervening' variable:

dependent on basic personality traits and socio-economical status, but independent in relation to ethno-nationalist attitudes. According to many authors (e.g. Eysenck, 1994, Rot, 1989), authoritarianism is only partly a personality variable, for it also reflects accepted ideology and cultural factors regardless of personality traits. Therefore, the double nature of authoritarianism is represented by its box partly being outside the 'ideological' domain and a partly as directly related to socio-economic and personality variables. Ethno-nationalism and partly authoritarianism are segments of the broader social and political attitudes, or ideology. Arrows show supposed causal direction: personality traits and SES are influencing acceptance and maintenance of ethnocentric attitudes, both directly and indirectly through the authoritarianism.

All concepts in the scheme will be defined and described in more details in the further text, together with the presentation of studies in each field, and of theories from which the concepts are derived and measuring instruments operationalized.

Adorno *et al.* explained potential and manifest aggressiveness of ethnocentric individuals invoking psychoanalytical concepts. In an oversimplified interpretation, their theory states that inadequate relationship of parents towards a child induces high level of aggression, which has to be repressed into unconsciousness because of the fear of open expression of feelings. In adult stage, such person idealize parents, is submissive to formal authorities and displace and project repressed aggression onto groups which are socially disapproved, like homosexuals or various ethnic minorities.

Although there is a lot of evidence that this can be true in many cases, there is no reason to assume that it is the only connection between personality and ethnocentrism. According to its definition², the essential component of ethnocentrism is *negative* attitude towards outgroups, not only positive towards ingroups. Moreover, as an operationalized ideology, in all its important social manifestations it includes certain, usually significant, degree of overt or covert aggression. The main hypothesis to be tested in this research is that significant proportion of variance of ethnocentric attitudes can be explained by the aggressiveness, defined as a basic personality trait, and independently of authoritarian syndrome. This is the rationale of the inclusion of exactly this personality dimension in the model.

²Definitions will be elaborated in more detail in further text.

Among other hypotheses to be tested in the research is one formulated by Forbes (1985), which states that there should be significant differences between national minorities and majorities, or dominant and suppressed groups, in the psychological content of ethnocentrism and nationalism. Namely, these attitudes within a majority or dominant group should be more based on pathological motivation, i.e. on authoritarianism. Ethnic heterogeneity of the sample in this study provides solid ground for testing this hypothesis.

Another problem to be addressed here is conceptual and predictive validity of authoritarianism as a personality construct. Being a broad composite variable it should be more predictive for ethno-nationalist attitudes than aggressiveness, defined as a basic personality trait.

Methodologically, the research is conducted in the tradition of studies of individual differences, based on multivariate statistics. All scales are factor analyzed and reduced to a smaller number of latent dimensions. Relationships between variables are then analyzed employing methods of analysis of variance, discriminant analysis, correlational analysis and multiple regression. The methodological rationale for the application of various methods is that convergence of results obtained through different procedures can produce more reliable conclusions.

Besides the relevance of this study in relation to contemporary theoretical debates regarding ethno-nationalist attitudes, it has also a significance as a mere descriptive study. Many authors (e.g., Terhune, 1963; Forbes, 1985) noted that there are significant differences in the content and structure of ethno-nationalist attitudes and in their correlation with social and personality variables in different cultural environments. For example, Terhune (1963) found that various elements of nationalist attitudes, like perceived state power, prestige, outside threat, have different importance for American and for foreign students in the USA. Different correlations were found in different national groups between personality variables and nationalist attitudes. Terhune interpreted these variations partly in connection with distinctive social, political and economic situations in different countries. Likewise, interpreting the causes of extreme forms of nationalism which can lead to genocide, Staub (1989) has put a strong emphasis on cultural factors in shaping existing forms of nationalism. In his view, aggression can be developed as a primary mode of resolving conflicts in certain cultures, what in turn has an impact on the way of handling conflicts between various, especially ethnic, groups.

Unfortunately, in the last few years Yugoslavia has become a very rich and interesting area for studying interethnic relationships. After almost half a century of quite peaceful coexistence of many nations and ethnic groups within a small territory, the sudden

outburst of extremely severe ethnic conflicts shocked the world. However, even more than the rest of the world were shocked most of Yugoslav citizens who thought that something like that can never happen. The fact that neither ordinary citizens, nor politicians or all sorts of social scientists were able to predict conflicts shows that nationalism and ethnocentrism are to a great degree still unknown phenomena.

In the following chapters will briefly be presented studies in nationalism and ethnocentrism, authoritarianism and aggressiveness, relevant for the problem of this study. The emphasis will be given to the development of the problems which will be particularly addressed in the analysis, and to the conceptual framework from which the measuring instruments are derived.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND NATIONALISM

Definitions

An apparent feature of studies in these fields is a lack of conceptual clarity, inconsistency and interchangeable use of different terms, especially if researches from different countries are compared. Terms like ethnocentrism, ethno-nationalism, patriotism, nationalism, chauvinistic nationalism, genuine patriotism, national attachment, national consciousness etc., are all used to denote various aspects of individual's or group's relationship towards national and/or ethnic group.

Terhune (1963, p.12), for example, presents a typical definition of **patriotism** as "love and devotion to one's homeland, usually involving loyalty to its institutions and zeal for its defense". It is presumed that patriotism does not have to contain any negative attitude towards non-members of 'homeland'.

Definitions of **nationalism** more frequently include reference to negative attitudes towards 'others'. According to Rot (1989, p.383), there are two groups of definitions of nationalism. In one group, nationalism is equated with national or ethnic consciousness in general, and expressed as a support of national state, both in the stage of state formation and when it already exists. Gellner's definition (1983), that nationalism is a "political principle, which holds that the political and the national units should be congruent", can be regarded as one example of these 'benevolent' definitions. Second group separates nationalism from the other forms of national attachment, in the sense that nationalism is exclusive attachment for one's own nation, usually including beliefs in its superiority, its

extraordinary mission in the world, etc. Terhune (1963, p.30) defines nationalism as "an orientation of the individual toward his country in which his aspirations for his country are that it gain greater potency or power vis-a-vis other nations". It seems that when patriotism is followed by at least potentially negative attitude towards others it becomes nationalism. Another element frequently appearing in definitions of nationalism is reference to political institution, i.e., country or a state (c.f., Connor, 1978).

Negative attitude towards outgroups is almost always included in definitions of **ethnocentrism**. For example, it is defined as a "belief in the superiority of their [group's] culture, nation, society, or way of life" (Staub, 1989, p.54). The inventor of the term ethnocentrism defined it as "the sentiment of cohesion, internal comradeship, and devotion to the ingroup, which carries with it a sense of superiority to any outgroup and readiness to defend the interest of the ingroup" (Sumner, 1911, quoted in: Van der Dennen, 1987, p.5).

Adorno *et al.* (1950) conceived ethnocentrism quite broadly, as "pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped, negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate" (p.150). Apparently, stress is not on the manifest content of the attitudes but on the underlying psychological meaning. Similarly, Forbes states that "Ethnocentrism ... has little to do with ethnicity, but is rather the propensity to divide humanity into groups, identifying with some and rejecting others as alien and threatening" (1985, p. 2).

It seems that two features mostly distinguish ethnocentrism from nationalism. Ethnocentrism is one step further in the continuum of negative sentiment towards outgroups³, and "nationalism, more often than ethnocentrism, involves loyalty to a politically distinct entity" (Van der Dennen, 1987, p. 8).

However, a more abstract approach to the concepts seems useful. For example, Scheepers *et al.* (1989) defined ethnocentrism as an attitude when both "unfavorable

³ This idea that patriotism, nationalism and ethnocentrism are ordered in the continuum of rejecting outgroups can be compared with the findings of Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn, (1993). They found in the sphere of racial relations that different forms of racism can be regarded as steps in a "single cumulative dimension of ethnic attitudes" (p.21). On one extreme is biological racism, where "fundamental civil rights are denied and the request for segregation of races is found" (p.34), it is followed by symbolic racism, ethnocentrism, aversive racism, and egalitarianism on the other extreme.

attitudes towards outgroups and favorable attitude towards the ingroup" are present (p.289), regardless of the specific content of attitudes. Roots in ethnicity and relationship towards political institutions are not mentioned.

However, at least in the last two centuries politics and ethnicity have been largely fused, and separation of ethnic and national attitudes in separate groups is highly questionable. In fact, term nationalism is quite seductive because it implies attachment to the country regardless of ethnicity and not against 'others'. In fact, in most cases where nationalism emerged as a noticeable social force it was based on the ethnic identifications and divisions, no matter whether 'real' or 'imagined'⁴, and was **against** somebody. Therefore, in this research, term **ethno-nationalism** will be used, following Connor's (1978) suggestion that this term is the most applicable in cases when ethnocentrism is fused with nationalism (in the sense of attachment to a country or state), as happened to be case in Yugoslavia.

Diversity of definitions in use can be interpreted as an expression of the complexity and multidimensionality of individual relationships towards groups, and of their temporal and geographical changeability. It is not very likely to find a demand for worldwide domination of one's own group's way of life among the members of a small ethnic group in the stage of state formation. They would probably express belief in their uniqueness and right for separation. On the other side, separatist ideas among the members of dominating group are even more unlikely, while all of them can feel hostility towards outgroups. From the social-psychological point of view, underlying dynamics of these attitudes is more important than manifest content of different ideologies.

Presented brief discussion about the terms in use mainly serves to enhance the comparison of different researches by shifting the attention from the labels to the content of the studied attitudes.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES

Studies of ethnocentrism are in accordance with the fact that humans are biological, social and psychological beings. Biological and evolutionary foundations of ethnocentrism are studied within the discipline of sociobiology. This approach tries to "provide a framework within which explanations of particular behavioral phenomena can be made"

⁴ See: *Imagined Communities*, Anderson, B. (1992)

(Dunbar, 1987. p.48). It uses concepts like 'inclusive fitness', 'limited affection', or 'group selection' to explain the evolutionary rationale of ingroup-outgroup differentiation as a part of human behavioral repertoire. One of the conclusions is that "...genetic basis for ethnocentrism is quite weak...[It is] rather generalized distrust of strangers of the kind that children seem to develop naturally at a certain stage during their early development. Such in-built tendencies are, however, open to considerable cultural manipulation." (*Ibid.* p.56).

At this point are continuing socio-historical and anthropological studies. This group consists of more theoretical studies regarding the nature and origin of ethnocentric and nationalist ideologies, their role in different societies, and their historical transformations. Nationalism and ethnocentrism are viewed as social phenomena and attention is not paid to individual understanding and experience of these ideologies, neither to individual differences. Prominent authors in this orientation are, for example, A.D. Smith, E. Gellner or B. Anderson.

Another group of studies of nationalism and ethnocentrism is directed more towards the individual level and towards the examination of their social and psychological correlates. Ethnocentrism is understood as a social **and** psychological phenomenon and its emotional side and role in individual psychological functioning is stressed.

However, there is not a great number of comprehensive empirical studies particularly focused on ethnocentrism or other types of group attachment. In many studies ethnocentrism was only one among different other social attitudes and variables in a broader research design. The well known study on authoritarianism, by Adorno *et al.*(1950), where the scale of ethnocentrism (E-scale) was applied together with scales for measuring anti-Semitism (A-scale), authoritarianism (F-scale) and politico-economic conservatism (PEC-scale), is an example of this group of researches. This study influenced many similar researches, and authoritarianism and ethnocentrism were studied usually in connection (e.g., Scheepers *et al.* 1989, Scheepers, Felling and Peters, 1990, Van Ijzendoorn, 1989).

In the following section will be presented a review of the relevant literature in this area of scholarship. The emphasis will be put on two groups of studies: a) studies directed towards determining the structure of ethno-nationalist attitudes; and b) studies of their social and psychological correlates.

STRUCTURE OF ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES

Researchers have dealt with the structure of ethnocentric attitudes in two ways. In some studies, various elements of the broader ethnocentric attitudes are postulated prior to

the empirical investigation, either on the basis of theoretical consideration or previous empirical research. Empirical determination of the structure of ethnocentric attitudes was the objective or part of the objective of the studies in the other approach. This method was usually based on factor analysis. Although the emphasis is on empirical results it is not an a-theoretical approach. In more successful cases, studies started with various hypotheses derived from examined theories. Following passages present results from both approaches.

Theoretical approach

Adorno *et al.*'s (1950) Ethnocentrism (E) scale consisted of three sub-scales: one measuring negative attitude towards Negroes, second for attitudes towards various other minorities (e.g., Japanese, Filipinos, foreigners), and the third was a scale of 'patriotism', i.e. belief in the superiority of one's own group. Strong correlations between sub-scales, and with anti-Semitism scale were found. They concluded that ethnocentrism is generalized attitude, "rather than prejudice against any single group" (p.122).

Terhune's (1963) Nationalism Scale included the following specific attitudes: chauvinism, national ethnocentrism, patriotism, belief in sovereignty and national consciousness. The analysis showed that the scale is unidimensional. The same author (p.11) presented Shafer's (1961) account of the elements of nationalist ideology. Following beliefs and attitudes are especially interesting: belief in common history and origin, "love or esteem for fellow nationals (not necessarily as individuals)", devotion to the nation, "a common pride in the achievements (often military more than the cultural)...and common sorrow in its tragedies....a disregard for or hostility to other (not necessarily all) like groups...[and] a hope that the nation will have a great glorious future... or become supreme in some way".

Katz (1965) differentiated three groups of attitudes and values which form a nationalist ideology. The first is emphasizing of the sovereignty and authority of a national state, or *statism*. The second group are attitudes and values emphasizing various institutions characteristic for certain national state. In America, for example, those are free competition and market, American version of democratic political system, high evaluation of technological development, etc. Sometimes, these values are understood as universal, and followed by the attempts to expand them across the geographical borders of the country. The third group consists of attitudes expressing cultural uniqueness and specific features of certain nation, like language or customs. This is national consciousness, when expressed in a moderate degree, and ethnocentric nationalism in extreme versions. These three groups of attitudes tend to form more or less coherent and integrated system.

Rot and Havelka (1973) conducted an extensive study in order to distinguish different types or aspects of "national attachment". They started from the hypothesis on the existence of five separate forms of national attachment: "1. *ethnocentrism* (or exclusive national attachment) -attachment to one's own nation only, emphasizing the features of one's own nation as exceptional); 2. *national idealization* (or salient national attachment) - emphasizing the significance of any national attachment and, accordingly, of one's own; 3. *divided national attachment* - simultaneous attachment to one's own nation and to mankind and cooperation with other nations; 4. *attachment to humanity* - emphasizing the priority of attachment to the general human community over narrow national attachment; 5. *absence of any national attachment* - denying the importance and value of any kind of national attachment" (p. 262). After the analysis of the survey (N=790), they found their hypothesis about five relatively distinct forms to be justified. Correlations between these attitudes indicated that they tend to group into three broader orientations: 1. international orientation, consisted of the divided national attachment and of the attachment to humanity; 2. national orientation, consisted of ethnocentrism and national idealization, and 3. absence of national orientation, which is in moderate negative correlation with national idealization and in positive with attachment to humanity. Some inconsistencies in their finding are due to unavailability of multivariate statistic methods, but the hypothesis on multidimensional structure of nationalist attitudes received strong support.

In one latter research in Yugoslavia (Đurić, 1980) was applied slightly modified scale of nationalism. Previous results were generally confirmed, but it was found that five forms of national attachment tend to form two dimensions on the higher level: international and ethnocentric orientation. Previously separate dimension of the absence of national attachment was incorporated into these two orientations.

