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**One Generation but Two Places: Tolerance
and Nationalist Attitudes among Ethnic
Hungarian Students in Hungary and
Slovakia**

**László J. Kulcsár
and
Tamás Domokos**

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Abstract*

This paper examines the level of interethnic tolerance and nationalist attitudes among ethnic Hungarian 8th and 11th grade students in Hungary and in Slovakia. We use a survey conducted in 2001 (but publicized only recently) among elementary and high school students in two large cities (Miskolc, Hungary and Kosice, Slovakia) and a number of small towns around them. The two cities are only about 60 miles from each other, but the state border in between has really made a difference in the socioeconomic development of the two places. Both are heavy industrial centers, a preferred place of development during socialism, but much less successful after 1990. Kosice, however, was performing more regional and cultural center roles with rich civic traditions in the past (the city has belonged to Hungary until 1920).

The opinions about interethnic tolerance and nationalism are clearly different in Hungary and Slovakia, which was revealed in this survey also. We hypothesize that there are three major factors behind the differences that we use for our explanatory model:

1. The penetration of global cultural patterns is different in the two countries. The experiences of global culture are more easily accessible for the young generations in Hungary, whereas in Slovakia the most visible signs of this culture, the shopping malls and plazas, as not just shopping, but also leisure opportunities came much later (and were more opposed as contradictory with the city's past).
2. There is a clear difference between Hungarians in Slovakia and in Hungary. After WWII the ethnic Hungarian schools were closed in Slovakia and the students were organized to ethnic classes that were more exposed to assimilation. Even more importantly, the ethnic Hungarian faculties suffered a major blow due to these changes. This different life experience made its mark on the attitudes toward nationalism and interethnic tolerance.
3. The role of family values in connection with the majority/minority situation is also important. We can expect that in minority position family values and norms are principal ways to preserve culture, thus they tend to lean toward a more conservative value orientation.

Also, an additional explaining factor can be the differences in the educational system and values. Education is more conservative in Kosice, building more on the traditional educational models, thus emphasizing less the interethnic tolerance and more the values of nationalism. In Miskolc there is a somewhat more space for alternative pedagogy, although the education in general is still by the traditional models.

We also investigate the differences in opinions between 8th and 11th grade students in both places. Although the formulating of values and attitudes has been largely finished by the age 14, the period between 14 and 17 is very important in terms of building relationships in the peer group as the students switch into more heterogeneous communities at high school. One of the most interesting analyses, however, will be the comparison of opinion differences in Hungary and Slovakia respectively. This can tell us many things about the socialization process in both countries, with regards to the role of public education, the perception of majority and minority situation and the changes in the perception of being Hungarian in the two places.

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1. Introduction

It is not surprising that in 1990, under the impact of considerable euphoria around the world about the collapse of communism, the historian Eric Hobsbawm (1990:183) wrote: *"After all, the very fact that historians are at least beginning to make some progress in the study and analysis of nations and nationalism suggests that, as so often, the phenomenon is past its peak. The owl of Minerva, which brings wisdom, said Hegel, flies out at dusk. It is a good sign that it is now circling round nations and nationalism."*

Unfortunately what happened was the exact opposite of Hobsbawm's prediction, and the Eastern European nations experienced the rise of nationalism in the post-socialist era. This resurrection of nationalism is considered by many as the main threat for the liberal democracy model. But the relationship between nationalism and democracy is a very complex one. It includes the issues of nation building, state building, the relationship between the state and its citizens, not to mention that the notion of democracy has also evolved over time and there are many approaches to understand nationalism itself.

Nevertheless, the somewhat simplistic view tends to identify "Western nationalism" as a progressive and positive, while "Eastern nationalism" as a destructive, late and ultimately negative force. There is a great deal of scholarship on the elaboration of this distinction (see for example Greenfeld, 1992; Bollerup and Christiansen, 1997; Kemp, 1999; Schöpflin, 2000; Berend, 2003), including the heterogeneous nature of the relationship between nationalism and democracy in the Eastern European context (Breuilly, 1994; Brubaker, 1996; Bunce, 1999, Beissinger, 2002). An interesting elaboration of the developmental argument can be found at Snyder (2000), who introduced the concept of political marketplace or the "marketplace of ideas", similar to economics, where the same dysfunctional sphere can distort democratization: classic monopolies on power may not exist, but nor does a free competition of ideas.

Harris (2002) argued that nationalism is not detrimental by definition to democracy, but ethnic nationalism opens up the possibility of interethnic intolerance. It is also obvious that the socialization process is the main vehicle of building interethnic tolerance among various ethnic groups. The family and the educational system are the two main traditional spheres of institutional socialization in the Western culture. An additional factor here is the role of the media, which is widely considered to be an equally important sphere of socialization.

