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Authoritarianism vs. Cultural Pressure

Anti-Gypsy Prejudice in Hungary

ABSTRACT: *This article addresses the issue of personality vs. cultural norms with regard to two related problems: the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice, and the empirical foundation of the concept of ethnocentrism. The analysis is based on a survey of anti-Gypsy attitudes in two Hungarian cities, Salgótarján and Sopron. A random sample of 400 adolescents was surveyed, including one parent of each adolescent (total N = 800). The two locations differ in aggregate level of anti-Gypsy prejudice, that is, the anti-Gypsy cultural norm, which allows the use of a quasi-experimental design. The results support the empirical foundation of the concept of ethnocentrism, although it was possible to detect the effect of cultural pressure on the connection between anti-Gypsy prejudice and general ethnocentrism. Concerning the effect of cultural pressure on the relationship between authoritarianism and anti-Gypsy prejudice, the results support the cultural pressure model in the youth samples, but contradict this model in the parent samples. Multivariate causal modeling of the youth anti-Gypsy prejudice shows that in both cities authoritarianism and parents' prejudice are significant direct predictors. However, the role of authoritarianism is considerably weaker under condition of higher normative pressure.*

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The authoritarianism theory of prejudice, as developed by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Sanford, and Levinson (1950, hereafter in the text, TAP), postulates that individual susceptibility to various ethnic prejudices, and to general ethnocentrism, can be best understood in terms of a particular structure and dynamics of personality. The theory has been criticized since its publication (e.g., Christie and Jahoda, 1954), although many of its central theoretical assumptions have never been adequately tested (cf. Stone et al., 1993; Todosijević, 1999). Moreover, cumulative evidence bearing primarily on the predictive validity of their operationalization of the authoritarianism concept, the famous F scale, generally tends to support the original theory (cf. Meloen, 1993). The evidence indicates that the F scale, across different countries and during almost a half-century of research, consistently correlates with various ethnic and other prejudices, and various intolerant political attitudes and movements ("proto-fascist" movements) (e.g., Meloen, 1993).

One of the first objections to the authoritarianism model was that the role of personality structure in prejudice is dependent on cultural factors. The specific objection was that in cultures where certain prejudices are widespread and part of tradition and normal social relations, personality structure is not an important determinant of ethnic attitudes. According to Duckitt (1992), this view, which became known as the cultural pressure theory, dominated the field of prejudice research in the 1960s and 1970s. It was originally formulated by Pettigrew (e.g., 1958, 1959), and later promoted by many other authors (e.g., Heaven 1984). For example, Pettigrew (1959) supported this model, finding a considerably higher level of anti-Black prejudice in the southern states of the United States, but not a correspondingly higher level of authoritarianism, nor high correlation between them. Heaven supports this interpretation with similar findings in South Africa (e.g., 1976, 1984). However, contrary to the normative pressure hypothesis, Duckitt, for example, found also in South Africa that "authoritarianism was a powerful correlate of prejudice regardless of the degree of normative pressure experienced" (1994, abstract; also 1988, 1993).

Also closely related to this issue is the empirical foundation of the concept of ethnocentrism, as elaborated by the Berkeley researchers. In their view, authoritarian personality syndrome makes such individuals susceptible to a generalized prejudice, that is, prejudice against different, usually lower-status, groups, and, at the same time, to rigid and uncritical identification with the in-group. On the other hand, based on

the cultural pressure hypothesis, it follows that specific prejudices do not have to be correlated, except when multiple prejudices are the norm in a culture.

This article addresses the debate on personality vs. cultural norms with regard to these two problems: the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice, and the empirical foundation of the ethnocentrism concept. The analysis focuses on anti-Gypsy prejudice in Hungary. Arguably, Gypsies play a similar out-group role in many Central European countries, as African Americans do in the United States (e.g., it is a “visible” out-group, economically underprivileged, with a proportionally high crime rate), so the comparison seems relevant from this point of view. More important, the present survey was conducted in two Hungarian cities, Salgótarján and Sopron, which differ in relative proportions of Gypsies, and hence in the expected aggregate level of anti-Gypsy prejudice.¹ The Salgótarján sample contains ten times more respondents identified by the interviewers as Gypsies than the Sopron sample (approximately 15 percent compared to 1.5 percent, respectively). Ideally, a comparison of the role of cultural pressure should be based on regions that differ *only* in the relative culturally determined level of the particular prejudice, which is not the present case. Therefore, in order to compensate for this fact, *statistical* controls for various other relevant variables are introduced in different parts of the analysis, and, of course, Gypsy respondents are excluded.

Hypotheses

According to the authoritarian personality theory, individuals who are prejudiced against a certain group will tend to be prejudiced against many other out-groups, that is, it is possible to speak about the *general ethnocentrism* of the prejudiced individuals.² Hence, the first hypothesis is derived accordingly:

Hypothesis 1: Negative attitudes toward different out-groups tend to correlate, thus forming a general ethnocentric orientation. Anti-Gypsy prejudice is part of ethnocentrism, regardless of the average level of anti-Gypsy prejudice in different cities.

Adorno et al. (1950) explained individual differences in ethnocentrism referring to a particular personality structure, that is, authoritarianism. From this the second hypothesis follows:

Hypothesis 2: Authoritarianism correlates significantly and approximately equally in both cities with anti-Gypsy prejudice and general ethnocentrism.

