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New authoritarianism

European National and Regional
Identity

Oradea, March 24-26.2011.

Plenary Session 3. 17.00-17.45

Old authoritarianism

- The Family and the State
- Political authority and parental authority
- Head of state and head of the family
- Internalization of authority
- Escape from freedom
- Centralized state in need of modernization

The authoritarian personality

- Conventionalism
- Authoritarian submission
- Authoritarian aggression
- Anti-intraception
- Superstition and stereotypy
- Power and toughness
- Destructiveness and cynicism
- Exaggerated concern over sexuality

Sources of new authoritarianism

- Weakening of the state and the family
- Emancipation of women
- Sexual revolution
- LGBT
- Alternative life-styles
- Erlebnisgesellschaft
- Emergence of network society
- Clash of civilizations
- Fault-line conflicts
- Anxiety

Research Design (2010)

- National representative sample (1000)
- Radical nationalist subsample (100)
- Environmentalist subsample (100)
- Qualitative research (focus group interviews, narrative interviews)

Variables

- Locus of control (external and internal)
- Social dominance orientation
- Attribution schemes of national failures
- Dogmatism
- Strategies of solution of major social problems

Locus of Control

- Achievement of status depends on luck vs. ability
- Life is directed by chance/Life cannot be directed by chance
- Future depends on unknown forces/Future depends on us who can actively exert influence on it
- My life cannot be directed by myself/My life can be directed by myself

External – internal control

**(Results of Optimal Scaling by Alternating Least Squares analysis
discrimination measures)**

	discrimination measures
Achievement depends on abilities.	0,387
Future can be influenced.	0,565
There are no fatal chances.	0,306
My life-directed by myself.	0,583

The higher is the value of object score, the higher is the sense of internal control as opposed to the sense of external control.

Social dominance orientation

- Results of Principal Component Analysis
- Principal Component 1 (SDO based on ethnic categorization)
- Principal Component 2 (SDO based on class categorization)

Ethnic SDO

	Communalities	Factor weights
Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.	0,485	0,697
In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.	0,534	0,731
It's OK if some people have more of a chance in life than others.	0,598	0,774
To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.	0,603	0,776
It is probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.	0,585	0,765

explained variance: 56,11 %

Class SDO

	Communalities	Factor weights
It would be good if groups could be equal.	0,649	0,806
All groups should be given equal chance in life.	0,401	0,634
We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.	0,66	0,812
We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.	0,556	0,745
No groups should dominate in society.	0,428	0,654

explained variance: 53,88 %

(Because the Class SDO compared with the ethnic SDO was measured by the opposite direction, we changed the direction: the higher is the value of factor score, the higher is the support of social dominance (both Ethnic and Class.)

Clusters of SDO

	Final Cluster Centers (Clusters)			
	Support of ethnic inequality and refusal of class inequality	Support of both type of social inequality	Refusal of both types of social inequality	Refusal of ethnic and support of class inequality
Ethnic SDO (pc)	1,06	0,82	-0,81	-0,64
Class SDO (pc)	-0,29	1	-0,78	1,19

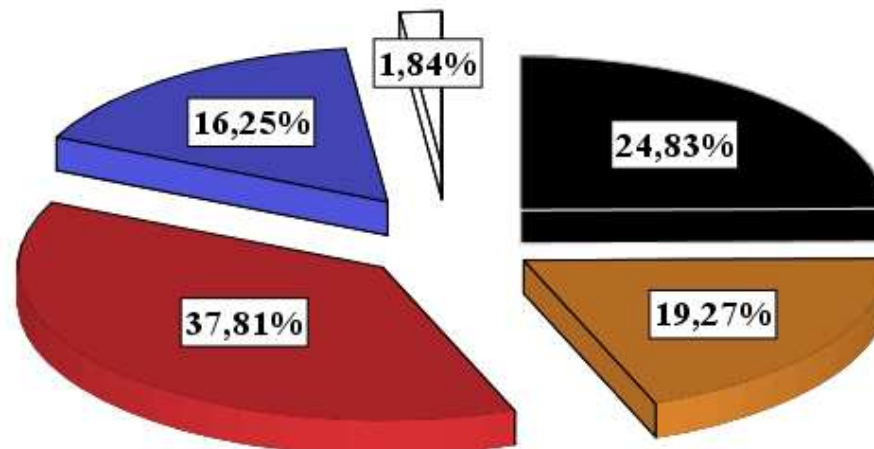
■ Support of ethnic inequality and refusal of class inequality

