

New Authoritarianism - A Research Note

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Abstract: *Theories of modern authoritarianism have identified the nation state and the family as the major determinants of the development of the authoritarian character. Family was conceived as the psychological agent of the nation state in the process leading to the emergence of superego to maintain strict borders between normalcy and deviance. The result was the authoritarian personality whose love, adoration and readiness for submission are aroused by power represented by external authorities. In contemporary Western societies neither external nor internal authorities play any role in the life of the individual. What we find is that instead of disappearing, authoritarianism has become more prominent. Based on a series of surveys carried out in the fall of 2010 in Hungary symptoms of authoritarianism will be presented such as anti-democratic attitudes, approval with extreme right wing party programs, dogmatic orientations, agreement with authoritarian statements, and readiness to take positions in which members of a group look upon members of other groups as inferior. Multi-variate analysis will be carried out in order to reveal the path leading to the new authoritarianism.*

Key words: authoritarianism, identity, family

Cuvinte cheie: autoritarism, identitate, familie

In September of 2010 we conducted a survey on a national representative sample¹ together with the associates of the Social Conflicts Research Centre of the Eötvös Loránd University.² The research aims at understanding the growing prejudices and chauvinism that could lately be perceived in the Eastern European countries (including Hungary).

Based on the data received from the European Social survey, the Political Capital Institute has reached the conclusion that there is a peculiarly high number of people in Hungary who show an excluding attitude towards social minorities (immigrants, homosexuals, etc.). Based on the DEREK index developed by them the distribution of prejudicial attitudes in Europe can be represented in the following way.

Based on the data included in this map (as well as on our personal research, Csepeli, Prazsák 2010 and the everyday news accounts) it became obvious that we need to examine these phenomena more attentively, at least in the case of Hungary. That is why we started our questionnaire research. Below we present the specific mentalities on life and human existence based on the answers given to the first set of questions in our questionnaire. Then, we analyze the separately presented mentalities and try to reveal the psychological and sociological conditions that determine the organization of the new authoritarianism.

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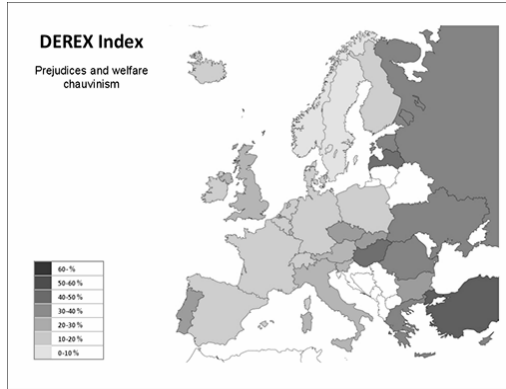
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The idea of social dominance

The cognitive element which structurally determines new authoritarianism is the attitude towards the idea that the groups of

people have equal rights, which can be measured using the Social Dominance Orientation scale, developed by Sidanius and Pratto (2005).

Figure 1. *The proportion of individuals supporting prejudice and welfare chauvinism in Europe (2008)*



Source: Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute³

The idea of social dominance

The cognitive element which structurally determines new authoritarianism is the attitude towards the idea that the groups of people have equal rights, which can be measured using the Social Dominance Orientation scale, developed by Sidanius and Pratto (2005).

We modified the scale previously applied in numerous variants for it to fit the

aim of our research, and we preserved only the enunciations which the respondents of our pre-research had answered gladly and in connection with which they had not had any stylistic objections or problems of understanding.

We included the following 11 enunciations in our questionnaire, in connection with which the respondents included in the representative sample had had to express how much they agreed.

Table 1. *The questions used to measure attitudes towards social dominance.*

<p>There are people who are inferior to others. Sometimes the only way to achieve our goals is through violence. It is right that some have more chances in life. If one wants to achieve something, one may sometimes have to suppress others. It is probably good that some are high in society while some are low. Sometimes some groups need to be kept in place.</p>
<p>It would be good for all people to be equal. Everyone needs to get the same chances in life. If people are equal, there are fewer problems One needs to achieve the equality of income. No one can suppress others in society.</p>

In the case of the first six enunciations agreeing with them indicates a positive attitude towards social dominance, while if the answer is no, the respondent shows a different attitude. In the case of the next five enunciations an opposite situation is encountered: if one agrees, one would like

to live in a society in which people are equal.

In the case of every enunciation the respondents had to express their opinion on these enunciations on a 5 degree Likert scale.⁴ We present the average of each enunciation in Table 2.