The cultural pressure theory claims that prejudices are determined by culture and transferred via socialization processes, regardless of personality features. It follows from this general statement that it is not appropriate to speak about general ethnocentrism because local culture (or subculture) can prescribe intensive prejudice only against some groups, but not others. In other words, concrete groups that are prejudiced against certain others are determined by cultural stereotypes that are then transferred via socialization. Hence:

Hypothesis 3: Negative attitudes toward different groups are interrelated weakly or not at all, that is, general ethnocentrism cannot be empirically substantiated. Anti-Gypsy attitudes, therefore, correlate weakly or not at all with other prejudices. Also, aggregate levels of prejudice against different out-groups differ considerably, according to cultural scripts.

In this theory, prejudices are culturally determined, and individual personality structure is seen as highly irrelevant. Hence:

Hypothesis 4: Authoritarianism is less related or not related to anti-Gypsy prejudice in the region where such prejudice is more widespread, in this case, Salgótarján.

More careful inspection of these hypotheses reveals that the two theories under examination are not really incompatible, and, moreover, that they deal generally with different aspects of prejudice. Specifically, authoritarianism theory is primarily concerned with individual level data, that is, individual differences in the tendency toward ethnocentrism, while cultural pressure theory pertains more to the aggregate level relationships. In fact, the cultural pressure hypothesis could be understood as a corollary to the authoritarianism theory, specifying (some) determinants of the aggregate differences in prejudice levels, but it is weaker as an explanation of individual differences.³

It can hardly be maintained that the authors of TAP believed in the exclusive psychological determination of prejudice (cf. Todosijević, 1999), and that they would argue that Plato and all of his contemporaries were highly authoritarian personalities because they believed in the inherent inferiority of slaves.⁴ In fact, the authors of TAP discussed the very same problem. The regional differences they discussed were between the east-

ern and western parts of the United States. The former group was more prejudiced, but not more authoritarian, and the correlation between ethnocentrism and F scales was “one of the lowest obtained” (Adorno et al., 1982, p. 198). The discrepancy was explained by the “prevailing climate of opinion” (Adorno et al., 1982, p. 198).

Method

Sample

The study is based on a random sample of 400 adolescents, aged sixteen to seventeen, and their parents. One parent of every adolescent respondent was interviewed, so the total sample included 800 respondents: 22.8 percent of parents were female, while the sexes were more equally represented among the children, of whom 48.5 percent were girls. Median age of the children was sixteen (83.5 percent were born in 1981, the rest in 1980). Average age of the parents was forty-four years, with a standard deviation of five years, six months.

The study was conducted in November and December 1997, in two Hungarian cities, Sopron and Salgótarján. The first is a prosperous tourist city in the west, while the other is a working class town in the north with an especially high unemployment rate. An equal number of interviews was conducted in both cities. After excluding respondents identified by the interviewers as Gypsies, 358 cases remained in both samples of children and parents.

Variables

Authoritarianism. Authoritarianism (AUT) is measured by the twenty-five-item AUT scale, based on the F scale of Adorno et al. and on the right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale of Altemeyer (Altemeyer, 1981, 1988). The scale was presented in Likert form with four degrees of disagreement. The answer option “do not know” was assigned intermediate value (1 stands for “strongly disagree,” 4 for “strongly agree,” and “do not know” received the value of 2.5; the same strategy was applied to both samples and to both anti-Gypsy and authoritarianism scales). Sample item: *The most important virtues a child has to learn are obedience to and respect for authorities.*

Three items from the entire twenty-five-item scale are omitted because

they deal explicitly with the relationship between Hungarians and ethnic minorities.⁵ The presence of such items would artificially increase the relationship between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism/anti-Gypsy attitudes due to the overlapping content. Excluding them is an attempt to come closer to the personality conception of authoritarianism, and to avoid interpreting a correlation based on tautological items in a substantive way.

In the present analysis, authoritarianism is operationally defined as the first principal component of the shortened AUT scale.⁶ Alpha reliability of the AUT scale on the youth sample is .70, while on the sample of parents it is .81. Hereafter in the text, the authoritarianism of children is coded C-AUT, and that of parents as P-AUT.

Anti-Gypsy prejudice. The anti-Gypsy (AG) scale consists of nine items in the same format as the AUT scale. Table 1 shows items of the scale and item means of parents and children in the two cities. The reliability of the AG scale on the sample of students is .77, and on the sample of parents (P-AG), .79. The first principal component of the AG scale is used for the purpose of the present analysis.

On the sample of parents, the first principal component accounted for 37.9 percent of the total variance, and on the sample of youth, 36.0 percent. Virtually all items have high loadings on the extracted first principal component, ranging from .42 to .76 on the youth sample, and from .50 to .72 on the sample of parents.

Ethnocentrism. General ethnocentrism is measured by fourteen items asking respondents to what degree a particular ethnic (e.g., Gypsies, Poles, Austrians), cultural (skinheads, homosexuals), or political (extreme leftists or extreme rightists) group is sympathetic or antipathetic to them. Items are presented in a five-point Likert scale (1 means "very much antipathetic," and 5, "very likable"). Thus, it is a quite broad definition of the concept, insofar as it includes not only ethnic out-groups. In this way, the potential falsifiability of the concept of ethnocentrism is increased since its empirical foundation is put to a more rigorous test.

In order to control for the role of socioeconomic status, the following two variables are used:

Income. This variable consists of the parents' answer to the question concerning net family income per month.