■ Support of both types of social inequality

■ Refusal of both types of social inequality

■ Refusal of ethnic and support of class inequality

□ Defies of categorization

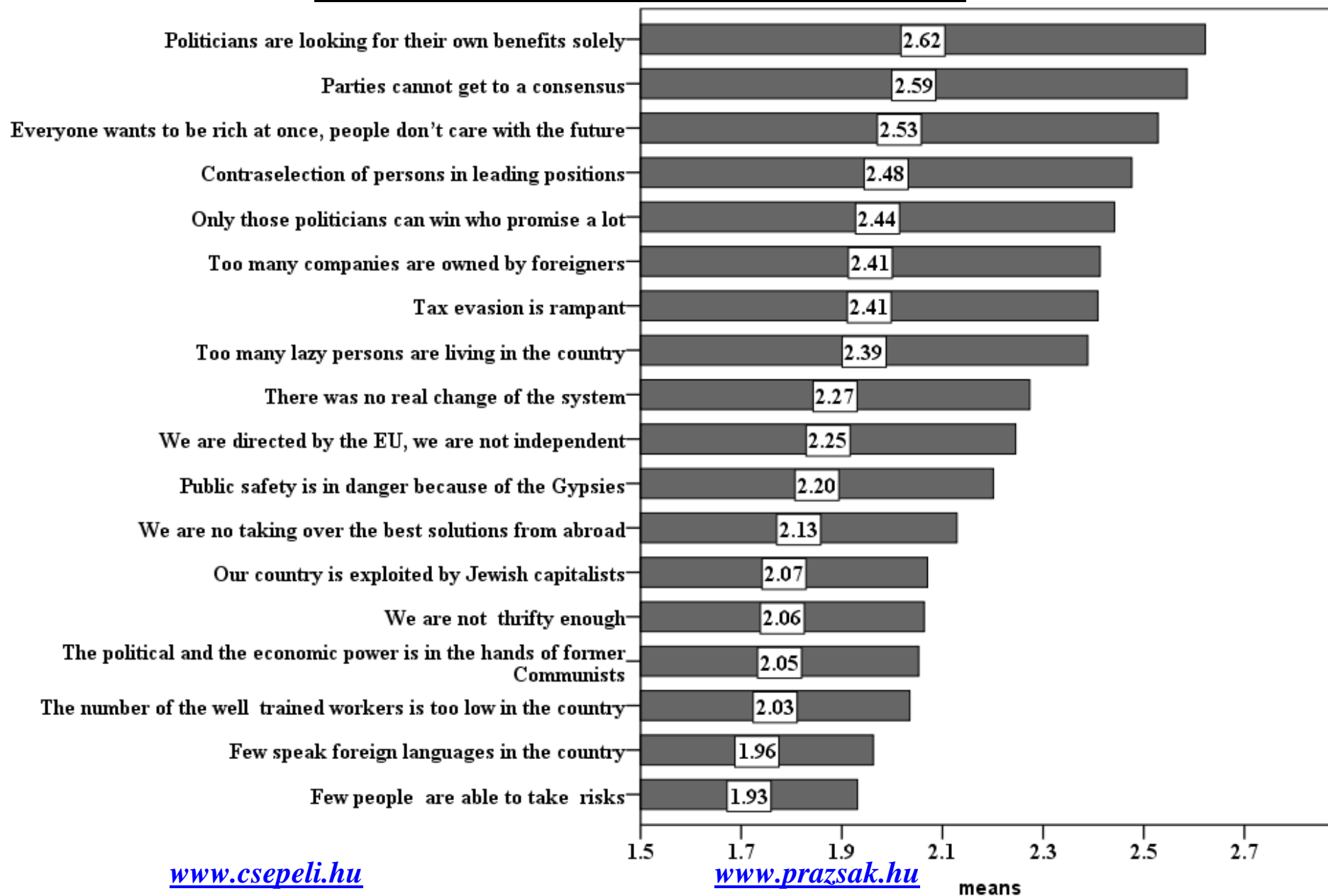


Types of SDO and Locus of Control

Support of class inequality has no correlation with the locus of control. Support of ethnic inequality, however, is correlated with the locus of control. The higher is the sense of external control, the stronger is the support of ethnic inequality in society (the correlation is weak).

		external control - internal control	ethnic SDO
external control - internal control	Pearson Correlation	1	-0,081
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0,012
ethnic SDO	Pearson Correlation	-0,081	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,012	

Causes of the troubles in Hungary (means of 1-3 point scale)



Anomic profit making (pc)
(first of the three attribution schemes)

	Communalities	Factor weights
Parties cannot get to a consensus.	0,43	0,66
Politicians are looking for their own benefits solely.	0,47	0,69
Contraselection of persons in leading positions.	0,45	0,67
Too many lazy persons are living in the country.	0,29	0,54
Only those politicians can win who promise a lot.	0,3	0,55
Everyone wants to be rich at once, people don't care with the future.	0,44	0,67
Tax evasion is rampant.	0,26	0,51
Too many companies are owned by foreigners.	0,36	0,6
<i>Explained variance: 37,49 %</i>		

New colonialism (pc)
(second of the three attribution schemes)

