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EAST OF WEST, WEST OF EAST

THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF HUNGARIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE MIRROR OF AN EMPIRICAL SURVEY⁴

INTRODUCTION

The present analysis is based on a representative survey conducted among 2600 graduating secondary school students in 1996.⁵ The questionnaire included two series of questions. The first aimed to reveal the social and political value orientations of students. It contained 26 items regarding different issues, including the relationship between the majority and the minorities, politics, the role of the state, the function of law, national identity, and the relationship between the two sexes. The second series of questions aimed to locate Hungary politically, mentally and culturally. Students were asked to tell whether the country belonged to the western, eastern or central region of Europe in each of these three dimensions.

First we will describe the value orientation structures of graduating secondary school students and explore how the differences among them relate to their educational backgrounds.⁶ Then we will analyze their views on Hungary's Euro-regional location. We will also study the relationship between the perception of

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⁵ The survey, carried out by the Minority Research Institute of Minoritas Foundation in May 1996, was based on a national sample representing graduating secondary grammar school, vocational school and industrial school students. The students filled in the questionnaire by themselves in their classrooms with help from independent interviewers. The survey was supported by the National Scientific Research Fund (OTKA) and the Public Education Program of Soros Foundation. For more details, see the book of Szabó, Ildikó & Örkény, Antal: *Tizenévesek állampolgári kultúrája* [The civic culture of teenagers in Hungary], Budapest: Minoritas Alapítvány, 1998. pp. 250.

⁶ In Hungary, only secondary grammar school and vocational school students are granted a maturity certificate (which is a requisite for admission into university or college) when graduating, while industrial school students do not receive such a degree.

Hungary's location within Europe on the one hand and students' value orientations and social values on the other.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Students were given 26 items and asked to tell whether they 'fully agreed', 'rather agreed' 'rather disagreed' or 'fully disagreed' with the statements included. Representing their responses on a 100-point scale, the results are as follows:

Table 1. Students agreeing with the listed items by type of school on a 100-point scale

| | Grammar school | Vocational school | Industrial school | Total |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------|
| 1. Whoever is in charge, politics is always suspect. | 79 | 86 | 85 | 84 |
| 2. If in love, a man and woman may live together without marriage. | 80 | 87 | 82 | 83 |
| 3. There is no homeland without the rule of law. | 81 | 85 | 82 | 83 |
| 4. One must be proud of being Hungarian. | 76 | 79 | 79 | 78 |
| 5. Laws must be obeyed, but there are some more important things in life than obedience to the law. | 69 | 75 | 76 | 74 |
| 6. Women are entitled to abortion in the event they bear an unwanted baby. | 71 | 76 | 73 | 74 |
| 7. Political parties are good for one thing: for politicians to build a career. | 59 | 72 | 74 | 70 |
| 8. Fewer foreigners should be admitted in the country. | 62 | 71 | 73 | 70 |
| 9. There have always been small people and big people, the small ones working, the big ones making politics. | 59 | 69 | 70 | 67 |
| 10. The majority of the unemployed do not want to work. | 57 | 61 | 66 | 62 |
| 11. Hungarian history has achievements and heroes of a magnitude unknown to other peoples. | 54 | 62 | 62 | 60 |
| 12. Although we have always been dogged by misfortune, we have always set an example to the rest of the world. | 53 | 59 | 59 | 58 |
| 13. Minorities must be granted extra rights so that they can preserve their cultures. | 62 | 53 | 50 | 54 |
| 14. Hungary has given more famous people to the world than any other country. | 50 | 53 | 58 | 54 |
| 15. The role of the state is to help people get along. | 53 | 55 | 51 | 53 |
| 16. Homosexuality is not a sin. It is the same kind of attraction which heterosexual people feel. | 57 | 50 | 48 | 50 |
| 17. Homosexuality is a sinful relationship. | 42 | 50 | 55 | 50 |
| 18. The most important function of the state is to make people obey laws. | 43 | 49 | 55 | 49 |
| 19. Mixing different cultures is wrong. It only makes trouble. | 38 | 35 | 45 | 49 |
| 20. Engaging in politics can only get you in trouble. | 40 | 48 | 55 | 48 |
| 21. Laws are made to be circumvented. | 32 | 40 | 45 | 40 |
| 22. Life begins with conception, no one has the right to abort it. | 38 | 35 | 45 | 39 |
| 23. Politics is good for nothing. | 30 | 38 | 45 | 39 |
| 24. The interests of the nation demand that there be at least three children in every family. | 40 | 35 | 31 | 35 |
| 25. Those who have a job are morally bound to transfer a part of their revenues to the unemployment fund. | 33 | 28 | 30 | 30 |
| 26. Sexual life without marriage is immoral. | 22 | 20 | 25 | 22 |

Table 1 reveals that students have quite liberal views when it comes to issues of sexual morality, while their political and social values are much more conservative. They widely agreed with negative statements about politics, liberal views on cohabitation without marriage, and the association of the homeland with the rule of law.