Education. This is a composite variable, constructed by adding answers to two questions dealing with the educational level of both parents. The questions consisted of seven categories, from category 1, meaning unfinished primary school, to category 7, meaning university education. Hence,

Table 1

Means on Anti-Gypsy Prejudice Items for Parents and Children from Sopron and Salgótarján

Items (abbreviated versions)	Sopron		Salgótarján	
	parents	children	parents	children
1. Gypsies get more help than others. ^a	3.17**	3.29	<i>3.46</i>	3.36
2. Gypsies must be separated from the rest of the society.	1.40**	1.72**	1.84	<i>2.04</i>
3. Many Gypsies do not work for the benefits they get.	3.01	3.08	3.13	<i>3.17</i>
4. This country should make sacrifices so that Gypsies can learn. ^a	1.66**	2.31**	2.40	<i>2.70</i>
5. It is good to still have places of entertainment where Gypsies cannot enter.	1.58**	2.18**	2.19	<i>2.76</i>
6. It would be better for everyone if Hungarian and Gypsy kids were separated.	1.46**	1.93**	1.99	<i>2.29</i>
7. The inclination to commit crimes is inborn in Gypsies.	2.30*	2.48	2.54	<i>2.61</i>
8. Many Gypsies do not work because they cannot find a job. ^a	2.22**	2.30**	2.60	<i>2.63</i>
9. There are as many honest people among Gypsies as among. . . . ^a	2.15*	2.14	<i>2.39</i>	2.26

^aPro-Gypsy items are coded in reverse.

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$; comparisons are made within generations and between the cities. Italics indicate the category with the highest score for a particular item.

the composite variable had a minimum of 2 and a maximum of 14. Preliminary analysis showed that such a composite variable has better predictive power than does the educational level of a single parent.

Results

Preliminary analysis: Evidence of greater cultural pressure toward anti-Gypsy prejudice in Salgótarján

In order to examine cultural pressure theory adequately, it is necessary to present evidence that the two towns do, indeed, differ in this regard.

For lack of better indicators, it is assumed that differences in average levels of various anti-Gypsy attitudes can be taken as the required evidence. For this purpose, the two samples are compared on several specific items on the general anti-Gypsy scale and the general ethnocentrism scale (see Table 2).

The results show that respondents from Sopron and Salgótarján do indeed differ in their average anti-Gypsy attitudes in the expected direction on most of the analyzed indicators of anti-Gypsy attitudes. Sopron respondents would be more inclined to vote for a Gypsy candidate (parents), they have a lower average score on the anti-Gypsy prejudice scale (both parents and children), and they find Gypsies less antipathetic (parents). Insignificant differences are obtained for the items "perceived discrepancy" (both generations) and likeability of Gypsies (children), and on the general ethnocentrism scale. It is important to note that differences are smaller and in some cases insignificant among youth,⁷ although even those differences are in the expected direction. However, on the most reliable measure of anti-Gypsy attitudes, that is, the anti-Gypsy scale, both parents and children from the two towns differ significantly. When differences are analyzed at the level of individual items, in all cases, the highest average scores belong to the respondents from Salgótarján, and most often to the youth (see Table 1 above).

It would be interesting to examine in more depth the reasons for larger differences among the older generation than among youth, but it is beyond the scope of the present study. The most important conclusion is that, according to the evidence presented, Salgótarján is characterized by stronger normative pressure to accept anti-Gypsy prejudice. Moreover, the differences between the two cities are not attributable to different levels of general ethnocentrism, for there are no significant differences in this variable. This is an important point, because it eliminates the need to discuss the role of the frustration-aggression mechanism. It is possible to argue that the economic hardships of Salgótarján's residents make them more prejudiced. However, they are not more prejudiced *generally*, that is, more ethnocentric, but specifically more anti-Gypsy. It might be possible to detect frustration-aggression mechanisms, group conflicts, or some other factors behind this cultural norm, but an explanation of different levels of cultural pressure is not the goal of the present study. What is important is that economic differences between the two towns do not invalidate the argument that they differ in anti-Gypsy cultural norms.

Table 2

Average Levels of Various Anti-Gypsy Attitudes in Sopron and Salgótarján

	Mean, Sopron	Mean, Salgótarján	Significance of difference
Would you vote for a Gypsy candidate? ^a	0.80	0.54	$p < .000$
Perceived discrepancy between Gypsies and non-Gypsies (children) ^b	2.70	2.79	n.s.
Perceived discrepancy between Gypsies and non-Gypsies (parents)	2.54	2.61	n.s.
Nine-item anti-Gypsy scale (children)	-0.21	0.23	$p < .000$
Nine-item anti-Gypsy scale (parents)	-0.30	0.34	$p < .000$
How likable do you find Gypsies? ^c (children)	2.28	2.16	n.s.
How likable do you find Gypsies? ^c (parents)	2.65	2.22	$p < .000$
General ethnocentrism (children) ^d	-0.10	0.11	n.s.
General ethnocentrism (parents) ^d	0.00	-0.02	n.s.

^aOnly parents were asked this question; answer options: 0 = no, 1 = yes.

^bAnswer options: 1 = no discrepancy, 2 = small, 3 = large.

^cAnswer options: from 1 (very much antipathetic) to 5 (very likable).

^dEthnocentrism is coded in reverse direction (higher score meaning lower ethnocentrism).