Empirical approach

Trend in Yugoslavian researches of reducing the number of dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes during the time continued in the study of Uzelac *et al.*(1987). On the representative sample of male Yugoslav population age 19-27, using the Rao's canonical factor analysis on the joint scale of attitudes towards religion and nation (ETN-scale), they found four factors in type-2 orthoblique rotated position. They were interpreted as: (1) religiosity, (2) national exclusiveness, (3) ethnocentrism and (4) a-national atheism. The first factor was clear religious in content. The second factor was defined as closedness towards other nations, high evaluation of one's own nation and underestimating the other nations, as well as the opinion that every nation should live only in its own country. The third factor

had more emotional content: stressing the importance and strength of feelings of national attachment, the need for education of youth in the "national spirit" and the necessity of high valuation of one's own nation. The fourth factor was defined by items about the negation of the need both for religious and for national attachment. High intercorrelations between all factors, especially between the second and the third, and significant saturations of all items of the first unrotated principal component, indicated the existence of one general dimension, defined as general-human orientation versus ethnocentric orientation. These results indicate a fusion of religious and ethnic attitudes in Yugoslavia. Momirović (1989, p.83) described ETN scale as "surprisingly consistent composite of religiosity, ethnocentrism and rejection of agnostic internationalism". However, it should not be so surprising because religion was the most important source of ethnic divisions and identities in former Yugoslavia. Also, the existence of a common enemy of both religious and nationalists - socialist regime and ideology - contributed to the convergence of these attitudes.

It seems that during the time, as present situation of interethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia was approaching, fine distinctions within the area of ethno-nationalist attitudes have been lost, and that attitudes in population became polarized. Acceptance of any national attachment started to mean the acceptance of simplified nationalist/ethnocentric views, and resistance towards the acceptance of ethnocentric orientations started to mean avoiding and denying of any national/ethnic feelings. Previously found attitudes like patriotism or divided national attachment have disappeared. However, this hypothesis about homogenization of ethnic attitudes in Yugoslavia remains to be tested in this study, because the selection of the items in previous scale allowed quite limited expression of a wider range of various specific ethnic attitudes.

Following the successful examples of the application of factor analysis in studies of the structure intellectual abilities and personality dimensions, social psychologists attempted to determine a set of basic social attitudes. Many studies found a separate dimension of nationalist or ethnocentric attitudes within the broader space of social attitudes. Ferguson (1942, according to Rot, 1989, p. 303) discovered three basic social attitudes: religiosity, humanitarianism and nationalism. Nationalism was defined as a negative attitude towards communism and market control, and positive towards nationalist patriotism. Guilford (according to Rot, 1989) found that all social attitudes can be reduced to and explained by next five dimensions: (1) liberalism-conservatism, (2) religiosity-areligiosity, (3) humanitarianism-non-humanitarianism, (4) nationalism-internationalism, and (5) evolutionism-revolutionism. The nationalist pole of the fourth dimension was defined as

emphasizing of the importance of patriotism, positive attitude towards wars, censorship in social life, protection of national market and negative attitude towards trade unions. In Eysenck's (1954) two-dimensional hierarchical model of political attitudes, ethnocentrism and nationalist patriotism were two of the four attitudes which defined the conservative pole of the R-dimension.

Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) conducted a study on an *ad hoc* sample (N=239) of mainly college students who completed the 120-item Patriotism/Nationalism Questionnaire, in order to investigate "the multidimensionality of patriotic and nationalistic attitudes". The results of an iterated principal factor analysis were six factors labeled 1. *Patriotism*, i.e. general positive evaluation and affect for America, 2. *Nationalism*, or "America-first" or American-superiority" opinions, 3. *Internationalism*, consisted of items that apply to world sharing or global welfare (p.264), 4. *Civil Liberties*, 5. *World Government* and 6. *Smugness*. Although the authors emphasize the orthogonality of the factors, their intercorrelations in the oblique solution allow the possible hypothesis about two higher dimension, one consisted of Patriotism, Nationalism and Smugness factors, and the second of the factors 3, 4 and 5. However, hypothesis on multidimensionality of these attitudes was confirmed, as well as the distinctiveness and independence of the nationalist, patriotic and internationalist attitudes.

Scheepers *et al.* (1989) conducted a study to test a hypothesis on two-dimensional structure of ethnocentrism in The Netherlands. Two hypothesized dimensions were (a) "unfavorable attitude towards ethnic minorities, or outgroups" and (b) "favorable attitude towards the ingroup". The structure of ethnocentrism was examined by the principal factor analysis, oblique rotation method. A 22-items scale was applied on the representative sample of Dutch population (N=1799). The results partly confirmed two-dimensional model of ethnocentrism, because the correlation between the dimensions was 0.58 (p. 294). However, this fact can also be interpreted in the favor of the existence of a general factor in the space of ethnocentric attitudes, similarly as in previously presented researches in America and Yugoslavia. It seems that the authors hesitated to acknowledge the strong connection between nationalist and patriotic attitudes, though the data supported such a hypothesis.

Already quoted Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn (1993) found **one** cumulative dimension of ethnic attitudes, ranging from biological racism to egalitarianism. Cumulative means that higher intolerance includes attitudes expressing lower levels, i.e. that "subtle forms [of racism] are the first steps toward biological racism" (p.35). The fact that they speak about racism reflects Dutch conditions. In other places instead of racial will be included ethnic, or some other, criteria.

Forbes (1985) factor analyzed various measures of nationalist attitudes on the samples of French and English Canadians. He concluded that "(a) positive attitudes towards one's own nation (patriotism, defensive nationalism, national loyalty, etc.) are not the same as (b) negative attitudes towards outgroups (xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, chauvinism, etc.), but "nationalism" should not be defined in such a way to suggest that these are independent dimensions of variation" (p.135).

Although it is difficult to compare presented researches, because of the differences in the applied scales, samples, methods of data analysis, and differences in the content of attitudes regarding the nation, some common features can be found. The most established seems to be (a) multidimensionality of ethnic/nationalist attitudes, i.e., relatively separate dimensions of exclusive and non-exclusive national/ethnic attachment (called for example ethnocentrism and patriotism respectively) which tend to converge to a more general dimension of ethnocentric versus humanistic orientation, and (b) that the content of this attitude(s) varies during the time and among different societies. This points were guidelines in the selection of items for the ETNA60 scale: to tap more established dimensions and to formulate items in the fashion of local popular nationalist discourse.

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES

In this chapter will be reviewed findings about three groups of social and psychological correlates of ethno-nationalism: socio-demographic variables, various social and political attitudes and personality variables.

Adorno *et al.* (1950) found that ethnocentrism is strongly correlated with anti-semitism, conservatism and authoritarianism as a syndrome of related personality traits. Correlation between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism was found in many subsequent studies, but not always.

Partly replicating Adorno *et al.*'s study on the samples of English and French Canadians, Forbes (1985) found scores on nationalism dependent on political party affiliation, nationality (French or English) but not or very weakly on authoritarianism, education and socio-economic status. In South Africa, Heaven (1984) found that patriotism is related to authoritarian attitudes, but not to authoritarian personality.

Many already quoted authors found ethnocentrism or nationalism to be correlated with rightist political attitudes in many countries (e.g. Ferguson 1942, Eysenck 1954, Adorno *et al.* 1950, Ray, 1984). In one French study (cited in Forbes, 1985, p.129) anti-communism, imperialist nationalism and militarism had the highest saturations on the first unrotated factor extracted from the sixteen applied scales, while pro-socialism, anti-Germanism and anti-Americanism had the highest negative saturations. But, studies where socialism was the dominant ideology showed that ethnocentrism can be found among the supporters of leftist political attitudes. Šiber (1991) reviewing studies of authoritarianism in Yugoslavia found ethnocentrism to be in correlation with egalitarian and statist orientation. This shows relatedness of ethnic attitudes to dominant political ideology. Probably, most political elites are relying on popular nationalist sentiments, and are securing support by presenting themselves as defenders and protectors of national interests.

Rot and Havelka (1973) reported that for vocational school student were characteristic nationalist orientation and the absence of nationalist attachment, while for college students more typical was attachment to humanity. Interesting interaction between gender, education and regional residence. Namely, girls from vocational schools from smaller towns had highest scores on exclusive national attachment, while the lowest scores had girls from gymnasium from Belgrade. Ethnocentric national attachment was positively correlated with the translated F-scale (authoritarianism), with preference for autocracy, capitalism, religiosity and for gender discrimination, and negatively with the altruistic value orientation.

Đurić (1978) found the influence of ethnic heterogeneity of communities on the average degree of ethnocentric attitudes. It was the highest in towns with approximately equal size of two national groups (Serbs and Hungarians in Vojvodina, Yugoslavia). Greater disproportion between nationalities was followed by the decrease in ethnocentrism.

In accordance with this finding is increase of prejudices in Denmark following the increase of the number of immigrants (Enoch, 1994). The same study found that prejudices were connected with: lower levels of education (however, the least prejudices sub-sample was of secondary education), Rightist political preference, higher income and gender (women slightly less prejudiced).

Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) found their Nationalism factor to be related to political party affiliation (higher nationalism among republicans) and annual income (lower income - higher nationalism), but not to gender.

Scheepers *et al.* (1990) in The Netherlands found strong positive correlation between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism, and low negative between ethnocentrism and education. Interesting finding was that farmers and unskilled workers were less ethnocentric than self-employed people and skilled workers. In another study the same authors found ethnocentrism related, among others, to: age (younger less ethnocentric), educational level (negatively), social class (negatively), political preference (rightists more ethnocentric), authoritarianism and cultural conservatism. They concluded that "social and cultural pattern of ethnocentric people is shown to be of an authoritarian nature" (Scheepers *et al.*, 1989, .p.289).

Glover (1994) described individuals holding more positive attitudes towards minorities as possessing humanitarian-egalitarian values, higher level of education, less supportive of protestant ethic and less rigid in decision making.

Contrary to previous results, ethnocentrism in India was found not to be correlated with socio-economic status (Hassan, 1978).

Many studies reported connection between religiosity or church involvement and ethnocentrism, in the way that church members are more prejudiced and ethnocentric. Eisinga *et al.* (1990) on the basis of their findings proposed curvilinear relationship between church involvement and ethnocentrism in the Netherlands: nonmembers were the least prejudiced, but core church members were less prejudiced and nationalistic than marginal and modal members. They also reported that church involvement had no effect on ethnocentrism when relationship was controlled for conformism, localism and authoritarianism. Thus church members appear to be similar to supporters of socialism in socialist countries: although their declared beliefs should be supra-nationalist, or internationalist, they are among the most sincere nationalists. Probably, above presented findings of Eisinga *et al.*, that relationship between church membership and ethnocentrism is modulated through authoritarianism and conformism can explain both inconsistencies.

Among personality correlates of ethnocentrism, authoritarianism is probably most frequently studied construct. In majority of studies, and some of them are already referred to, they are positively correlated. In fact, concept of authoritarianism is developed as an explanation of ethnocentrism. However, there are reports where ethnocentrism is not correlated with authoritarianism. Ray (1972) applied his version of balanced authoritarianism scale, and found no correlation with ethnocentrism in Australia (maybe because Army conscripts were the sample).

Because of the ambiguous psychological meaning of authoritarianism and its connection with psychoanalysis, some researchers attempted to connect ethnocentrism with modern dimensionalist personality theories. Several studies in Yugoslavia found significant correlations between personality dimensions operationalized by the KON-6 (Momirović *et al.*, 1992) and ethnocentrism.

Wolf (1989) reported one significant quasi-canonical variable which explained quite moderate correlation ($r=0.335$) between 6 personality dimensions from KON-6 and the scale of cleronationalism. He concluded that findings support interpretation that individuals with personality structure characterized with "implicit of explicit feeling of fear, insecurity and confusion... tend to overcome such deficiencies through assimilation in closed social groups with authoritarian, rigid and autistic organization, like orthodox religious communities or isolated national or nationalistic groups" (p.5).

In another study with the same personality questionnaire (Momirović 1989) ethnocentric attitudes had significant projections on two pairs of canonical variables in the space of personality dimensions and social altitudes. Ethnocentrism was related, first to the system for coordination and control of regulative functions and to the system for control of aggressive reactions, and secondary to anxiousness.

Powell and Stewart (1978) correlated Eysenck's JPQ with the set of social attitudes. Ethnocentrism was linked to psychoticism and negatively to extraversion. Among adults, one study found ethnocentrism correlated to neuroticism from Eysenck's EPQ (Wilson and Brazendale, 1973), while another found negative correlation (Ray and Kiefl, 1984). In South Africa, ethnocentrism and anti-Semitism were not related to Cattell's 16PF questionnaire (Heaven 1976).

Some studies analyzed relationships between ethnocentrism and specific personality traits, not covering theoretically the totality of personality structure. For example, Ray and Kiefl (1984) found ethnocentrism correlated with achievement orientation in Germany, and Ray (1984) in Australia. Similar concept, Social Dominance Orientation, was also found to be correlated to racism, nationalism and patriotism⁵ (Pratto *et al.*, 1994).

⁵ This moment can be connected with the well established relationship between ethnocentrism and dominant ideologies and authoritarianism. Because perhaps all of modern states cultivate at least mild forms of nationalism, it is desirable to show proper adaptation to dominant values for success and advancement in society.

Van Ijzendoorn (1989) found lower levels of moral judgement connected with ethnocentrism. In India, prejudices in both Muslim and Hindu groups of college students were found to be correlated to anxiety and rigidity (Hassan, 1978). In some studies (e.g. Thurstone, 1934) IQ is found to be in negative correlation with ethnocentrism.

SUMMARY

It seems that there are no straightforward and universal relationships of ethnocentrism and any of studied variables. Even such simple variables like gender or level of education are complicatedly related. Nevertheless, some generalizations and hypotheses can tentatively be made from the preceding indeed partial presentation of studies of ethnocentrism.

From Yugoslav studies, gender appears to influence ethnocentrism through interaction with education, producing more extreme attitudes in females specific for certain educational level in general population.

Socio-economic status is usually negatively correlated with ethnocentrism, but it depends on specific conditions in society.

Ethnocentrism tends to correlate with dominant ideology. In the West with rightist and conservative attitudes, and in socialist countries with the "residuals of dogmatic socialism in variance of socialist value system" (Momirović, 1989, p.87). It appears that the connection is mediated by conformism.

There is converging evidence that ethnocentrism is at least partly rooted in personality, particularly to variously operationalized neuroticism (emotional instability) and aggressiveness.

Also, there is evidence that it is related to some other personality constructs: achievement orientation, IQ, lower levels of moral reasoning, rigidity, etc.

Connection with authoritarianism is also complex, modulated by specific conditions in society. Where prejudices are more legitimate part of value system they are transmitted through social conditioning and authoritarian personality plays smaller role (e.g., Heaven 1984, 1976, Pettigrew, 1959). When there is no significant tension between ethnic groups personality plays also smaller role (e.g., Forbes, 1985).

Plausible hypothesis about the personality-ethnocentrism relationship can be that in "moderate" levels of ethnic tensions authoritarians are distinguishably present among ethnocentrics.

Yugoslavia in the time of the survey were dominated by ethnic/national conflicts, thus probably decreasing correlation between personality and ethnocentrism. However, situation in Subotica is quite atypical. First, it is relatively distant from the places where armed conflicts emerged and remained quite untouched by open violence. Second, post-Second-World-War development was characterized by quite peaceful coexistence of numerous ethnic groups. For the difference from other ethnically mixed areas in Yugoslavia, in Subotica as in the whole Vojvodina, ethnic groups more lived together than besides each other. For illustration, the rate of interethnic marriages in Vojvodina was the highest in whole Yugoslavia, much higher than for example in Bosnia or Croatia (Botev, 1994). The third is that public sphere was dominated by intensive nationalist propaganda from all sides, but dominantly from the Serbian state TV network. The first two features probably worked in support of personality-ethnocentrism relationship, while the third influenced in opposite direction. If this is true, than in Serbian sub-sample correlation between personality (authoritarianism) and ethnocentrism should be lower. This hypothesis however, remains to be tested in the study, but it would be difficult to make firm conclusions. Forbes (1985) for example, proposes that minority-nationalism should not be based on pathological, i.e. authoritarian motivation. If his assumption is correct than correlations in Hungarian and Croatian sub-samples should also be low.