Opinions were divided about every other item. Industrial school students are of an extreme opinion. They are particularly hostile to minorities, foreigners, the unemployed, and the gay and lesbian. They object to the mixing of cultures, and agree both with the negative views on politics and the statements about circumventing the law. Grammar school students are the other extreme. They are the most open-minded when it comes to minorities, foreigners, the unemployed, and the gay and lesbian, they are of the least unfavorable opinion about politics and they agree with the statements on the circumvention of laws to a lesser degree than their counterparts.

Statements regarding the relationship between the two sexes were valued differently by girls and boys. Girls were significantly more liberal in issues of childbirth and homosexuality. They are more tolerant of abortion than boys (78 and 69 points, respectively) and are less inclined to accept the ideal of the three-child-family (31 and 39 points). Their opinions are without doubt affected by their personal involvement. They do not consider homosexuality as sinful as boys do (41 and 59 points) and are more inclined to consider it an attraction similar to that between heterosexual partners than boys are (60 and 41 points).

The 26 items were submitted to a principal component analysis.⁷ The following principal components were found: relationship to politics, relationship between the two sexes, national consciousness, tolerance, and responsibility for the others.

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⁷ Principal component analysis is a statistical process that reveals hidden correlations between the interviewee's attitudes to different items and explores the mental samples behind the different agreements. Originally, the number of principal components obtained was eight, but it was later reduced to five. The five principal components explain 40.6 per cent of the relations between the variables.

Table 2. The factor structure of items by factor weight

| | Politics | Sexuality | Nation | Tolerance | Responsibility |
|--|----------|-----------|--------|-----------|----------------|
| Engaging in politics can only get you in trouble. | 0.67 | | | | |
| Politics is good for nothing. | 0.68 | | | | |
| Political parties are good for one thing: for politicians to build a career. | 0.64 | | | | |
| Whoever is in charge, politics is always suspect. | 0.63 | | | | |
| There have always been small people and big people, the small ones working, the big ones making politics. | 0.54 | | | | |
| Laws are made to be circumvented. | 0.45 | | | | |
| Although laws must be obeyed, there are some more important things in life than obedience to the law. | 0.40 | | | | |
| Life begins with conception. | | 0.76 | | | |
| Women are entitled to abortion in the event they bear an unwanted baby. | | -0.73 | | | |
| Sexual life without marriage is immoral. | | 0.58 | | | |
| If in love, a man and woman may live together without marriage. | | -0.57 | | | |
| Hungarian history has achievements and heroes of a magnitude unknown to other peoples. | | | 0.88 | | |
| Although we have always been dogged by misfortune, we have always set an example to the rest of the world. | | | 0.87 | | |
| Hungary has given more famous people to the world than any other country. | | | 0.66 | | |
| One must be proud of being Hungarian. | | | 0.64 | | |
| The majority of the unemployed do not want to work. | | | 0.33 | | |
| Homosexuality is not a sin. | | | | -0.75 | |
| Homosexuality is a sinful relationship. | | | | 0.75 | |
| Minorities must be granted extra rights so that they can preserve their cultures. | | | | -0.53 | 0.38 |
| Mixing different cultures is wrong, it only makes trouble. | | | | 0.41 | |
| Fewer foreigners should be admitted in the country. | | | | 0.40 | |
| Those who have a job are morally bound to transfer a part of their revenues to the unemployment fund. | | | | | 0.60 |
| The role of the state is to help people get along. | | | | | 0.51 |
| There is no homeland without the rule of law. | | 0.32 | | | 0.47 |
| The interests of the nation deserve that there be at least three children in every family. | | | | | 0.43 |
| The most important function of the state is to make people obey laws. | | | | | 0.39 |