Table 2. *The level of agreeing with the enunciations used to measure attitudes towards social dominance⁵*

	Average	Deviation
Everyone needs to be given the same chances in life.	4.4	0.9
No one can suppress others in society.	3.9	1.14
It would be good for all people to be equal.	3.8	1.14
If people are equal, there are fewer problems.	3.8	1.16
One needs to achieve the equality of income.	3.7	1.13
Sometimes some groups need to be kept in place.	3	1.25
Sometimes the only way to achieve our goals is through violence.	2.6	1.35
If one wants to achieve something, one may sometimes have to suppress others.	2.5	1.32
There are people who are inferior to others.	2.3	1.38
It is probably good that some are high in society while some are low.	2.2	1.28
It is right that some have more chances in life.	2.1	1.27

We can see in Table 2 that the most refused enunciation (2.1) was the one stating with *“It is right that some have more chances in life”*. Most people agreed with the statement: *“Everyone needs to be given the same chances in life.”*

All in all we can say that the whole of the sample could be characterized in the following way: regarding the enunciations referring to the acceptance of social dominance one can observe disagreeing, while regarding the enunciations referring to the refusal of social dominance, one can observe agreeing. Moreover one can see that in the case of the enunciations referring to the acceptance of social dominance, the deviation is much higher, which refers to the fact that from the point of view of accepting or dismissing such an enunciation society is much less unified than in the case of the enunciations dismissing social dominance. If we analyze the averages, it becomes obvious that in today's Hungarian

society the most important value is social equality. This result is similar to the results of the international comparative research conducted in the new millennium (Lelkes, 2009).

Still the averages do not say anything about the existence of some cognitive patterns which determine the attitude towards social dominance measured by the whole of the scale. These patterns can be investigated with the analysis of the main component, based on the results of which the attitude towards social dominance worked differently when the enunciations claimed social dominance as opposed to when the enunciations legitimized social inequality.

These two cognitive patterns, the differentiation of the two main components is not trivial at all. Based on several international small and large sample research Sidanius and Pratto reached the conclusion that the questions can be placed on basi-

cally one dimension, in case they conducted a factor analysis based on the answers. Still, based on their report, in two cases these answers could be placed on not one, but two dimensions⁶, measuring two somewhat different phenomena. Nevertheless in the case of both samples they found a strong correlation between the main components ($r = 0.6$), that is why they formulated the following conclusion: “though this area needs to be more thoroughly researched, at present we do not have any results which would indicate that the two minor dimensions of SDO could be considered independent from one another” (Sidanius and Pratto, 2005, p. 134).

Nevertheless in our sample we could identify two dimensions, not completely

independent, but in a much weaker connection with one another ($r = 0.2$).⁷ Based on our further analyses we tried to make it unambiguous that the two dimensions are organized around the acceptance of equality or inequality of the different social groups, and differ in their contents as well. In case this is justified, based on their relation with other attitudes, it could indicate cultural differences which, besides the fact that they refer to the situational nature of the scale, do not confute the criticism of the scale from the point of view of cultural determinism.

First let us examine the two answer patterns, the two main components presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3. *Main component of ethnic social dominance orientation.*

	Communality	Factor loading
There are people who are inferior to others.	0.49	0.7
Sometimes the only way to achieve our goals is through violence.	0.53	0.73
It is right that some have more chances in life.	0.6	0.77
If one wants to achieve something, one may sometimes have to suppress others.	0.6	0.77
It is probably good that some are high in society while some are low.	0.59	0.77

Proportion of variance: 56.11 %

Table 4. *Main component of class-based social dominance orientation.*

	Communality	Factor loading
It would be good for all people to be equal.	0.65	0.81
Everyone needs to be given the same chances in life.	0.4	0.63
If people are equal, there are fewer problems.	0.66	0.81
One needs to achieve the equality of income.	0.56	0.75
No one can suppress others in society.	0.43	0.65

Proportion of variance: 53.88 %

The two main components can also be determined on content logic. Accordingly there is a cognitive pattern which rotates the idea of social equality and inequality around the legitimacy of inequality. Based

on this pattern some accept, while others dismiss the legitimacy of social inequality.

The other component is based on a different logic. In the case of this one the central idea is not inequality but equality.

Based on this pattern some opt for social equality, while others refuse it.⁸

If we want to make not a logical but a content-based analysis of the two main components, we need to start with the most serious enunciation of the argument set legitimizing social inequality, which is “*There are people who are inferior to others.*” This argument is the key element of the ethnic mindset, according to which belonging to a group is determined at birth, and it cannot be changed, and this determines the place of the person within social hierarchy. We can conclude that this main component can be identified as a bearer of *ethnic social dominance orientation* (E-SDO).

