

# Social Dominance Orientation of Hungarian National Radicals

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**Abstract:** *The extremely radical (mostly youth) political organizations may be regarded as peculiar youth subcultures. We believe it is true not only for Hungary where relatively rich social scientific knowledge exists on the majority perception of such organizations. However, not many instances are found for the empirical sociological study of the organizations. The sample of the survey conducted in the autumn of 2010 by the Centre of Conflict Research at ELTE and the Sociology and Social Policy Department at the University of Debrecen consists of members of a right-wing paramilitary organization (The National Army of Guardsmen Heritage Protection and Civil Guard Organization) founded three years ago and, as control sample, the members of an environmental protection (non-radical, non-militant) organization (E-mission) operating in the same region (N=100-100 persons). The research focuses on new authoritarianism, which only partly rests on the "classical" authoritarianism, i.e. the socially determined pattern of the modern individual interiorized throughout socialization, as described by freudo-marxism in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In developing the theoretical background and the operationalization, besides traditional dimensions and socializational characteristics, we relied on theories (e. g. social dominance) and topics (e. g. conflict perception and reduction) which have not been applied in such studies before. Based on interpretational-statistical models, this paper analyses the socio-cultural factors that shape the social dominance orientation characteristics for the two sub-samples.*

**Keywords:** social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, prejudice, national radicalism.

**Cuvinte cheie:** orientare către dominația socială, autoritarism, prejudecată, nationalism radical.

## Introduction

In autumn 2010 the *New Authoritarianism* project was launched by the Centre of Conflict Research at ELTE and the Sociology and Social Policy Department at the University of Debrecen.

Previous sociological and social-psychological studies conducted in Hungary examined authoritarianism (and/or prejudices, anti-Semitism) solely in the majority population (Fábián, 1999; Enyedi et al., 2002, 2004). Members of sub-sample no. 1 were members of a paramilitary

organization, and openly identified with the ideology of national radicalism. This organization was founded in the spring of 2007 in Eastern Hungary. The organization has currently approximately 160 members. According to their self-characterization, the members of the organization consider themselves guardians of traditions. They attribute the highest importance to the values of law, order, property and loyalty to the nation defined by ancestry. The organization calls itself an association that protects traditions, and sees the radicals of the Reform Age (1848) and the National Guard

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from 1956 as their predecessors. The National Guard's first appearance (after the Hungarian military uniform worn in the Second World War), whose tasks include the strengthening of national consciousness, protection of traditions, order and property, declines any relations to political parties, and its structure is of a militaristic nature. The organization's ideology can be summed up with the oath that every member is bound to take (see Appendix).

The main viewpoint while collecting the necessary control sample (organization) for the comparison was that the organization should not be connected to any national-political ideology, but the members at the same age as the national-radicals should live in a similar living environment as them. Members of sub-sample no. 2 were selected for the sake of comparison. The best match for this purpose was a civic organization whose members were for the protection of environment (officially called E-mission Nature and Environment Conservation Association). The Association was founded in 1986 by thirty students, and was legally registered in 1989. The organization has about 300 members (including fee-paying members, supporters, and activists), and it is mostly active in the region of eastern Hungary where the national radical group can also be found. The organization's activities are as follows: environmental education, environment protection polls, ornithological works, power management, public guidance, selling environmentally friendly products, social communication concerning environmental matters, environment protection projects, campaigns, and coordinating civic organizations.

The questionnaire that had to be filled by the national radicals and the environmentalists had several question blocks about various themes (socialization, values, religion, prejudice, national identity, social, political and ideological attitudes). One of these was the Social Dominance Orienta-

tion (SDO), which is connected to Social Dominance Theory.