The principal components highlight correlations among the items, and the structure these correlations create. The negative statements about engagement in politics, politicians and the rule of law were linked with the *principal component* 'politics'. The four statements about conception, abortion, cohabitation before or without marriage were gathered under the *principal component* 'sexuality'. Two of these statements were positive and two were negative (this is why the statements expressing liberal views were connected to the principal component with a negative sign). Opinions about Hungarian history, Hungarian identity, national pride and exceptionality are covered by the *principal component* 'nation', with another item, a negative statement about the unemployed being linked with this

group of opinions. The *principal component 'tolerance'* covers the item expressing a liberal view on homosexuality with a negative sign, and that objecting to homosexuality with a positive sign. It also covers statements about the relationship between different cultures, of which that expressing agreement with positive discrimination is linked with a negative sign to the principal component, and those hostile to positive discrimination and in favor of separation with a positive sign. The *principal component 'social responsibility'* refers to opinions regarding the individual's social, civic and national responsibilities. The statement about support to the unemployed aims to reveal the individual's attitude toward social solidarity, and the other four statements linked with this principal component approach the individual's rights, possibilities and responsibilities from the perspective of the state, the homeland and the nation. Every statement is linked with a positive sign to the principal component 'social responsibility', regardless of their contents.

We prepared five indexes by calculating the measure of acceptance for every principal component.⁸ The indexes obtained express the following dimensions:

- trust in politics;
- lack of social responsibility⁹;
- level of national pride;
- liberal view on the relationship between the two sexes;
- tolerance toward the minorities.

These indexes enable us to measure directly how characteristic the various value orientations are of the different groups of secondary school students.

⁸ When calculating the indexes, only the variables connected with a factor weight of 0.33 and over with their respective principal component were considered. As a first step, the direction of the acceptance of the different variables was 'unidirectionalized', then the answers were represented on a 100-point scale, 100 points meaning 'fully agree', 67 points 'rather agree', 33 points 'rather disagree' and 0 point 'fully disagree'.

⁹ In this dimension, the higher the value of the index, the *less* responsibility (i.e. acceptance of rights and obligations resulted by the individual's social, civic and national bonds) is assumed by the group in question for the others.

Table 3. Indexes of value orientation by type of school on a 100-point scale

| Type of school | Indexes of value orientation | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| | Trust in politics | Lack of social responsibility | National pride | Relationship between the sexes | Tolerance |
| Grammar school | 61 | 40 | 35 | 87 | 81 |
| Vocational school | 41 | 43 | 43 | 92 | 45 |
| Industrial school | 35 | 47 | 48 | 89 | 38 |
| Sex | | | | | |
| Female | 41 | 48 | 37 | 91 | 56 |
| Male | 47 | 39 | 47 | 87 | 37 |
| Church attendance | | | | | |
| Weekly | 58 | 40 | 37 | 80 | 52 |
| Monthly | 45 | 34 | 53 | 85 | 48 |
| On holidays | 43 | 43 | 44 | 99 | 47 |
| Never | 41 | 47 | 41 | 93 | 45 |
| Domicile | | | | | |
| Budapest | 47 | 46 | 40 | 91 | 49 |
| County seat | 51 | 49 | 38 | 94 | 56 |
| Other town | 42 | 42 | 42 | 89 | 47 |
| Village | 43 | 43 | 44 | 87 | 43 |
| Electoral participation | | | | | |
| Voting | 49 | 40 | 45 | 89 | 48 |
| Not voting | 31 | 50 | 37 | 90 | 45 |

These indexes confirm that there are quite significant differences in the value orientations of students attending different types of school. The biggest gap is that between the value orientations of grammar school students and industrial school students. As we move away from industrial school students and closer to grammar school students, we find a greater trust in politics and more tolerance toward the minorities. The greatest responsibility for others is displayed by grammar school students. By contrast, national pride was found to be the least typical of this group. Industrial school students are in general prouder of their Hungarianness. This pride, however, seems to be a kind of nationalism since coupled with a great deal of intolerance and a low level of solidarity.

Sexual morality is the only issue which makes no significant difference among the three types of school. Rather, opinions on this issue are influenced by students' sexes and church attendance. Whether one is male or female exerts a great influence on value orientations in all dimensions. Girls trust in politics to a lesser extent than boys, they assume less responsibility for others and are not as proud of their national identity as boys are. By contrast, they are more liberal-minded in more down-to-earth dimensions. Girls are more tolerant of minorities and are more liberal-minded when it comes to the relationship between the two sexes.