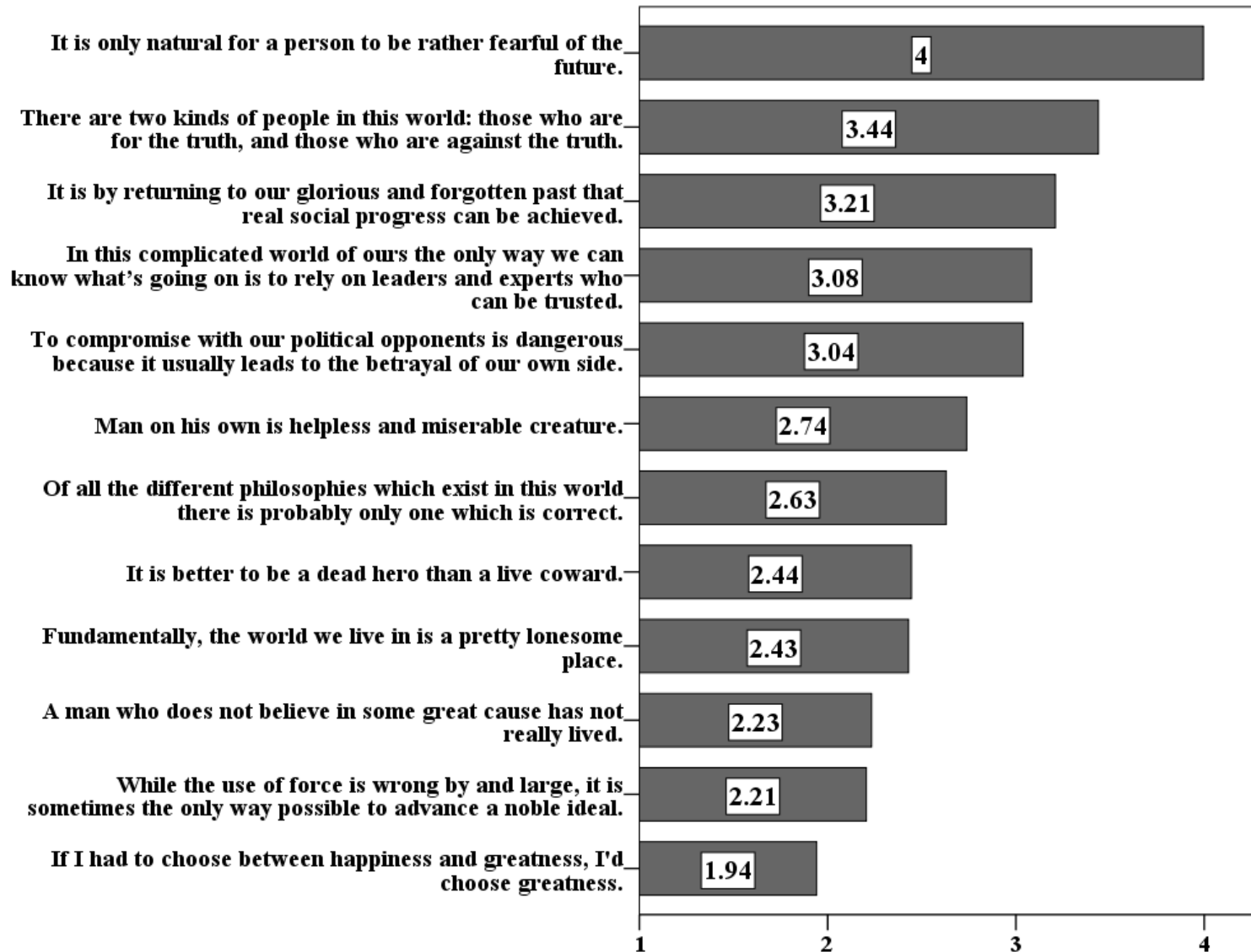
	Communalities	Factor weights
We are directed by the EU, we are not independent.	0,41	0,64
Our country is exploited by Jewish capitalists.	0,53	0,73
Public safety is in danger because of the Gypsies.	0,31	0,56
There was no real change of the system.	0,54	0,73
The political and the economic power is in the hands of former Communists.	0,56	0,75
<i>Explained variance: 46,86 %</i>		

Self-criticism (pc)
(third of the three attribution schemes)

	Communalities	Factor weights
We are not taking over the best solutions from abroad.	0,36	0,6
We are not thrifty enough.	0,4	0,64
The number of the well trained workers is too low in the country.	0,48	0,69
Few speak foreign languages in the country.	0,45	0,67
Few people are able to take risks.	0,54	0,74
<i>Explained variance: 44,71 %</i>		

Constituents of dogmatism

(means of 1-5 point scale)



„Romantic”

(first principal component of the dogmatism schemes)

	Communalities	Factor weights
A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.	0,58	0,76
It is better to be a dead hero than a live coward.	0,47	0,68
If I had to choose between happiness and greatness, I'd choose greatness.	0,71	0,84
While the use of force is wrong by and large, it is sometimes the only way possible to advance a noble ideal.	0,58	0,76
<i>Explained variance: 58,54 %</i>		

Closed Mind

(second principal component of the dogmatism schemes)