Social dominance orientation (SDO) stems from the theory of social dominance considered by Sidanius and Pratto to be a theory of interdisciplinary approach, a "coherent theoretical framework" that holds together the various levels (individual personality and attitudes, organizations, and social structure). Sidanius and Pratto do not define it as a psychological or sociological theory, as opposed to the theories often mentioned as primary sources (authoritarian personality theory, Rokeach's theory of political behaviour, Blumer's group position theory, Marxism, neoclassical elite theories, political attitude studies, poll results, social identity theory, and evolutionary psychology theories). According to Social Dominance Theory, every society is "*organized as systems of group-based social hierarchies*". The distinguishing characteristics determining dominant and subjugated groups is the unequal possession of social values (power, wealth, rank), as well as material and symbolic goods. The theory does not exclude the role of personal characteristics (such as ability) in possession of these goods, but considers it as a group function. Social Dominance Orientation, connected to social dominance theory, is attributed to individuals and legitimizes unequal and hierarchic social group interactions and expresses judgement of group dominance (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). SDO corresponds to a general attitude orientation to intergroup relations, which approves or disapproves of the stratified nature of social intergroup relations. A high level of social dominance orientation corresponds to reinforcement of hierarchy between groups while a low level of social dominance corresponds to support of ideologies and policies which weaken hierarchy (Pratto et al., 1994).

Considering the results of social dominance orientation researches, the following research questions will be answered, based

on research data from national radical and environmentalist civic organizations:

**Hypothesis 1.** The structure of cognitive determinants (authoritarianism, national attitudes, prejudices, dogmatism) and SDO scale differs significantly within national-radical (hereafter NR) and civil-environmental (hereafter CE) groups.

**Hypothesis 2.** There is a meaningful relationship between the socio-cultural characteristics (sex, age, education, occupation) of NR and CE groups and the categorisation based on subjugated-dominant dichotomy: we may consider the NR as subjugated and the CE as dominant group.

**Hypothesis 3.** The SDO – and authoritarianism, dogmatism, prejudice and national attitudes, which are connected to social dominance theory (and social dominance orientation) – characterises the dominant CE and the subjugated NR groups according to the social dominance theory. (The mean of SDO scale would be lower within the subjugated NR group).

## Methods

### *Sample and sampling*

The research universe consists of the two organizations' members living the Eastern part of Hungary (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar counties). Using the member's lists, based on personal interviews with questionnaire, random sampling was conducted in October and November, 2010. The N=100-100 people samples were weighed according to sex and age.

### *Combined variables*

*Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO).* The original SDO scale, containing 16 items and used to measure social dominance orientation, has been balanced, half of the items supported inequality and

dominance, while the other half supported dismissal (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Consequently, out of the 11 items used in the research questionnaire, those 5 were used to create the combined variable from each group that most appropriately ensured the scale's reliability. The resulting SDO-scale's Cronbach-alpha value is 0.760. Means of the SDO scale in the two subsample (Independent Samples T-test,  $p \leq 0.05$ ): NR group: 26.4, CE group: 23.3 (see in the Appendix the items of SDO scale).

*Rokeach Dogmatism Scale.* 13 items have been used to create the scale from the statements in Rokeach Dogmatism Scale (Rokeach, 1960). The RDS scale's Cronbach-alpha value is 0.735. Means of the RDS scale in the two subsample (Independent Samples T-test,  $p \leq 0.001$ ): NR group: 37.9, CE group: 28.2 (see in the Appendix the items of RDS scale)

*Authoritarianism Index.* The 14 statements from Adorno's classic research (Adorno et al., 1969, 110-111; Altemeyer, 1988) questionnaires (F-scale, PEC, AS, E-scales) were part of a longer, 30-item scale in the questionnaire. The scale's Cronbach alpha value is 0.757. Means of the Authoritarianism index in the two subsample (Independent Samples T-test,  $p \leq 0.001$ ): NR group: 54.7, CE group: 43.4 (for the items of Authoritarianism index see Appendix).

*Prejudice Scale.* To measure intergroup prejudice, a modified version of Bogardus' 7-point social distance scale (1928) has been used. The 11 outer groups' adjudication was based on the 6<sup>th</sup> point (neighbours) of the scale. The goal in compiling the groups was the widest possible representation of differences (national, ethnic, political, religious, health stigmatization). The scale's Cronbach-alpha value is 0.770. Means of the Prejudice scale in the two subsample (Independent Samples T-test,  $p$

$\leq 0.001$ ): NR group: 5.4, CE group: 3.3 (for the items of Prejudice scale see Appendix).