This paper examines the level of interethnic tolerance and nationalist attitudes among ethnic Hungarian 8th and 11th grade students in Hungary and in Slovakia. We use a survey conducted among elementary and high school students in two large cities (Miskolc, Hungary and Kosice, Slovakia) and a number of small towns around them. The two cities are only about 60 miles from each other, but the state border in between has really made a difference in the socioeconomic development of the two places. Both are heavy industrial centers, a preferred place of development during socialism, but much less successful after 1990. Kosice, however, was a real regional and cultural center with rich civic traditions in the past when the city belonged to Hungary.

The opinions about interethnic tolerance and nationalism are clearly different in Hungary and Slovakia. We hypothesize that there are several major factors behind the differences:

1. Probably the most important difference can be derived from the majority-minority status itself. There is a clear difference between being Hungarian in Slovakia and in Hungary. After the Second World War, ethnic Hungarian schools were closed in Slovakia and the students became more exposed to assimilation, which was the official policy of the socialist era. Even more importantly, the ethnic Hungarian faculties suffered a major blow due to these changes. This different life experience clearly made its mark on the attitudes toward nationalism and interethnic tolerance.
2. The penetration of global cultural patterns is different in the two countries. The global culture became more easily accessible for the young generations in Hungary. The most visible signs of this culture, the shopping malls and plazas that are not only shopping, but also leisure opportunities, came to Slovakia much later. Also, the impact of globalization, and the exposure to global culture is more evident in the larger cities, hence we expect to find differences between the two big cities and their rural hinterlands.
3. The role of family values in connection with the majority/minority situation is also important. We can expect that in minority position family values and norms are principal ways to preserve culture, thus they tend to lean toward a more conservative value orientation. Hence, the family model, or in other words the socializing effect of the family, in relation with the cultural orientation could also account for the differences in opinion.
4. Besides these three major factors, an additional explanation can be the differences in the educational system and values. Education is more conservative in Kosice, building more on the traditional educational models, thus emphasizing less the interethnic tolerance and more the values of nationalism. In Miskolc there is somewhat more space for alternative pedagogy, although the education in general is still by the traditional models.

We also investigate the differences in opinions between 8th and 11th grade students in both places. Although the formulating of values and attitudes has been largely finished by the age 14, the period between 14 and 17 is very important in terms of building relationships in the peer group as the students switch into more heterogeneous communities at high school. The comparison of opinion differences in Hungary and Slovakia can also tell many things about the socialization process in both countries, with regards to the role of public education, the perception of majority and minority situation and the changes in the perception of being Hungarian in the two places.

2. Analysis

The survey was conducted in 2001 as a part of a large-scale study about behavioral patterns. The database itself was not public until 2004, when the Echo Survey Institute in Hungary gained access to it for the purpose of secondary studies. This research paper is one of these studies.

The total sample size was 1473 students. The 8th grade sub-sample is 635, while the 11th grade sub-sample is 838. The number of Hungarian students (1083) is much larger than the number of Slovakian students (390), due to the original goals and nature of the survey. Table 1. shows the distribution of the sample by country and grade together.

Table 1. Distribution of the sample

		Hungary	Slovakia	Total
8 th grade	N	441	194	635
	%	29.9%	13.2%	43.1%
11 th grade	N	642	196	838
	%	43.6%	13.3%	56.9%
Total	N	1083	390	1473
	%	73.5%	26.5%	100%

To test our research hypotheses, we used multivariate analysis and built various ANOVA models. The first requirement for this was to create dependent variables for measuring particular dimensions of the studies phenomenon. We determined five dimensions during the analysis:

1. Hungarianness
2. Positive self-image of being Hungarian
3. Index of intolerance
4. Criteria of being Hungarian
5. Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation

We used principal component analysis for defining Hungarianness from a list of 11 statements (Table 2.). This list of variables fit well into one principal component, as the new "Hungarianness" variable keeps 56.9 percent of the original information content.

Table 2. Definition of Hungarianness

(Principal Component Analysis, explained variance: 56.9 %)

Item	Communalities	Component
I like the Hungarian language	,626	,657
I'm proud about what Hungarians achieved	,588	,762
In general I like Hungarians better than foreigners	,666	,667
I believe that Hungarians are one big family, to which I also belong	,558	,682
I consider myself Hungarian	,678	,786
I love Hungary	,699	,821
In general I like Hungarians	,639	,797
I feel that I have common roots and descend with Hungarians	,590	,759
I prefer more interaction with Hungarians than with foreigners	,723	,621
It is a positive feeling to be Hungarian	,754	,863
I'm proud to be Hungarian	,743	,842

Besides the concept of Hungarianness, it is also important to know the positive national self-image of the students. The positive self-image of being Hungarian was also determined by principal component analysis (Table 3.). Twelve various characteristics were listed on the questionnaire, and after the principal component analysis the explained variance was 41.3 percent.