Finally, apart from 'hard' factors, the way students anticipate their own political activity, as expressed by their will to participate in parliamentary elections, also exerts an influence upon their value orientations. Those who plan to participate trust in politics more, assume more responsibility for the others and feel more national pride than those who do not.

HUNGARY'S PLACE WITHIN EUROPE

Hungary's place within Europe has been a widely debated question among intellectuals in recent centuries. Different political systems have given different answers. With the recent change in geographical power relations in Europe and the fall of state socialism in Hungary, formerly accepted political, economic and social norms have been radically transformed. The question of where Hungary belongs needs to be given new answers.

It must be noted that despite the evident change in the political orientation of the country with the transformation, students have not automatically come to rank Hungary with Western Europe. As regards the political system, most of them consider Hungary part of Central Europe. The majority ranked Hungary in the same way when asked to locate Hungary culturally, although their answers were somewhat less definite. As regards mentality, however, they are much less inclined to consider Central Europe a distinct area. The 'softer' the criteria for locating Hungary within Europe, the less Central European they think Hungary is, and the more inclined they are to rank the country with Eastern Europe.

Table 4. The regional location of Hungary within Europe, percentage

| Politically | Grammar school students | Vocational school students | Industrial school students | Total |
|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------|
| Central Europe | 72 | 71 | 52 | 64 |
| Eastern Europe | 10 | 12 | 18 | 14 |
| Western Europe | 6 | 10 | 24 | 14 |
| Other | 12 | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| Culturally | | | | |
| Central Europe | 58 | 61 | 45 | 54 |
| Eastern Europe | 12 | 17 | 19 | 16 |
| Western Europe | 12 | 11 | 19 | 14 |
| Other | 19 | 11 | 17 | 16 |
| Mentally | | | | |
| Central Europe | 48 | 46 | 35 | 42 |
| Eastern Europe | 17 | 18 | 19 | 18 |
| Western Europe | 27 | 28 | 38 | 32 |
| Other | 10 | 7 | 7 | 8 |

The Euro-regional location of Hungary by students attending different types of school displays significant differences. Those who graduate in a school providing a maturity certificate, i.e. either a grammar school or a vocational school, do perceive the Central Europeanness of Hungary. They are equally likely to consider Hungary part of Central Europe. Over two-thirds of grammar school and vocational school students think the political system of the country is Central European. As regards culture and mentality, however, we find an opposite tendency. While about every other student who attends a secondary school granting a maturity certificate, associates these domains with the idea of Central

Europeanness, industrial school students tend to stress the Western European features of Hungarian culture and mentality.

The borders of Western Europe are differently located when it comes to politics and when it comes to everyday matters. Acknowledging that politically Hungary belongs to Central Europe and is situated outside Western Europe is a function of knowledge and education. As far as opinions on Hungarian mentality are concerned, however, differences in knowledge are less manifest. These opinions seem to be formed by experience as well as attitude toward everyday matters. Contrary to the two other cases, the answers regarding mentality were independent of the educational level of the students' parents. The students who live in Budapest are more inclined to say that mentally Hungary belongs to Western Europe than their counterparts in the countryside.

Twenty-one per cent of students consider Hungary part of Central Europe in all three respects, and 29 per cent in two respects. By contrast, 61 per cent do not consider Hungary part of Western Europe in any way and even more students reject the suggestion that the country belongs to Eastern Europe. Seven to eight per cent, mostly industrial school students, rank Hungary consequently with either Eastern or Western Europe in all three dimensions. They are unable to relate the third option, i.e. Central Europe, to the alternative 'East or West'. The acknowledgment of the Central European nature of Hungary, it seems, demands a more differentiated world concept than the one most of them have.

These data suggest that Western Europe has a different symbolical value in political, cultural and mental terms. According to students, similarities prevail in mentality. In this respect, 25 to 40 per cent rank Hungary with the Western world. This is likely explained by both historical and contemporary reasons. In the Kádár-era, Hungary was the West of the eastern bloc: it was the 'happiest barrack' which allowed the middle classes to pursue western life patterns. Moreover, the young perceive a similarity between their own subculture and that prevailing in western countries.

Finally, Eastern Europe is not very attractive in any of the three domains, irrespective of the type of school the students attend. They are the most likely to associate Hungary with this region only when it comes to mentality but even in this respect only 18 per cent rank the country with Eastern Europe.