General ethnocentrism and the role of anti-Gypsy prejudice

In order to examine the hypothesis about ethnocentrism as a unidimensional construct, internal scale reliability and factor analyses of the fourteen-item scale of negative attitudes toward different out-groups are performed. According to the Scree test (Cattell, 1966), the ethnocentrism scale yielded one significant principal component in the samples of both parents and children.⁸ In the case of parents, the first principal component accounts for 30.6 percent of total variance. All items have relatively high loading, ranging from .20 (skinheads and extreme leftists) to .76 (Blacks). Items concerning "cultural" out-groups (e.g., skinheads, drug addicts, homosexuals), and political out-groups (extreme left- and right-wingers) generally have the lowest loadings, suggesting that negative attitudes toward these out-groups have a somewhat different basis than

those concerning ethnic groups (cf. Fábíán, 1999). Attitude toward Gypsies has a rather high loading (.65).

Scale reliability analysis showed that in the sample of parents, the alpha coefficient of reliability is .81. Item-total scale correlation coefficients are also relatively high, ranging from .18 (skinheads) to .64 (Romanians), thus basically reiterating the findings of principal component analysis. Item-total scale correlation of the item concerning Gypsies equals .55, again, suggesting that anti-Gypsy attitude is, in the sample of parents, an integral part of general ethnocentrism.

Principal component analysis on the basis of the children's responses produced similar results. The first principal component accounts for 29.8 percent of total scale variance. Again, virtually all items have high loadings, ranging from .20 (skinheads) to .74 (Jews), while loading of the "Gypsy" item is .56. Low loadings in this sample are connected only with two out-groups: skinheads and extreme right-wingers. It seems that youth treat these groups in a more distinctive way than parents.

The reliability coefficient (alpha) of the general ethnocentrism scale among children is .80. Item-total scale correlation coefficients range from .19 (skinheads) to .62 (Jews), while the coefficient for Gypsies is .43. Thus, both methods of analysis performed on the samples of parents and children separately provide an empirical foundation for the conception of ethnocentrism as a generalized negative attitude toward different out-groups. In addition, negative attitudes toward Gypsies are clearly a part of this general orientation. Hence, Hypothesis 1 is supported.

The above analyses are performed jointly on respondents from Sopron and Salgótarján. But, it is also useful to examine whether the picture differs in the two cities. Factor analysis is not performed separately because there would be too few respondents in that case. But it is interesting to see whether attitudes toward Gypsies ("feeling thermometer" item and anti-Gypsy scale) are related differently to general ethnocentrism.⁹ The coefficients in Table 3 show that anti-Gypsy attitudes are significantly connected with general ethnocentrism in both cities, both among parents and children. But it is particularly noteworthy that, in three out of four cases, the corresponding coefficients for parents and children are somewhat higher in Sopron than in Salgótarján. The single deviant case concerns the anti-Gypsy scale among parents. Among Salgótarján parents, correlation coefficients are somewhat higher than among Sopron parents (.50 and .42, respectively, both $p < .001$). The weight of this divergent finding is greater

Table 3

Correlation Coefficients Between Anti-Gypsy Attitudes and General Ethnocentrism

		Ethnocentrism	
		Salgótarján	Sopron
Parents	Feeling thermometer item	.52**	.60**
	Anti-Gypsy scale	.50**	.42**
Children	Feeling thermometer item	.42**	.50**
	Anti-Gypsy scale	.22**	.38**

** $p < .01$

if it is taken into account that the anti-Gypsy scale is a naturally more reliable measure than a single feeling thermometer item. At the same time, however, the lowest correlation ($r = .22, p < .01$) between the anti-Gypsy scale and ethnocentrism is among Salgótarján children, that is, the subsample with the highest level of anti-Gypsy prejudice. This shows that among children in a local culture with relatively high anti-Gypsy pressure, this particular prejudice becomes less related to prejudices toward other groups.

Thus, in spite of the relatively inconsistent results, the evidence suggests that in Salgótarján, that is, in the local culture where anti-Gypsy prejudice is more pronounced, anti-Gypsy attitudes are slightly less dependent on general ethnocentrism, though the differences are small and somewhat inconsistent. Hence, these results provide rather moderate support for the prediction based on the cultural norm theory that culturally prescribed prejudice may be less strongly related to general ethnocentrism.

It is no less important to note that in the coefficients presented, there are virtually equal or even larger differences between parents and children *within* the same city than between the two cities. This obviously suggests that in addition to local normative influences there may be other factors that are more global but generationally specific. It seems that these children live in a somewhat different culture than their parents, at least as concerns their attitudes toward Gypsies.

As has been stated above, the cultural pressure model concerns ag-

gregate level data. Contrary to Hypothesis 3, it was found that negative attitudes toward different out-groups tend to correlate with one another and form a general ethnocentric orientation. However, the same hypothesis, derived from the cultural pressure model, predicts that aggregate levels of specific prejudice tend to vary according to the norms of a particular (sub)culture. Although at this point, the ethnocentrism and cultural norm models might seem to contradict each other, in fact, they do not. Ethnocentric individuals may hold more or less negative attitudes toward different groups according to particular norms within a culture, but they would tend more to dislike the disliked, and to less like the liked groups. Therefore, the perception of different ethnic and other out-groups was examined, with the expectation of finding rather wide differences, according to cultural perspective. This basically replicates the well-known approach of Katz and Braly (1933, 1935).

Table 4 shows average levels of attitudes toward different out-groups, among parents and children, separately in Sopron and Salgótarján. This part of Hypothesis 3 seems to be supported.

A number of interesting pieces of evidence can be noted here, particularly the tendency of youth, compared to their parents, to have a more positive (i.e., less negative) view of most cultural and political groups (e.g., skinheads), but more negative attitudes toward most of the ethnic groups (except blacks and Chinese). This problem is beyond the scope of the present study, but further research in this direction may be fruitful.