*National Attitude Index.* According to the theory (Dekker and Malova, 1997; Dekker et al., 2003), based on György Csepeli's national concept (Csepeli, 1989; 1997), national attitudes as parts of feelings toward one's own nation and country can be divided based on type and strength. Among the national attitudes toward nation and country there are a neutral (national feelings) and five positive feeling types. National attitudes that can be described by way of a hierarchic structure have an important characteristic called cumulative realignment. The first national feeling, the feeling of national belonging, is followed by other national attitudes (national pride, national preference, national superiority and nationalism) and each contains all the previous attitudes. At the top of the hierarchy is nationalism, which generates an extremely positive national identity, and it is a combination of national belonging, common ancestry and blood relations. The validity of the scale based on the theory has been proven to be adequate in various international (Dekker et al., 1996; Murányi et al., 2010) and Hungarian (Murányi,

2005) researches. The national attitude scale is based on 19 items and was created by combining six subscales. Its Cronbach-alpha value is 0.859. Means of the National Attitude index in the two subsample (Independent Samples T-test,  $p \leq 0.001$ ): NR group: 4.6, CE group: 3.6 (for the items of National Attitude index see Appendix).

## Results

**Hypothesis 1.** The structure of cognitive determinants (authoritarianism, national attitudes, prejudices, dogmatism) and SDO scale differs significantly within national-radical (NR) and civil-environmental (CE) groups.

### *SDO and the scales – correlations*

The correlation between the SDO and the related scales we have separately investigated for the two subsamples. Like the national attitudes, in the national-radical group the SDO significantly correlates with the all scales and it is uncorrelated only with the prejudice scale. The additional feature is that the authoritarianism scale significantly correlates only with the dogmatism scale.

**Table 1.** Scale correlations – NR subsample (correlation coefficients, Pearson correlation, 2 tailed).

	National attitude	Prejudice	Dogmatism	Authoritarianism
National attitude	1	-	-	-
Prejudice	0.214*	1	-	-
Dogmatism	0.303**	-0.018	1	-
Authoritarianism	0.099	-0.026	0.327**	1
SDO	0.269**	0.227*	0.221*	0.050

\*:  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*:  $p \leq 0.001$

In the civil-environmentalist group the majority of correlations among scales are expressed, positive and significant with one exception: the SDO significantly correlates only with authoritarianism, and the correla-

tion coefficient is negative in two cases. Increase of SDO accompanies the decrease of national attitude and prejudice (although the relations are weak and insignificant).

**Table 2.** Scale correlations – CE subsample (correlation coefficients, Pearson correlation, 2 tailed).

	National attitude	Prejudice	Dogmatism	Authoritarianism
National attitude	1	-	-	-
Prejudice	0.210*	1	-	-
Dogmatism	0.354**	0.236*	1	-
Authoritarianism	0.264**	0.364**	0.240*	1
SDO	-0.053	0.181	-0.120	0.267**

\*:  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*:  $p \leq 0.001$

*SDO and the scales – path-models*

Causality investigations between scales were carried out using the path model. To build up the analytical logic of path-models achieved in both subsets separately, we took into account the result of regression analysis accomplished in the entire sample. In the model SDO counts as independent,

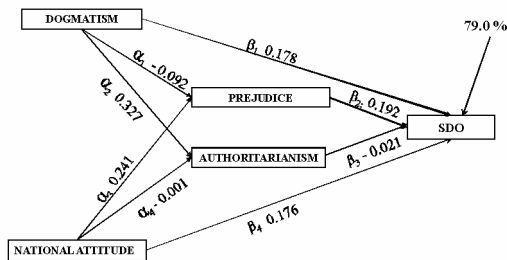
whereas the other four scales count as dependent variables. According to the results in the total sample the social dominance orientation is significantly influenced by prejudice and authoritarianism, whereas effect of dogmatism and national attitude is negligible (and insignificant).

**Table 3.** Linear regression model, dependent variable: SDO – total sample

	Beta	Sig
Prejudice	0.196	0.010
Authoritarianism	0.180	0.047
Dogmatism	0.021	0.820
National attitude	-0.028	0.771
Adjusted R Square (percentage)	7.6	

The constructional logic scheme of the path-model was the following: besides SDO, considered as the dependent variable,

we used prejudice and authoritarianism scales which proved to be determinant in the whole sample - as medial variables.