Table 3. Definition of positive self-image

(Principal Component Analysis, explained variance: 41.3 %)

Item (Hungarians are...)	Communalities	Component
Polite	,438	,662
Clean	,321	,566
Tolerant	,364	,603
Healthy	,423	,650
Persistent	,421	,649
Altruistic	,494	,703
Humble	,478	,691
Moralistic	,479	,692
Honest	,606	,779
Religious	,235	,485
Indulgent	,393	,627
Have good relations with their neighbors	,310	,557

Variables, such as the index of intolerance, the criteria of being Hungarian and the number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation were created as simple cumulated indexes. Since the measurement levels of these indexes were different, we standardized them before building them into a common model.

The index of intolerance was based on a list of ten questions (Table 4.). These questions asked the students whether it would be a problem if the student sitting besides the respondent would have certain characteristics.¹ The variables could have values between 1 and 4 at each item, and the higher number has reflected more intolerance. For the final index, the item values were added and standardized. In Table 4. we used the original four rank scale, recoding the four values into two categories.

Table 4. Would it be a problem if your deskmate were... ? (%)

	no	yes
an ethnic Hungarian student from abroad	94	6
a student coming from a very poor family	93	7
an aggressive student	29	71
a Roma student	37	63
a drug user	20	80
a student who thinks he or she is smarter than anybody	13	87
a student who always brags about his or her stuff	22	78
a foreign student	92	8
the best student in class	90	10
a student with weak physical condition bullied by others	67	33

The 'number of excluded groups' variable was based on a list of five groups that were evaluated by the students whether those are part of the Hungarian nation or not. The value of the index was between 0 and 5, corresponding with the number of groups excluded. This index was also standardized later for the analysis. Table 5. shows the exclusion percentages of the five groups.

Table 5. Exclusion percentages from the concept of the Hungarian nation

	%
Hungarians living in Western countries	16
Hungarian Jews	26
Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries	13
Hungarian Roma population	44
National minorities living in Hungary	38

¹ In Hungary and in Slovakia students usually sit in double desks in class, hence it has an important significance that who is the "deskmate" of the student. In many cases these pairs are also close friends, as choosing one's seat is up to the students at the beginning of the school year. On the other hand, this system provides a clear proof about being excluded – these are the students no one wants to have as "deskmates".

The 'criteria of being Hungarian' variable was created very similarly to the excluded groups variable, discussed above. Here we had six criteria, hence the index could have values between 0 and 6. This index was also standardized later for the analysis. Table 6. shows the inclusion percentages of the six criteria the questionnaire asked about being Hungarian.

Table 6. Inclusion percentages of the criteria of being Hungarian

	%
To be born in Hungary	54
To have Hungarian citizenship	71
To have Hungarian as the mother language	75
To self-determine as Hungarian	73
To have Hungarian parents	52
To live in Hungary	33

The correlation matrix in Table 7. shows that the strongest correlation can be found between the Hungarianness and the positive self-image of being Hungarian ($r=.374$). The most important finding here is that the four indicators measures the same phenomenon, but in separate dimensions. This means that there are significant correlations, but the correlation coefficients are low enough to indicate the separation of these dimensions. Hence, the phenomena of national attitudes and interethnic tolerance are complex ones, and should be measured by different indicators.

Table 7. Pearson Correlation Coefficients

		Hungarianness	Positive self-image of being Hungarian	Index of intolerance	Criteria of being Hungarian
Positive self-image of being Hungarian	Coeff. N	.374** 361			
Index of intolerance	Coeff. N	,004 593	,054 571		
Criteria of being Hungarian	Coeff. N	,084* 786	,007 660	,100** 1078	
Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation	Coeff. N	-,062 786	-,071 660	,189** 1078	,163** 1473

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

Some of our independent variables were also created by multivariate analysis. We created two independent variables by cluster analysis (interest patterns and family model). The items were included in the cluster analysis in a standardized form. Besides these two variables, we used the traditional demographic characteristics also, such as

gender, educational level of the parents, settlement type (city or hinterland), country (Hungary or Slovakia), grade, SES², and the type of school³.

The interest patterns clusters are shown in Table 8. We defined four clusters based on the different interest patterns of students. The largest cluster is the students with interest in humanities (N=402), followed by the cluster of ignorant students (N=376). There was also an important distinction between two, seemingly similar clusters. In our analysis the general media (N=207) and the virtual reality (N=263) interests were clearly separated. This is relatively new in Eastern Europe that the television and computer interest patterns start to differentiate. Also, we can say that the virtual reality cluster is an indicator of the effect of globalization.

