Antigypsyism and Antisemitism in Hungary

Summary of the final report

POLITICAL CAPITAL
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January 2018
Budapest, Hungary

This study does not represent the views and opinions of EVZ. The views and opinions expressed in this article are those of the author.

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Executive summary

Antigypsyism appears as an overtly expressed form of prejudice consisting of negative stereotyping and strong negative emotions, and it is endorsed by a large proportion of society. The level of antigypsyism is higher than the European average, but comparable to other Eastern European countries.

Antisemitism appears as a form of ideological bias based on stereotypes about too much influence and dominance, and Hungarians neither fully accept, nor fully reject these notions. Antisemitism is lower than antigypsyism, most Hungarians do not agree with antisemitic statements. Antisemitism is higher than the European average, but comparable to other Eastern European countries it is relatively low.

The **psychological antecedents** of these two forms of prejudice are highly similar, suggesting that this mechanism is independent from the unique characteristics of the target groups. The main motivations for prejudice against both Jewish and Roma people is not the desire for dominance over these groups, but the need for a secure, stable, and predictable social environment. This ethnocentric perspective is developed because of a wavered sense of security that feeds conservative conventionalism, and the justification of punishing all non-conventional out-groups that appear to violate the norms or values of the national in-group.

The **interventions** dealing with antigypsyism or antisemitism can be categorized in the following groups:
- prejudice reduction is a direct or indirect goal
- contact-based or not
- education/attitude shaping or inclusion/integration oriented
- targeting the majority of the society or the minorities
- implemented by state or non-governmental actors

The explicit goal of most **interventions** related to **antigypsyism** is enhancing Roma inclusion and integration through programs directed at the Roma. Prejudice reduction appears as a secondary goal of these programs as a result of positive intergroup contact.

Interventions related to **antisemitism** are mostly educational programs or campaigns focusing on directly shaping attitudes among receptive audiences, such as classroom discussions or voluntary participants of programs.

The main **challenges** faced by organizations working toward prejudice reduction:
- The conflict between running short term programs and achieving long term and sustainable change
- Obstacles of proper effectivity assessment stemming from the time frame of projects, lack of collaboration with research institutions, and financing structure
- Lack of opportunities for networking and exchanging best practices among NGOs and with state institutions, and external experts
- Socio-political environment

Recommendations are the following:

General

- **Emphasising positive, inclusive national identity**

- **Creating the optimal[1] conditions for living together**

- **Developing and implementing methods able to measure the effectiveness and success of organisations**

State actors

- **Segregation should be abolished in institutions operated by the state (e.g., education)**

- **Civil society should get an opportunity to hold professional discussions with state actors**

Civil society

- **Strengthening the professional dialogue, cooperation and the development of convincing power in the civil sphere**

The media

- **Repulsing hate- and fearmongering content**

Organisations and bodies distributing and monitoring financial support (state and non-state actors)

- **Close cooperation on the distribution of funding**

- **Advancing long-term interventions covering multiple generations.**

- **More frequent application of the „trial and error" mentality**

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[1] Contact hypothesis is perhaps the most established and most widely used effective method of prejudice reduction (originally put forward by Allport, 1954; for a meta-analysis see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). According to the theory, positive intergroup contact can reduce prejudice (especially) if optimal conditions are met, such as common goals, cooperation, equal status, and supportive norms of authorities.

Theoretical framework

In the last two and a half decades several attempts have been made to reveal the personal and social factors underlying negative attitudes toward Roma and Jewish people in Hungary. These two groups have been the targets of the most severe ethnic hostilities in the 20th century in the Central and Eastern European region. Nevertheless, there are some clear differences between these groups that affect prejudice against them related to their different demographic and socio-economic status, the size of the population, the historical and cultural aspects of their history in Hungary, their cultural identity and level of assimilation (see e.g., Kovács, 2002; Kemény, Lengyel, & Janky, 2004).

- The Roma are an ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse group with a long history of severe discrimination, marginalization, and poverty (Feischmidt, Szombati, & Szuhay, 2013; Ladányi, 2001; Pogány, 2006). Both before and following the Porrajmos (the Roma Holocaust in the Second World War which cost 2 to 5 hundred thousand lives, Hancock, 2004), the history of the Roma minority attested to different waves of forced and unsuccessful assimilation and ethnic tensions resulting in widespread discrimination in all areas of social life (see Barany, 2000).
- The Jewish minority in Hungary was mostly annihilated in the Holocaust, and the majority of survivers left the country either immediately after the war or in 1956. The Jewish community became practically nonexistent outside Budapest. After 1989, there was an ethnic revival of Jews, as several cultural and religious Jewish organizations emerged, somewhat counterbalancing the complete assimilation of the Jewish minority (Kovács, 2010).