EUROPEAN REGIONS, CIVIC VALUES

Now let us have a look at how the Euro-regional perception of Hungary relates to students' value orientations regarding politics, social responsibility, national pride, sexual morality and tolerance.

Table 5a. Indexes of value orientation on a 100-point scale by the political location of Hungary

| | Indexes of value orientation | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Hungary politically belongs to | Trust in politics | Lack of social responsibility | National pride | Relationship between the sexes | Tolerance |
| Grammar school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 63 | 29 | 48 | 89 | 52 |
| Eastern Europe | 49 | 43 | 29 | 88 | 62 |
| Central Europe | 63 | 41 | 35 | 87 | 62 |
| Vocational school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 39 | 37 | 48 | 90 | 39 |
| Eastern Europe | 33 | 51 | 37 | 94 | 44 |
| Central Europe | 44 | 41 | 44 | 91 | 46 |
| Industrial school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 33 | 39 | 51 | 87 | 34 |
| Eastern Europe | 34 | 50 | 42 | 87 | 33 |
| Central Europe | 38 | 47 | 48 | 89 | 40 |

Table 5b. Indexes of value orientation on a 100-point scale by the cultural location of Hungary

| | Indexes of value orientation | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Hungary culturally belongs to | Trust in politics | Lack of social responsibility | National pride | Relationship between the sexes | Tolerance |
| Grammar school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 64 | 37 | 40 | 82 | 60 |
| Eastern Europe | 54 | 54 | 28 | 85 | 54 |
| Central Europe | 63 | 37 | 35 | 87 | 64 |
| Vocational school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 33 | 36 | 54 | 90 | 39 |
| Eastern Europe | 42 | 42 | 39 | 91 | 47 |
| Central Europe | 42 | 41 | 43 | 91 | 46 |
| Industrial school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 26 | 45 | 54 | 92 | 34 |
| Eastern Europe | 36 | 48 | 41 | 83 | 36 |
| Central Europe | 42 | 44 | 46 | 88 | 40 |

Table 5c. Indexes of value orientation on a 100-point scale by the mental location of Hungary

| | Indexes of value orientation | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Hungary mentally belongs to | Trust in politics | Lack of social responsibility | National pride | Relationship between the sexes | Tolerance |
| Grammar school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 57 | 40 | 40 | 90 | 61 |
| Eastern Europe | 62 | 46 | 28 | 89 | 64 |
| Central Europe | 65 | 38 | 36 | 84 | 58 |
| Vocational school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 41 | 43 | 47 | 92 | 45 |
| Eastern Europe | 39 | 45 | 45 | 90 | 45 |
| Central Europe | 43 | 39 | 41 | 92 | 48 |
| Industrial school students | | | | | |
| Western Europe | 32 | 42 | 50 | 90 | 39 |
| Eastern Europe | 36 | 51 | 47 | 84 | 32 |
| Central Europe | 40 | 44 | 47 | 88 | 35 |

These data reveal a correlation between political and social value orientations and the Euro-regional perception of Hungary. The only exception to this rule are students' views on the relationship between the two sexes. There is no significant correlation between opinions about the relationship between the two sexes and the regional location of Hungary because students have liberal views on sexual morality in all three types of school. Liberal views, it seems, have been adopted in the private sphere without difficulty. At the same time, the level of trust in politics, social responsibility and tolerance toward other groups correlate significantly with where students locate Hungary within Europe. In all three types of school, the least suspect of politics and the most tolerant are those ranking Hungary with Central Europe. Both the Euro-regional perception of the country and the type of school attended have an effect on value orientation. Those who consider Hungary part of Eastern Europe are lacking social responsibility. Those ranking the country with Western Europe have a greater deal of national pride in all three dimensions. National pride is the least characteristic of those who consider Hungary an Eastern European country. This trend implies indirectly a sort of rank ordering: considering Hungary part of Western Europe seems to enhance the value of Hungarian national identity, while considering the country Eastern European appears to devalue national identity. Ranking the country with Central Europe is coupled with a critical national consciousness.