Table 8. Cluster analysis for interest patterns

Items	Clusters				F value
	humanities interest	media-world	virtual reality	ignorant	
Weekend TV usage	-,33869	1,35037	-,05063	-,34994	255,728**
Information technology	-,05588	,21536	1,03194	-,69141	251,427**
Weekday TV usage	-,28270	1,19290	-,15724	-,27441	176,108**
Computer usage	-,29288	-,01899	,97101	-,37534	156,450**
Arts	,69124	-,33967	,03117	-,51073	138,790**
Environment	,63335	-,19168	-,07277	-,52172	118,242**
Weapons	-,25627	,24416	,75770	-,39153	102,604**
Internet usage	-,06544	-,32181	,85248	-,21313	90,711**
Studying	,60376	-,28359	-,24668	-,33649	88,348**
TV interest	-,16818	,80269	-,09642	-,23070	66,835**
Religion	,52570	-,29143	-,13215	-,29041	63,570**
Motor vehicles	-,14967	,34563	,54221	-,37269	62,847**
Travel	,52357	-,14957	-,19586	-,29030	59,768**
Sport	,39197	-,03738	,07882	-,47795	55,861**
Politics	,17444	-,21705	,43551	-,37590	46,572**
Fashion	,21896	-,15555	-,28081	,03233	16,072**
Music	-,03231	,04224	,00313	,09537	1,183
	N=402	N=207	N=263	N=376	

The family model cluster was defined in a similar manner. We used a list of statements about family life to identify various family characteristics. Based on the responses for these statements, four clusters were classified. The largest was the liberal family model (N=409), followed by the conservative (N=364) and dysfunctional (N=337) models (Table 9.). While the dysfunctional family model assumes a great deal of

² The SES variable was created from the parents' education, the expenditure structure and the unemployment experiences in the family.

³ The type of school refers to two dimensions. One is the distinction between the elementary school (which contains the 1st-8th grade in Eastern Europe) and the high school. The other is the distinction between the different types of high schools.

ignorance and negative family model, in addition we identified a small, but important cluster also. This was the cluster of "endangered children" (N=87), where the family is not only absent, but rather has a negative and dangerous effect in the socialization process.

Table 9. Cluster analysis for family models

	Clusters				F value
	liberal family	endangered children	conservative family	dysfunctional family	
Parents employ physical harm	-,29757	2,43979	-,16661	-,15891	425,365**
Checking the homework	-,45703	,64328	,80463	-,50025	232,170**
Frequent family conversations	,41055	-,30433	,52761	-,79791	209,079**
There is somebody in the family to discuss problems	,39791	-,82437	,44031	-,62897	163,426**
Parents offer you alcohol	-,05621	1,62831	-,34805	-,05325	129,273**
Going to trips together	,04585	,22283	,59519	-,65759	126,394**
Parents worry if you're not at home in time	,08410	-1,46034	,44129	-,16500	120,747**
Common breakfast together with the family	,08172	,20362	,51640	-,64311	102,179**
Strict discipline in case of bad grades	-,52854	-,16784	,51449	,11918	92,111**
Allowing nights out	,43504	,24390	-,58828	,12632	87,783**
Parents are well informed about the free time of the child	,30531	-,47503	,35402	-,50438	80,882**
Parents quarrel and fight frequently	-,26709	,08529	-,21291	,46295	43,468**
The parents are often out of the house	-,29113	,57992	-,05919	,29216	34,745**
Strict parental control	-,29942	-,42383	,27574	,14357	33,230**
	N=409	N=87	N=364	N=337	

*p<.05 **p<.001

If we compare the results of the two cluster analyses by countries, we can see only one significant difference. With regards to the family models, we have found more ethnic Hungarian families in Slovakia where the phenomenon of "endangered children" was observed, which was basically a function of physical harm on children (spanking).

To avoid the tautological explanation, first we put the independent variables into the explanatory model, to test their independence (Table 10.). Based on this test, we have found that the type of school variable is not suitable for being included into the explanatory model, since it is related to many other independent variables. Other high Cramer's V values were found in cases where there is a logical relationship between variables, for example when one variable is a component of another variable (such as in the case of parental education and SES, or even more obviously in the case of the grade and the type of school).

Table 10. Cramers' V values

	Country	Type of school	SES	Family model	Interest patterns
Gender		.143**		.110*	.435**
Type of school	.183**		.231**		.138**
Parental education	.127**	.313**	.706**	.245**	.087*
Country		.183**		.103*	
Settlement type	.386**	.385**		.084*	
SES		.231**		.080*	.118**
Interest patterns		.239**	.166**	.145**	
Family model	.103*	.245**	.113*		.145**
Grade		1.00**	.084*	.408**	.169**

*p<.05 **p<.001

Table 11. shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance. It is important to see that the SES variable does not have explanatory power by its own. The country has the strongest explanatory power, which means that a next step should be running the one-way analysis of variance by countries, to filter out its effect. We also needed to filter the impact of the grade variable, because we should expect a different set of factors working behind the socialization process among the older students, including the impact of the school. Tables 12. and 13. show the explanatory power of these independent variables when we control for the impact of the country and the grade.