**Figure 1.** Path-model for the national-radical subsample<sup>1</sup>

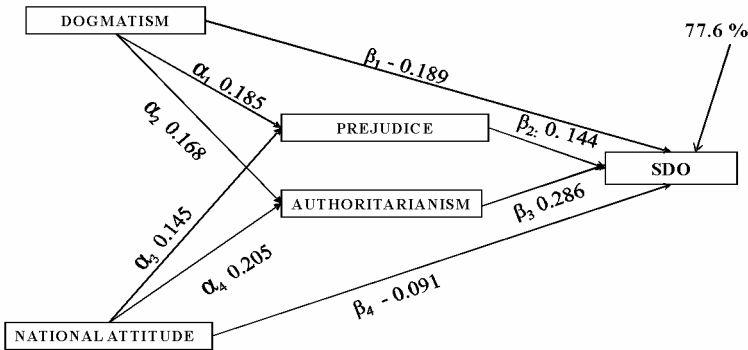


Figure 2. Path-model for the civil-environmentalist subsample<sup>2</sup>

If we consider only the significant effect, in the national radical subsample the prejudice ( $\beta_2:0.192$ ,  $p=0.045$ ), and in the civil-environmentalist subsample the authoritarianism ( $\beta_3:0.286$ ,  $p=0.008$ ) has a significantly effect on the SDO. In both path-models only the direct effects are significant.<sup>3</sup>

We verified the first hypothesis, because the relationship of SDO and the four scale differed radically in the two subsamples.

**Hypothesis 2.** There is a meaningful relationship between the socio-cultural

characteristics (sex, age, education, occupation) of NR and CE groups and the categorisation based on subjugated-dominant dichotomy: we may consider the NR as subjugated and the CE as dominant group.

The demographical-sociological composition of the two subsamples are very much different: there are significantly less educated and worse occupational position members in the national-radical subsample, compared to the civic-environmentalist group, but the mean ages are nearly the same.

Table 4. Scholar qualifications in the two subsamples\* (percentage).

	NR sub-sample	CE sub-sample
Primary education	28	2
Acquired some kind of vocation	35	3
Graduated from secondary education	26	29
Graduated from college/university	11	66

\*Cramer's V: 0.667,  $p \leq 0.001$

**Table 5.** *Age in the two subsamples\* (means)*

NR subsample	32.2
CE subsample	33.2

\* Independent-Samples T Test, 2 tailed,  $p=0.543$

**Table 6.** *Occupation categories in the two subsamples\* (percentages).*

	NR sub-sample	CE sub-sample
High-or mid-level director, big businessman	3	10
Intellectual	18	42
Other white-collar worker	2	13
Low-level director, technician	3	3
Artisan, retailer, farmer, contractor	3	2
Skilled worker	26	4
Unskilled, semi-skilled or temporary worker	29	1
Student	6	22
Other	3	3

\*Cramer's V: 0.754,  $p \leq 0.001$

According to Social Dominance Theory, the possessions of positive social values and (material and symbolic) goods characterise the dominant groups and the lack of possession of these characterises the subjugated groups (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

Taking all these into consideration, and based on the characteristics of two subsamples (the significantly different distribution of occupational categories and level of education) we may rightly suppose the national-radical subsample rather subjugated while the civil-environmentalist group rather dominant – so we verified the second hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 3.** The SDO – and authoritarianism, dogmatism, prejudice and national attitudes, which are connected to social dominance theory (and social dominance orientation) – characterises the dominant CE and the subjugated NR groups according to the social dominance theory (The mean of SDO

scale is lower within the subjugated NR group).

The SDO developed based on the Social Dominance Theory is higher among the dominant groups while lower in the subjugated groups. Based on high or low status (for example gender or ethnic) several researches proved there are differences in the SDO average: independent from the research samples, cultural environment and contextual factors, the higher status was characterized by higher SDO (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2000; Jost and Thomson, 2000).