Complex relationships between society, ethnocentrism and personality can be clarified taking into account the double function of prejudices and ethnocentrism: social integration and individual balance (Dadrian, 1971, Rot 1989, Scheepers *et al.* 1992). Ethnocentrism or nationalism has a role in producing group identification and homogeneity in relation to outgroups, and maintenance of social status quo in relation to ingroups. Aboud (1980) for example, described the role of ethnocentrism in child development as a first step in the acquisition of in-group affiliation.

Lanternari (1980) made similar distinction between two kinds of ethnocentrism: one is attitudinal/spontaneous ethnocentrism, rooted in biological predisposition described by sociobiologists, the second is cultural ethnocentrism, linked to the structure of society and maintaining existing power balance between classes.

On the individual level, ethnocentric attitudes can probably have all four functions described by Katz (1960, p.170): instrumental or utilitarian, ego-defensive, value-expressive and cognitive. *The Authoritarian Personality* was concentrated on ego-defensive role of ethnocentric attitudes. However, it seems that one function is missing in Katz's taxonomy: attitudes as a mere expression of basic personality traits. For example, utility of holding aggressive attitudes towards some object for intrinsically aggressive person can be secondary

to the spontaneous expression of the trait. Another interpretation is to interpret that as a value-expressive function.

If any general conclusion at this point can be made, it is that complex relationships between ethnocentrism and other variables are under the strong influence of socio-cultural factors. Comparisons between studies from different societies and periods in time are not possible without taking into account relevant dimensions of social structure and dynamics.

AUTHORITARIANISM

In the chapter on ethnocentrism it was frequently referred to Adorno *et al.*'s *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950). Here, it will be presented in some more details, together with the most frequent criticisms. Finally, the conceptual framework for constructing the applied AUT scale will be presented.

The authors started from the general hypothesis that "an individual is most receptive to those ideologies which afford the fullest expression to his over-all personality structure" (Frenkel-Brunswick *et al.*, 1947, p.536) in order to assess the potential for Fascism or other 'antidemocratic ideologies' in the United States. Through the application of various methodological tools, like questionnaires, interviews, projective techniques, they found that there exist a stable ideological orientation, consisting of anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism and conservatism, which strongly correlate with certain pattern of personality traits, named *authoritarianism*.

According to the authors, there are nine traits characterizing authoritarian personality: 1) *Conventionalism*, defined as rigid following conventional, middle-class values; 2) *Authoritarian submission*, manifested in submissive, uncritical attitudes towards idealized authorities of the ingroup; 3) *Authoritarian aggression* - expressed in condemnation and rejection of those who violate conventional values, and in request for their severe punishment; 4) *Anti-intraception* - opposing to everything subjective, imaginative, not dealing with own inner psychic life and experience; 5) *Rigid thinking, Superstition and stereotypy* - tendency to think in rigid categories and belief in mystical causes of the individual's fate; 6) *Power and "toughness"* - identification with those who own power, exaggeration of the importance of strength, toughness, discipline; 7) *Destructiveness and cynism* - rejection of humane and empathy, generalized hostility; 8) - *Projectivity* - projection of inner unconscious impulses onto the outer world, belief that world is dominated by secret and dangerous forces; and 9) *Sex* - overemphasized interest in sexual deviations, false morality (Adorno *et al.*, 1950).

Development of this personality type is claimed to be rooted in family relationships, especially child upbringing patterns. Fathers are described as domineering, mothers as punitive, both requiring strict discipline and obedience through the manipulation with the expression of parental love, punishments and threatening. The consequence is insecure, fearful and dependent child, with ambivalent attitude towards parents. On the one side is its dependence, and on the other is accumulated aggression towards parents. Intrapsychical

conflict is resolved through repression of aggressive impulses and uncritical idealization of parents.

Personality features developed in early childhood latter find expression in specific individual's relation to the social world: submissiveness towards up and aggressiveness toward down. Or, in the authors' words:

"Thus a basically hierarchical, authoritarian, exploitively dependent parent-child relationship is apt to carry over into a power-orientated, exploitively dependent attitude toward one's sex partner and one's God and may well culminate in a political philosophy and social outlook which has no room for anything but desperate clinging to what appears to be strong and a disdainful rejection of whatever is relegated to the bottom. The inherent dramatization likewise extends from the parent-child dichotomy to the dichotomous conception of sex role and of moral values, as well as to a dichotomous handling of social relations as manifested especially in the formation of stereotypes and of ingroup-outgroup cleavages. Conventionality, rigidity, repressive denial, and the ensuing breakthrough of one's weakness, fear and dependency are but other aspects of the same fundamental personality pattern, and they can be observed in personal life as well as in attitudes toward religion and social issues" (Adorno *et al.*, 1950, p.971).

Ethnic minorities and various other underprivileged or negatively stereotyped groups are particularly suitable targets for expressing repressed hostility, while preserving positive self-image.

In this way, they created a theory and explanation of ethnocentrism reducing it to the psychological maladaptation. This point, i.e., the neglect of social factors, was one of the most frequent targets of theoretical criticisms (e.g. Vivian and Brown, 1994, , Asch, 1987, Ferrarotti, 1994). According to Ferrarotti, "Racism... implies the existence of a racist community" (1994, p.116), it is not enough to possess certain personality traits. However, according to Forbes (1985), this critique is misplaced, for the objective of their study was not to explain the phenomenon of ethnocentrism and prejudices, but to describe a personality type who is prone to accept and firmly hold such attitudes.

Another theoretical critique was that F scale measure only Right-wing authoritarianism but fails to indicate the trait among those accepting leftist political attitudes (Shils, 1954, according to Forbes, 1985). It led some authors to propose similar concepts

which will not be ideologically 'biased', like Rokeach's Dogmatism or Eysenck's tough-mindedness (1954).

Different but related critique of the meaning of the F scale results was made by Rot (1989) and Rot and Havelka (1973) after its application in Yugoslavia. They concluded that the F scale actually measured the acceptance of beliefs characteristic for patriarchal environment, not the degree and existence of some stable personality traits.

Among many methodological critiques, most frequent are those concerning the representativeness of the samples studied, sensitiveness of their questionnaires to acquiescence response set, methodologically improper interpretation of interviews, and failing to control relevant external variables, like intelligence, education, socio-economic status (e.g. Snyder and Ickes, 1985, Vivian and Brown, 1994).

Without entering the numerous disputes around *The Authoritarian Personality*, two issues are important for the present study.

The first are established correlates of authoritarianism. In previous chapter were presented some of the findings about the relationship between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism. It seems that although in most studies they are strongly correlated, it is not always the case, particularly when prejudices are either an outstanding or relatively irrelevant part of the intergroup relations. The former applies to, for example, South Africa (e.g. Heaven, 1976, 1984) or southern states in USA (Pettigrew, 1959), where prejudices are transmitted through socialization regardless of specific family environment and personality traits. The latter case can be illustrated by Forbes' (1985) finding of very small or insignificant correlations between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism in Canada. Probably the reason is that both studied groups, i.e., the English and French-speaking communities, have relatively equal status within society. It is not the same meaning of an 'outgroup' applied for Blacks from Adorno *et al's* study, and 'outgroup' defined as English seeking Canadian in relation to French-speaking Canadian. Plausible hypothesis can be that authoritarian personality traits of Canadian college students (Forbes' sample) are differently projected onto social field, not as ethnocentric rejection of French speakers by English speakers, or vice versa.

Forbes (*Ibid.*) also discussed the possible difference of the relationship ethnocentrism-authoritarianism between majority (dominating) and minority (oppressed) groups. Because conformism is one of the essential parts of the authoritarian syndrome, non-conformism of some minority nationalist movements should be reflected in the absence or in low correlations with authoritarianism.

Among other correlates of authoritarianism, frequently found were: lower socio-economic status, lower education⁶, rightist political preference, conservatism, etc. (e.g. Rot and Havelka, 1973, Ray, 1972, Scheepers *et al.*, 1990).

The second relevant issue for this study is the question what remained of the original description of the authoritarian personality. According to some authors (e.g. Altemeyer, 1981, Feather, 1993) three major personality dispositions - conventionalism, authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression - constitute the authoritarian syndrome. Probably, the other traits from original account were more sensitive to temporal changes in social climate, and/or more difficult for questionnaire operationalization.

Design of the AUT scale of authoritarianism in this study started from this last point. Items were selected with the intention to cover these three dispositions: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission. Models for developing items were original F scale and its various Yugoslav adaptations (Rot and Havelka, 1973). Special attention was given on the one side to the conditions in Yugoslavia in developing items for conventionalism, and on the other to the verbal formulations appropriate for the sample.

From the previous presentation are derived the following general hypotheses to be tested in this research:

- a) authoritarianism can be regarded as consisting of three related sub-dimensions: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submissiveness;
- b) there are significant correlations between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism;
- c) authoritarianism is differently correlated with various dimensions of ethnic attitudes: more with exclusive ethnocentric attitudes, less with 'patriotic' attitudes;
- d) authoritarianism is more correlated with ethnocentrism in politically more powerful ethnic group (not necessarily numerical majority).

⁶ Schuman *et al.*(1992) argue that F scale is applicable only for respondents "with at least some college experience", because otherwise it does not reflect the "degree of authoritarianism (p.385).

AGGRESSIVENESS

There is no doubt that aggression is one of the most important aspects of human behavior, and it is not surprising that it received a great deal of attention among social scientists. Surprising, however, is that in spite of the vast literature on aggression even its definition is a matter of dispute (e.g., Krebs and Miller, 1985). Without entering this problem, here will be presented the position of aggressiveness within the theoretical framework of dimensionalist personality psychology, from which the applied scale of aggressiveness PRIMAG is derived.

According to one of the authors of this orientation, "...personality theories which has been submitted to sufficiently strict empirical verification... in this phase of development of psychology, are only theories based on the concept of latent dimensions" (Momirović *et al.*, 1992, p. 11). According to Eysenck, three basic postulates of this approach are:

"(1) There is one set of invariant factors in human behavior which gives rise to individual differences; these factors can be conceptualized under such headings as abilities, traits, attitudes, etc.

"(2) Personality factors must be integrated into general psychology by using concepts and theories paradigmatic in that science to explain the observed regularities.

"(3) Personality factors of sufficient width and importance to determine general and invariant patterns of behavior are likely to be biologically anchored and to be determined strongly by genetic causes. (Eysenck, 1976, p. x).

Application of these postulates to aggressiveness means that: a) aggressiveness is understood as one of the basic personality traits, relevant for observed individual differences; b) studies of aggressiveness should be connected with general psychology, and concepts like conditioning, modelling, instrumental learning, etc.; and c) biological and genetic basis of aggressiveness should be taken into account.

Regarding the postulate (1), it should be stressed the distinction between the **aggression**, defined as "behavior of an individual (or group of individuals) characterized by the acts with included goal of harming the other individual (or group of individuals)", and the **aggressiveness**, defined as "*one* singular, relatively permanent tendency of expressing aggression" (Ignjatović, 1989, emphasis original).

Although the trait concept of personality was heavily criticized because of the relative cross-situational inconsistency of human behavior, for example, arguing that no one individual is aggressive in all situations, aggressiveness proved to be one of the most stable traits (e.g., Krebs and Miller, 1985, Hartup & Van Lieshout, 1995, Ignjatović, 1989). This had two consequences for studies of aggressiveness: this trait was included, on various ways, in all trait models of personality, and genetic and biological basis of aggressiveness are investigated.

In the Eysenck's first, two-dimensional, personality model aggressiveness was conceived as connected with high levels of extraversion and neuroticism, while in the later three-dimensional, aggressiveness was part of psychoticism dimension (Eysenck, 1977). Person high in psychoticism is described as: cruel, inhumane, insensitive, lacking of empathy, hostile to others, aggressive, disregarding for dangers, etc. (*Ibid.* p.58), and on the other place as cold, egocentric, impersonal, antisocial (Eysenck, 1994, p.629). Neurophysiological basis for the trait is hypothesized to be located in paleocortex (amygdala, hypothalamus) and related to the level of testosterone⁷ (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1976).

Aggressiveness has quite ambiguous status in Cattell's theory. In his 16-dimensional model various aspects of aggressiveness are connected with different factors: Schizothymia pole of Factor A, Parmaia, Protension and Premsia (Cattell and Dreger, 1977).

In the Big-Five model, aggressiveness is connected with negative poles of agreeableness and conscientiousness (Revelle, 1995). For that reason Eysenck argued that they are primary factors defining the psychoticism as a higher-order factor (1994, p.632) .

Aggressiveness, or *regulator of attack reactions* in Momirović's cybernetic model, is one of six basic personality traits. According to the author, this regulator is "... probably located in limbic system [and] modulates ... primary tonic arousal, but on the basis of programs for destructive reactions which are formed either in the courses of filogenetic or ontogenetic development. Model allows either direct activation of this programs, in which case it is primary aggressiveness, either secondary activation on the basis of signals from the center for regulation of defense reactions" (Momirović *et al.*, 1992, p.21). In less exotic words, primary aggressiveness can be identified as impulsiveness and tendency for immediate aggressive reactions on frustration, while secondary is based on fear.

⁷ This explains, for example, why males are usually more aggressive than females, or why testosterone level rises in chess competitors before the game! (Mazur *et al.*1992)

Concept of two sub-dimensions of aggressiveness is confirmed and further developed in Ignjatović's VAPO aggressiveness scale (1989). Here, primary aggressiveness is connected with the level of nor-epinephrin, and secondary with epinephrin. However, hypothesis about the role of testosterone is not denied.

From this brief overview of trait personality theories can be concluded that aggressiveness has fairly well established status as a basic personality trait, or as a relevant dimension for comparison of individuals. Implications for the relationship between aggressiveness and ethnocentrism is relatively simple, although quite vague: other things being equal, individual high in this trait should hold more aggressive ethnocentric attitudes, have more aggressive feelings towards outgroups and more frequently engage in aggressive behavior within ethnocentric ideology. However, implication for attitudes is, of course, more reliable than for behavior. According to Ignjatović (1989, p.6), aggressive behavior is a result of the interaction of at least four elements: situation (perceived by individual), degree of aggressiveness (personality trait), internalized moral norms and fear of external punishment. Suppressive effect of the last two elements should be much less expressed in attitudes than in behavior, normally, in conditions and cultures where aggressiveness is negatively valued. But, if referent groups change their evaluation of aggression, in general or towards certain groups, seemingly peaceful groups of people can find themselves in extreme aggressive actions. When external controls disappear and when there is no firmly internalized moral norms, behavior can become guided by repressed motives and needs, with judgements of accepted authorities as a surrogate of morality.

Nevertheless, proposed hypotheses are more vague expectations than strict hypothesis formally deduced from the existing theories. This is because neither theories nor their operationalizations are sufficiently developed for the more exact testing.

Aggressiveness scale applied in this research (PRIMAG) is directly inspired by the theory of two sub-dimensions of aggressiveness as defined in Ignjatović (1989) and Momirović *et al.* (1992). However, models for the selection of items were not only the scales VAPO (Ignjatović) and SIGMA (Momirović), but also P scale from Eysenck's EPQ and Pd scale from MMPI. Special attention was given to the introduction of idiomatic expressions characteristic for the sample of respondents.

SOME SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPECIFICITIES OF SUBOTICA, YUGOSLAVIA AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

A few notes about socio-political conditions in Yugoslavia, and particularly in Subotica where the survey was conducted, seems necessary for the appropriate interpretation of findings.