For present purposes it is more important to note a quite similar pattern of prejudice in all four subsamples. As was expected according to the cultural norms model, it is possible to detect certain common cultural scripts at work behind the aggregate levels of negative attitudes toward different groups. The Poles, traditionally perceived as Hungarians' friends, are the most liked group. Also perceived positively are Jews, Austrians, Chinese, and blacks. The most disliked are drug addicts, homosexuals, skinheads, political extremists, and, of the ethnic groups, Gypsies.

Although the earlier findings supported the empirical foundation of the concept of general ethnocentrism, of which anti-Gypsy prejudice is an integral element, the present results show that this is not the whole story. Depending on particular cultural norms, different groups are, on the aggregate level, treated differently. Gypsies are the least liked, or the most disliked, of all the ethnic groups included. Hence, anti-Gypsy attitudes obviously have the status of a cultural norm, but the norm is stronger in Salgótarján than in Sopron, as was previously shown.¹⁰

Table 4

Arithmetic Means of Attitudes Toward Different Out-Groups in Sopron and Salgótarján

	Sopron		Salgótarján	
	parents	children	parents	children
How likable do you find:				
Poles? ^a	3.94**	3.23	3.88**	3.30
Chinese?	3.01*	3.24	3.04*	3.28
Gypsies?	2.65**	2.28	2.22	2.16
Drug addicts?	1.25**	1.53	1.29**	1.55
Blacks?	3.28**	3.67	3.02**	3.43
Romanians?	2.91	2.80	2.80	2.69
Skinheads?	1.29**	1.89	1.34**	1.89
Slovaks?	2.96	2.87	3.18	3.07
Homosexuals?	1.72*	2.00	1.66	1.80
The homeless?	3.19	2.99	3.09	2.98
Austrians?	3.33*	3.14	3.83**	3.63
Extreme left-wing people?	1.82**	2.25	2.02**	2.73
Extreme right-wing people?	1.95**	2.58	1.88*	2.69
Jews?	3.30*	3.01	3.26	3.22

^aAnswer options: from 1 (very antipathetic) to 5 (very likable).

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; significance of parent-children differences within cities (dependent samples test).

Determinants of anti-Gypsy prejudice: Authoritarianism and cultural pressure

Correlation analysis

The central problem of the present research, as indicated in Hypotheses 2 and 4, is whether authoritarianism is related to anti-Gypsy attitudes and to general ethnocentrism, regardless of local cultural pressure, as the authoritarianism theory would predict, or whether it is not related to anti-Gypsy attitudes if such attitudes are a pronounced cultural norm, as cultural pressure theory predicts. This problem is examined first by calculating zero-order correlation coefficients between authoritarianism,

and the anti-Gypsy scale and ethnocentrism, for parents and children separately in the two cities.

The results shown in Table 5 are ambiguous. The highest correlation between authoritarianism and the anti-Gypsy (AG) scale is for parents from Salgótarján ($r = .57, p < .001$), the city with presumably higher normative pressure toward accepting these attitudes. The corresponding coefficient in Sopron is also significant, but somewhat lower ($r = .36, p < .01$). In the case of children, coefficients are also significant in both cities, but somewhat lower in Salgótarján ($r = .29, p < .01$) than in Sopron ($r = .42, p < .10$), now in line with the cultural pressure model.

General ethnocentrism is related to authoritarianism in all four subsamples, but, again, the strongest coefficient is for the Salgótarján parents ($-.47$), while the other three coefficients are virtually equal.¹¹ Thus, the results for the youth samples support the cultural pressure hypothesis. If it is assumed that normative pressure toward general ethnocentrism is equal in both cities, the result is its equal correlation with authoritarianism. On the other hand, a significant difference in anti-Gypsy prejudice could be attributed to different levels of cultural pressure.

Results for parents, however, suggest that if certain prejudice is a social norm, then the authoritarians are to be found among those most eagerly supporting such norms (parents in Salgótarján). In this sense, the authoritarians seem to be hyperconventional, something that was hypothesized by Adorno et al.

Causal modeling

Evidence provided by zero-order correlation coefficients seems rather puzzling. It is not clear, at least from the point of view of the examined theories, why there should be differences between children and parents in the relationships between anti-Gypsy prejudice and authoritarianism. However, it could be argued that it would be more appropriate to perform a multivariate analysis test, where prejudice of parents would be treated as an additional, micro-level, indicator of the normative pressure for anti-Gypsy prejudice. It is true that, in this way, the normative pressure model becomes less parsimonious and approaches standard social learning perspective, but it may be worthwhile to pay less attention to theoretical orthodoxy and to explore the data from different angles.

Separate causal models for the two cities are constructed treating

Table 5

Correlation Coefficients Between Authoritarianism and Anti-Gypsy and Ethnocentrism Scales in Sopron and Salgótarján

	Authoritarianism			
	Sopron		Salgótarján	
	parents	children	parents	children
Anti-Gypsy prejudice scale ^a (children)	.19**	.42**	.25**	.29**
Anti-Gypsy prejudice scale ^a (parents)	.36**		.57**	
Ethnocentrism ^b (children)		-.27**		-.28**
Ethnocentrism ^b (parents)	-.26**		-.47**	

^aFirst principal component of the anti-Gypsy scale, see above for details.

^bEthnocentrism scale is coded in reverse, higher score indicating less ethnocentric attitude.