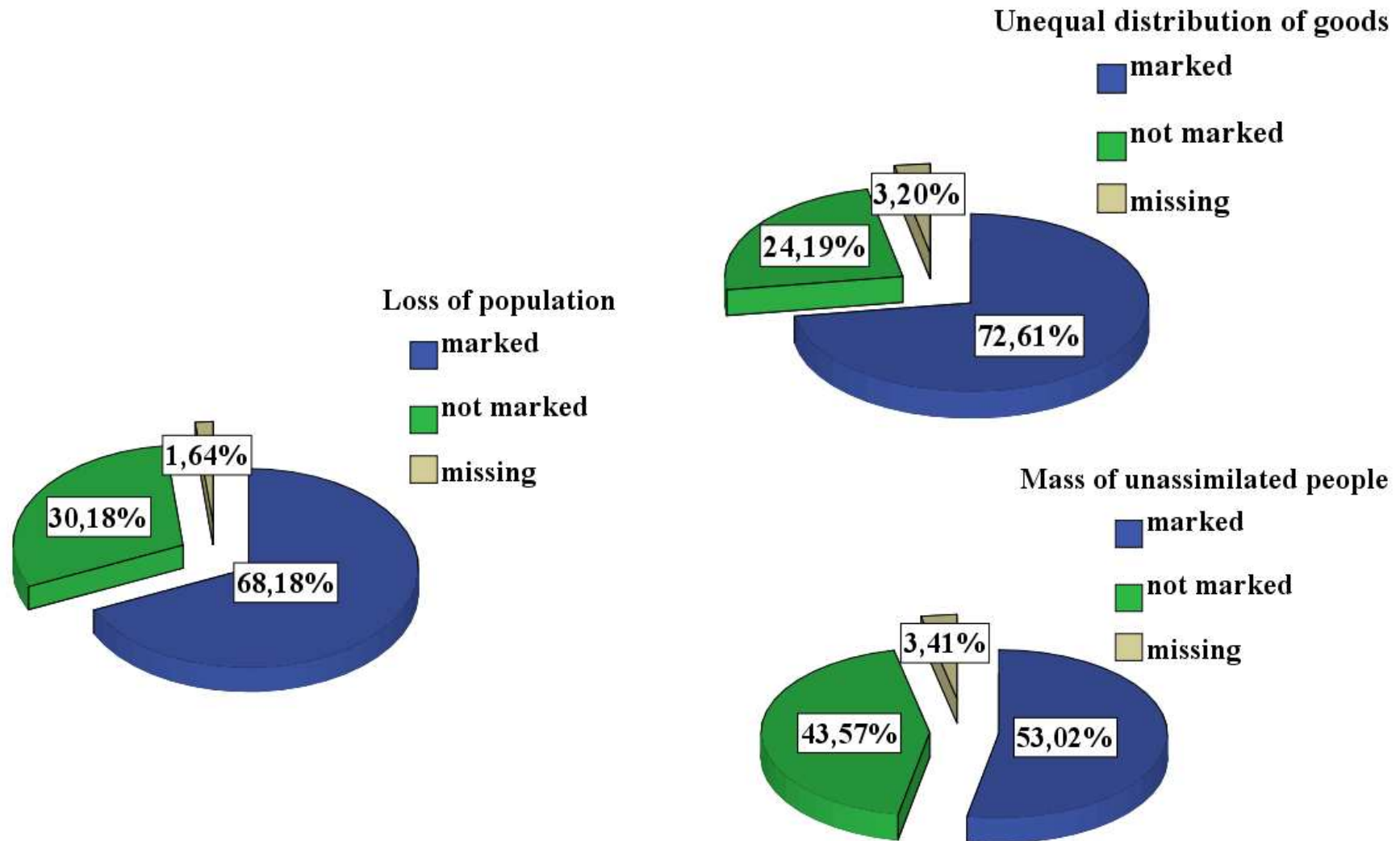
	Communalities	Factor weights
Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.	0,45	0,67
To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.	0,6	0,78
There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth, and those who are against the truth.	0,55	0,74
<i>Explained variance: 53,4 %</i>		