Subotica is a town and a district of approximately 150.000 inhabitants. It is located on the north of Vojvodina, autonomous province in Serbia. Population is ethnically mixed: roughly 50% are ethnic Hungarians, settled there since Subotica was a part of Austro-Hungary, about 20% are Serbs and Montenegrins, many of whom came after the Second World War, 20% are Croats and Bunjevci, and the rest includes Yugoslavs, Gypsies, Germans, Albanians, and many others⁸. Declared Yugoslavs were usually those who originated from mixed marriages, but also those whose ethnic identity was rather connected with Yugoslavia, than with any specific ethnic group. Difference between Croats and Bunjevci more reflects political opinions than real ethnic differences. They are both descents of a large group of Slav Catholics settled in the area in the second half of 17 century. Declaration as Bunjevac presently means emphasizing ethnic uniqueness in relation both to Serbs and Croats from Croatia.

Break-up of former Yugoslavia provoked increased degree of ethnic tensions in this traditionally tolerant area. However, the tensions are expressed more in relations between political parties than as a conflicts between citizens. Although there were attempts to create some militant political groups, mainly organized by recent migrants from the other parts of ex-Yugoslavia, the area remained peaceful.

On the level of political propaganda, the situation was quite different, with various political parties claiming that they represent national interests of different nationalities. The strongest propaganda was of course, by Serbian nationalists, through state TV and press network. Proximity of Hungary and Croatia secured also promotion of their political interests.

Changes in the social climate could have variously influenced the relationships studied in this research. From the standpoint of cognitive dissonance theory (Rot, 1989) three groups of changes in attitudes are likely to happen: a) change of some elements of cognitive structure, e.g., evaluation of some of groups can be changed according to its perceived role in conflicts in Yugoslavia; b) addition of consonant cognitions with existing attitude - positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups can be preserved, for example,

⁸ However, this statistics are very rough approximation, because in censuses were used different categories. Also, since the beginning of the crisis there have been significant migrations, which effect is difficult to assess.

interpreting the conflicts as a result of political manipulation, not attributing causes to the members of the group; c) trivialization of the importance of cognitive elements, e.g. negation of the importance of any national identification. Of course, the real processes in attitude changes are much more complex and unpredictable.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Problem addressed in this research are relationships between ethno-nationalist attitudes and socio-economic variables on the one side, and psychological variables on the other. Both groups of variables are found in many studies to correlate with ethnocentrism, but the relationship was moderated by social, economical and political conditions. Considering the crisis in Yugoslavia to be a sort of a "natural experiment" focused heavily ethnicity, it was attempted to investigate various features of the relationships between included variables.

HYPOTHESES

One group of hypotheses can be called structural, and they are related to the latent structure of applied scales:

1. Ethno-nationalist attitudes are multidimensional construct, consisting of at least two relatively independent dimensions: negative attitude towards outgroup (or ethnocentrism) and positive attitude toward ingroup (or non-exclusive ethnic-national attachment).
2. Authoritarianism a syndrome of traits consisting of three related dimensions: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission.
3. Aggressiveness is a higher-order personality trait, including two components: primary and secondary aggressiveness.

The next group of hypothesis is related to the relationships between extracted factors:

4. Factors of ethnocentrism are in positive correlation with factors of authoritarianism
5. Factors of ethnocentrism are positively correlated with the factors of aggressiveness

The last group of hypotheses is dealing with the influence of socio-demographic variables:

6. Gender, socio-economic status, religious affiliation, religiosity and nationality are significant predictors of dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes;

7. Relationships between ethno-nationalist attitudes and personality variables are under the influence of group membership:

- a) Authoritarianism is more predictive for ethno-nationalist attitudes in politically dominant group (Serbs) than in other groups;
- b) there are no differences between groups in correlation between ethnocentric attitudes and dimensions of aggressiveness.

METHOD

The research of which this study is a part, was conducted in the Spring 1995, in Subotica, Yugoslavia. Research was organized by Prof. Zlatko Sram, from the Center for Social Research, Subotica (NGO).

Sample

Respondents were an *ad hoc* sample of approximately 700 secondary school students from various schools from Subotica. Questionnaire was administered during regular classes, and its filling lasted approximately 40 minutes. Full anonymity of respondents was secured. Some descriptive characteristics of the sample are given in the following tables. According to gender, the sample is well balanced (Table 1).

Table 1 Gender composition of the sample

GENDER	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Male	344	49.2	50.2
Female	341	48.8	49.8
No answer	14	2.0	Missing
Total	699	100.0	100.0

Proportions of nationalities in the sample (see Table 2) do not correspond strictly to the proportions in the community of Subotica, but there are reasons to believe that they resemble actual proportions in secondary schools. Serbian population has higher average education and is more concentrated in urban area. Hungarians, Croats and Bunjevci are also

present in urban areas, but in a greater proportion in rural. That probably influenced that their youth is more likely to not to attend secondary schools. Also, secondary school students who are not from Subotica are most likely to be of Serbian origin.

Greater proportion of Yugoslavs is probably due to the reason that mixed marriages are more specific for urban areas. But, dissatisfaction of the youth with the ethnic conflicts could have caused more frequent declaration as Yugoslavs.

Table 2 National composition of the sample

Nationality	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hungarian	202	28.9	30.3	30.3
Croatian	38	5.4	5.7	36.0
Bunjevac	34	4.9	5.1	41.1
Serbian	212	30.3	31.8	73.0
Yugoslavian	141	20.2	21.2	94.1
No answer	39	5.6	5.9	100.0
Missing	33	4.7		
Total	699	100.0	100.0	

Fathers Education is the variable used as an indicator of socio-economic status of respondents. Distribution again does not correspond to the population parameters, but corresponds more to the parameters of the secondary school pupils population (Table 3).

Table 3 Distribution of respondents' father's level of education

Fathers education	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Unfinished primary school	13	1.9	1.9
Primary school	62	8.9	9.2
Occupational school	173	24.7	25.6
Technical school (4 years)	169	24.2	25.0
Gymnasium	18	2.6	2.7

Higher school	136	19.5	20.1
University	104	14.9	15.4
No answer	24	3.4	Missing
Total	699	100.0	100.0

Catholics are major religious group in Subotica, because Hungarians, Croats and Bunjevci are mostly catholics. Interesting thing is a large number of missing values in this item (Table 4).

Table 4 Distribution of respondents' religious affiliation

	Frequency	Percent	Percent
Catholic	296	42.3	48.7
Orthodox	192	27.5	31.6
Other	22	3.1	3.6
Not religious	98	14.0	16.1
No answer	91	13.0	Missing
Total	699	100.0	100.0

Although the sample does not fulfil the requirements of representativeness, it seems that it does not differ much from the characteristics of secondary school students according to these important indicators. A disadvantage of this sample, as of any sample of secondary school students, is that it is highly selected according to some of the variables important for present research. In general, secondary school students represent youth from the above-average social stratum what should imply lower level of authoritarianism according to presented studies. Also, educational process is selective for aggressiveness. Extremely aggressive individuals are much more likely to drop out of school before secondary level, while they are more likely to engage in various aggressive behaviors, even within nationalist ideology. Thus, because the sample is selected according to investigated variables, it can be justly hypothesized that if there are some significant relationships, they could even be stronger in broader population.

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

All three main scales (ETNA60, PRIMAG and AUT) were devised in the Center for Social Research (CFSR), by [ram and Todosijević. Scales are partly based on works of other authors in the field referred in previous chapters, and partly on several previous studies conducted in the CFSR. This is especially the case with the ETNA60 scale.

All scales are in Likert form, where answers were given by circling one of four degrees of dis/agreement with each item (1 - strongly disagree, 2 - disagree, 3 - agree and 4 - strongly agree).

Scales are not balanced, i.e., agreement with each item means indication of the presence of the measured dimension. Although such solution can be criticized, there are some arguments in support of the choice. The most important is made by Wilde, who argued that between balanced and unbalanced questionnaire versions there "is no change in factorial validity ... the only difference found was a difference in mean scores, which is trivial and irrelevant " (1977, p. 89).

Questionnaires were administered in two languages: Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian. English language versions of the applied scales are given in the Appendix A.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Latent structure of the scales was analyzed by means of exploratory factor analysis (principal component method of extracting factors). Relationships between factors are analyzed by correlational analysis and multiple regression. Influence of the socio-demographic variables is analyzed by means of discriminant analysis and one-way analysis of variance.

RESULTS

In the following parts will be presented main results of the statistical analysis of the data. In the main text will be included only the most important results. More complete computer output is given in the appendix.

Frequencies of answers to all items from the three applied scales are given in the Appendix B. The distribution of items is highly skewed, especially from ETNA60 scale. It means on the one side that majority of respondents disagreed with the items, and, on the other, that items were generally not sufficiently discriminative for respondents less inclined to accept nationalist attitudes, or at least in such quite extreme formulation as in the ETNA60 items. This can be regarded as a disadvantage of the scale, but in its defense it can be said that the aim of the scale was to discriminate subjects with the higher degree of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Nevertheless, skewed distribution has for a consequence lowered correlations between items and many other statistical disadvantages. However, it can mean an advantage for the future of Subotica, if general tendency of refusing ethno-nationalist items in the scale really means greater ethnic tolerance of respondents.

Reliability

Basic metric properties of the applied scales are presented in the Table 5.

Table 5 Reliability coefficients of the applied scales (by simple summation)

Scale	No. of items	Alpha	Split-half
ETNA60	60	0.96	0.90
AUT	28	0.84	0.74
PRIMAG	30	0.89	0.84

It is evident that all scales have adequate coefficients of reliability, especially ETNA60 scale, and that even results obtained by simple summation can be reliable measures. Authoritarianism scale (AUT) has the lowest coefficients. It seems that it is the scale with most heterogenous items. Very high Alpha (internal consistency) for ETNA60 scale can be interpreted in support of the hypothesis of the existence of one general attitude

or dimension in the space of ethno-nationalist attitudes. The next step is a factor analysis of the three applied scales.

Factor analysis of the ETNA60 scale

Intercorrelation matrix of the ETNA60 scale and statistics after initial extractions are given in the Appendix. According to the Scree-test, extracted were four factors accounting for 43.1 percent of total variance. It should be noticed that the first principal component explains 29.4 % of variance, what is half of the variance explained by all 12 components with eigenvalues higher than 1. Almost all items (except 7, 56, 57 and 58) have significant loadings on it. Actually, this information was already present in the degree of Alpha coefficient, and its meaning is the same: strong common subject of measurement, or general dimension of ethno-nationalist attitudes.

For more meaningful interpretation, factors are rotated using Oblimin method. Patterns of the four rotated factors are presented in following four tables. Displayed are variables with loadings higher than 0.35.

Table 6 ETNA60 Oblimin factor 1: *Patriotism, National Attachment*

Items from the ETNA60		Loadings
Our nation should be considered as one extended family.	NAC35	.73145
I am very proud of the national history, culture and heritage.	NAC32	.72195
It is the holy duty of every member of my nation to sacrifice personal interests for the benefit of his/her nation.	NAC23	.71007
All member of my nation are my brothers and sisters.	NAC34	.69988
I am ready to die for the interests and dignity of my nation.	NAC22	.69865
Youth's holly duty is to glorify national heroes.	NAC33	.67417
Man without national feelings is man without a home, family and country.	NAC36	.64559
Every man should understand that the destiny of his nation is also his destiny.	NAC28	.64166
No one member of my nationality can have happy life if s/he does not care for the destiny of our nation.	NAC29	.63852

Great love towards one's nation is one of the primary virtues children should learn.	NAC21	.63358
All members of my nation have to keep firmly together if we do not want to encounter a national catastrophe.	NAC39	.61199
Admiring the nation is one of the most beautiful feelings which one can experience.	NAC26	.56863
I always get mad when somebody speaks bad about my nation.	NAC24	.54584
Every offense of my nation I experience as an attack on my own personality.	NAC25	.53335
When national unity is in question, than ought not to be any political disagreements and differences between members of my nation.	NAC38	.51892
Membership in my Church is the most important feature of my nation.	NAC30	.51844
Everyone who does not feel great and immeasurable love towards his/her nation is worth to be despised.	NAC20	.51304

Common for the items with the highest saturations on this factor is on various ways expressed identification with one's ethnic/national group (Table 6). Emphasized is the emotional side of the relationship towards ingroup, the identity of one's individual and national destiny, the importance of national unity and necessity to cultivate and support national interests and goals. Only several items with lower loadings (24, 25 and 20) express a certain degree of aggressiveness, but as a reaction on perceived symbolic attack. It can be concluded that this is an interpretable factor, and that resembles dimensions variously named in other studies, like patriotism (although does not include notion of political entity), positive attitude towards ingroup, or positive national attachment. The most important feature is that positive attitude toward ingroup here does not include negative attitude towards outgroup. Thus, the proposed label for this factor is **Patriotism**, or alternatively, national attachment. Items and significant saturations of the second factor are in the Table 7.

Table 7 ETNA60 Oblimin factor 2: *Minorities' rights*

Items from the ETNA60		Loadings
National minorities have too little rights and liberties in this state.	NAC58	.66919

Every national minority should have a right to join to its 'mother-state' if wants.	NAC56	.58199
Because I do not feel that I belong to this state I am not obliged to defend it.	NAC57	.52986
I feel personally endangered by the members of other nations.	NAC45	.46207

The second factor consists only of four items, which are those that had insignificant projections on the first principal component (Table 7). It means that this factor mostly departs from the common subject of measurement of the scale.

The first three items are directly related to the status of minorities in the country, and the fourth expresses it implicitly. Thus, the factor can be interpreted as an attitude towards or (negative) evaluation of the existing rights of minorities. It seems that it is more based on symbolic than on real-life experience, because the item 45 has the lowest loading. It can be expected that this factor will discriminate national minorities from majority. Statement like items in this factor are quite frequent among political representatives from Croatian and Hungarian minority. Proposed label for the factor is **Minorities' Rights**, or alternatively, dissatisfaction with the status of minorities.

The third factor of ethno-nationalism is presented in the Table 8.

Table 8 ETNA60 Oblimin factor 3: *Ethnocentrism*

Items from the ETNA60		Loadings
If I would be in a position to decide who would get a job, I would try to give an advantage to members of my nation.	NAC3	.67207
Openness and sincerity towards other nations bear more disadvantages than benefits.	NAC6	.65666
I feel most comfortable in companionship where everybody is of my nationality.	NAC1	.64072
I can hardly be a friend with a person who is not of my nationality.	NAC2	.63692
My nation is culturally superior (more valuable) than nations with which we are in direct contact.	NAC13	.62381
We have to preserve race cleanness of our nation and not to mix with other nations through mixed marriages.	NAC19	.62201
If I would be a judge, I would attempt to punish less members of my own nation	NAC4	.61018

Comparing to other nations, my nation is much more clever and intelligent.	NAC12	.54557
One should always be cautious and reserved towards the members of other nations, even when they appear to be friendly.	NAC5	.54201
In my nation there is much less dishonesty and hypocrisy than in some other nations.	NAC11	.52328
If we know one's nationality, we immediately know what kind of personality s/he is.	NAC15	.51370
Nationally mixed marriages are in advance determined to failure.	NAC8	.50601
My nation is historically and politically more mature than some other nations.	NAC18	.41353
National affiliation of an individual to a great extent determines his/here personal characteristics and character.	NAC14	.40895
Foreigners should never be trusted too much, and if possible should be avoided.	NAC43	.40407
It would be the best if every nation could live in a state where there are no national minorities.	NAC10	.38192
I have a feeling that members of other nations are 'working' behind my back.	NAC40	.35675

Items with the highest loadings on the third factor express several related attitudes: privileged treatments of one's ingroups (items 3, 4), national exclusiveness, or closedness (items 6, 1, 2, 19, 5, 43, 10, 8), and feeling of moral/intellectual superiority of one's own nation (13, 19, 12, 11, 18).

This factor resembles Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn's (1993, p.21) description of the "cumulative dimension of ethnic attitudes". The first group of attitudes (privileged treatment of ingroups) resembles their description of symbolic racism, while ethnocentrism and aversive racism correspond to the closedness and feeling of superiority. Here is obtained that all these components are expressions of the same attitude, while their results suggested hierarchical relationship, where more tolerant attitudes do not include intolerant attitudes. However, the difference is not great, and can be the result of different applied statistical methods.