** $p < .01$.

children’s anti-Gypsy attitudes and ethnocentrism as dependent variables on equal footing (i.e., they are not explanatory variables for each other).¹² Independent variables, in order of hypothetical place in the causal chain, are children’s authoritarianism (C-AUT), parents’ anti-Gypsy attitudes (P-AG), and indicators of socioeconomic status (family income and education of parents). The last variables are included in order to control for the influence of different economic conditions in the two cities (it is held constant at the micro-level).¹³

The basic results of multiple regression analyses are given in Table 6, and the models are given in Figures 1 and 2. The models are constructed by regressing each variable on all variables on its right side. In case of variables treated on equal footing, zero-order correlation coefficients are entered.

We can observe that this simple model can account for a statistically significant portion of variance in anti-Gypsy prejudice and ethnocentrism in both cities. However, there are some particularities to be noted. First, on the basis of the model, anti-Gypsy prejudice can be better predicted than general ethnocentrism.¹⁴ For example, in the case of Sopron, one-third of the variance in anti-Gypsy prejudice can be accounted for by the four included variables. However, the difference is not so much

Table 6

Standardized Regression Coefficients (Beta) for Causal Models of Children's Anti-Gypsy Prejudice and Ethnocentrism in Sopron and Salgótarján^a

	Salgótarján		Sopron	
	anti-Gypsy prejudice	ethno-centrism ^b	anti-Gypsy prejudice	ethno-centrism ^b
Adjusted R^2	.21 (F -test $p < .001$)	.06 (F -test $p = .05$)	.33 (F -test $p < .001$)	.07 (F -test $p < .05$)
Standardized regression coefficients (beta)				
Authoritarianism, children (C-AUT)	.19*	-.29**	.45***	-.29**
Parents' Anti-Gypsy attitude (PAG)	.39***	-.10	.37***	-.16
Income	.12	.04	.16	-.11
Education	-.09	-.13	.15	-.06

^aRegression analyses are performed using pair-wise deletion of missing values, in order to increase the number of valid cases. The table contains only direct relationships with the response variables. Details of the other regression equations can be obtained from the author upon request.

^bEthnocentrism scale is coded in reverse, higher score indicating less ethnocentric attitude.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.

due to the different predictive power of authoritarianism as to the influence of parents' anti-Gypsy prejudice. This variable, not surprisingly, has strong predictive power for children's prejudice, but is insignificant for their general ethnocentrism, and this applies to both cities.

In both cities, children's anti-Gypsy prejudice is directly influenced by the level of authoritarianism and parents' prejudice. In Sopron, authoritarianism is a somewhat stronger predictor (beta = .45, $p < .001$) than parent's prejudice (beta = .37, $p < .001$). In Salgótarján, parent's prejudice influences child's prejudice to approximately the same degree (beta = .39, $p < .001$), but the role of authoritarianism is considerably weaker (beta = .19, $p < .05$). Concerning ethnocentrism, the results are virtually equal (in both cities only authoritarianism is a significant predictor, with beta = -.29, $p < .01$).

Figure 1. Causal Model of Anti-Gypsy Prejudice and Ethnocentrism, Sopron Data

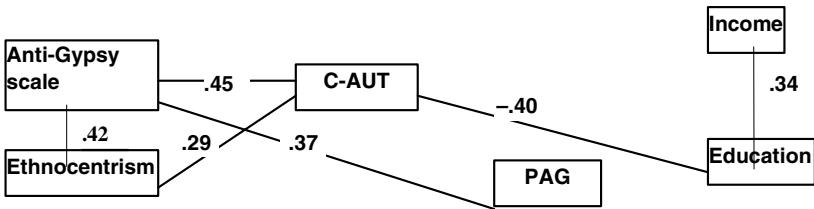
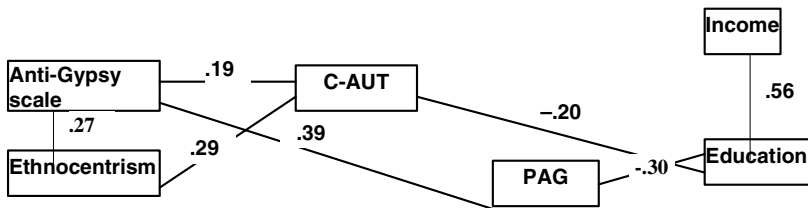


Figure 2. Causal Model of Anti-Gypsy Prejudice and Ethnocentrism, Salgótarján Data



Hence, the most important finding of the present research is that the predictive power of authoritarianism is significantly lower in the case of anti-Gypsy prejudice in Salgótarján than in Sopron (beta = .19 and .45, respectively), as was hypothesized on the basis of the normative pressure theory. In Sopron, presumably a place with lower cultural pressure, authoritarianism remained a significant (in fact the strongest) predictor of children’s prejudice. At the same time, authoritarianism has virtually equal predictive power for ethnocentrism in both places. Thus, this multivariate quasi-experimental design, where different levels of anti-Gypsy normative pressure are the experimental variables, resulted in the expected outcomes in the dependent variables. Higher normative pressure decreased the role of personality (in the case of anti-Gypsy attitudes), and constant levels of normative pressure were followed by an unchanged explanatory power of personality (in the case of ethnocentrism).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, even now, the role of authoritarianism in Salgótarján did not entirely disappear. Consequently, we can conclude that regardless of wider social pressure and within-family influences, authoritarian personality traits are still predictive of one’s susceptibility to anti-Gypsy prejudice.