No analysis of Hungary's location within Europe would be complete without exploring the specific values associated with the Euro-regional location of the country. How does the way students locate the country relate to the acceptance or rejection of such basic values typically identified with Western Europe as openness, tolerance, and the acceptance of difference? The students' attitudes toward these values were measured by several questions in the survey. In the rest of our paper, we will explore the relationship between the regional perception of Hungary on the one hand and willingness to accord citizenship to immigrants, attitudes toward foreigners and personal feelings about minorities on the other.

Students were asked to tell whether they would accord citizenship or not in large numbers to members of six groups, including refugees from former Yugoslavia, as well as immigrants from China, Africa, Romania, the Arabic countries and Transylvania. By factorizing opinions about each of these groups, we prepared an index which synthesizes attitudes of acceptance and rejection. Those hostile to every group or almost were attributed a high positive value, while those more inclined to admit foreigners in the country were granted a high negative value. The index thus obtained may be termed 'the index of hostility to immigration'.

Comparing the index of hostility with their opinions about the political location of Hungary within Europe, we find that industrial school students are generally intolerant, whether they associate the country with Western or Central

Europe. Grammar school students are more differentiated. The most open-minded are those with a Central European identity. Ranking Hungary with the West does not necessarily imply tolerance toward the immigrants.

Table 6. Factor scores of views hostile to immigrants [i.e. not willing to accord Hungarian citizenship to them]¹⁰ among students by type of school and the political location of Hungary within Europe

| Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | .07 | -.03 | -.25 | -.39 |
| (n) | -36 | -58 | -422 | -69 |
| Vocational school students | .08 | .08 | -.03 | .30 |
| (n) | -77 | -106 | -599 | -62 |
| Industrial school students | .20 | .26 | .06 | .14 |
| (n) | -206 | -152 | -426 | -52 |

The location of Hungary within Europe by students was also analyzed with respect to their opinions about the economic and social integration of foreigners. They were asked to indicate on a three-point scale whether they agreed or not with four positive and negative statements listed in the questionnaire.

Table 7. Agreement with positive and negative statements regarding immigrants, percentage

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| Foreigners enhance crime in Hungary. | 90 | 92 | 90 |
| Foreigners take jobs away from Hungarian citizens. | 86 | 88 | 87 |
| Everyone is free to live in any country they like. | 86 | 83 | 78 |
| We are morally bound to admit refugees in the country. | 78 | 70 | 63 |
| Ethnic diversity is good for society. | 67 | 55 | 46 |
| The presence of foreigners may harm national values. | 65 | 71 | 79 |
| The country needs the work of immigrants. | 48 | 43 | 36 |
| Everyone must live in their native countries. | 35 | 43 | 49 |

Table 7 shows that the attitudes of secondary school students toward immigrants are inconsistent. They agree in vast numbers with the view that people are free to move around the world on the one hand, and subscribe to the opinion that everyone must live in their native countries on the other. The reason for their

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¹⁰ The factor scores here describe the relationship between a given set of answers and the index of conservative-rejecting immigrant policy. Positive values indicate a trend of identification with intolerant views, and negative values express the refusal of such views.

accepting in vast numbers the statement that everyone is bound to live in their native country is likely that they feel that 'everyone' includes them as well. At the same time, they do not think the categories 'foreigners' and 'immigrants' refer to them. In general, they are not very tolerant of immigrants. Grammar school and vocational school students, however are more tolerant than the average.

All answers, taken together, were submitted to factor analysis. This revealed two hidden dimensions, one pointing to negative impacts, the other to positive ones. The first factor expresses a markedly xenophobic attitude, and the second a tolerant attitude toward foreigners.

Table 8a. Factor scores of views hostile to foreigners (negative views) by type of school and the political location of Hungary within Europe

| Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | -.02 | .07 | -.21 | -.24 |
| (n) | -37 | -57 | -435 | -69 |
| Vocational school students | .03 | -.05 | -.05 | -.03 |
| (n) | -81 | -104 | -806 | -62 |
| Industrial school students | .32 | .17 | .16 | -.25 |
| (n) | -200 | -157 | -439 | -52 |

Table 8b. Factor scores of views tolerant of foreigners (positive views) by type of school and the political location of Hungary within Europe

| Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | .00 | -.12 | .25 | .34 |
| (n) | -37 | -57 | -435 | -69 |
| Vocational school students | -.14 | -.09 | .01 | .12 |
| (n) | -81 | -104 | -806 | -62 |
| Industrial school students | -.17 | .29 | -.08 | -.07 |
| (n) | -200 | -157 | -439 | -52 |

Again, the level of xenophobia is in correlation with the type of school attended by students: the lower the prestige of the school, the stronger the xenophobic attitudes, and vice versa. The highest level of acceptance was found among grammar school students, especially those with a marked Central European identity in political matters. A Western European frame of reference *per se*, however, does not lessen xenophobic feelings, while an Eastern European frame of reference decidedly enhances such feelings.