It seems that the most appropriate label for this factor is **Ethnocentrism**. It includes higher evaluation of ingroups, their privileged treatment and avoiding of contacts with outgroups.

The last extracted factor from the ETNA60 scale is given in the Table 9.

Table 9 ETNA60 Oblimin factor 4: *Nationalism (Hegemonistic)*

Items from the ETNA60		Loadings
My nation has many enemies.	NAC42	.72891
In this country should exist only one official language and only one official script.	NAC50	.64364
It is evident that some nations are conspiring against my nation.	NAC41	.64127
In this country national minorities have too great rights and liberties.	NAC51	.63598
Members of those nations who do not agree with official national policy of this country should be simply asked to leave the country.	NAC53	.63444
World does not think anything good to my people.	NAC46	.61834
There are lot of betrayers in my nation.	NAC44	.59302
Unfortunately, war is sometimes the only way to protect the freedom and dignity of my nation.	NAC54	.51718
Without a strong state leader it is impossible to protect national interests and freedom of my people.	NAC49	.50340
Only a strong national leader of my people can protect our national interests and freedom.	NAC60	.44403
My nation should mobilize all its material and spiritual forces in order to preserve its national freedom and rights.	NAC47	.39364
One state and one nation should be the most important political ideal of my people.	NAC48	.39072

This factor also consists of several groups of similar items: distrust or 'paranoic' feeling about the intentions of other nations (items 42, 41, 46), items expressing attitude that one's own nation should dominate in the country (50, 51, 53) and a set of relatively divergent items with lower loadings, expressing distrust even in members of one's own nation (44), necessity to fight for nation's interests (54, 47), the need for a strong national

leader (49, 60) and with the **lowest** saturation, in Gellner's view (1983) the motto of all nationalists: one nation - one state.

Common element in this seemingly divergent statement is generalized distrust in the world out of the national group, and on that basis the requirement for defense of perceived vital national interests through, for example, negative treatment of minorities (53) or following of the national leader. Another, perhaps more important factor which influenced such grouping of items is that they are most common, although simplified, attitudes expressed by present Serbian nationalists. Their typical feature, as of many other nationalists, is that negative attitudes towards others are explained as a defense of one's own vital and just interests.

It is difficult to name factor consisted of such divergent items, although the interpretation seems clear. Probably, the most appropriate label would be **Nationalism**, with the attribute -hegemonic. It implicitly includes relationship towards political institution, but also contains distinct negative attitude towards outgroups, especially if they are perceived as not loyal.

In the Table 10 are presented correlations between the factors. Except the Factor 2 (Minorities rights) all factors are substantially correlated. It is another finding supportive for the existence of one general dimension of ethno-nationalism.

Table 10 Correlation coefficients between the four ETNA60 factors

	<i>Patriotism</i>	<i>Minorities' rights</i>	<i>Ethnocentrism</i>
<i>Minorities' rights</i>	.13		
<i>Ethnocentrism</i>	.49	.16	
<i>Nationalism</i>	.45	.02	.38

The convergence of factors indicates that that general dimension is most close to the factor of Ethnocentrism, and also that Patriotism, Ethnocentrism and Nationalism have much in common. Factor 2 represents more political attitude than a dimension of ethno-nationalism, but it is not independent of other factors completely.

Interpretation of the first principal component (see Appendix) suggests that in this general dimension, the most important elements are feelings of superiority (items 18, 13, 12) and attachment to ethnic/national group (items 21, 25, 26, 39, 23), the core components of

the definition of Ethnocentrism. This fact allows inclusion of both factors and the principal component in subsequent analyses.

In the Table 11 are presented reliability coefficients of the subscales created from the variables with significant loadings on the extracted actors.

Table 11 Reliability coefficients for the four ethno-nationalism factors (by simple summation)

ETHNA60 Factors	No. of items	Alpha	Split-half
<i>Patriotism</i>	17	0.93	0.90
<i>Min. rights</i>	4	0.61	0.61
<i>Ethnocentrism</i>	17	0.90	0.88
<i>Nationalism</i>	12	0.88	0.82

In spite of a small number of items in sub-scales, coefficients are quite satisfying. Only the coefficients of the Factor 2 (*Minorities' rights*) are lower, but even it is not so critical because that scale has only four items. In the subsequent analysis factors are defined through factor scores, i.e. under factorial model of measurement, so is logical that metric characteristics are even higher. It means that from the statistical point of view, the following results can be accepted as reliable.

Summary

Extracted are four meaningful and interpretable factors, labeled: 1) Patriotism, 2) Minorities' rights, 3) Ethnocentrism and 4) Nationalism (Hegemonist). Thus, the hypothesis about the multidimensionality of ethnic/nationalist attitudes is confirmed. Factors 1) and 3), i.e., positive attitude towards ingroup and negative attitude towards outgroup, correspond to similar factors found in the researches presented in the theoretical part. Their correlation, and strong principal component, confirm also the hypothesis on the existence of one general ethno-nationalist dimension. Factors 2) and 4) a greater degree reflect to political events, but Nationalism of majority is definitely a part of the ethnocentric orientation.

Factor analysis of the AUTHORITARIANISM scale

From the matrix of intercorrelations of the AUT scale are extracted three factors. Although the Scree-test and G-K criterium suggest extraction of 8 factors, the smaller number of three is chosen in order to avoid too many weakly defined factors and to test the hypothesis on three components of the authoritarian syndrome: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission. Nevertheless, large number of significant factors indicates heterogeneity of the scale, and questions the existence of the one single dimension of authoritarianism. Relatively weak first principal component (19.7 % of variance) and low communalities also support the heterogeneity of the concept (actually the operationalization of the concept in AUT scale).

Three extracted factors account for 32% of variance, and their structure proved to be interpretable. Factor patterns are presented in the following three tables.

Table 12 Pattern matrix of the Authoritarianism Oblimin factor 1: *Aggressive Conventionalism*

Authoritarianism Oblimin factor 1: <i>Aggressive Conventionalism</i>	Loadings
When somebody is showing signs of mental disturbance, s/he should be straightaway put in mental hospital. AUT5	.61628
Homosexuals are not at all better than criminals and should be severely punished. AUT1	.58427
Persons with inheritable diseases should be disabled for having children; they should be sterilized. AUT4	.55357
Woman should enter the marriage as a virgin. AUT13	.53130
All beggars should be expelled from the streets. AUT9	.52864
Prostitutes are the worst kind of people. AUT2	.48292
Sometimes I am afraid of my sexual fantasies. AUT16	.47827
Women should never be trusted too much regarding their sexual fidelity. AUT15	.46895

Woman who has extramarital sexual relationships should be condemned on every possible way. AUT12 .42995

It seems that these factors are statistically more clear than their meaning. The first factor (Table 12) contains two groups of items: those demanding strict treatment of individuals who break the conventional rules, or depart from conventional understanding of normality (5, 1, 4, 9, 2) and items expressing negative attitude toward women (13, 15, 12). It seems that here are combined features of authoritarian aggression, over-concern with sex and conventional morality in one dimension. However, higher saturations of aggressive items and especially the focus of aggression on relatively insignificant 'deviations' of conventional rules, suggest that the basis of this dimension is aggression towards violations of conventional rules. Thus, the factor is labeled **Aggressive Conventionalism**.

The second factor (Table 13) is similar to the first in that it contains items demanding severe treatment of individuals who break the accepted rules.

Table 13 Pattern matrix of the Authoritarianism Oblimin factor 2: *Authoritarian Aggression*

Authoritarianism Oblimin factor 2: <i>Authoritarian Aggression</i>		Loadings
Sexual crimes like raping deserve much stronger punishment than prison; such criminals should be publicly whipped.	AUT10	.66542
All those who have any contacts with drugs should be arrested.	AUT6	.65708
Juvenile offenders (delinquents) should be severely punished.	AUT8	.56504
Death penalty is the best punishment for permanent criminals.	AUT3	.48492
Alcoholics should be expelled from the society.	AUT7	.37842
Always should be found ways to punish those who breaks the rules of behavior.	AUT14	.36337

Significant difference from the previous factor is that the offenses addressed in this factor (rape, drugs, delinquents, criminals) are normally punished by society. Severity of their treatment is probably expression of the patriarchal values still very present in Yugoslav society. Accordingly, factor is labeled **Authoritarian Aggression**.

Table 14 Pattern matrix of the Authoritarianism factor 3: *Authoritarian Submissiveness*

Authoritarianism Oblimin factor 3: <i>Authoritarian Submissiveness</i>		Loadings
Loyalty to the state is one of the nicest feelings one can experience.	AUT26	.59294
We should not suspect in the rightness of the decisions made by the state authorities.	AUT28	.57478
That what this country needs much more than laws and political programs is one strong, courageous and fearless leader whom people can trust and follow.	AUT27	.57296
Founding of harmonious and strong family should be the main goal of man's life and work.	AUT24	.53390
One who does not feel a great respect and thankfulness towards parents is worth of despising.	AUT23	.52676
If one wants to be successful in his job, somebody has to tell him what and how to do.	AUT25	.49035
Respect of authorities is the most important virtue children should learn.	AUT20	.45428
I am obedient and disciplined	AUT19	.43905
Children should be educated in rigorous discipline.	AUT21	.43368
Teachers and professors should be strict with their students.	AUT22	.36769

The interpretation of the factor 3 (Table 14) is much more clear than of the previous two. All items on various ways express the will and readiness to respect authorities, whether state, political leaders or family. Requirement for the strict discipline of children and self-description as 'obedient and disciplined', suits well the picture of **Authoritarian Submissiveness**.

Correlations between the three extracted factor from the AUT scale are given in the Table 15.

Table 15 Correlation matrix of the three Authoritarianism factors

	<i>Aggressive Conventionalism</i>	<i>Auth. Aggressiveness</i>
<i>Auth. Aggressiveness</i>	21	

All coefficients are significant ($p < 0.05$), but relatively low. It is interesting to note that the highest correlation is between factor 3 (Obedience) and 1 (Aggressive Conventionalism) (but also between factors 2 and 3). With some greater freedom in interpretation, this can be understood as a support for the one of the main ideas from *The Authoritarian Personality*, that obedience and aggressive reaction to everything unconventional have the same psychological roots.

In the Table 16 are presented reliability coefficients of the subscales created by the summation of the answers to the items with significant loadings on extracted factors.

Table 16 Reliability coefficients of the authoritarianism factors (by simple summation)

Authoritarianism Factors	No. of items	Alpha	Split-half
1. <i>Aggress. Conventioanlism</i>	9	0.74	0.74
2. <i>Auth. Aggressiveness</i>	6	0.67	0.68
3. <i>Auth. Submissiveness</i>	9	0.72	0.66

For the scales with such small number of items, these coefficients are quite satisfactory. Difference between Alpha and Split-half coefficients for the Factor 3 is the consequence that items with different meanings are concentrated in the beginning and at the end of the scale. Even-odd splitting of the scale would probably produce higher coefficient. Nevertheless, from the statistical point of view, scores on these factors can also be treated as reliable measures.

Summary

Factor analysis of the AUT scale revealed three relatively meaningful and interpretable factors, labeled: 1) *Aggressive Conventionalism*, 2) *Authoritarian Aggression*, and 3) *Authoritarian Submission*.

The hypothesis about the three main components of the authoritarian syndrome is only relatively supported, but definitely cannot be refuted on the basis of this analysis. Most probably, the selection of items determined only partial covering of the concept of authoritarianism. This configuration of factors can also be interpreted as a culturally specific response, in the sense that Rot (1989) explained unexpected results on the F scale as an expression of patriarchal value system.

Nevertheless, Factor 3) strongly confirmed the existence of a dimension of the authoritarian submissiveness. The first two factors are not very clear combination of authoritarian aggressiveness, patriarchal values, rigidity, suspect of women and rejection of any depart of 'normality'. Possibly, the forced extraction of lower number of factors produced this 'factor contamination'.

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF AGGRESSIVENESS SCALE (PRIMAG)

According to the Scree-test criterium, extracted were three factors from the correlation matrix of PRIMAG scale. These three factors account for 37.9% of total variance, what is satisfactorily because seven factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 are explaining 52.7% of variance. It mans that it is not lost a lot of information retaining only three factors, while artefact factors are avoided. It should be noted that the first principal component is here also disproportionally larger then others, similarly as in ETNA60 scale. Again, it means relatively strong common subject of measurement, but also that it is difficult to obtain factorially 'clean' separate dimensions of aggressiveness (see Ignjatović, 1989). Although according to starting hypothesis, there should be two dimensions of aggressiveness (primary and secondary), extracted were three factors, because it seems that too much information will be lost neglecting the third one, and hence that the results will be artificial.

Extracted factors in Oblimin interpretative position are presented in following three tables.

Table 17 Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 1: *Primary Aggressiveness*

Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 1: Primary Aggressiveness	Loadings	
I hate the weak and the cowards.	PRIMAG13	.66512
I get terribly angry when somebody is late for a meeting.	PRIMAG12	.65837

I hate boring people.	PRIMAG11	.65354
I can't stand when somebody is ordering to me.	PRIMAG8	.63948
I become very angry when I ask somebody and s/he pretends not to hear.	PRIMAG10	.60694
I hate people who flatters to their chiefs.	PRIMAG26	.59152
I would most eagerly knock the one who is criticizing me when I have a right.	PRIMAG14	.58254
There are many stupid people whom I can not stand.	PRIMAG27	.52596
Majority of people are ready to lie and cheat for their own benefit.	PRIMAG7	.51117
I go mad when somebody tries to make me foolish.	PRIMAG6	.50624
If someone offends me, I return immediately the same.	PRIMAG9	.46294
I do not like people who are always decent and who are always kindly behaving.	PRIMAG2	.42555
I would most gladly smash those who do not wait in the queue.	PRIMAG24	.41151

Common for items with the highest saturation on the first factor (Table 17) are different obviously aggressive reactions ('hate', 'get terribly angry', 'can't stand', 'would like to knock') on perceived frustrations, although such 'frustrations' are a part of everyday experiences. Items with lower saturations express distrust, or better, generalized anger towards people who are perceived as 'stupid' or dishonest. Interesting feature is the presence of seemingly contradictory attitudes: great sensitivity when one's own 'rights' are frustrated, what produces generalized view of others as dishonest or bad, and on the other side, aggressiveness towards those who are "weak and cowards" and "always kindly behaving". This 'contradictory' nature of the factor, and obvious hostility present in all items, suggest its interpretation as **Primary Aggressiveness**. Items do not imply a lack of morality, but a tendency of immediate, impulsive aggressive reactions on perceived frustrations. Increased sensitivity, or irritability, even to trivial everyday situations, causes that such reaction is more or less permanent feature. In this sense, interpreting the factor as a personality trait of primary aggressiveness seems justified.

Lack of empathy, insensitivity and hostility to others are characteristics contained in the third factor, presented in the Table 18.

Table 18 Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 2: *Psychopathic Aggressiveness*

Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 2: <i>Psychopathic Aggressiveness</i>	Loadings
It would not be difficult for me to kill an animal.	PRIMAG29 .70011
The best law is the law of the stronger.	PRIMAG15 .61197
I like when others are afraid of me.	PRIMAG19 .59572
I am not particularly sensitive towards those who are suffering.	PRIMAG3 .58928
Too cautious drivers are making me nervous.	PRIMAG17 .56021
Personal armament provides security to a man that nobody will attack him.	PRIMAG30 .53932
Sometimes I like to make tough jokes with others.	PRIMAG4 .52273
I know that I'm most frequently right.	PRIMAG25 .43004
Sometimes I am forced to be cruel with others.	PRIMAG18 .41208

Included items imply lack of morality understood in its every-day meaning, as responsible and careful relationship to others. This items strongly resemble the description of psychopathic personalities, and individuals high in Psychoticism dimension from Eysenck's personality model. Thus, the factor is named **Psychopathic Aggressiveness**. Its measurement was not intended by this scale, for it includes theoretically different basic personality dimensions or factors. In Momirović's theory, this factor would result from mixing two basic factors of personality: aggressiveness (SIGMA) and factor called 'disorder of the system for integration in social field' (Momirović *et al.*1992). Also, it is similar to Eysenck's psychoticism.