Table 11. Analysis of variance, R Squares (total sample, n=1473)

Independent variables ↓	Hungarian-ness	Positive self image of being Hungarian	Index of intolerance	Criteria of being Hungarian	Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation
gender		.025**			
type of school		.029**			.008*
grade		.018*			.008*
parental education			.009*		
country	.023**	.182**		.066**	.015**
settlement type	.010*	.041**	.010*	.003*	
SES					
interest patterns	.014*		.009*		.012*
family model	.013*	.042**			

*p<.05 **p<.001

This part of the analysis was the first indicator, which showed that although both the family-related and family-unrelated variables have an effect in determining the nationalist attitudes and interethnic tolerance, the influence of the family-related variables is stronger. This tells us that the socializing role of the family is stronger than the same role of the educational system, which is not surprising.

Table 12. One way analysis of variance, R Squares, by country
(HU subsample = 1083; SK subsample = 390)

Independent variables ↓	Hungarian-ness		Positive self image of being Hungarian		Index of intolerance		Criteria of being Hungarian		Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation	
	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU
gender		.010*		.016*				.004*		
type of school	.023*			.048**					.030*	.016*
grade				.013*					.010*	.009*
parental education						.016*			.023*	
settlement type	.045*		.098**		.052*	.006*				
SES										
interest patterns		.030*			.051*					.009*
family model	.054*			.041**				.009*		

*p<.05 **p<.001

Table 12. clearly shows that after controlling for the effect of the country, significant differences emerge in the impact of the explanatory variables. This supports our first hypothesis, by which the country is one of the most powerful explanatory factor. The dimensions of national attitudes and interethnic tolerance can be explained by different set of variables in Hungary and in Slovakia. In the Hungarian case for example, the impact of gender can now be seen. In the Slovakian case the settlement type makes a clear difference.

If we differentiate by grade (which mainly accounts for the differences in age), we can see that in the case of the 8th graders, it is the country and the settlement type that counts. For 11th graders the socialization process is much more diversified. The number of significant explanatory variables is larger, with the exception of the number of excluded groups variable.

Table 13. One way analysis of variance, R Squares, by grade
(8th grade subsample = 635; 11th grade subsample = 838)

Independent variables ↓	Hungarian-ness		Positive self image of being Hungarian		Index of intolerance		Criteria of being Hungarian		Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation	
	8 th	11 th	8 th	11 th	8 th	11 th	8 th	11 th	8 th	11 th
gender	n.a.			.039**				.006*		
type of school	n.a.			.019*		.011*				
parental education	n.a.			.024*		.014*		.026**		
country	n.a.	.023**	.193**	.165**			.063**	.069**	.019**	.016**
settlement type	n.a.	.010*	.192**	.012*		.017*	.036**		.010*	
SES	n.a.			.029*						
interest patterns	n.a.	.014*							.018*	
family model	n.a.	.013*		.064**				.011*		

*p<.05 **p<.001

Table 14. shows the index values. Only those cells are shown where significant interdependence can be observed ($p<.05$). It is important to note that comparison can only be made within the cells by the attributes of the independent variables. In three cases comparison can be made by country for the same relationship between independent and dependent variables. These cases are marked with bold. But in most cases, since there were different explanatory factors behind the national attitudes and interethnic tolerance in the two countries, such comparison cannot be made. For example in the case of Slovakia, the index of Hungarianness is stronger in the rural hinterlands, in other words, ethnic Hungarian students in Slovakia have stronger sense of being Hungarian if they live in rural areas. This settlement type relation is very similar in the case of the positive self-image: rural students have a stronger sense of that.

When we have the possibility to compare the two countries, we can see some interesting results. The grade makes a difference in both countries at the number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation, as 11th grade students are more tolerant than the 8th graders. However, the overall level of intolerance is higher in Hungary in both grades. In case of the interaction between the settlement type and the level of intolerance we can see that student in large cities are more tolerant than students in smaller settlements, and this relationship is true for both countries. However, if we compare the two countries, city students in Slovakia are more tolerant than city students in Hungary.

When we examine the effect of the parental education, we can see a different trend in the two countries, even if the comparison can be made only indirectly. In Hungary, the level of parental education makes a difference in the general intolerance index, the more formal education the parents have, the higher the level of intolerance, which contradicts conventional logic. In Slovakia, the parental education has a significant interrelation with the number of groups excluded from the Hungarian nation, but in this case the direction is the opposite: higher level of parental education results in less number of groups excluded. In both countries this relationship can be observed indirectly through

the effect of the type of school. High schools are the types to where more educated parents direct their children, as opposed to other secondary schools. The data show that in Slovakia high school students exclude less groups from the Hungarian nation, while in Hungary this is the opposite.