Loneliness

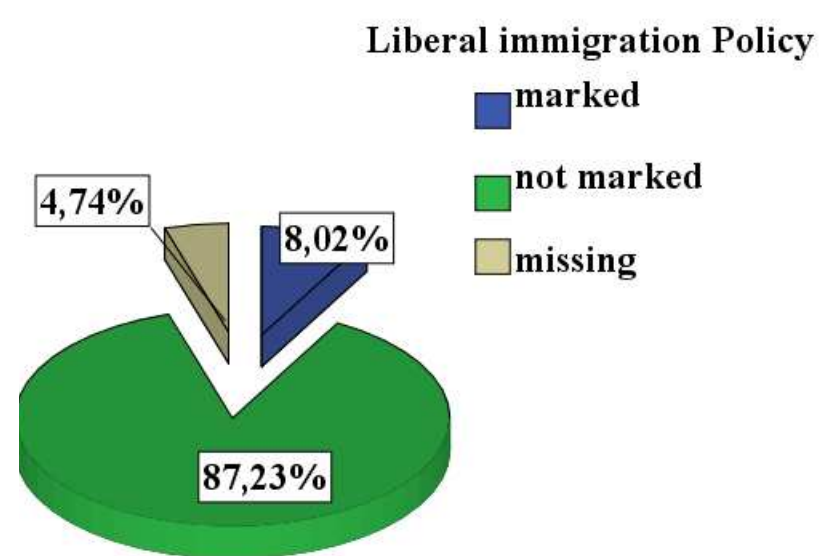
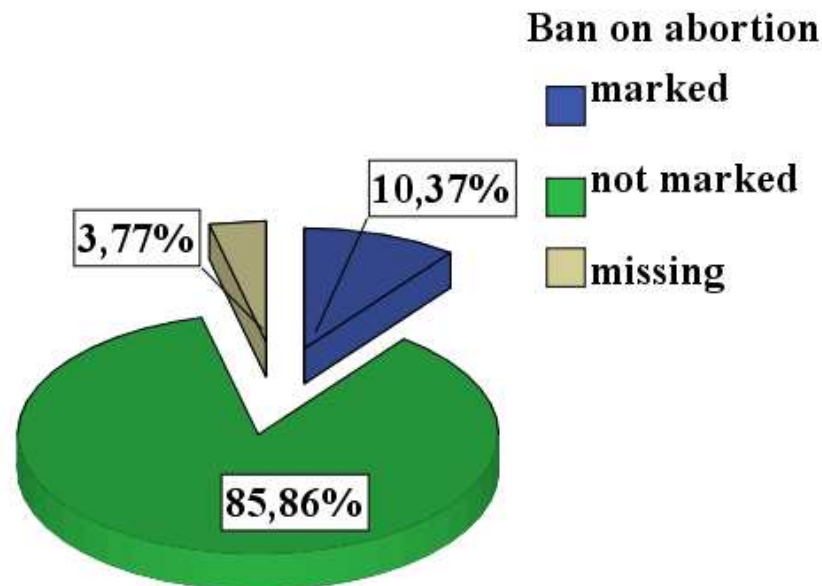
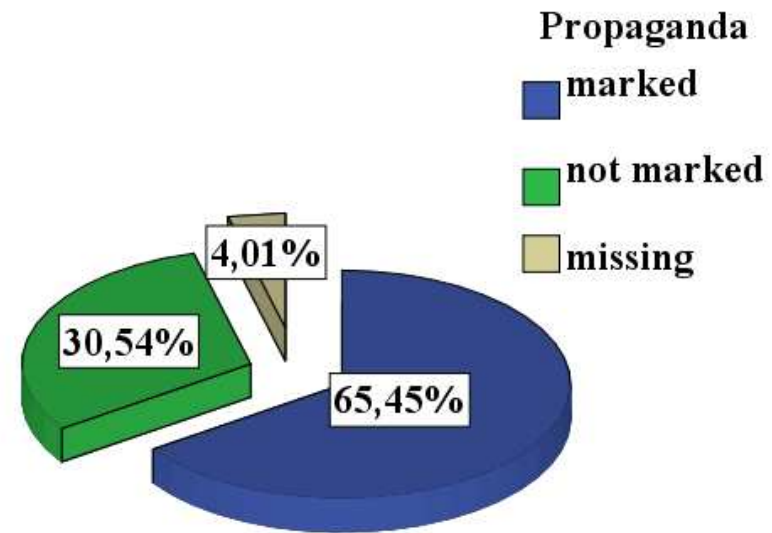
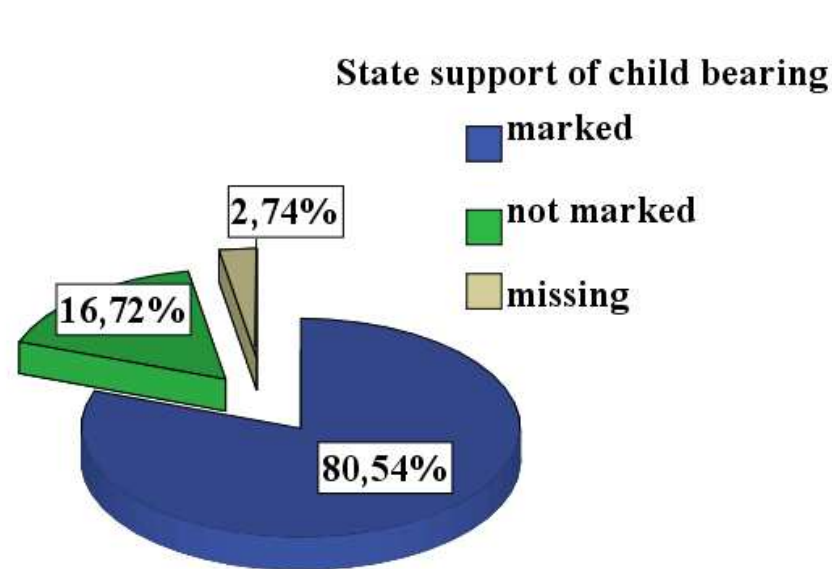
(third principal component of the dogmatism schemes)

	Communalities	Factor weights
Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.	0,42	0,65
In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders and experts who can be trusted.	0,43	0,66
Man on his own is helpless and miserable creature.	0,52	0,72
It is by returning to our glorious and forgotten past that real social progress can be achieved.	0,35	0,59
<i>Explained variance: 42,92 %</i>		

What is the gravest problem in Hungary now?