According to our results the standardized scale means are significantly higher in the national-radical subsample in all cases. The group of national-radicals is substantially more characterized by national attitude, authoritarianism and dogmatism. With a lower extent than these, but among the national-radicals, the mean of prejudice scale is higher, whereas the lower SDO mean differs in the two groups.

**Table 7.** Scale means in the two subsamples \* (standartized scale means).

	NR sub-sample	CE sub-sample
National attitude	0.725	- 0.725
Authoritarianism	0.651	- 0.651
Dogmatism	0.605	- 0.605
Prejudice	0.391	- 0.391
SDO	0.186	- 0.186

\* Independent-Samples T Test, 2 tailed, to every scales:  $p \leq 0.001$

We verified the third hypothesis only partly, because within the subjugated NR group SDO mean is higher compared to dominant CE group. (In contradiction to many previous empirical research results). What explains this inconsistency?

Our explanation linked to the relative status within the group. Then we examine the SDO average of subsamples which we created within the NR and CE groups based on the socio-cultural characteristics such as status variables. This is the reason for which the SDO and the relative status

within the group also demonstrated the relationship between stratified groups (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

*The relationship between gender and SDO*

Further research showed that men with higher group-status were characterized by higher levels of SDO than women (Wilson-Liu, 2003). According to the previous results, the higher mean of males is typical of both subsamples – but in neither case significant.

**Table 8.** Gender and SDO (means).

	NR subsample*	CE subsample**
males	0.196	-0.002
females	0.132	-0.374

Independent-Samples T Test, 2 tailed, \*  $p = 0.778$ ; \*\*  $p = 0.656$

*The relationship between age and SDO*

The Social Dominance Theory does not consider the age groups as dominant and subjugated groups. It is not surprising that research suggests that there is no relationship between age and the SDO (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). Our results show that the

SDO average age difference between the groups was not significant either one subsample. The SDO average is positive in both age groups in the national radical subsample while negative in the other subsample. It is true of both subsamples that high SDO characterizes the youth.

**Table 9.** Age and SDO (means).

	NR subsample*	CE subsample**
Young	0.218	-0.024
Old	0.157	-0.384

Independent-Samples T Test, 2 tailed, \*  $p = 0.213$ ; \*\*  $p = 0.418$



*The relationship between social status and SDO*

In order to avoid problems arising due to low item numbers during statistical analysis, the education and occupation variables have been modified, based on their distribution.<sup>4</sup> The principal component, hereinafter referred to as status variable (explained variance: 81.8 percent), has been created using the two variables using principal component analysis. After that, two groups have been created with equal

item numbers based on the status principal component (low and high status groups).

According to the SDO theory, the relationship between SDO average and status is linear. This is true within the civil-environmentalist group (although it is not significant), but not within the national radical subsample: the mean is high for the group with low status whereas it is low for the high status group.

**Table 10.** Status and SDO (means).

	NR subsample*	CE subsample
low status	0.348	-0.027
high status	-0.272	-0.236

\* One-Way ANOVA,  $p \leq 0.05$

Based on these results we infer that the difference between SDO mean of the two subsamples explained the differing SDO means of age and status groups within the subsamples. We examined this mere presumption in the two subsamples separately, both in the case of the linear regression model containing the socio-cultural variables (as explaining variables), as well as the SDO as dependent variables. In the

national-radical subsample the model's explanatory power is very weak (Adjusted R Squared: 0.06) and only one explanatory variable (social status) effect was significant ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). Herewith in the civil-environmentalist subsample the strength of model is also weak (Adjusted R Squared: 0.022) and only the gender variable effect is significant ( $p \leq 0.05$ ).

**Table 11.** Linear regression model, dependent variable: SDO – national-radical subsample.

	Beta	Sig
Sex (1: male; 0: female)	0.019	0.848
Social status (principal component)	-0.178	0.042
Age (year of birth)	0.032	0.753
Adjusted R Square (percentage)	0.6	

**Table 12.** Linear regression model, dependent variable: SDO – civil-environmentalist subsample.

	Beta	Sig
Sex (1: male; 0: female)	0.199	0.050
Social status (principal component)	-0.030	0.780
Age (year of birth)	0.108	0.313
Adjusted R Square (percentage)	2.2	

If we consider the national-radical subsample as subjugated, the civil-environmentalist subsample as dominant groups, the higher SDO mean of national-radical group is mainly explained by their status while the higher SDO of civil-environmentalist subsample significantly explains the gender (sex variable).