However, failing to obtain intended factor is not surprising when dealing with aggressiveness. After discussing several scales for measuring of aggressiveness, Ignjatović (1989) concluded that each of them measured relatively different aspect of the dimension, and that they all cover some part of the variance from other personality dimensions.

The third factor is presented in the Table 19.

Table 19 Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 3: *Secondary Aggressiveness*

Aggressiveness Oblimin factor 3: <i>Secondary Aggressiveness</i>	Loadings	
I get angry easily.	PRIMAG16	-.58663
Frequently, I feel like breaking things around me.	PRIMAG23	-.55248
I am frequently forced to argue with the other people.	PRIMAG5	-.49928
It is better if nobody calls me when I am angry.	PRIMAG21	-.43577
I always directly and openly say to the others what I think about them.	PRIMAG1	.43170

It is defined by negative projections of items denoting 'benevolent', or not-dangerous aggressive reactions on frustrations. Actually, they are less connected with specific frustrating situations, rather they express tendency to be angry on others, but not to attack them (either verbally or physically). Only item 1 has positive projection. Although this item was supposed to be projective for primary aggressiveness, offering acceptable explanation for aggression, it seems that its meaning here is in denoting normal, problem-solving approach to frustrating situations. However, this pattern of items suggests its interpretation as a **Secondary Aggressiveness**. Other side of the dimension can probably be interpreted as emotional stability, or non-aggressive reactions on frustrations. It seems that these factor correspond to Ignjatović's factor of Secondary Aggressiveness (1989).

Nevertheless, the interpretation of all these factors is quite hypothetical, because it includes speculation about deeper psychological processes without sufficient relevant information. In the interpretation of this factor's correlations with the other variables, negative signs of the loadings should be taken into account. Correlations between the three extracted factor are given in the Table 20.

Table 20 Correlation matrix of aggressiveness factors

Aggressiveness factors	Primary aggressiveness	Psychopathic Aggressiveness
Psychopathic Aggressiveness	.34	
Secondary aggressiveness	-.21	-.17

Again, factors are significantly correlated. The highest correlation is between Primary and Psychopathic aggressiveness. This fact, together with strong first principal component, questions the theory of primary and secondary aggressiveness which separated

traits aggressiveness from the psychopathological processes. It seems that it is a matter of degree, not of the kind.

Negative correlation of the factor 3 (Secondary aggressiveness) are because of the negative item projections.

Coefficients of reliability of the scales according to extracted factors, are in the Table 21.

Table 21 Reliability coefficients of the three aggressiveness factors (by simple summation)

Aggressiveness Factors	No. of items	Alpha	Split-half
1. <i>Primary Aggressiveness</i>	13	0.85	0.84
2. <i>Psychopathic Aggressiveness</i>	9	0.77	0.79
3. <i>Secondary Aggressiveness</i>	6	0.63	0.35

Again, the magnitude of the coefficients is acceptable, even quite good for scales of such length (or shortness). Low split-half reliability of the Factor 3 is because of one item with saturation in opposite direction from others.

Summary

Three meaningful and interpretable factors are derived from the PRIMAG scale: 1) Primary Aggressiveness, 2) Psychopathic Aggressiveness, and 3) Secondary Aggressiveness.

The theory of two-dimensional aggressiveness can not be disqualified on the basis of these results, but it can be speculated about the three dimensional concept of aggressiveness. According to these results, secondary aggressiveness could be close to the dimension of neuroticism-emotional stability, psychopathic aggressiveness could be close to psychoticism, or psychopathic disorders, while the primary aggressiveness (or basic, in the framework of this proposal) could be between them. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that primary and secondary, and primary and psychopathic aggressiveness are more correlated than secondary and psychopathic aggressiveness.

SUMMARY OF THE THREE FACTOR ANALYSES

It can be concluded that starting hypotheses are partly confirmed. Ethnic attitudes proved to be multidimensional, with related but distinct dimensions of positive attitude toward ingroup and negative towards outgroups. Two other factors partly reflect political attitudes provoked by concrete social processes, and partly some aspects of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Convergence of all factors suggest higher general dimension of ethnocentrism.

Authoritarianism and aggressiveness scales measure relatively different dimensions than it was intended, but even these "unexpected" factors are interpretable and useful concepts for the proceeding analysis. Nevertheless, subsequent analysis of relationships between ethnocentrism and personality is entered with instruments with clear content and solid metric qualities. Probably, it is not necessary to stress that these requirements are essential for any serious analysis.

In the following chapter will be presented relationships between factors of ETNA60 scale and some socio-demographic variables. Afterwards follows the analysis of the relationships between dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes and personality variables (authoritarianism and aggressiveness).

ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Gender differences

A series of t-tests for determining gender differences in the analyzed variables is given in the Table 22.

Table 22 Gender differences in the examined variables (T-test)

	2-Tailed Test		Females	Males	Females	Males
	t	p-level	N1	N2	Mean	Mean
AGRCONV	-9.648	.000	261	257	-.413967	.404704
AUTHAGR	2.737	.006	261	257	.159912	-.086344
AUTHSUB	-.117	.907	261	257	-.016576	-.005435
PRIMAGR	4.803	.000	261	257	.192572	-.247174
PSYCHAG	-8.702	.000	261	257	-.392739	.369796
SECAGGR	-1.472	.142	261	257	-.078863	.054184
PATRIOTI	-3.530	.000	261	257	-.143866	.164336
MINRIGHT	1.444	.149	261	257	.054228	-.071573
ETHNOCEN	-7.148	.000	261	257	-.309690	.277030
NATIONAL	-2.328	.020	261	257	-.084300	.119035
ETH Pc ^a	-5.345	.000	261	257	-.220884	.229051

^a - first principal component from the scale ETNA60.

In almost all variables, except Authoritarian Submissiveness, Secondary Aggressiveness and Minorities' Rights there are significant differences between genders. Males are higher in Aggressive Conventionalism, Psychopathic Aggressiveness, Patriotism, Ethnocentrism, Nationalism and in the first principal component from the ETNA60 scale. Females are higher in Authoritarian Aggression and Primary Aggressiveness. Most of these differences are in the expected direction and in accordance with findings from some other studies earlier presented. Relatively surprising is the higher position of females in Primary Aggressiveness. Maybe, this type of aggressiveness is less under the influence of the

socialization factors which normally require from females to be less aggressive (at least openly).

Large difference between genders in Psychopathic Aggressiveness support the offered interpretation of this factor as corresponding to Eysenck's Psychoticism dimension where significant gender differences are almost always found (Eysenck, 1976). It is understandable because the assumed physiological basis of the Psychoticism is the level of testosterone.

Particularly large difference in ethnocentrism should be later connected with its strong connection with Psychopathic Aggressiveness. Maybe, sociobiologists would interpret the 'maleness' of ethnocentrism as an expression of a biological predispositions for dividing humankind in 'us' and 'them'.

Differences between ethnic/national groups

Differences between sub-samples of different nationalities are investigated by means of discriminant analysis. Here will be presented only partial results. More complete output is in the Appendix.

Discriminant analysis produced four discriminant variables, of which three are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). All four entered variables (factors of ethno-nationalist attitudes) are significant discriminators of the five sub-samples. All groups are differing on the level $p < 0.05$, except between Croats and Bunjevci and Bunjevci and Yugoslavs ($p < 0.10$). According to Squared Mahalanobis Distances, the greatest differences are between Serbs and Hungarians, than between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Bunjevci and between Bunjevci and Croats. It seems that Serbs and Hungarians are on two extreme sides, with Croats closer to Hungarians, and with Bunjevci and Yugoslavs in the middle.

Four discriminative functions are presented in the Table 23.

Table 23 Correlations Variables - Canonical Roots (Pooled-within-groups correlations)

Variable	Root 1	Root 2	Root 3	Root 4
PATRIOTI	.111304	.732182	.530068	-.412976
MINRIGHT	-.514144	.597591	-.584742	-.191360
ETHNOCEN	.027790	.729425	.265378	.629874
NATIONAL	.602004	.681976	-.406797	-.083763

The first Root can be interpreted as a clear definition of nationalist ideology: positive correlation of Nationalism factor, and negative attitude towards minorities' rights.

Root 2 is highly correlated with all ethno-nationalist factors, thus probably representing broad general ethno-nationalist attitudes.

The third Root is defined by positive correlation with Patriotism and negative with Minorities' Rights and Nationalism. It seems that it represents Patriotism without nationalist components and without perceiving Minorities rights as endangered.

The fourth factor is defined solely by ethnocentrism but is not statistically significant ($p < 0.11$).

Positions of sub-samples on discriminant variables are presented in the Table 24.

Table 24 Means of national sub-samples on canonical variables

Group	Root 1	Root 2	Root 3	Root 4
HUNGARIAN	-1.51852	.301593	-.012484	.015369
CROATIAN	-.42637	-.349066	.106711	-.258773
BUNJEVAC	.02407	-.645646	.476351	.092001
SERBIAN	1.43657	.337713	-.000153	.000477
YUGOSLAV	.14618	-.719558	-.125976	.023567

As it could have been expected, the greatest difference in nationalist discriminative function is between Hungarians and Serbs. Croats are relatively close to the Hungarians, and Bunjevci and Yugoslavs are neutral. Evidently, different position which these two groups have regarding the relationships between politics and ethnicity strongly influences the acceptance of nationalist ideology (as represented by the factor of Nationalism) and perception of minorities' rights.

While the first discriminative function is highly specific in content, i.e. it resembles Serbian nationalist propaganda, the second discriminative function is less specific in content and it produced strong similarity between Serbs and Hungarians and their difference from Yugoslavs and Bunjevci, and with Croats now closer to the latter two groups. This result can be interpreted in that sense that ethnocentrism (or general ethno-nationalist attitudes) are higher in groups which are enough large to compete between themselves. Such situation

actually is very well represented in duels between Serbian and Hungarian nationalist leaders. On the other side, groups which are smaller and with less political power (Bunjevci especially), or without nationalist programs (as Yugoslavs) are less expressing this general ethnocentric orientation. Probably, they have much less incentives to consider themselves as superior, or to avoid any contacts with other groups.

For Bunjevci is characteristic the third discriminant function, a sort of a-nationalist, non-hegemonistic identification with ingroup. This the least politically powerful of all included groups appears to have the least to say against anybody. It might look contradictory, but only on the first glance, because negative attitudes tend to develop when outgroup is perceived as a serious competitor in achieving some goals. Thus, homogenization inside the group and orientation against outgroup can have important instrumental value. If the group is too small to be a serious competitor, strong negative attitudes towards more powerful environment can have self-destructive effects. It is one of the interpretations, from the point of view of intergroup relations. The fourth discriminative variable is not statistically significant and will not be interpreted.

To summarize, the difference between to major national groups, Hungarians and Serbs is in the dimension of hegemonist nationalism, which is in its content specific for Serbian nationalist propaganda. The two groups are similar in the general ethno-nationalist orientation. Croats, a smaller national group, which is in opposition to formal authorities similarly as Hungarians, and supported by external political factors, again similar to Hungarians, has pattern of attitudes less extreme but close to the Hungarian group. Bunjevci and Yugoslavs have some similar attitudes: they are between extremes on hegemonistic nationalism, and low on general ethno-nationalism. They are different in the third discriminative function, in that sense that Yugoslavs did not express any special attachment towards ingroup. Actually, such group does not exist in the sense as other four ethnic and national groups exist.

Obvious conclusion is that national affiliation influences the degree of specific ethno-nationalist attitudes. But, the manner of that influence highly depends of social and political conditions. Politically dominant group (on the state level) expresses more hegemonistic attitudes and perceives minorities rights as not endangered, perhaps as even too large. Major national minority is strongly against hegemonistic nationalist attitudes and perceives its rights as not satisfying. But they are not different in the average general ethno-nationalist orientation. Smaller groups are between extremes on nationalism, perhaps because they have less political aspirations, and they are on the opposite side on the continuum of general ethno-nationalism.

It remains to be seen in subsequent analysis whether there are differences in psychological foundation of ethnic attitudes between groups. By now, there is no evidence that minorities necessary have less ethnocentric attitudes than majority. It depends on specific conditions of a particular group. Probably, the degree of negative attitudes towards outgroups depends on the degree in which that group is perceived as an obstacle in pursuing own goals.

Religion and ethno-nationalist attitudes

One-way analysis of variance is performed in order to examine the influence of religious affiliation on the factors of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Included are four categories: Catholic, Orthodox, Other and Not Religious.

In the Table 25 are presented summarized result of the analysis.

Table 25 One-way analysis of variance Ethno-nationalist attitudes by Confession

depend. variable	Mean Sqr effect	Mean Sqr error	F(df1,2) 3.518	p-level
PATRIOTI	22.73530	.886511	25.6458	.000000
MINRIGHT	26.69987	.835567	31.9542	.000000
ETHNOCEN	16.75030	.905371	18.5010	.000000
NATIONAL	66.68035	.618029	107.8920	0.000000

Religion appears to be significant factor influencing examined attitudes. It is not surprising, because in this case religion implies difference in nationality. Arithmetic means of groups are given in the Table 26.

Table 26 Arithmetic means of confessional groups on ethno-nationalist factors

RELIGION	PATRIOTI	MINRIGHT	ETHNOCEN	NATIONAL	Valid N
CATHOLIC	-.084682	.394336	-.096161	-.483424	250
ORTHODOX	.507322	-.409659	.412621	.891241	166
OTHER	-.122101	.489571	-.027191	-.676343	21

Not Relig.	-.529531	-.319771	-.481153	-.057196	85
All Groups	.029637	.026209	.005720	.015374	522

These results are in accordance with the results of discriminative analysis. Only, the inclusion of Bunjevci in 'Catholic' category is decreasing differences between Catholics and Orthodox. 'Not Religious' group is consisted mostly of declared Yugoslavs, so their low Patriotism, Ethnocentrism and opposition to critique of minorities' right are in accordance with previous results.

In the Table 27 are presented correlation coefficients between two indicators of socio-economic status (father's and mother's level of education). Variables are coded in the manner that higher score means higher level of education. The third variable, BELIEF, is 6-level ordinal variable intended to indicate the degree of religiosity. Lower score means stronger beliefs and deeper religiosity, while higher scores means non-religiosity and negative attitude towards religion.

Table 27 Correlation coefficients between ethno-nationalism factors and father's education (FATHED), mother's education (MOTHED), and religiosity (BELIEF)

	Patriotism	Minority Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
FATHED				.11
MOTHED				
BELIEF	-.25	-.15	-.16	

Only significant coefficients are printed; $p < .05$

Socio-economic status (indicated by these two variables) is actually not related to ethno-nationalist attitudes. Only fathers education is weakly correlated with Nationalism. Perhaps, this correlation is the consequence of the higher Nationalism in sub-sample of Serbs, because Serbs are in general above average on socio-economic status in Subotica.

The degree of religiosity (actually, a-religiosity, because of the opposite scoring) is correlated to patriotism, to Minorities' Rights and Ethnocentrism. This results are in accordance with results presented in theoretical part about the positive correlation between

ethnocentrism and religiosity. Two relatively strange results, i.e., negative correlation of a-religiosity and attitude about rights of minorities and the absence of its correlation with Nationalism, are the consequence that Serbs and declared Yugoslavs are in general less religious than the other three groups.