Considering answers by sexes gives a more elaborate view. While among boys only those with a marked Central European identity tend to refuse views hostile to immigrants and those with a Western European identity tend to accept them, the correlation goes the other way around with girls. Among them, negative statements about foreigners are rejected by those who rank Hungary politically with

the West. Those doing so are more eager to reject negative views than those ranking Hungary politically with Central Europe.

Table 9a. Factor scores of views hostile to foreigners (negative views) by type of school and sex as regards the political location of Hungary within Europe

| | Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe |
|--------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Female | Grammar school students | -.31 | -.11 | -.28 |
| | Vocational school students | -.13 | -.02 | -.12 |
| | Industrial school students | .06 | .08 | -.09 |
| Male | Grammar school students | .32 | .48 | -.12 |
| | Vocational school students | .22 | -.09 | .02 |

By contrast, when analyzing positive views on foreigners, we find that the former difference between boys and girls disappears. Such views are approved by those boys and girls only who politically rank Hungary with Central Europe. The adoption of a western frame of reference does not have any impact on the approval of positive views.

Table 9b. Factor scores of views tolerant of foreigners (positive views) by type of school and sex as regards the political location of Hungary within Europe

| | Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe |
|--------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Female | Grammar school students | .04 | -.08 | .29 |
| | Vocational school students | -.15 | -.10 | .07 |
| | Industrial school students | .01 | -.08 | .02 |
| Male | Grammar school students | -.04 | -.20 | .20 |
| | Vocational school students | -.13 | -.08 | -.04 |

An even stronger correlation was found between the level of tolerance and the Euro-regional location of Hungarian mentality. The more inclined students are to rank Hungarian mentality with Western Europe, the more eagerly they identify themselves with such modern liberal values as the rejection of xenophobia or the acceptance of, and even a positive attitude toward, immigration. But, again, this holds for grammar school students only. Among vocational school students, and especially industrial school students, the acceptance of a Western European frame of reference does not reduce xenophobia which is general among them.

Table 10a. Factor scores of views hostile to foreigners (negative views) by type of school and the location of Hungarian mentality within Europe

| Mentally Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | -.13 | -.15 | -.19 | -.33 |
| (n) | -.162 | -.105 | -.276 | -.57 |
| Vocational school students | .08 | -.05 | -.11 | .05 |
| (n) | -.237 | -.155 | -.398 | -.63 |

Table 10b. Factor scores of views tolerant of foreigners (positive views) by type of school and the location of Hungarian mentality within Europe

| Mentally Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | .36 | .10 | .14 | .42 |
| (n) | -182 | -105 | -276 | -57 |
| Vocational school students | .01 | .02 | -.02 | -.17 |
| (n) | -237 | -155 | -398 | -63 |

Finally, we examined whether there was a correlation between students' personal attitudes and the way they located Hungary within Europe. We listed nine groups, including the Arab, the Romany, the Romanian, the Hungarian from Transylvania, the Chinese, the Russian, the Slovak, the German and the Jew, and asked them whether they would accept a member of these groups as a peer in their school-desks. By submitting their answers to principal component analysis, we described the structure of their attitudes. The answers formed an index whose high positive values indicated hostility and high negative values an openness toward minorities. When comparing this index to their Euro-regional orientation, we found, especially among industrial school students, that the more they identified the Hungarian political system with the Eastern European model, the less they accepted minorities. However, the other extreme, i.e. identification with the West, does not necessarily increase openness. Moreover, those industrial school students who associate Hungary with Western Europe reject minorities just as much as those who rank Hungary with Eastern Europe. The most tolerant students are those who attend a grammar school and either have a Central European identity or reject all of the three identifications.