## Conclusions

Our results are restrainedly generalized whereas members of the national radical (and civil environmentalist) group certainly cannot be considered as an ordinary sample. Despite all these, the results may support further research of SDO.

The results concerning the two special samples were expectable: the subjugated national-radical subsample was better characterized by authoritarianism and dogmatism but prejudice and SDO were

also significantly higher than the dominant civil-environmentalists group.

According to the SDO theory, the relationship between SDO and social status was partly surprising. Our statistical explanation confirmed the not awaited (higher) SDO average of subjugated national-radical subsample consequence of social status and the gender composition of the dominant civil-environmentalists group.

We consider important that the structure of sociological determinants of social dominance orientation seems to be different. In the case of the national radical sample, a complex sociological variable (social status) played a role in determining SDO. While, no doubt, a long time is needed, this variable can be used to change social status – in appropriate social context and thoughtful social policy. Considering the growing number of radical groups in Hungary, this is an urgent and important task of the Hungarian society and of governmental politics.

## Notes

1. NR path-model characteristics. 1. model (dependent variable: SDO): Prejudice ( $\beta_2$ :0.192,  $p=0.045$ ). Dogmatism ( $\beta_1$ :0.178,  $p=0.097$ ), National attitude ( $\beta_4$ :0.176,  $p=0.091$ ), Authoritarianism ( $\beta_3$ : -0.021,  $p=0.840$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.092. 2. model (dependent variable: Prejudice): Dogmatism ( $\alpha_1$ :-0.092,  $p=0.379$ ). National attitude ( $\alpha_3$ : 0.241,  $p=0.002$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.034. 3. model (dependent variable: Authoritarianism): Dogmatism ( $\alpha_2$ :0.327,  $p=0.002$ ). National attitude ( $\alpha_3$ :-0.001,  $p=0.997$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.084.
2. CE path-model characteristics. 1. model (dependent variable: SDO): Authoritarianism ( $\beta_2$ :0.286,  $p=0.008$ ). Dogmatism ( $\beta_1$ :-0.189,  $p=0.074$ ), Prejudice ( $\beta_4$ :0.141,  $p=0.182$ ), National attitude ( $\beta_3$ : -0.091,  $p=0.385$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.093. 2. model (dependent variable: Prejudice): Dogmatism ( $\alpha_1$ :0.185,  $p=0.080$ ). National attitude ( $\alpha_3$ : 0.145,  $p=0.169$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.055. 3. model (dependent variable: Authoritarianism): Dogmatism ( $\alpha_2$ :0.168,  $p=0.102$ ). National attitude ( $\alpha_3$ : 0.205,  $p=0.050$ ) Adjusted R Square: 0.076.
3. Indirect effects in the RN path-model (beta multiplication): Dogmatism \* Prejudice: -0.004, Dogmatism \* Authoritarianism: 0.006, National attitude \* Prejudice: 0.046, National attitude \* Authoritarianism: 0.000. Indirect effects in the CE path-model (beta multiplication): Dogmatism \* Prejudice: 0.026, Dogmatism \* Authoritarianism: 0.048, National attitude \* Prejudice: 0.020, National attitude \* Authoritarianism: 0.058.
4. Values assigned to the categories of the occupation variable: 1: unskilled, semi-skilled or temporary worker; 2: skilled worker; 2.5: student, other; 3: other white-collar worker, low-level director, technician, artisan, retailer, farmer, contractor; 4: freelancing intellectual; high- or mid-level director, big businessman. Values assigned to the categories of the education variable: 1: primary education; 2: skilled; 3: graduated (technical school, technician, secondary school); 4: graduated from college, university.

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## Appendix

The Oath:

„The Only one True God Almighty!