As opposed to this the other main component identifies the *equality of chances* as being a central element of the modern organization of society (Gellner, 2009). The idea of equality of chances, of income, of the lack of domination assumes that some approach the question of social equality and

inequality based on class. Consequently this main component can be placed to the dimension of *class social dominance orientation* (C-SDO).

If we wish to see the distribution of the respondents based on whether they accept or not the ethnic or class social dominance, it is helpful to make an analysis during which we differentiate the respondents who do not accept any form of social inequality, either ethnic or class-based. There is a different group which accepts inequality but which is not based on class. The third case is when some do not accept inequality based on ethnic criteria, but accept the one based on class. And there are some who consider inequality between people legitimate, either based on ethnicity, or based on class. In order to separate these groups, we conducted a K-means clustering on the E-SDO and C-SDO main components, and the results, the stable cluster centers, are presented in the following table.

Table 5. *The acceptors and rejecters of social and class dominance orientation.*⁹

	Refusal of both types of inequality	Acceptance of both types of inequality	Accept class-based inequality, refuse ethnicity-based inequality	Accept ethnicity-based inequality, refuse class-based inequality
E-SDO (pc)	-0.81	0.82	-0.64	1.06
C-SDO (pc)	-0.78	1	1.19	-0.29
<i>N (%)</i>	<i>379 (38 %)</i>	<i>193 (19%)</i>	<i>163 (16%)</i>	<i>249 (25%)</i>

Based on the last row of Table 5 we can conclude that the majority of Hungarian society accepts some kind of inequality between people. If we total the results, we see that the ones refusing any kind of inequality are only a mere minority (38%).

External and internal control

The classical analyses of authoritarianism did not measure directly whether the person considered himself or herself an anvil or a hammer in the smithy of fate, but it seems not to be a premature conclusion to

say that authoritarianism sees itself as *the lack of autonomy*, in which the person perceives himself or herself as a *prisoner of external factors* (Kroeger 2007:104).

We included four questions in our questionnaire regarding the extent to which the person – considering the course of his or her life – interprets these based on internal or external control patterns (Rotter, 1990).

The first question referred to the putative reasons of the career. One of the answers determined the career as luck, the other as ability. The second question

included two possible answers regarding the factors determining the course of life. One of the answers stated that the course of life “depends on unknown forces”, ones that cannot be influenced by people, while the other answer stated that the course of life can be influenced if “we take part in the political and social life”. Our third question aimed to uncover the theories

referring to the connection between life and chance. One of the possible answers stated: “life can be influenced by chance, but it is unknown to most people”, while the other answer said: “there are no such accidental things.” The fourth question referred to whether the respondent thought that he or she could influence the events determining his or her life.

Table 6. *The distribution of variables measuring external and internal control.*

	External control	Internal control	Does not know/no answer	Total
In order for someone to have a proper career...	48	44	8	100
The things that influence life...	38	49	13	100
The chances which have an influence on life...	58	33	9	100
The events determining my life...	49	45	6	100

As one may see, the respondents form two distinct groups based on the questions referring to external and internal control. The answers given to the questions are not independent. As a result of the multidimensional analysis¹⁰ we had one variant as a result, the high level of which refers to the

acceptance of internal control, and the refusal of external control, while the low level of which refers to the refusal of internal control and the acceptance of external control. The result of this analysis is included in Table 7.

Table 7. *External control – internal control main component.*

	Discrimination value	Quantified value	
		External control	Internal control
In order for someone to have a proper career...	0.39	-0.63	0.67
The things that influence life...	0.57	-0.91	0.71
The chances which have an influence on life...	0.31	-0.43	0.77
The events determining my life...	0.58	-0.75	0.82
<i>The eigenvalue of the dimension: 1.84 (46 %)</i>			

The decay of Hungary

With the help of an 18 enunciation sequel we tried to examine what the respondent’s opinion was regarding the fact that things in Hungary are not going well. In the case of every enunciation they had 3 answer

possibilities. If they considered the given reason works strongly, they indicated number 3, if they considered the given reason to work, they indicated number 2, and if they thought that the reason did not work at all, they opted for number 1.