Table 11a. Factor scores of acceptance of minority students as a peer in school-desk by type of school as regards the political location of Hungary within Europe

| Culturally Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | -.15 | -.19 | -.30 | -.11 |
| (n) | -74 | -71 | -331 | -107 |
| Vocational school students | .24 | .03 | -.07 | .20 |
| (n) | -88 | -139 | -503 | -95 |
| Industrial school students | .14 | .21 | .08 | .05 |
| (n) | -159 | -158 | -379 | -135 |

Table 11b. Factors scores of rejection of minority students as a peer in school-desk by type of school as regards the location of Hungarian culture within Europe

| Politically Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | -.04 | -.20 | -.30 | -.30 |
| (n) | -32 | -62 | -425 | -70 |
| Vocational school students | .14 | -.13 | -.10 | -.06 |
| (n) | -76 | -108 | -606 | -63 |
| Industrial school students | .33 | .44 | .13 | .17 |
| (n) | -204 | -156 | -442 | -49 |

Table 11c. Factors scores of rejection of minority students as a peer in school-desk by type of school and the location of Hungarian mentality within Europe

| Mentally Hungary belongs to | Western Europe | Eastern Europe | Central Europe | Other |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| Grammar school students | -.31 | -.11 | -.22 | -.27 |
| (n) | -158 | -104 | -267 | -58 |
| Vocational school students | .06 | -.03 | -.01 | .25 |
| (n) | -233 | -155 | -390 | -64 |
| Industrial school students | .16 | .24 | .07 | .01 |
| (n) | -328 | -157 | -285 | -59 |

Apart from the type of school students attend, tolerance is greatly influenced by their sexes. Girls are more tolerant of their peers than boys. Interestingly, however, those considering Hungary Western European both mentally and culturally display a more tolerant attitude. As we have seen, the same correlation holds for their attitudes toward foreigners. Especially with grammar school students: the more they think Hungarian mentality follows Western European patterns, the more tolerant they are of other groups. Those who associate Hungarian mentality with Western Europe are even more tolerant than those who think Hungarian mentality is Central European.

English translation by Péter Bajomi-Lázár

POVZETEK

VZHODNO OD ZAHODA, ZAHODNO OD VZHODA

Vrednote madžarskih srednješolcev v luči empirične raziskave

Študija obravnava družbene, narodnostne in politične vrednostne usmeritve madžarskih srednješolskih maturantov, hkrati pa tudi korelacijo med temi vrednotami in umeščanjem Madžarske v evroregijski kontekst, kot ga vidijo dijaki.

Prvi del proučuje razlike med dijaki glede zaupanja v politiko, družbene odgovornosti in nacionalnega ponosa, pa tudi glede njihovih pogledov na odnose med spoloma in strpnost do manjšin. Analiza nam razkriva, da so njihove vrednostne usmeritve odvisne predvsem od vrste šole, ki jo obiskujejo, z edino izjemo odnosa med spoloma, ki ga na splošno vrednotijo precej liberalno. V drugih pogledih pa so razlike med dijaki iz različnih šol zelo velike. Na splošno imajo do politike sovražen odnos, vendar pa so stopnje odklonilnosti različne. Skrajnosti sta gimnazijski dijaki in dijaki tehnični šol. Prvi imajo do politike manj sumničav in negativen odnos, manj so nagnjeni k odklanjanju različnih oblik družbene odgovornosti, njihova narodna identiteta je manj etnocentristična, do manjšin pa so manj nestrpni kot dijaki tehničnih šol. Dijaki poklicnih šol so nekje med obema skrajnostima.

Drugi del raziskave govori o tem, kam v Evropi dijaki umeščajo Madžarsko. Večina jih meni, da spada njihova domovina v Srednjo Evropo. Tako jo opredeljujejo predvsem politično, potem kulturno, nazadnje pa še po mentaliteti. V tem zadnjem pogledu so mnogi mnenja, da ima njihova domovina več skupnega z Zahodno Evropo. Le nekaj jih ima Madžarsko za del Vzhodne Evrope. Evroregijsko dožemanje dežele je v tesni povezavi s šolo, ki jo dijak obiskuje. Dijaki gimnazij se najbolj nagibajo k umeščanju Madžarske v Srednjo Evropo, dijaki tehničnih šol pa jo imajo bolj za del Zahodne Evrope.

Raven zaupanja v politiko, družbene odgovornosti in strpnosti do drugih družbenih skupin je odvisna od evroregijskega pogleda na Madžarsko. Tisti, ki deželo uvrščajo v Srednjo Evropo, so najmanj sumničavi do politike in najbolj strpni do drugih. Vrednostne usmeritve so torej odvisne tako od evroregijskega pogleda na Madžarsko kot od vrste šole.