Solutions of the problem of the loss of population

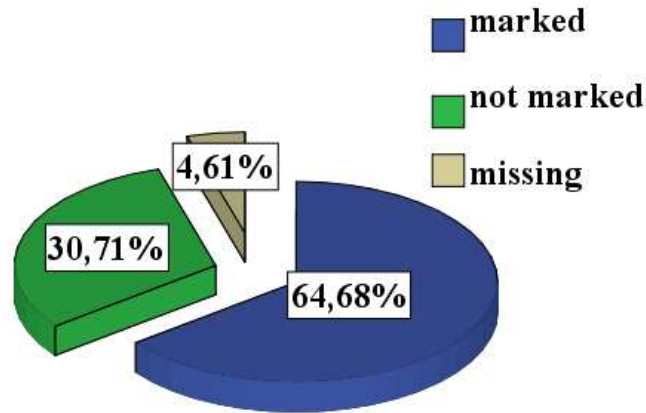


www.csepli.hu

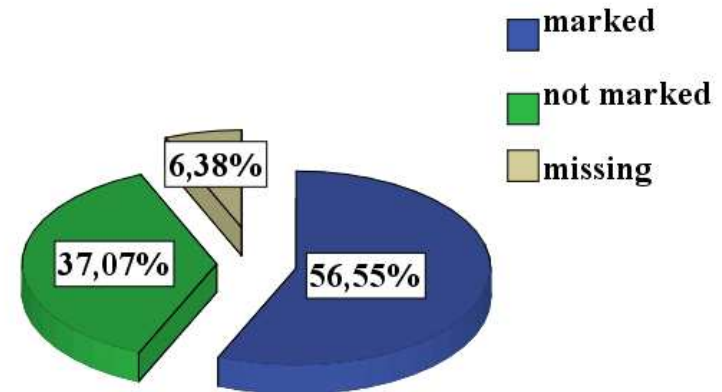
www.prazsak.hu

Solutions of the problem of unequal distribution of goods

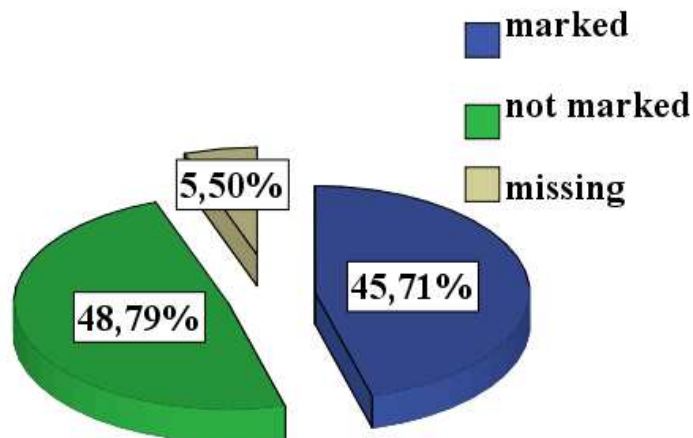
Income guaranteed by the state



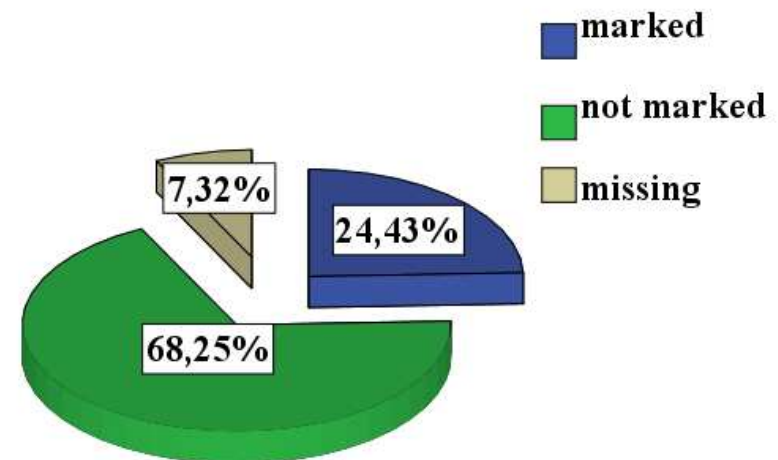
Taxation of profit



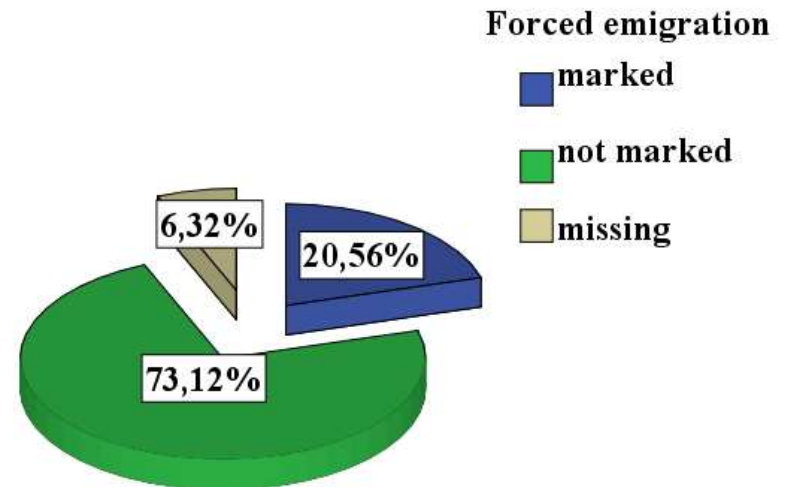
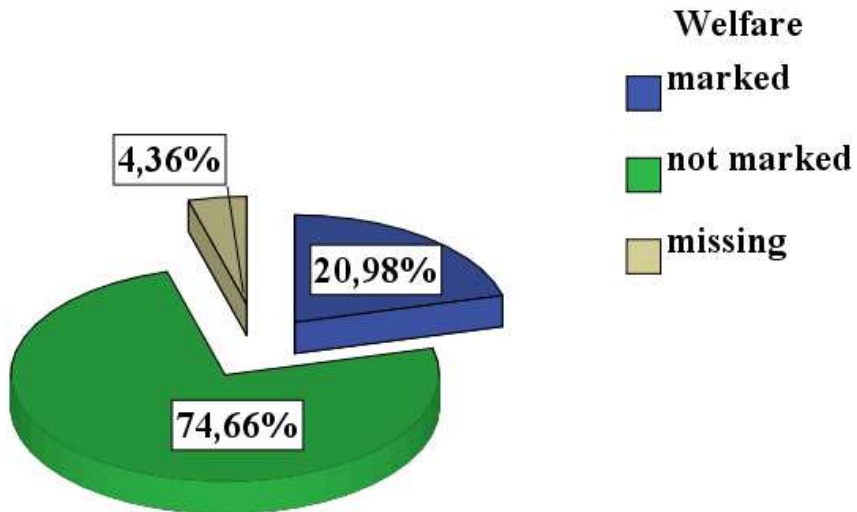
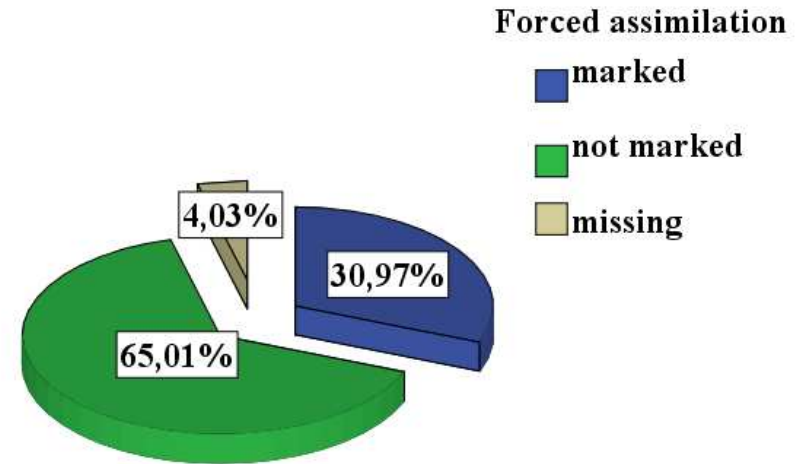
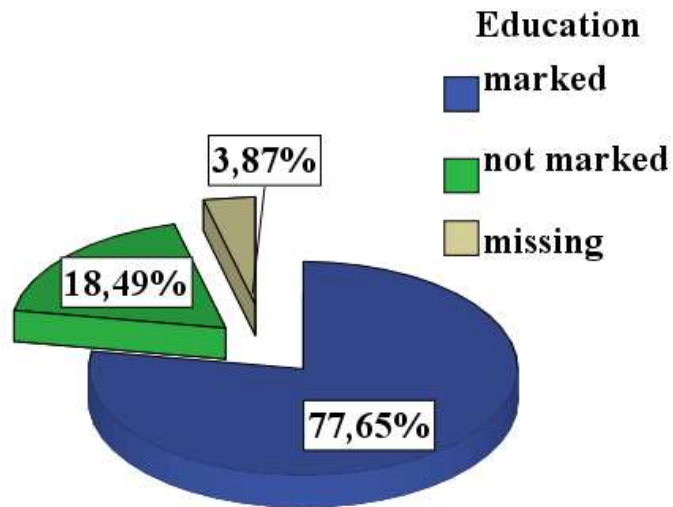
Housing guaranteed by the state



Nationalization



Solutions of the problem of unassimilated masses



Results of Optimal Scaling by Alternating Least Squares analysis

<u>STATE SOLUTIONS</u>	discrimination measures
State support of child bearing	0,45
Propaganda	0,42
Housing guaranteed by the state	0,44
income guaranteed by the state	0,5

<u>RADICAL SOLUTIONS</u>	discrimination measures
Ban on abortion	0,51
Forced emigration	0,45
Nationalization	0,5

<u>LAISSEZ-FAIRE SOLUTIONS</u>	discrimination measures
Liberal immigration Policy	0,33
Education	0,29
Welfare	0,65

Cognitive determinants of the ethnic SDO

Ethnic SDO is function of anomic profit making, dogmatism and dispreference of state solutions and preference of radical solutions of the problems.

$R^2 = 0,42$	Standardized β Coefficients	T test (sig.)
Anomic profit making	-0,067	0,025
State solutions	-0,068	0,02
Radical solutions	0,075	0,009
Romantic dogmatism	0,465	0,000
Closed Mind	0,093	0,003
Loneliness	0,156	0,000

F test sig. <0,000

Cognitive determinants of the class SDO

Class SDO is a function of dogmatism and dispreference of statist solutions.

$R^2 = 0,09$	Standardized β Coefficients	T test (sig.)
Romantic dogmatism	0,251	0,000
Closed Mind	-0,171	0,000
Loneliness	-0,118	0,003
State solutions	-0,152	0,000

F test sig. <0,000

Sociological determinants of the ethnic SDO

Males and residents of urban settlements have the tendency to support inequality in the society on ethnic grounds. The same tendency can be observed among respondents with lower education level.