Table 14. Index values by country
(HU subsample = 1083; SK subsample = 390)

Independent variables ↓		Hungarianness*		Positive self image of being Hungarian*		Index of intolerance*		Criteria of being Hungarian		Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation	
		SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU
gender	male		.02		-.11				3.66		
	female		-.17		-.33				3.83		
type of school	elementary	n.a.			-.09					2.11	2.48
	high school	.42			-.37					1.63	2.40
	secondary1	.10			-.38					2.11	2.16
	secondary2	n.a.			.29					n.a.	2.06
grade	8 th				-.09					2.11	2.48
	11 th				-.29					1.86	2.23
parental education	1-8 th grade						-.40			3.00	
	secondary						-.04			1.97	
	high school						.13			1.96	
	college						.03			1.81	
settlement type	city	.10		.51		-.25	-.02				
	hinterland	.57		1.11		.14	.18				
SES											
interest patterns	humanities		.00				-.15				2.18
	media world		-.21				.32				2.55
	virtual reality		.10				-.28				2.33
	ignorant		-.29				.04				2.35
family model	liberal	-.03			-.24				3.77		
	endangered	.37			-.17				3.90		
	conservative	.62			.01				3.92		
	dysfunctional	.35			-.45				3.59		

* Standardized values

This part of the analysis also shows what we concluded earlier about the separation of general media and internet exposure. The exposure to the virtual reality has a positive effect on interethnic tolerance in both Hungary and Slovakia. At the same time, the general media consumption has a visible negative effect.

At the interest patterns the highest level of Hungarianness can be found at students who belong to the virtual reality cluster (only for the Hungarians). This is seemingly strange, but in this case the political interests are in the same cluster. In both countries we can see examples for the effect of the media on the level of intolerance. In Slovakia those students who are in the media world cluster exhibit the highest level of general intolerance. In Hungary those students in the same cluster exclude the most groups from the Hungarian nation. This is another interesting example for the differences

in the two countries, as the same general impact of the media can be seen (toward intolerance), but in a different dimension of interethnic tolerance.

If we examine the family models, the obvious result is that students in conservative families have the highest level of Hungarianness, the most positive self-image about this, and they also have the largest number of criteria for belonging to the Hungarian nation. What interesting is that not always the liberal family model is on the other end. Student in liberal families have the lowest level of Hungarianness, but when it comes to the positive self-image or the criteria, it is the students in dysfunctional families who are the least positive or strict about it.

Table 15. shows the results in a deconstructed manner. We created seven new variables from the three most important independent variables.⁴ The standardized index values indicate that Hungarian 11th grade student in small settlements exhibit a higher level of intolerance, while the exact opposite group, the Slovakian 8th grade city students are the most tolerant when it comes to general intolerance and the criteria of being Hungarian. Slovaks in general are more tolerant, and not surprisingly have a more positive self-image of being ethnic Hungarians. Besides these impacts on our five dependent variables, it is important to note that this deconstruction of the independent variables explain the variance in the positive self-image to the largest extent (Eta²=.212).

Table 15. Standardized index values by country by settlement by grade

Country	settlement type	grade	N	Hungarian-ness ⁵	Positive self image of being Hungarian	Index of intolerance	Criteria of being Hungarian	Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation
HU	city	8th	441	n.a.	-.093	.032	.130	.190
	city	11th	436	-.128	<u>-.339</u>	-.083	.134	-.029
	hinterland	11th	206	-.006	-.213	.180	.247	.043
SK	city	8th	30	n.a.	.446	<u>-.442</u>	<u>-.702</u>	-.327
	city	11th	130	.106	.549	-.202	-.450	-.250
	hinterland	8th	164	n.a.	1.027	.160	-.341	-.064
	hinterland	11th	66	.579	1.324	.107	-.477	<u>-.411</u>
			Eta ²	.038**	.212**	.019*	.070**	.027**

*p<.05 **p<.001

Next, we focused on the variables of interest patterns, family model, and especially SES, which latter surprisingly did not have much impact on interethnic tolerance. Building these three independent variables into one explanatory model, the SES variable acquired explanatory power (Table 16.). However, among all independent variables, the country variable had the strongest impact. In this four-dimensional space the positive self-image of being Hungarian could be explained the best (E²=.295).

⁴ There weren't 8th graders in the sample in the Hungarian small settlements.

⁵ The questions by which this variable was created weren't asked from 8th graders.