Previous research suggested that the most important characteristics of contemporary antisemitism are its political and ideological aspect and its relation to nationalism, while personal aversion is less typical (see Fábián, 1999; Kovács, 2014). In contrast, antigypsyism can be characterized by strong ethnic stereotyping, perceived threat, and personal aversion, creating a level of hostility and discrimination beyond group-focused enmity (Kende, Hadarics, & Lášticová, 2017; Ljujic, Vedder, Dekker, & van Geel, 2012). Until the current campaigning against Muslim immigrants, the Roma represented the ultimate Other for Hungarians. The extreme right used antigypsyism as their primary area of mobilization in recent years, therefore we cannot overlook the importance of target politicization and excluding the Roma from the national in-group as a key feature of nationalism in Hungary (see Bartlett, Birdwell, Krekó, Benfield, & Győri, 2012).

Explanations for the differences in these two forms of prejudice

- Differences in perceived threat: while the Roma appear threatening for the middle class for dragging them down both economically and culturally, Jews appear as threatening through too much control over media, politics, and economics (Bernát, Juhász, Krekó, & Molnár, 2013).
- Furthermore, differences may be connected to social norms that inhibit or permit the overt expression of prejudice (see McConahay, 1986).
- Openly hostile public discourse is more permitted and typical about the Roma than about Jews, creating differences in the expression of prejudice (see Csepeli, Murányi, & Prazsák, 2011).

Beyond understanding differences in the level and expression of prejudice, a great deal of research focused on ideological variables that can serve as either personal motivations or value-based justifications for intergroup prejudice. The common notion of these works is that most of the variables

predicting people's prejudiced views are not related to the target groups themselves, but they are rooted in personal social and psychological characteristics.

There are two main attitudinal dimensions related to authorities and social hierarchies that influence prejudice toward out-groups:

- *Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA)* is an attitudinal cluster which can be described as a strong wilingness to submit to authorities perceived as legitimate, resulting in adherence to societal conventions and norms, and maintaining hostile attitudes towards non-conventional out-groups (Altemeyer, 1981). RWA has been established as an important predictor of both antigypsyism and antisemitism in Hungary, and as a prevalent attitude toward the in-group affecting intergroup relations as well (see e.g. Csepeli et al., 2011; Enyedi, Erős, & Fábián, 2002; Todosijevic, 2008; Todosijevic & Enyedi, 2002).
- Apart from conventionalism, a preference for maintaining or increasing the differences between social status of different groups, as described by the theory of *social dominance orientation (SDO)*, also affect intergroup attitudes (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Although high SDO is not prevalent in Hungary, and people tend to reject rather than accept social hierarchies, individual differences are strongly associated with both forms of prejudice (see e.g. Csepeli et al., 2011; Faragó & Kende, 2017; Murányi & Sipos, 2012).

The most fundamental reason of intergroup discrimination is the positive differentiation from other groups as described by the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, national identity gains a special importance in interethnic conflicts. The boundaries of the nation determine the conditions of inclusion or exclusion of ethnic minorities. Exclusion is more likely when the criteria of belonging to the national in-group is defined predominantly based on ancestry. However, the social exclusion of ethnic minorities can also be the result of perceiving ethnic groups as threatening the norms, values, and well-being of the group (Brubaker, 1996; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009).

We can distinguish between identification that serves one's positive self-esteem based on feelings of connectedness and the endorsement of the group's values, and the blind and uncritical commitment to one's in-group (see e.g., de Zavala, 2011; Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan, 2006). This dual conceptualization is particularly relevant to national identity. Identification with the nation can emerge in the form of patriotism or in the form of nationalism (Li & Brewer, 2004; Wagner, Becker, Christ, Pettigrew, & Schmidt, 2012). The sort of national attachment by which one places her nation as an in-group above other nations by framing it as better, while also suggesting its fragile and threatened existence is directly related to out-group derogation. This connection has been established by studies about antigypsyism and antisemitism in the Hungarian context (see e.g. Kovács, 2010; Murányi, 2006).

Contact hypothesis is perhaps the most established and most widely used effective method of prejudice reduction (originally put forward by Allport, 1954; for a meta-analysis see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). According to the theory, positive intergroup contact can reduce prejudice (especially) if optimal conditions are met, such as common goals, cooperation, equal status, and supportive norms of authorities. However, intergroup contact can in fact increase prejudice under different conditions, especially when the out-group is perceived as growing in size, highly different, and when public discourse about them is hostile (Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010). The conditions of negative effect explain findings that there is higher level of antigypsyism in regions with a higher Roma population

(Todosijevic & Enyedi, 2002), and integroup contact is associated with more prejudice (Kende et al., 2017). Very few studies were concerned with the effect of intergroup contact and antisemitism. This lack of interest may be because of the low level of personal aversion toward Jews, suggesting that there is also a low level of anxiety that cannot be further reduced by contact. Furthermore, because of the small size of the Jewish community and their level of assimilation, the invisibility of (non-religious) Jews is likely to create few opportunities that can be framed as intergroup contact.