Table 8. *Opinions regarding the reasons of the deterioration of the country (averages).*

Politicians are interested in their own benefit, and not in the country's.	2.62
The parties can never reach consensus.	2.59
Everyone wants to get rich fast, they do not care about the future.	2.53
Not the people with best capabilities get executive jobs.	2.48
The winners of the elections are the ones who promise more.	2.44
Too many companies and firms are owned by foreigners.	2.41
Everyone tries to avoid paying taxes.	2.41
There are too many sponge and lazy people in the country.	2.39
There was no real change of regime.	2.27
We are not independent; the EU dictates what to do.	2.25
We don't implement successful results from abroad.	2.13
Jewish big business owners exploit the country.	2.07
We are not parsimonious enough.	2.06
The economic and political power is in the hands of former communists.	2.05
There are too few good skilled workers in the country.	2.03
The general security is very bad because of Gipsy criminality.	2.02
Few people speak foreign languages.	1.96
There are too few entrepreneurs in the country.	1.93

Based on the averages one can conclude that all in all the respondents of the national representative sample blame *politicians, foreigners, cheaters, Jews and Gypsies*, and the idea according to which *the Hungarians themselves play a part in*

all of these is not very popular. The collective analysis of the different cause-assigning determinations shows that there are three typical opinions, which determine the way people think about problems in Hungary.

Table 9. *Main component of anomic profit making.*

	Communality	Factor loading
The parties can never reach consensus.	0.43	0.66
Politicians are interested in their own benefit, and not in the country's.	0.47	0.69
Not the people with best capabilities get executive jobs.	0.45	0.67
There are too many sponge and lazy people in the country.	0.29	0.54
The winners of the elections are the ones who promise more.	0.3	0.55
Everyone wants to get rich fast, they do not care about the future.	0.44	0.67
Everyone tries to avoid paying taxes.	0.26	0.51
Too many companies and firms are owned by foreigners.	0.36	0.6
<i>Proportion of variance: 37,49 %</i>		

The pattern of anomic profit gain is based on an idea of society, which on the one hand condemns people who are high in society, but on the other it condemns the

ones who are low. This picture of society presents a covert prerequisite that scrounging is preferred to common good. Anomic profit gain is empirically a main compo-

ment, the high values of which indicate the attributive role of anomie, while the low values indicate the lack of this role.

The second attributive pattern is organized based on the idea of *new colonialism*.

Table 10. *New colonialism main component.*

	Communality	Factor loading
We are not independent; the EU dictates what to do.	0.41	0.64
Jewish big business owners exploit the country.	0.53	0.73
The general security is very bad because of Gipsy criminality.	0.31	0.56
There was no real change of regime.	0.54	0.73
The economic and political power is in the hands of former communists.	0.56	0.75
<i>Proportion of variance: 46.86 %</i>		

The disapproval of the EU includes blaming *communists*, *Jews* and *Gypsies* for the failure of the regime change. The high values in the main component of new colonialism refer to the tendency to blame the EU, the Gypsies, the Jews, the communists, while a low value indicates the lack of this tendency.

The third attribution pattern is organized based on a different logic. In this pattern we include the *self-critical* cause assuming, which explains the deterioration of Hungary referring to internal and not external factors.

Table 11. *Self-critical main component.*

	Communality	Factor loading
We don't implement successful results from abroad.	0.36	0.6
We are not parsimonious enough.	0.4	0.64
There are too few good skilled workers in the country.	0.48	0.69
Few people speak foreign languages.	0.45	0.67
There are too few entrepreneurs in the country.	0.54	0.74
<i>Proportion of variance: 44.71 %</i>		

A high value of the main component indicates *self-critique*, while a low value indicates a restraint from self-criticism.

Dogmatism

Rokeach (1960) developed a scale in the 50s, with the help of which he measured the inclination to have an unyielding, expedience-free, "closed" mindset, which refuses counter-arguments and critique, and

which is inseparable from authoritarianism. The core of this closed mindset is anxiety which takes over the lonely, defenseless, helpless people. In our questionnaire we included 12 enunciations, in the case of all of which the respondents had to decide how much they agree.

In the case of all enunciations we asked for a response indicated on a 5 degree scale, where 1 meant totally disagreeing, while 5 meant totally agreeing.