Led by the respect for our glorious ancestors and by the responsibility felt for our descendants, of my free will, I, /full name/ swear that I arrange my life to the general and everlasting divine laws suggested by the Holy Crown. I solemnly promise that I protect my motherland, the ever-existing Carpathian motherland, against all the external and internal enemies, sacrificing my life and blood if needed. But I hold the sanctity of life in respect; I assist to preserve our living environment for our descendants. I promise solemnly that I serve the common good in peace; I work hard on the succeeding of my Hungarian brethren, on the ascension of the family and the nation of mine and on the ascension of mankind. I make every endeavour to preserve and convey the heritage to our children entrusted to us by our ancestors, the living literacy of our nation alike. May the mercy of our lord Jesus, the love of our Blessed Woman and the protection of the Holy Crown lead me on my path.

So help me God!”

**Items on the Social Dominance Scale.** (*To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please use the scholastic marking system! One means that you do not agree at all, five means that you completely agree.*) Supporting items: 1. Some people are inferior to others. 2. Sometimes goals can only be reached through violence. 3. It is fair that some people have more chances in life. 4. Sometimes it is necessary to oppress others in order to advance ourselves. 5. It is probably right that some people are up and some are down. Dismissive items: 6. It would be great if people were equal. 7. Everyone should be given an

even chance in life. 8. If people are equal, there are fewer problems. 9. We should try to provide equal salaries for everyone. 10. No one can rule in society.

### **Items on the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale.**

(*To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please use the scholastic marking system! One means that you do not agree at all, five means that you completely agree.*) 1. The world we live in is a very lonely place. 2. It is not surprising that nowadays people are afraid of the future. 3. Social advancement is connected to our glorious and forgotten past. 4. If someone does not believe in a greater cause, he had better die. 5. From the various world views only one can be true. 6. A political bargain usually means the betrayal of our initial point of view. 7. People either stand on the side of truth or not. 9. It is better to be a dead hero than a living coward. 10. I would rather be a „big man” than happy. 11. Even violence is acceptable if it serves a noble idea. 12. In order to find our way in the world, we have to trust the leaders. 13. Man in itself is a helpless and miserable being.

### **Items on the Authoritarianism Scale.** (*To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please use the scholastic marking system! One means that you do not agree at all, five means that you completely agree.*)

1. Many young people lack the determination to live and work for their country. 2. Everyone has to raise their voice against ethnic discrimination. 3. Every political party takes part in corruption. 4. It is a shame that compulsory military service has ended, because it had a positive effect on young men. 5. If you have a problem with something, you have to march down the streets and protest. 6. Democracy can function well without rivalling parties. 7. We need a determined leader who controls the country with a strong hand. 8. The opinion of everyday people never matters in

politics. 9. As long as corporal punishment is forbidden in schools, teachers cannot maintain order. 10. Politicians only care about their personal gain and do not care about voting citizens. 11. The best way to choose political leaders is by free elections. 12. In these days of recession we need a strong-handed government that dismisses arguments between parties. 13. Homosexuals have the same rights as heterosexuals. 14. Children always have to listen to their parents.

**Items on the Prejudice Scale.** (*Would you accept it if your neighbour were a ...?*) 1. gypsy, 2. Jewish, 3. criminal, 4. mental patient, 5. mentally challenged, 6. homosexual, 7. liberal, 8. communist, 9. Nazi, 10. immigrant, 11. member of a religious sect.

**Items on the National Attitude Scale.** (*To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please use the scholastic marking system! One means that you do not*

*agree at all, five means that you completely agree.*) 1. I feel like a Hungarian. 2. I usually like Hungarian people better than other nations. 3. I am proud to be Hungarian. 4. It would be better if non-Hungarians moved away from Hungary. 5. I feel that Hungary is my home. 6. I think every Hungarian should live in Hungary. 7. It feels good to be Hungarian. 8. I would prefer to live most of my life in Hungary rather than another country. 9. I feel that common ancestry connects me to Hungarians. 12. I am proud of Hungary. 13. I usually like Hungarian people. 14. Hungary is the best place to live. 15. I usually prefer to socialize with Hungarians and not with people from other countries. 16. I love Hungary. 17. I think Hungarians form a big family and I am part of it. 18. I am proud of Hungarian people's achievements. 19. In general, Hungarians are better than non-Hungarians.

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