Summary

It has been obtained that included socio-demographic variables are significant factors influencing the degree of factors of ethno-nationalist attitudes. There are significant differences between genders, ethnic/national and religious groups. Degree of religiosity is weakly but significantly correlated with Patriotism, Minorities' Rights and Ethnocentrism factors. Socioeconomic status appeared to be practically insignificant predictor of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Probably it is because of the homogenization of these attitudes within each group.

ETHNO-NATIONALIST ATTITUDES AND PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Analysis of relationships between personality and ethno-nationalist dimensions are investigated by means of correlation and regression analysis. Pearson's correlation coefficients between factors of ethno-nationalism and authoritarianism and aggressiveness are presented in the Table 28⁹.

Table 28 Correlation coefficients between Ethno-nationalism, Authoritarianism and Aggressiveness factors

variable	PATRIOTI	MINRIGHT	ETHNOCEN	NATIONAL
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⁹ Following short labels for the factors will be used in the tables: PATRIOTI for the factor Patriotism, MINRIGHT for Minorities' Rights, ETHNOCEN for Ethnocentrism, NATIONAL for Nationalism, AGRCONV for Aggressive Conventionalism, AUTHAGR for Authoritarian Aggressiveness, AUTHSUB for Authoritarian Submissiveness, PRIMAGR for Primary Aggressiveness, PSYCHAG for Psychopathic Aggressiveness, and SECAGGR for Secondary Aggressiveness.

AGRCONV	.118972		.350445	.225785
AUTHAGR				.128808
AUTHSUB	.311615			.141835
PRIMAGR	.092423	-.171892		.328282
PSYCHAG	.130877		.335411	.254103
SECAGGR		-.193495	-.091881	

Only significant coefficients are printed; $p < .050$

Obtained are significant correlations, but of moderate magnitude. According to these results, Patriotism is determined mostly by Authoritarian Submissiveness, and only slightly with other personality factors. Suggested interpretation is that national/ethnic group is one of the authorities to which submissive individuals are likely to conform.

(Dis)Satisfaction with minorities' rights is weakly correlated with included personality variables, what supports the interpretation of that factor as more reflecting political attitudes than relationship towards ethnic/national group. However, the strength of this attitude is influenced by the factors of aggressiveness (Primary and Secondary). Perhaps a degree of aggressiveness is needed for opposition to official politics.

Ethnocentrism has the highest correlations with personality variables, i.e., with two aggressive dimensions: Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness. It seems that in this dimension is dominating negative attitude towards outgroups much more than positive towards ingroups.

Nationalism factor is correlated with Primary Aggressiveness and to a smaller degree with Psychopathic Aggressiveness and Aggressive Conventionalism. It seems that individuals who tend to react impulsively and aggressively on frustration in daily situations transfer this style of reacting onto relationships between groups. If they believe that ingroup's interests are endangered, they easily can support aggressive solutions to the problems. It can be hypothesized that the difference between Nationalist and Ethnocentric attitudes is in that the first are more based on positive attitude towards ingroup, and that negative attitude towards outgroup is perceived as a reaction to the actions of outgroups, while Ethnocentrism looks more like an expression of the need to be against somebody.

Analyzing the rows of the table, it is relatively surprising that Authoritarian Aggression is so weakly correlated with ethno-nationalist attitudes. An explanation can be

that Aggressive Conventionalism more covered the core content of the authoritarian syndrome, while Authoritarian Aggression is the expression of patriarchal values, and thus reflects social learning more than any personality dimension.

Submissiveness appears to be responsible for a part of the identification with ingroup (correlated with Patriotism and Nationalism) and less for rejection of outgroups. Primary Aggressiveness perhaps modulates preferred ways of handling with 'national questions', because of its correlations with Nationalism (positive) and Minorities Rights (negative).

Psychopathic Aggressiveness contributes mostly to the Ethnocentrism dimension, but also to Nationalism and Patriotism. The magnitudes of coefficients correspond to the degree of anti-outgroup element in these three factors. Sensitivity component of the Secondary Aggressiveness factor is probably responsible for its correlation with negative attitude towards minority rights. Maybe, demands of minority groups are perceived as a threat for stability and security, and hence expressed as an opposition to them.

At this point, it can be summarized that the results are supportive for the starting hypotheses: ethno-nationalist attitudes are correlated with both authoritarian and aggressiveness factors. It seems that Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness have much in common. It is illustrated in the Table 29, with correlation coefficients between factors of authoritarianism and aggressiveness.

Table 29 Correlations between Authoritarianism and Aggressiveness factors

	AGRCONV	AUTHAGR	AUTHSUB
PRIMAGR		.19	.10
PSYCHAG	.40	-.23	
SECAGGR			

Only significant coefficients are printed; $p < .050$

Except the correlation between Psychopathic aggressiveness and Aggressive Conventionalism factors, the other coefficients are low or insignificant. It means that these factors are covering relatively separate domains of personality. However, even these few coefficients can clarify some things. The most interesting is negative correlation between Psychopathic Aggressiveness and Authoritarian Aggression. It seems that interpretation of

PSYCHAG as 'psychopathic' was right, as well as the interpretation of AUTHAGR as the acceptance of patriarchal values. In the same sense can be interpreted positive correlation between Primary Aggressiveness and Authoritarian Aggressiveness: as reaction on frustrations by violating traditional values. On the other side, it seems that Aggressive Conventionalism has less with conventions and more with aggression.

REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Total Sample

Analysis of partial contributions of personality variables to the factors of ethno-nationalism will be performed through a series of multiple regression equations. In the Table 30 are presented coefficients of multiple correlation, coefficient of determinations and probabilities of rejecting null-hypothesis for ethno-nationalism factors as dependent variables and personality factors as independent ones.

Table 30 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Multiple R	.41989	.22954	.45499	.57033
R Square	.17630	.05269	.20702	.32527
Adjusted R Squ.	.16561	-.20567	.19789	.31750
Significance of F	.00000	.97190	.00000	.00000

All ethno-nationalist factors except the one concerning the minorities' rights are significantly related to personality variables. It is especially case with Nationalism, of which almost one third of variance is explained by personality factors. This confirms the main hypothesis that factors of ethno-nationalism are significantly related to analyzed personality variables.

In the Table 31 are presented Beta coefficients for predictor variables, in order to explore these relationships in more details.

Table 31 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Aggressive Conventionalism	.201480**	.205338	.297391**	.157977**
Authoritarian Aggressiveness	.140138**	.223711	.076206*	.167830**
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.400165**	.212220	.146723**	.171551**
Primary Aggressiveness	.055668	-.288028	.053033	.426162**
Psychopathic Aggressiveness	.094276*	-.194519	.262373**	.377307**
Secondary Aggressiveness	-.065049	-.026571	-.115334**	-.148121**

In further tables: ** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$.

Patriotism is mostly determined by Authoritarian Submissiveness, and to a smaller extent with other two authoritarian dimension, and weakly by Psychopathic Aggressiveness. It can be interpreted in support of the Adorno *et al.*'s (1950) claim that identification with the ingroup has important psychological function. According to these results that function is partly in satisfying the need for submission to authority.

Ethnocentrism factor is primarily determined by the two most aggressive dimensions: Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness. It should be noted that it is the separate influence of these two factors, although they have much in common according to already presented results. It seems that ethnocentrism is almost exclusively based on aggressive potential of an individual, but on that 'kind' of aggressiveness which is related to one's integration into social field because of insignificant Beta for Primary Aggressiveness. Perhaps, aggressive expression of social maladaptation makes individuals particularly receptive for ethnocentric altitudes.

Nationalism is significantly correlated with all predictor variables, but mostly with Primary and Psychopathic Aggressiveness. Probably, it means that nationalist attitudes, as defined here, can serve various psychological functions. Its aggressive component is probably negative attitude towards outgroups and towards perceived violators of 'national interests', while identification with ingroups and with political entity suits authoritarian needs.

Expectation that authoritarianism and aggressiveness are differently related to ethno-nationalist attitudes is generally confirmed, but with some additional qualifications. First, aggressiveness and authoritarianism are not independent dimensions. The most aggressive component of authoritarianism is probably rooted in personality disorder. That is why Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness are similarly related to ethno-nationalist attitudes. They are almost exclusively responsible for personality component of Ethnocentrism (of course, among included variables). Nationalism seems here more similar to the previously presented definition of ethnocentrism, as a positive attitude towards ingroup and negative towards outgroup. That is why it correlated with all included factors. Patriotism, i.e., attachment to the ingroup is primarily based in authoritarianism, particularly in submissiveness.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that these personality factors are responsible for rather small part of variance of ethnocentric attitudes. Many other factors are needed to explain them more completely.

Insignificant relationship between personality variables and the attitude about minorities' rights can again be explained by its political attitude content. But, another quite probable hypothesis is that it is obtained because of the heterogeneity of the sample. Thus, separate regression analyses are performed for each sub-sample.

Hungarian sub-sample

Regression analysis in Hungarian sub-sample revealed similar pattern of relationships. The greater part of variance is explained for Nationalism, less for Ethnocentrism and Patriotism, and the least for attitude towards minorities' rights (Table 32).

Table 32 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes (sub-sample of Magyars)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Multiple R	.45014	.30517	.47471	.63464
R Square	.20263	.09313	.22535	.40276
Adjusted R Squ.	.16940	.05534	.19308	.37788

Significance of F	.0000	.02680	.00000	.0000
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It is interesting that in this sub-sample Nationalism is even more determined by the predictor variables. Also, attitude towards minorities rights is related to personality variables in this nationally homogenous sub-sample.

Table 33 with Beta coefficients offers more details for discussion (included are only significant Beta's).

Table 33 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors (sub-sample of Magyars)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Aggressive Conventionalism	.174369*		.332572**	
Authoritarian Aggressiveness	.229644**			.261196**
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.401429**			.178785**
Primary Aggressiveness		.206957		.333595**
Psychopathic Aggressiveness			.207792**	.452115**
Secondary Aggressiveness		-.169681*	-.211609	-.175002

Again pattern of interrelationships is similar to that in the whole sample. Patriotism is related to authoritarianism factors, especially submissiveness. Ethnocentrism is related to aggressive dimensions, and Nationalism to all predictor variable, but here without Aggressive Conventionalism. It seems that there are no significant differences between the pattern of relationships in minority (politically) sub-sample and the whole sample. Moreover, it seems that the previously seen relationships are even stronger.

Croatian Sub-sample

Although Croatian and Bunjevci sub-sample have quite small number of respondents, they are treated separately, because it is expected that there will be significant differences between them.

In the sub-sample of Croats, only Patriotism is significantly related to the predictor variables (Table 34). Almost half of its variance is explained by included personality factors.

Table 34 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes (sub-sample of Croats)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Multiple R	.67059	.47418	.52926	.49401
R Square	.44970	.22485	.28012	.24404
Adjusted R Squ.	.29247	.00338	.07444	.02805
Significance of F	.0339	.4422	.2752	.3793

Perhaps, this can be interpreted as contra-evidence to proposed Forbes' (1985) hypothesis that ethno-nationalist attitudes are less determined by the authoritarian type of personality in minority groups.

Table 35 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors (sub-sample of Croats)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Aggressive Conventionalism				
Authoritarian Aggressiveness				
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.662296**			
Primary Aggressiveness	-.451492 ^x			
Psychopathic Aggressiveness				
Secondary Aggressiveness				

^x - $p < 0.0825$

Patriotism is, also in this sub-sample, determined by the Authoritarian Submissiveness (Table 35). However, although there are no more significant Beta's because of the small sample, it should be noticed that the pattern of relationships between variables is actually very similar to the pattern in previous two samples (see appendix). This is another, although quite unreliable, suggestion against the hypothesis about different basis of ethno-nationalist attitudes in different groups.

Bunjevci sub-sample

Here, only Ethnocentrism is significantly related to the personality factors (Table 36). It seems that in this group, negative attitude towards outgroups is primarily expression of personality structure.

Table 36 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes (sub-sample of Bunjevci)

	Ethnocentrism
Multiple R	.71666
R Square	.51360
Adjusted R Squ.	.38094
Significance of F	.0087

Beta coefficients for the ethnocentrism as a dependent variable are in the Table 37. Pattern of relationships between ethnocentrism and predictor variables is relatively different than in the previous cases. Similar is domination of Psychopathic aggressiveness, but different is the presence of Authoritarian Aggression and positive (actually negative) coefficient for secondary aggressiveness.

Table 37 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors (sub-sample of Bunjevci)

	Ethnocentrism
Aggressive Conventionalism	
Authoritarian Aggressiveness	.876119**

Authoritarian Submissiveness	
Primary Aggressiveness	.390914*
Psychopathic Aggressiveness	1.161285**
Secondary Aggressiveness	.518381**

It seems that in this group, ethnocentrism is based, besides on Aggressiveness, on feeling of insecurity and on patriarchal values. This is not surprising, because this group has the weakest political representation of all included groups, and perhaps not too many hopes for the improvement of its position. On the other side, patriarchal values and traditional way of life are important features of this group. Thus, it seems that Aggressiveness is constant basis of ethnocentrism, but other factors can also emerge as influential.

Serbian sub-sample

In Serbian sub-sample, all predictor and criterion variables are significantly related (Table 38).

Table 38 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes (sub-sample of Serbs)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Multiple R	.42410	.29887	.47784	.47976
R Square	.17986	.08932	.22833	.23017
Adjusted R Squ.	.14948	.05559	.19975	.20166
Significance of F	.0000	.0178	.0000	.0000

Nationalism and Ethnocentrism are in the strongest relationship with independent variables. It is followed by Patriotism and quite weakly by Minority Rights. This pattern corresponds to the findings in the whole sample and in the Hungarian sample (samples with sufficient number of respondents).

Significant Beta coefficients are in the following Table 39. In this group, Patriotism is also primarily related to Authoritarian Submissiveness, and to a less degree to Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness.

Table 39 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors (sub-sample of Serbs)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Aggressive Conventionalism	.232166**		.295057**	
Authoritarian Aggressiveness				.140148x
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.389515**		.156011*	.235124**
Primary Aggressiveness				.317000**
Psychopathic Aggressiveness	.175099x		.334281**	.415686**
Secondary Aggressiveness				-.206989**

x - $p < 0.07$.

Actually, it seems that this group is mostly responsible for the correlation between Psychopathic Aggressiveness and Patriotism in the total sample. It can be concluded that Authoritarian Submission is a constant element of Patriotism, while aggressive components are more changeable, depending on social factors, like the position of the group in society. This finding is a slight support for the difference between majority-minority ethnic attitudes. Attitude towards minorities' rights is not connected with personality factors in this group.

Pattern of relationships of Ethnocentrism and Nationalism factors are the same as in the total and Hungarian sample. It again supports psychological uniformity of nationalist attitudes, notwithstanding the group's relationship to actual political power. However, it should not be generalized beyond the sample and especially social and political conditions of investigated groups.

Sub-sample of Yugoslavs

Results of the regression analysis for the third large sub-sample, declared Yugoslavs, are given in the Table 40.

Table 40 Regression of personality factors on ethno-nationalist attitudes (sub-sample of Yugoslavs)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Multiple R	.47534	.32583	.47449	.60233
R Square	.22595	.10617	.22514	.36280
Adjusted R Squ.	.18042	.05359	.17956	.32531
Significance of F	.0002	.0698	.0002	.0000

In this sub-sample, again results are similar to those presented above. All relationships are statistically significant, except for the factor Minorities' Rights which is very close to the accepted criterium of significance.

Pattern of relationships is similar as in the two other major groups: the highest coefficient of determination is for Nationalism, lower, but still high for Ethnocentrism, and Patriotism, and the lowest for attitude towards minorities' rights (Table 41). It is interesting to note that for this group it is quite unlikely to show extreme degrees of any kind of ethnic or national attachment, because to declare as Yugoslav by definition means adopting broader, supra-ethnic identification. Nevertheless, even in this group nationalist attitudes are strongly determined by included personality variables (more than 30% of shared variance).