Table 12. *The general judgment of the questions measuring dogmatism.*

It is not surprising that people are afraid of the future.	4.00
Political deals are most of the time a betrayal of our original opinions.	3.04
We need to trust our leaders, if we wish to orientate well in this world.	3.10
Violence can be accepted in order to achieve noble goals.	2.21
Social progress is connected to our glorious and forgotten past.	3.21
If one does not believe in a cause, he or she has no reason to live.	2.23
The world we live in is a very lonely place.	2.44
It is better to be a dead hero than a living coward.	2.44
People are either on the side of the truth or not.	3.44
There is only one true world view.	2.63
Man is in itself a helpless and miserable being.	2.74
I would rather be an "important person" than happy.	1.94

The whole of the national sample presented this Rokeach-type dogmatism only in some cases. Being afraid of the future can be considered general, and because of this it splits the answer patterns unfolding from the other questions: the deviation of the answers is very low, and that is why it cannot have a differentiating role. The

remaining eleven enunciations can be organized into three larger schemes (based on the results of the main component analysis).

The first scheme was named "*romantic*", as we can find fantasies referring to valor and greatness.

Table 13. *„Romantic” main component.*

	Communality	Factor loading
If one does not believe in a cause, he or she has no reason to live.	0.58	0.76
It is better to be a dead hero than a living coward.	0.47	0.68
I would rather be an "important person" than happy.	0.71	0.84
Violence can be accepted in order to achieve noble goals.	0.58	0.76
<i>Proportion of variance: 58.54 %</i>		

In the second component we can see all the elements of the phenomena of classical

"*closed-mindedness*", which do not accept any doubts or contradictions.

Table 13. *„Closed-minded” main component.*

	Communality	Factor loading
There is only one true world view.	0.45	0.67
Political deals are most of the time a betrayal of our original opinions.	0.6	0.78
People are either on the side of the truth or not.	0.55	0.74
<i>Proportion of variance: 53.4 %</i>		

“Closed-mindedness” offers a comfortable and secure standing to people, as they do not even consider the possibility that their enemy might be right in some

aspects, as truth cannot be different from the opposite of non-truth (lies, mistakes).

The third main component includes the theme of *solitude*, anxiety and the way out of it.

Table 14. „Solitude” main component.

	Communality	Factor loading
The world we live in is a very lonely place.	0.42	0.65
We need to trust our leaders, if we wish to orientate well in this world.	0.43	0.66
Man is in itself a helpless and miserable being.	0.52	0.72
Social progress is connected to our glorious and forgotten past.	0.35	0.59
<i>Proportion of variance: 42.92 %</i>		

Most pressing issues of the Hungarian society

At given places in the questionnaire we indicated three problems in connection with each of the respondents needed to decide whether those could be considered part of the most urgent problems of the Hungarian society or not. The majority responded in connection with all three problems that they are in fact very important concerns of the Hungarian society. There were still differences in the proportions. Most of the respondents (73%) chose the unequal distribution of goods. The reduction of the population was considered a most important issue by 68%. The smallest proportion of respondents, but still 53%, indicated “the

mass of people who are incapable of integration in society” as a problem that needs to be solved.

In the case of all three issues we offered four types of opportunities to resolve them. These opportunities differed from one another in the fact that there were radical ones, known from the arsenal of extremist political movements, and there were some which came from the arsenal of national paternalism and liberalism. We wanted to find out, in connection with all recommendations, the extent to which they could be considered acceptable by the respondents, and that is why there were multiple choices.

The following table includes the choice of every recommendation referring to the social issues discussed.

Table 15. *The recommendations given for the most pressing issues of the Hungarian society (%)*

<i>Issues</i>	<i>Solutions</i>			
	Nationalization	Taxation of income	State-guaranteed housing	State-guaranteed income
The unequal distribution of social goods	24	57	46	65
Reduction of population	Interdiction of abortion	Actuation of immigration	National policy actuating child birth	Popularization of child birth
	10	8	81	65
People not capable of integration into society	Expulsion	Obligation of integration	Education, training	Aid, support
	21	31	78	21

One can see in the above table that in the case of unequal distribution of goods the radical solutions are the most widely chosen by the respondents. In case of reduction of population and of people not capable of integrating into society, the role of the state is supported (81%, respectively 78%), while in the case of the latter the proportions of those choosing the radical

solution is also considerable (21% and 31%).

With the collective analysis of the solution recommendations for the three issues, we can identify three patterns.¹¹

The first pattern (*state care*) includes national state policy actuating child birth, state-guaranteed housing and ways for the state to guarantee income.

Table 16. *State care main component.*

	Discrimination value	Quantified value	
		Not chosen	Chosen
Reduction of population: national policy actuating child birth.	0.45	-1.49	0.3
Reduction of population: popularization of child birth.	0.42	-0,97	0.44
The unequal distribution of goods: state-guaranteed housing.	0.44	-0.65	0.7
The unequal distribution of goods: state-guaranteed income.	0.5	-1.04	0.51
<i>The eigenvalue of the dimension: 1.81 (45 %)</i>			

The second pattern (*radical solutions*) included interdiction of abortion, obligation of integration and expulsion.