Table 16. Base explanatory model

Model		Hungarianness	Positive self image of being Hungarian	Index of intolerance	Criteria of being Hungarian	Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation
SES	Beta	,069	,064	,068	,023	,008
Interest patterns	Beta	,120	,064	,074	,042	,093
Family model	Beta	,109	,172	,027	,078	,046
Country	Beta	,145	,435	,064	,290	,156
Main effect	R ²	.057**	.245**	.013	.089**	.035**
Model	E ²	.124*	.295**	.155*	.162**	.123*

To investigate the explanatory power of the variables other than the country, and also to account for the fundamental minority/majority difference, we ran the model for the two separate national subsamples (Model 1). Table 17. shows the detailed results, while in Figure 1. the explanatory power can be seen, expressed in percentages.

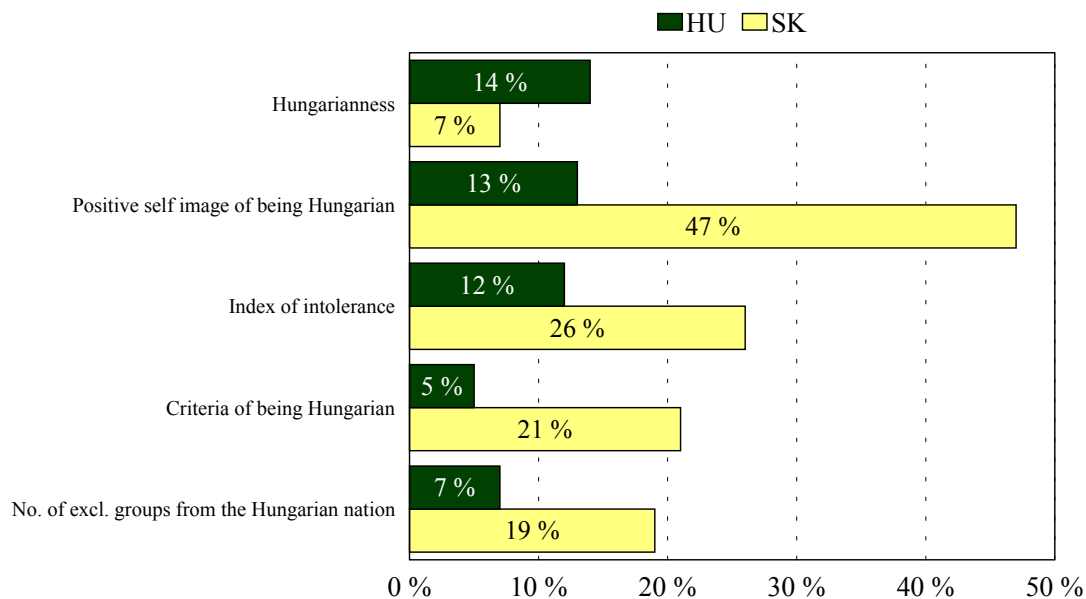
In our explanatory Model 1, the disaggregated country impact can be clearly seen. Hungarianness is explained better in the Hungarian subsample. On the other hand it is clear that the strong explanatory power of the base model with regards to the positive self-image of being Hungarian comes from the Slovakian subsample. In this respect the model almost explains half of the Slovakian variance, while in the case of Hungary the result is not even significant. The index of general intolerance and the criteria of being Hungarian is also better explained by Model 1 in the Slovakian subsample.

Table 17. Explanatory Model 1

Independent variables ↓	Hungarian-ness		Positive self image of being Hungarian		Index of intolerance		Criteria of being Hungarian		Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation		
	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	
SES	Beta	.107	.066	.079	.077	.092	.043	.038	.078	.030	.091
Interest patterns	Beta	.178	.071	.038	.319	.085	.179	.045	.067	.076	.162
Family model	Beta	.090	.250	.182	.314	.107	.226	.101	.093	.064	.079
Main effect	R ²	.052*	.067	.047*	.180*	.024	.076*	.014	.018	.011	.036
Model	E ²	.137*	.066	.128	.469*	.124*	.258*	.054	.213*	.071	.192

*p<.05 **p<.001

Figure 1. Explanatory power of Model 1 by subsamples
(Model 1: SES, interest patterns, family model)