Table 41 Regression coefficients for the regressed personality variables on ethno-nationalist factors (sub-sample of Yugoslavs)

	Patriotism	Min. Rights	Ethnocentrism	Nationalism
Aggressive Conventionalism			.329760**	.205964*
Authoritarian Aggressiveness				
Authoritarian Submissiveness	.499844**		.239281*	.249471**
Primary Aggressiveness				.326891**
Psychopathic Aggressiveness				.444490**

Again, dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes are related to similar predictor variables as in previous cases. Patriotism is related to Authoritarian Submissiveness, Ethnocentrism to Aggressive Conventionalism, but also to Authoritarian Submissiveness. Maybe, ethnocentrism among declared Yugoslavs is less exclusive, and a bit more orientated towards ingroup. Nationalism is significantly related to most of predictors, but mostly to Psychopathic and Primary Aggressiveness, and to Secondary Aggressiveness. Actually, in this sample, Secondary Aggressiveness appeared to be more influential than in previous groups. Perhaps, progressive destruction of the entity to which members of this group are attached influenced that this kind of aggressiveness, based on anxiety and feeling of insecurity, became important determinant of nationalist attitudes.

Significant influence of Secondary Aggressiveness on the attitudes towards minorities' rights can be mediated by the perception of the request for more rights for minorities as a tendency towards separation. Thus, although declared Yugoslavs are not primarily attached to specific ethnic groups, they are expressing attitudes with similar psychological meaning. This supports finding of Đurić (1980), that children from mixed marriages expressed more positive attitudes towards ethnic groups of their parents, but regarding their attitudes towards other groups they were not different from others. It seems that human potential for prejudices is broad and flexible, able to adapt to various specific conditions.

Summary of the regression analyses

In general, hypothesis about significant relationships between the included personality variables and factors of ethno-nationalist attitudes is confirmed. In total sample, and in nationally homogenous sub-sample as well, this finding is obtained (except when groups were too small in size).

Also, similar pattern of relationships appeared in most cases. Patriotism is related primarily to the Authoritarian Submissiveness, and to a smaller degree to Aggressive Conventionalism. It seems that the source of Patriotism is mostly in identification with ingroup and in rigid demand for social order. Underlying psychological dimension can be a need for a feeling of security, but such interpretations are beyond this analysis.

Attitude towards minorities' rights are weakly related to personality variables. In the Hungarian sample, it is related to Primary Aggressiveness, and less to Secondary Aggressiveness as in the sample of Yugoslavs. It can be interpreted that aggressiveness can be related to different ethnic attitudes, depending on social conditions. For the Hungarian group, the question of minorities' rights is a very important one. But, it seems that the extreme dissatisfaction with these rights is to a certain degree an expression of Primary Aggressiveness.

Ethnocentrism is primarily related to two aggressive personality variables: Aggressive Conventionalism and Psychopathic Aggressiveness. The already offered interpretation is that this attitude is more based on negative orientation towards outgroups than on positive towards ingroups.

Nationalism is related to almost all of the analyzed personality variables, but mostly to Primary and Psychopathic Aggressiveness. It seems that Nationalist attitudes can have a variety of psychological functions, among which ego-defensive function stressed by Adorno *et al.* is only one example. In the situation when ethnic conflicts are increased it seems that this ideology attracts more aggressive followers.

Additional information can be obtained by shifting attention from ethnic attitudes towards personality variables. It was obtained that Aggressive Conventionalism is related primarily to Ethnocentrism, and to a smaller extent to Patriotism and Nationalism.

Authoritarian Aggression is a weak predictor of ethno-nationalist attitudes according to the obtained results, except in the sub-sample of Bunjevci, where it was related to Ethnocentrism.

Authoritarian Submissiveness is primarily related to Patriotism, and less to Nationalism and Ethnocentrism. It is the source of attachment to the ingroup more than of the enmity towards outgroups.

Primary Aggressiveness is dominantly related to Nationalism. It seems that the source of support for aggressive handling with 'national questions' is rooted in these personality traits. As individuals high in this dimension would aggressively handle frustrations they personally encounter, the same approach they implement to the relations between groups.

Psychopathic Aggressiveness is one of the main bases of Ethnocentrism and Patriotism. Because this trait implies a distorted understanding of morality it perhaps provides Ethnocentric and Nationalist attitudes with their most destructive part.

Secondary Aggressiveness moderately contributes to Ethnocentrism, Nationalism and to the attitude towards minorities' right in some groups. Perhaps, this trait is important for passive support of nationalist ideologies.

It can be concluded here that the hypothesis that personality dimensions which differ in the degree of aggressiveness will be connected with ethno-nationalist attitudes according to the degree of aggression implied in these attitudes, is confirmed. Ethnocentrism, which contains the highest level of aggressiveness is related to the most aggressive of included dimensions of personality: Psychopathic Aggressiveness and Aggressive Conventionalism. It can rightly be objected that the latter is not 'real' personality trait. It is probably a projection of personality trait onto social field. But, nevertheless, its distinct feature is more aggression than targets to which aggression is directed.

Nationalism is mostly related to less 'pathological' dimension of aggressiveness (Primary), but also to Psychopathic Aggressiveness. Being less aggressive attitude than ethnocentrism, Nationalism is related to less destructive personality traits.

Patriotism is even less determined by aggressive dimension of personality. It is mostly dependant on Authoritarian Submissiveness, and less on Aggressive Conventionalism.

Comparison of relationships between personality variables and dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes showed that, at least between three sufficiently large sub-samples, differences are quite small. Very similar pattern of interrelationships appeared in the total sample, in Hungarian, Serbian and in declared Yugoslavs sample. There is no evidence for the conclusion about whether ethno-nationalist attitudes among Croats and Bunjevci are less rooted in personality factors. Thus, hypothesis about different foundation of nationalist attitudes in minority groups is not confirmed, at least for Hungarian sub-sample. It is interesting especially because Nationalism factor is defined by the items which are highly specific for Serbian nationalist propaganda. The difference appeared in group average on these dimension, but not in the connection with personality traits.

Here, one methodological objection could be made. Namely, it could be objected that that the results are artifacts because the factors are extracted on the basis of the total sample, and later sub-samples are compared, thus suppressing potential differences. It could

be suggested that separate factor analysis should have been made in each of the sub-samples. However, besides the fact that in this study it was impossible because of the too small number of respondents in sub-samples, the interpretability of the factors, metric properties of sub-scales and the proportion of variance explained by extracted factors are supportive for the applied method.

FINAL DISCUSSION

Two main general findings in this study are that ethno-nationalist attitudes, defined and operationalized as factors extracted on the basis of ETNA60 scale, are significantly related both to socio-demographic variables and to personality variables (factors of authoritarianism and aggressiveness). On the basis of these findings it is possible further to speculate and propose hypotheses about the influence of various social and political processes on the character and degree of ethno-nationalist attitudes.

Findings strongly disapprove any attempt to reduce ethno-nationalist attitudes either on social factors or on personality variables. They are both necessary to understand variations of these attitudes between individuals and between groups.

The first part of the analysis showed that there are significant differences in the average level of some of the ethno-nationalist attitudes in different groups. However, between which groups and in which attitudes would be found differences depends on many factors. Political propaganda is one of such factors. Nationalism factor, which actually represented the agreement with statements frequently expressed by Serbian nationalists, was a dimension which differentiate the best Hungarian and Serbian sub-samples. Ethnocentrism factor, which measured a generalized negative attitude towards outgroups was not discriminative for these two groups, but discriminated these two groups from other, smaller and less politically organized groups. The same can be applied for differences in the attitudes towards minorities' rights. Individuals within groups expressed attitudes which were perceived as representing their in-group interests. Thus, conclusion that for inter-group differences in some of the ethno-nationalist attitudes are responsible social factors, i.e., the position, or political-economical status of each group in comparison to other relevant groups, seems justified.

On the other side, intra-group variations are significantly determined by personality variables: authoritarianism and aggressiveness. Basically the same pattern of relationships emerged in all sub-samples with sufficient number of respondents.

With some more freedom in expression, it can be said that on the inter-group level, extreme ethno-nationalist attitudes are a pathology of society, and on the intra-group level, they are a matter of individual pathology. In some cases, these two pathologies can reinforce and use each other. Society which induces higher levels of aggressiveness and anxiety will create more fruitful atmosphere for various aggressive ideologies and ways of handling intergroup conflicts. On the other side, in such conditions individual pathology can be a perfect equipment for public success (politicians) or for social integration (supporters).

Some remarks should be made about the use of concepts of aggressiveness and authoritarianism in analyzing psychological correlated of ethno-nationalist attitudes.

Analysis of the joint and separate effects of personality variables on the factors of ethno-nationalist attitudes only partly confirmed some of the starting hypotheses. It was obtained that factors of authoritarianism and of aggressiveness are significant and independent predictors of ethno-nationalist attitudes, but it was not possible to decide which of them is more influencing the criterium variables. Actually, even the possibility to separate their influence is questionable. Authoritarianism appears to be a broad composite variable which includes some aspects of aggressiveness (at least in this operationalization). Therefore, it is difficult to give more meaningful interpretation of its relationships beyond a descriptive level. Psychological status of authoritarianism is not very clear, especially if taken out of psychoanalytical explanations. Perhaps, it can be hypothesized about its twofold psychological nature, besides the third, more ideological part. One side would consist of various dimensions of aggressiveness (say, primary and psychopathic) which are responsible for aggressive attitude of authoritarians towards suitable target groups. On the other side, authoritarianism is probably rooted in neuroticism, i.e., anxiety, feelings of insecurity, etc., which are responsible for identification with ingroup, submissiveness and for some aspects of accepting conventional values. Although this proposal resembles the traditional concepts of the authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submissiveness, there is one important difference. In traditional interpretation, both aggression and submission are due to the conformist nature of authoritarians, while in proposed interpretation aggressive part of authoritarianism is not conformistic. It is not a *result* of social pressure, but *use* of opportunities to express aggression without being in conflict with dominant social forces. Thus, aggressive potential of authoritarians is permanently available for social manipulation.

This, I believe, is one of the reasons and explanations of the effortless with which political elites, not only in Yugoslavia, manipulate with ethnic/national attachment.

Perhaps, authoritarianism classically defined can be responsible for more or less willing following of adventurous leaders, but more active and 'creative' contributions to events like Holocaust, Ku-Klux-Klan's pogroms, ethnic cleansing in ex-Yugoslavia and in many other places, are not reducible to unconscious revenge to parents. It seems that more deep and fundamental personality dispositions are behind that. Psychopathic Aggressiveness from this study is one of the candidates, but also related and more developed concept of psychoticism. This is supported by the finding that when the first principal component of ethno-nationalist attitudes was treated as a dependent variable, and as independent were entered all six personality factors together with variables Fathers Education and strength of religious beliefs, Psychopathic Aggression was the best separate predictor (see Appendix). Thus, when 'contamination' of authoritarianism with socio-economic status and religiosity is isolated, more basic personality dimensions appeared as stronger and more stable determinants. This, however, does not mean that Psychopathic Aggressiveness has any substantive connection with positive attitude towards ingroups. Probably it is quite contrary. Expressed positive attitude towards ingroups is probably an artefact of instrumentality of ethnocentric attitudes. Social conditions are creating environment for connection of ethnic/national attitudes and aggressiveness. In, say, normal conditions, those high in Psychopathic Aggressiveness are likely to constitute a substantive part of population in prisons (and, according to Eysenck, politicians' offices). Example of Yugoslavia is again illustrative. Not only one of suddenly emerged 'war heroes' has behind him a well respectable criminal record.

However, these are quite free speculations on the basis of relatively ambiguous evidence in this research. Focus was more on psychological processes and features, but it does not mean denying the importance of social factors. They are actually decisive factors regarding the ways how society will handle with extremely aggressive individuals and groups. Only in some cases they will be mobilized within ethnocentric or nationalist ideology, and that decision is only partly up to them.

Dimensions of aggressiveness appears to be more clearly defined than authoritarianism, even in such an exploratory version of scale as was applied here. Connecting ethno-nationalist attitudes with better defined concepts, like aggressiveness, or even better with the basic personality traits derived from more developed personality theories, provides in Eysenck's words, a *nomological network* (1995) which enables students for

more meaningful interpretation of obtained results. Theories and findings from general, developmental and social psychology about the basis, development and functioning of the trait(s) of aggressiveness can provide much broader and deeper understanding of psychological basis of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Also, this approach can offer more specific hypothesis about the relationship between attitudes and behavior if personality basis of attitudes is determined. Developed personality theories and concepts with which they operate are much more related to differences in actual behavior than concepts like authoritarianism. Even if various behavioural correlates of authoritarianism are determined, there is a lack of a theory which will give to all these relationships meaningful explanation. Thus, one of the implication of this study is that attractiveness of the term authoritarianism maybe should be sacrificed for the less attractive but more meaningful concepts from trait personality theories.

Ideological, or cultural component of authoritarianism has as a disadvantage difficulties in comparison of studies conducted in different countries, regions and periods in time. On the other side, basic personality traits are assumed to be universal dimensions of human personality (Eysenck, 1994). Thus, comparative studies could reveal many interesting facts about various ways of incorporating of individuals with extreme positions on these traits in social processes.

CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to summarize briefly findings of a study like this one, which are more in implications for further more elaborated studies, than in definite confirmations or refutations of clearly proposed hypotheses. Throughout the presentation of results were included brief discussions and conclusions about relevant topics. Here will be presented the main findings as answers to proposed hypothesis at the beginning of the empirical part of the text.

The following conclusions can be made regarding the three structural hypotheses:

1. Multidimensionality of ethno-nationalist attitudes is confirmed, and also the existence of relatively independent dimensions of negative attitudes towards outgroups (Ethnocentrism factor) and positive attitudes towards ingroup (Patriotism). Content of the two other dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes is more reflection of political climate, although factor of Nationalism could be interpreted as one of the basic ethnic attitudes because of its relatedness to political entity. Extracted factors are converging to one general, higher order dimension of ethno-nationalism.
2. Three factors of authoritarianism only to a certain extent correspond to dimensions of conventionalism, authoritarian aggressiveness and authoritarian submission described in literature. Perhaps the content of the scale did not allow emergence of different dimensions. It seems that important part of the concept can be reduced to more clear psychological concepts, like aggressiveness, or anxiety.
3. Aggressiveness scale proved to be a poor operationalization of two-dimensional model of aggressiveness. Instead, three factors emerged: Primary, Psychopathic and Secondary aggressiveness.

The following conclusions can be made regarding the relationships between ethno-nationalist dimensions and personality variables:

4. Factors of authoritarianism are significant predictors of ethno-nationalist attitudes. It applies more to the Authoritarian Submissiveness and Aggressive Conventionalism than to the Authoritarian Aggressiveness. Submissiveness is primarily related to Patriotism, and Aggressive Conventionalism to Ethnocentrism and Nationalism.

5. Factors of aggressiveness are significantly related to dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Primary aggressiveness is primarily related to Nationalism, Psychopathic Aggressiveness to Ethnocentrism and Nationalism, and Secondary Aggressiveness without clear pattern.

6. Some of the socio-demographic variables are significant predictors of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Females expressed less Patriotic, Ethnocentric and Nationalistic attitudes. National/ethnic and religious groups are differing in average level of ethno-nationalist attitudes. Higher degree of religiosity is connected with higher levels in Patriotic, Ethnocentric and Minorities' Rights dimensions. Socio-economic status is not significantly related to most of dimensions of ethno-nationalist attitudes.

7. Expectation that in different national/ethnic groups relationships between personality and ethno-nationalist variables will be different is not confirmed. Moreover, there is an evidence that the pattern of relationships between these two sets of variables is quite similar across groups. It further supports hypothesis that personality roots of ethno-nationalist attitudes are a constant element. But, whether and how this potential will be activated depends on social factors.

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