Table 17. *Radical solutions main component*

	Discrimination value	Quantified value	
		Not chosen	Chosen
Reduction of population: interdiction of abortion.	0.51	-0.25	2.07
Expulsion of the ones not capable to be integrated.	0.45	-0,37	1.3
The unequal distribution of goods: nationalization.	0.5	-0.435	1.22
<i>The eigenvalue of the dimension: 1.41 (47 %)</i>			

The third pattern (*laissez-faire*) included the solutions referring to the actuation of immigration, to education and training, as well as to aid and support.

Table 18. *Laissez-faire solutions main component.*

	Discrimination value	Quantified value	
		Not chosen	Chosen
Reduction of population: actuation of immigration.	0.33	-0.19	1.9
People not capable to be integrated: education, training.	0.29	-1.11	0.27
People not capable to be integrated: aid, support.	0.65	-0.43	1.54
<i>The eigenvalue of the dimension: 1.25 (42 %)</i>			

The cognitive determining factors of social dominance

In the following we try to examine the way the ethnic and class-based social dominance is embedded into the order of the variables developed through the discovery

of the joint phenomena of authoritarianism. We applied the method of linear regression analysis, and the results showed that the ethnic social dominance was determined by six variants, which also played a role in authoritarianism.

Table 20. *The cognitive determining factors of the ethnic social dominance¹²*

$R^2= 0,42$	standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)
Anomic profit gain	-0.067	0.025
Solving of the problems by the state	-0.068	0.02
Radical solving of the problems	0.075	0.009
„romantic”	0.465	0.000
„close-minded”	0.093	0.003
„solitude”	0.156	0.000

The strongest determining factor could be found in the case of dogmatism. The mechanism to accept ethnic-based inequality can be expected from those who have a mindset determined by Rokeach's dogmatism: they interpret the world based on romantic-heroic terms, their thinking is *closed* to counterarguments, and they feel *lonely*. Still the idea of solving the social problems with the help of the state is very foreign to these people, they rather choose radical measures. The people accepting ethnicity-based inequalities – though keeping every other cognitive characteristic under control – name anomic profit gain as the main pressing issues in society. In their

opinion the solving of these problems can be done through radical measures.

The model is valid the other way around as well. The refusal of ethnic social inequalities can be expected of people who consider themselves self-made men, they lack romantic heroic thinking, their mindset is *open*, they do not feel lonely on Earth, and they expect the state to resolve social problems.

In the case of class-based social inequalities we included only three Rokeach-type dogmatism-variable, as well as the intervention of the state in the most pressing issues of the society.

Table 21. *The cognitive determining factors of the class social dominance*¹³

$R^2= 0,09$	standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)
„romantic”	0.251	0.000
„closed minded”	-0.171	0.000
„solitude”	-0.118	0.003
The solution of the social problems by the state	-0.152	0.000

The ones who accept the difference between people based on class dominance see the world from the point of view of romantic, heroic dogmatism, still their mindset is not closed, and they do not include solitude in the appraisal of their situation. Nevertheless they refuse the intervention of the state into the solving of the most ardent social problems.

The ones who do not accept the difference between people based on class dominance do not see heroes and important people, and do not want to become like them. Still, their mindset is not open, and they feel lonely in the world. As social democrats they prefer the intervention of the state in the solution of social issues.

The social determining factors of social dominance

The thinking patterns legitimizing ethnic and class-based inequality between people are not very complex from the point of view of sociological determination. The regression analysis has indicated the explanation value of only three sociological variants in both cases. The size of the settlement has a significant effect on the class or social dominance orientation. The more inhabitants of a settlement, the more likely for both of the variants of social dominance orientation to appear. And the other way around: the smaller the settlement, the lesser the social dominance orientation of the respondent.

Table 22. *The sociological determining factors of social dominance*¹⁴.

	<i>Ethnicity based social dominance</i>		<i>Classed based social dominance</i>	
	Standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)	Standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)
Type of settlement ¹⁵	0.275	0.000	0.165	0.000
Education ¹⁶	-0.061	0.058	0.112	0.001
man / woman	0.122	0.000	0.098	0.002
Age	-	-	-	-
Property	-	-	-	-
R ²	0.08		0.06	

If we compare the results presented in table 22 with the ones included in tables 20 and 21, we can observe that the explaining power of the sociological models is much weaker than that of the cognitive models. This indicates that the acceptance or dismissal of social dominance can be traced back not to sociological but to cognitive reasons.