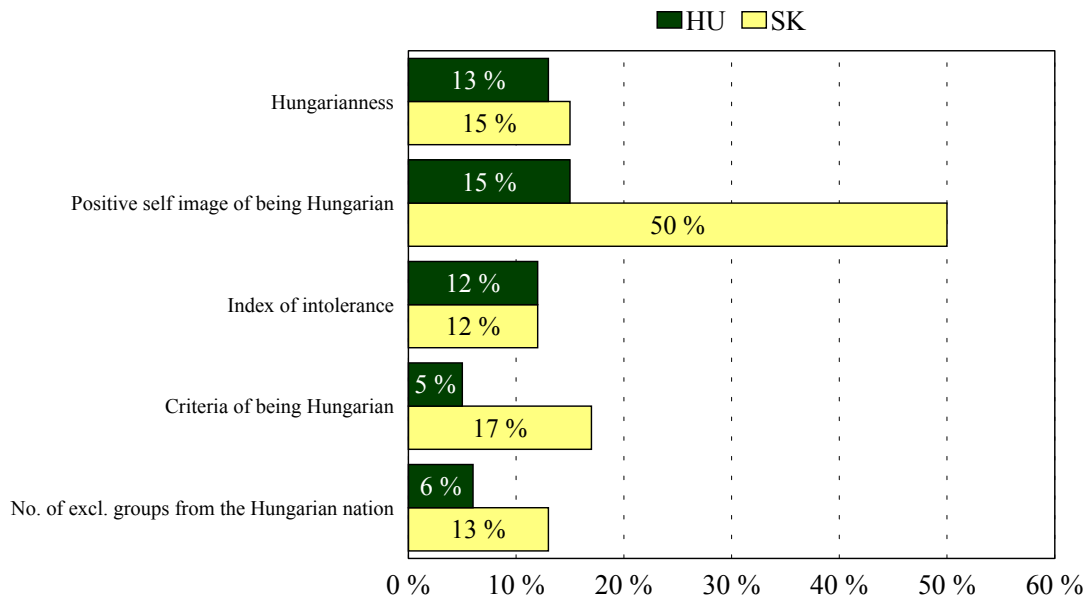
The next step was to enter settlement type into the model, which we did by country subsamples (Table 17., Figure 2.). This step had ambiguous impact on the model. It improved the explanatory power in the dimension of Hungarianness with increasing the E² values for the Slovakian subsample from .066 to .152. It also increased the explanatory power of the positive self-image dimension at both subsamples. On the other hand, it decreased the explanatory power for the index of intolerance and the criteria for being Hungarian dimensions (especially for the Slovakian subsample). It is also interesting to note that neither model worked very well for the number of excluded groups dimension.

Table 17. Explanatory Model 2

Independent variables ↓	Hungarianness		Positive self image of being Hungarian		Index of intolerance		Criteria of being Hungarian		Number of excluded groups from the Hungarian nation		
	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	HU	SK	
SES	Beta	,104	,047	,079	,132	.091	.011	.034	.065	.031	.086
interest patterns	Beta	,174	,146	,037	,245	.085	.148	.050	.059	.074	.164
family model	Beta	,088	,242	,184	,268	.106	.221	.110	.100	.063	.075
settlement type	Beta	,031	,285	,010	,259	.068	.188	.072	.095	.024	.030
Main effect	R ²	.053*	.133*	.047*	.234*	.028*	.105*	.019	.026*	.011	.034
Model	E ²	.128*	.152*	.148*	.500*	.117*	.118*	.053*	.166*	.055	.131

*p<.05 **p<.001

Figure 2. Explanatory power of Model 2 by subsamples
 (Model 2: SES, interest patterns, family model, settlement type)



Conclusion

After going through the analysis, we can draw some important conclusions, and mention some of the possibilities for future research. The first is that country and society matters, which is a basic finding in most of the research done about nationalism and interethnic tolerance. In our case this country affect is actually the affect of being majority or minority as ethnic Hungarians.

This situational difference has a strong impact on the opinions about interethnic tolerance. We have found that ethnic Hungarian students in Slovakia are more tolerant and less exclusionists than ethnic Hungarian students in Hungary. This finding is in contrast with what the general Hungarian public usually thinks about this issue, assuming that the minority situation by definition brings up strong self-defense mechanisms. Our opinion is that the minority situation actually creates more tolerance, as these minorities have to live together with a different ethnic majority, and both social necessity and everyday interaction have a calming impact on the long run – at least in Eastern Europe.

Our other important finding was that the family is a much stronger socializing actor than the educational system. This is not a new finding, but have important implications about policy making. This is not to say that education is not important, but the basics of nationalism and interethnic tolerance are socialized through family interaction, and in this case the general family model of raising children has a fundamental importance. Our cluster analysis proved that there are distinct family models, and also that there is only a small difference between the two countries in this

respect. Future research can investigate the role of ethnicity as a cultural model in patterns of raising children.

The next finding was an indirect result of the analysis, but can open up a new line of research. When creating interest typologies, we found that the media exposure and the Internet exposure are not only separate, but also have a different impact on interethnic tolerance. This brings up the socializing role of the media in this context, compared to the role of the Internet, which latter opens up a different way of getting information, and might act as an indirect mediator in interethnic tolerance.

Finally, our most surprising finding was that there is larger intolerance in Hungary among those who have higher educational attainment, or cultural capital in general. This can be observed in the dimensions of school types (having a visible hierarchy among various secondary schools), and also in the dimension of parental education. Both of these factors are important in the socialization process, and it is not clear whether this result emerges through family models or through the socialization process of formal education. Our next step in research will be a study to understand this phenomenon.

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