Discussion and conclusion

The present analysis started by noting the debate between the authoritarian personality theory (Adorno et al., 1950) and the cultural pressure hypothesis (Pettigrew, 1958, 1959). The latter was actually developed as an objection to the presumed "psychologism" of the model of Adorno et al., emphasizing the importance of social and cultural factors. It was also noted above that the two models do not really contradict each other but rather are compatible. The cultural pressure model can be interpreted as a corollary to the authoritarianism theory, stating particular conditions that modulate the relationship between personality and prejudice.

Four hypotheses are derived from the two theories concerning the role of authoritarianism in anti-Gypsy prejudice and the relationship between anti-Gypsy prejudice and general ethnocentrism. A survey dealing with anti-Gypsy prejudice and related variables conducted in two Hungarian cities, Sopron and Salgótarján served as empirical basis for the analysis.

Based on the authoritarianism theory, it was predicted that various specific prejudices tend to correlate and thus form general ethnocentric orientation of which anti-Gypsy prejudice is an integral element, regardless of the (sub)cultural level of prejudice. It was also predicted that authoritarianism would explain a significant portion of variance in anti-Gypsy prejudice and ethnocentrism, regardless of local conditions.

Partially contrary predictions are derived from the cultural pressure hypothesis. First, specific prejudices are not expected to particularly correlate with each other, unless cultural scripts contain such a connection, that is, the concept of ethnocentrism is not empirically substantiated (cf. Heaven et al. 1985). Consequently, anti-Gypsy prejudice should not correlate with other prejudices. In addition, aggregate levels of prejudice against different out-groups should differ considerably. Finally, the central hypothesis was that authoritarianism is less related or not related to anti-Gypsy prejudice in the region where such prejudice is more widespread, that is, Salgótarján.

A precondition for examining the hypotheses was that the two cities indeed differ in the level of cultural pressure their citizens experience. The condition was assumed to be satisfied insofar as it was shown that the two cities significantly differ in average levels of anti-Gypsy prejudice, measured by various indicators, but not in general ethnocentrism. Respondents in Salgótarján generally displayed a higher level of anti-

Gypsy prejudice than respondents from Sopron. Differences between parents were generally higher than differences between children.

Factor analyses of the ethnocentrism scale, consisting of fourteen feeling thermometer items concerning different ethnic and cultural out-groups, revealed one significant principal component on the samples of both children and parents. Item concerning Gypsies had high loading on this variable. Scale reliability analysis reiterated these findings. On both samples, ethnocentrism scales proved to be internally homogeneous measures. The anti-Gypsy item-total scale correlation was comparably high. Thus, it was concluded that the ethnocentrism concept is empirically substantiated and that anti-Gypsy prejudice does not deviate from it. This confirmed predictions based on the authoritarianism theory.

When respondents from the two cities were separated, relatively incoherent results emerged. Most of the coefficients between anti-Gypsy prejudice and ethnocentrism were higher in Sopron, especially in the case of children, as was expected according to the cultural pressure theory. However, correlation between the anti-Gypsy *scale* and ethnocentrism was lower among Sopron parents, which now contradicts this theory. Thus, while it is possible to detect the cultural pressure effect on the connection between specific prejudice and general ethnocentrism, the evidence is not very consistent or persuasive.

Cultural pressure theory was more successful in predicting variations in aggregate levels of attitudes toward different out-groups. Holding authoritarianism constant, respondents displayed a wide range of positive and negative attitudes concerning different ethnic and cultural groups. For example, Poles were perceived rather positively, and Gypsies rather negatively.

Findings concerning the effect of cultural pressure on the relationship between authoritarianism and anti-Gypsy prejudice are also inconsistent. Results for the youth samples supported the cultural pressure model. The correlation was higher in Sopron, implying that widespread anti-Gypsy prejudice in Salgótarján diminishes the role of personality. At the same time, ethnocentrism and authoritarianism correlated equally in the two youth samples. However, the parents again do not seem to follow what the cultural pressure theory would predict. Prejudiced parents from Salgótarján appear to be consistently more authoritarian than prejudiced parents from Sopron, *contrary* to the hypothesis derived from the normative pressure hypothesis.

Multivariate analysis and an attempt at causal modeling of youth anti-

Gypsy prejudice showed that in both cities, authoritarianism and parents' prejudice are significant direct predictors. However, in accordance with the cultural pressure view, the role of authoritarianism was considerably weaker in Salgótarján, though still statistically significant. Moreover, the difference was restricted to anti-Gypsy prejudice: the relationship between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism was identical in the two cities. Parents' prejudice remained an equally strong predictor of the children's prejudice in both cities.

How can we summarize these rather incoherent results and evaluate the two theories of prejudice? Expectations derived from the cultural pressure hypothesis concerning the relationships between anti-Gypsy prejudice and general ethnocentrism, and concerning the relationships between authoritarianism and prejudice, were generally confirmed in the youth samples, while the results for parents contradicted them.

Since the present concern was primarily to examine whether it is possible to find empirical support for some predictions based on the cultural pressure hypothesis, the data analysis was performed in the manner most favorable to this theory. Thus, the goal was not to try to falsify the theory, but rather to test its confirmability. The general answer, it appears, has to be positive: the evidence provides modest support for the normative pressure model. However, it must also be noted that in general no single finding really contradicted the authoritarianism theory. In every case that was examined, the connection between authoritarianism and prejudice was statistically significant and positive. Hence, the results are at least broadly consistent with the theory of Adorno et al.