Table 22 also includes other interesting facts. On the one hand it shows that, although the type of settlement is positive in both the class- and ethnicity-based social dominance, meaning that the more urban settlement the respondent lives in, the more he or she accepts the inequality between groups, still, in the case of ethnicity based inequalities this is much stronger than in the

case of class-based inequalities. Another phenomenon that needs to be explained is that the acceptance of ethnicity based dominance between groups relates oppositely to education: the higher the respondent's educational level, the more he or she supports equality between groups.¹⁷ The acceptance of class-based social dominance relates to education in a direct way. This means that the higher the educational level of the respondent, the more expectable it is that he or she will support class-based inequalities. In our opinion this is a characteristic of the new authoritarianism, which completely turns the previous conceptions inside out.

It also needs to be explained why there is an inverse relation between the size of the settlement and the legitimization of ethnic- or class-based inequalities.

In our opinion this relation is inverse because meeting people in an urban-type environment is impersonal, that is why the majority of these meetings do not allow personal acquaintances. The only standing-ground of personal perceiving is the application of group categories to the other, which can be ethnic- or class-based, depending on the stimulus-patterns one persona sees the other. As opposed to this, in smaller settlements everyone knows everyone, which the application of the ethnic- or class-based categories in every-

day encounters, which are Mr. and Mrs. Smith, and not "Hungarian" or "Gipsy" or "unemployed", "clerk", "manager", etc.

In the case of both social inequality orientations, if we only consider the sociological determinations, we see that social dominance characterized men much more than women. Women, if they can, avoid social dominance orientation, regardless of its ethnic or class-based nature. The differences between the two sexes refer to the fact that authoritarianism is not at all new. Men have a problem getting over the feel of superiority which is implied traditionally in the male role, which accepts both ethnic and class-based inequalities.

The cognitive and sociological determining factor of social dominance

It is obvious that the cognitive and sociological elements can be separated from one another only artificially. The aim of this paper is not the discovery of the relations and causality between these two phenomena, but we need to connect them.

The following table presents the *common* effects of the previously introduced cognitive and sociological factors on the acceptance or dismissal of social dominance.

Table 23. *The common effects of the cognitive and sociological determining factors on social dominance¹⁸.*

	<i>Ethnic based social dominance</i>		<i>Class based social dominance</i>	
	Standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)	Standardized β coefficient	T test (sig.)
Type of settlement	0.123	0.000	0.173	0.000
Education	-	-	0.088	0.013
man / woman	0.09	0.002	-	-
External – internal control	-0.059	0.031	-	-
The solution of the problems by the state	-0.072	0.011	-0.172	0.000
Radical solution of problems	0.073	0.009	0.068	0.049
„romantic”	0.45	0.000	0.187	0.000
„closed-minded”	0.084	0.006	-0.161	0.000
„solitude”	0.149	0.000	-0.125	0.000
R ²	0.43 (43%)		0.14 (14%)	

If we consider the cognitive and sociological determining factors together¹⁹, the weights of the different factors are modified. The type of settlement still shows a relatively strong, positive relation to the accepting of dominance between groups: that is the smaller the settlement one lives in, the more possible it is to dismiss inequality between people. As it was expected in the purely sociological model, the effect of education disappeared from the determining factors of ethnic social dominance, when considering cognitive and sociological factors together. However it was replaced by external – internal control. This means that the more someone interprets his or her fate as a result of external forces, the more he or she is inclined to legitimize the inequalities between people on an ethnical ground. Accepting ethnicity-based social dominance and the Rokeach-type dogmatism show a relatively powerful, same direction relation. One also needs to observe the role of the respondents' sex in the ethnic- and class-based social dominance models. In the case of the former it is typical for men, and less typical for women to accept ethnic inequalities between people. In the case of class-based social dominance the effect of the sex factor disappears. Based on this result we may get closer to the interpretation of the debate that can be read in *British Journal of Social Psychology* 2003/2 (for example the assertion of Wilson and Liu, in which they suggest the tinting of the effects of gender identity on accepting social dominance as opposed to Sidanius and Pratto's strong allegation). Based on our data we see that while *social gender* is a determining factor in accepting or dismissing ethnic-based social dominance, this is not the case for the dismissal of social dominance.