$R^2 = 0,081$	Standardized β Coefficients	T test (sig.)
Type of settlement	0,275	0,000
Level of education	-0,061	0,058
<u>Male</u> /Female	0,122	,000

F test sig. <0,000

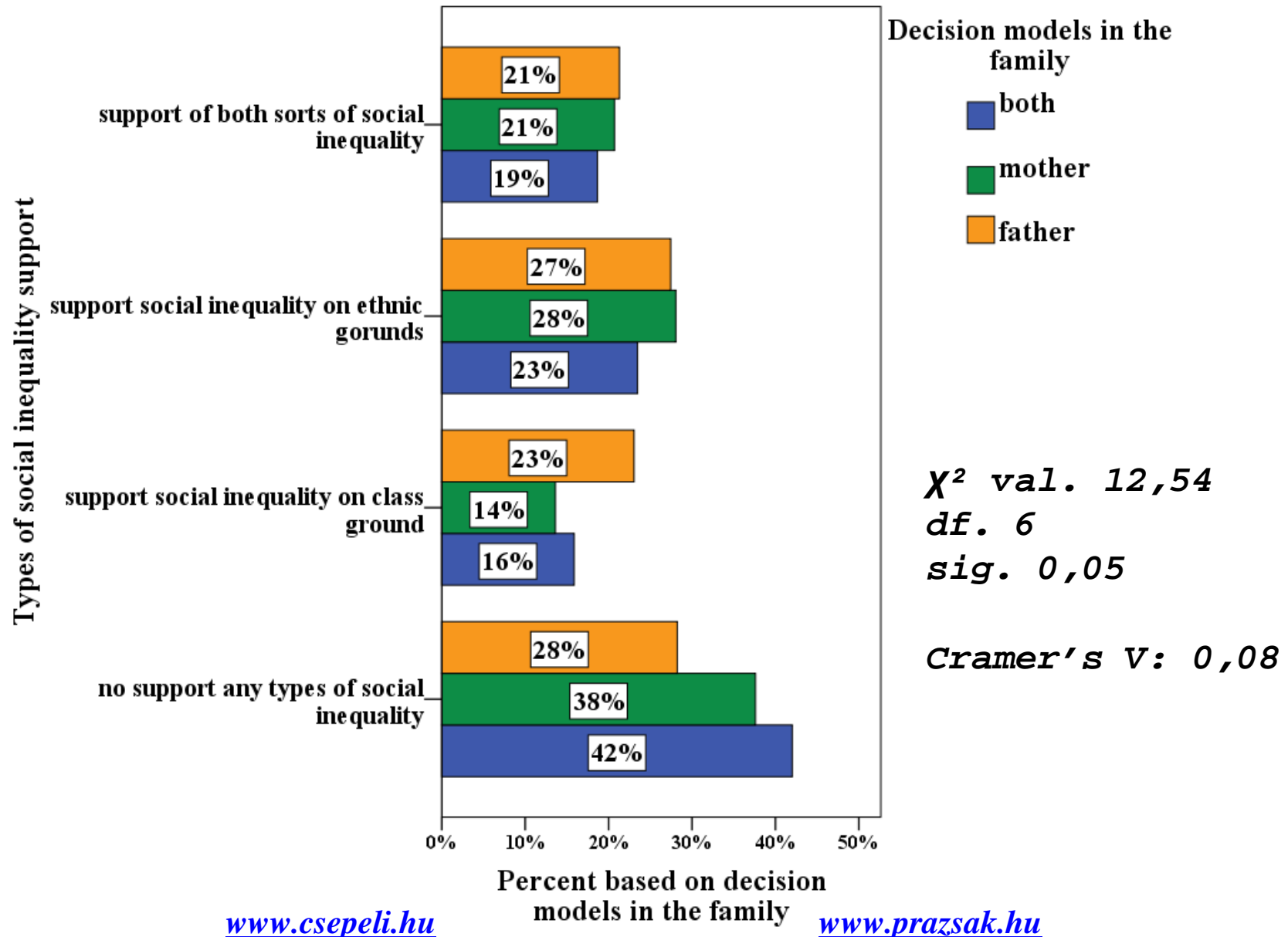
Sociological determinants of the class SDO

Males and residents of urban settlements have a greater tendency to support social inequality on class grounds. The higher is the level of education the more pronounced is the support of social inequality on class grounds. This is the reverse of the tendency we have found in the case of the support of ethnic inequality.

$R^2 = 0,06$	Standardized β Coefficients	T test (sig.)
Type of settlement	0,165	0,000
Level of education	0,112	0,001
<u>Male</u> /Female	0,098	0,002

F test sig. <0,000

Decision models in the family and types of social inequality support



Conclusions

- Two types of SDO
- Both types are correlated

- Ethnic SDO explained by
 - romantic dogmatism, closed mind and loneliness
 - radical solutions of the social problems are preferred
 - dispreference of state solutions of the problems
 - external control
 - urban residence
 - being male

- Class SDO explained by
 - romantic dogmatism
 - preference of radical solutions and dispreference of state solutions of the problems
 - urban residence
 - higher education level
 - being male

Thank you for your attention!

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