It seems appropriate to accept Duckitt's (1992) view that most theories of prejudice are actually compatible with each other, the main differences being in the relative emphasis upon different aspects of prejudice. The best strategy, he argues, is to attempt to integrate different approaches. The normative pressure hypothesis obviously is not a crucial or fundamental objection to the Berkeley model. Authoritarian personality theory is a theory of individual predisposition to accept prejudiced attitudes, and the normative pressure hypothesis specifies broader sociocultural conditions that mediate the personality-prejudice relationship.

If an important aspect of theory development is specification of conditions under which certain hypotheses hold or do not hold, then the present research contributes to our knowledge on prejudice. The present results show that prejudiced culture breeds prejudiced individuals, but

individuals are not passive objects. The authoritarians are ready to hate those groups that “we all hate,” and they are even particularly enthusiastic about this endeavor, but they are also likely to find additional targets to hate on their own.

Complex and often puzzling relationships between parents’ prejudice and that of their children imply the need for further research in this direction, particularly concerning the interplay between the intra-family socialization process and influences from the wider social and cultural context.

Notes

1. This expectation follows primarily from the group-conflict perspective on prejudice, and is also consistent with the cultural pressure model and social learning perspective, but not with the simplified version of the “contact hypothesis.” Various analyses of the same data set, on the basis of the merged Sopron and Salgótarján data, can be found in Todosijević and Enyedi, 1998.

2. The concept of ethnocentrism also includes rigid identification with the in-group. However, the present data do not allow for adequate operationalization of this part of the concept. For a critical view of this conception of ethnocentrism, see, for example, Heaven, Rajab, and Ray (1985) and Ray (1974). It may be noted, however, that their results are less critical of the TAP model than their conclusions.

3. Under particular conditions (a uniformly high level of prejudice), the cultural norms hypothesis would be a necessary statistical consequence. If there is no variance in prejudice, they cannot correlate with any variable, including personality traits, for example, authoritarianism (restricted range effect).

4. However, the selling of Plato as a slave might have been related to authoritarian traits of his seller.

5. The following items are excluded: “Too many non-Hungarians live in the country,” “It is wrong that black and white people marry,” and “It is right that Hungary is the home for all nations living in it.” As predicted, correlations between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism and anti-Gypsy attitudes become lower after the exclusion of these items.

6. On the sample of parents, the first principal component accounts for 22.5 percent of the scale variance, while among the children the explained variance is smaller: 15.3 percent.

7. For example, on the discrepancy item, differences *between generations* within towns are larger than differences between towns and within the same generations.

8. According to the Guttman-Keiser criterion, more factors could be extracted. In that case, general ethnocentrism was separated into factors of negative attitudes toward ethnic, cultural, and political out-groups.

9. Naturally, ethnocentrism factor scores are now calculated leaving the anti-Gypsy item *out* of the analysis.

10. One may wonder whether the assumed cultural pressure is really that significant at all, insofar as averages for Gypsies in Table 4 are relatively close to the

nominal neutral point (i.e., 3). Even if we take into account the role of social desirability, and the fact that Gypsies are the least liked of all the ethnic groups included, it is revealing to examine the frequency distribution of this particular item: 60.4 percent of parents from Salgótarján and 38.4 percent from Sopron selected answer options 1 or 2 (very antipathetic), while 10.8 percent and 16.4 percent, respectively, selected options 4 or 5 (very likable). In the case of children, 62.6 percent from Salgótarján and 54.7 percent from Sopron expressed a dislike of Gypsies, and 10.0 percent and 9.9 percent, respectively, found Gypsies to be likable. While in Sopron the neutral answer option was the most frequently chosen both among parents and children, in Salgótarján it was the case with the most negative category (very antipathetic). Hence, it can hardly be disputed that an anti-Gypsy attitude is a cultural norm, but the fact is that differences between Sopron and Salgótarján are only relative.

11. It appears that authoritarianism of Sopron parents is generally a weak predictor of prejudice and ethnocentrism (or that authoritarianism of Salgótarján parents is an exceptionally strong predictor). It is not clear why this is so, but if a plausible interpretation could be found, it might explain why results for parents do not fit the cultural pressure hypothesis.

12. Ethnocentrism is included in order to have an additional dependent variable related to authoritarianism, but with a presumably constant normative pressure across the two cities, thus providing a stronger test of the cultural pressure hypothesis.

13. Differences in aggregate economic conditions between the two cities are not entered into the analysis. Relying on the frustration-aggression hypothesis, it could be expected that different levels of anti-Gypsy attitudes could be attributed partly to different economic conditions. However, the focus here is not on explaining the relative degree of cultural pressure, that is, the relative aggregate levels of prejudice, but on the influence cultural pressure exerts on the relationship between personality and prejudice. Hence, it is not particularly relevant whether different degrees of cultural pressure can be attributed to economic differences, or group conflicts, or some other factors.

14. Of course, the model is misspecified in the case of ethnocentrism, especially because parents' ethnocentrism is not included among the explanatory variables. However, its incorporation into the model makes negligible changes in the coefficients shown. Nevertheless, it increases the explanatory power of the model for children's ethnocentrism. In Salgótarján, parent's ethnocentrism is significantly related with children's ethnocentrism ($\beta = .30, p < .01$) and improves the model's explanatory power (R^2 increased to .11). In the case of Sopron, $\beta = .27 (p < .05)$, and R^2 rises to .12 (interestingly, in this case, education becomes directly *positively* related to children's anti-Gypsy prejudice).

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