If we want to reveal the *socialization origin* of authoritarianism based on the acceptance or dismissal of the two types of social dominance we can differentiate two groups: the group of people who do not

dismiss at least one type of social inequality, and the group of people, who – based on both types – choose inequality between people. The size of the first group exceeded the size of the second in our sample: 60% vs. 40%. According to our assumption the reasons for which a respondent became part of a particular group, i.e. accepted or dismissed some kind of inequality, are not independent of childhood experiences. In order to analyze the socialization sample we asked the following question: “*During your childhood what was the way important decisions were made in your family?*” The majority of the representative sample (58%) related that the mother and father made decisions together. 22% of the respondents said that *the mother alone*, while 14% related that *the father alone* decided in connection with important issues regarding the family. If we compare the different decisional patterns with the response to the different forms of inequality between people, we see that the group refusing any type of inequalities between people significantly includes more respondents, who related that the parents made decisions together regarding important family issues (64%), than the group of respondents accepting at least one form of inequality (55%). This result indicates that there is a connection between social dominance orientation and the socialization character of the family.

Our results show that ethnic- and class-based social dominance is not identical. Although there are common areas of the two attitude patterns regarding the acceptance or refusal of inequalities between people, we cannot consider these two cognitive types to be identical. Based on this it becomes obvious that neither the authority patterns seen during childhood socialization, nor the acceptance of ethnical or class-based inequality between groups have a positive effect on the actions of the *open-minded, accepting* democratic citizen, who favors *active* and *peaceful* involvement

in the signaling and solving of social problems, and who also *takes responsibility*

for himself or herself and others.

Notes

1. The sample represents the adult Hungarian citizens living in Hungary. A total of 1010 people were randomly selected into the sample, and they were personally interviewed by the associates of the Marketing Centrum. The format of the sample has been adjusted with a four dimensional weight (education, sex, type of settlement, age) to the studied population. As a result of weighing the sample was reduced to 1003 elements.
2. Besides the authors of this study, Murányi István and Vági Zoltán also took part in the survey.
3. http://www.riskandforecast.com/post/in-depth-analysis/back-by-popular-demand_411.html (accessed on: April 9, 2011)
4. 1: I totally disagree; 5: I totally agree.
5. Averages: the higher the average, the higher the level of agreement.
6. In the case of the 7-800 members sample of the UCLA and two Israeli universities, one can differentiate two dimensions.
7. We did not aim at either verifying or falsifying the test developed by Sidanius and Pratto: we wanted to measure social dominance in today's Hungary in order to understand the mechanisms of authoritarianism and social exclusion. As a first step we analyzed the 11 questions with *maximum likelihood* (rotated) factor analysis in order to find as much of the non a priori attitude patterns in the answers as possible. We differentiated two factors, but they did not match perfectly. As a result of this we conducted separate *main component analyses* on the two factor groups. The two main components gave very good indexes (table 3 and 4), only one question being omitted from the analysis: "Sometimes some groups need to be kept in place."
8. As one can observe, the two main components are in an antithetic relation, which means that in the case of one the high factor scores refer to the acceptance of the increase of inequality, while in case of the other to the dismissal of inequality. In order for the two components to head the same direction, we "rotated" the main component measuring class-based social dominance orientation, and in the case of both main components the ones accepting inequality received high factor scores, while the ones dismissing it, low factor scores.
9. 19 respondents, i.e. 1.8% of the sample could not be included in any of these as a result of the fact that they did not answer to a high number of questions.
10. The statistical offer of the SPSS package makes it possible to make a "*main component analysis*" in the case of categorical variants. Version 18 of the package includes this analysis in the data reduction block, the optimal scaling menu. The first step of the method is to transform the categorical variant into a numeric data, i.e. it quantifies it (using *alternating least square*), and then the main components are prepared, which can be interpreted as the scores of discriminating functions.
11. We applied the method described in footnote 10.
12. F test sig. <0.000
13. F test sig. <0.000.
14. F test sig. <0.000.
15. We measured the type of settlement on a 5 degree scale, where 1 indicates people living on farms, while 5 indicates people living in the capital.
16. We measured education on a 5 degree scale as well, where 1 indicates unfinished elementary education, while 5 referred to university or college degree.
17. Although the level of significance of the T-test exceeds the level usually applied one with 0.008., we considered it important and of a great significance to emphasize this phenomenon, that is why we included it in the model.
18. F significance test. <0.000.
19. That is based on the Lazarsfeld paradigm the different independent variables and the effects of their interaction are analyzed together (Kendall and Lazarsfeld 1950).

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