Based on previous research, we investigated the connection between these psychological and ideological variables – RWA, SDO, political orientation, national identity, and intergroup contact – and antigypsyism and antisemitism, as well as the role of some demographic background variables using meta-analysis of empirical studies conducted between 2005 and 2016.[2]

Antigypsyism and antisemitism in Hungary in the international context

Based on the polls of Eurobarometer and World Values Survey conducted in EU member states[3] we can conclude that …

1. Antigypsyism is considerably stronger than antisemitism in all European nations under review.
2. In terms of answers given to questions measuring social distance, Hungarian results cannot be considered outstanding in the EU either in the case of the Roma or that of the Jewish community. In Hungary, besides the Roma and the Jews, people with a non-majority sexual identity or orientation are the most affected by seclusion.

According to a Pew Research Centre poll conducted in 10 EU member states in Spring 2016, Hungarian society is also considerably more negative towards religious and ethnical minorities than the average of the 10 countries under review.[4] This survey also confirmed that anti-Muslim sentiments have become stronger than anti-Roma and anti-Semitic feelings as a consequence of the government's rhetoric after 2015.

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[2] Originally, we aimed to overview 10 years of research, but ended up including studies from 2005 as well, as a year when more research was conducted.

[3] Special Eurobarometer 437 – Discrimination in the EU in 2015; Special Eurobarometer 393 – Discrimination in the EU in 2012; Special Eurobarometer 296: Discrimination in the European Union in 2008; Special Eurobarometer 263: Discrimination in the European Union in 2006; World Values Survey Round 5 (2009)

[4] Pew Research Center, Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. EU-countries surveyed: France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden, UK. Hungarians share Europe's embrace of democratic principles but are less tolerant of refugees, minorities, 30 September 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/30/hungarians-share-europes-embrace-of-democratic-principles-but-are-less-tolerant-of-refugees-minorities/

Hungarians much more negative on minority groups than other Europeans

Unfavorable view of ___ in our country

■ Hungary ■ EU median

	Hungary	EU median
Muslims	72%	43%
Roma *	64	48
Jews	32	16
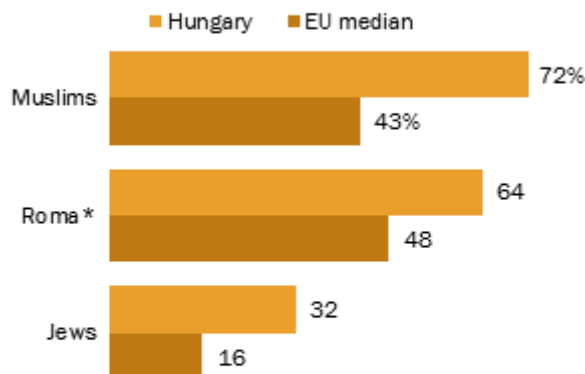
* In UK, asked as "Gypsies or Roma."

Note: EU median based on 10 European countries, including Hungary.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q36a-c.

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Antigypsyism and antisemitism in Hungary in the domestic context

Hungarian society is traditionally exclusive, rejective towards non-majority groups showing signs of "otherness". Although traditionally the extent of aversion is highest in the case of the Roma, the rejection of members of the homosexual community and the Jewish community is also high. Moreover, since the 2015 start of the government's anti-immigration rhetoric aimed at generating enemies, extreme anti-immigration sentiments have become a social norm in a country with barely any immigrants. According to Tárki's poll conducted in April 2015, a part of an ongoing series since the democratic transition, 46% of Hungarians said they would not allow a single asylum-seeker to enter Hungary, and this portion jumped to 60% by January 2017.[5]

Antigypsyism

Public opinion polls conducted since the democratic transition indicate a stable, high level of anti-Roma sentiments in Hungary. Although Tárki's data gathered between 1994 and 2011 suggest attitudes changed slightly, no permanent improving trend can be observed. Based on data from 2011, researchers categorised 30% of the population as "anti-Roma" (who completely or rather agreed with all three negative statements), 13% are called "accepting" (who refused all three statements), and 57% were categorised as "wavering" (who agreed to some negative statements, and disagreed with others).[6]

Antisemitism

Medián Public Opinion and Market Research Institute's public opinion poll conducted at the end of 2016, commissioned by Tett és Védelem Alapítvány (Action and Protection Foundation, TEV), 20% of

[5] Sík Endre Sík, 'Rekordot Döntött Az Idegenellenesség Magyarországon', 2017, http://nepszava.hu/cikk/1119911-rekordot-dontott-az-idegenellenesseg-magyarorszagon.

[6] Anikó Bernát et al., 'A Radikalizmus és a Cigányellenesség Gyökerei a Szélsőjobboldal Szimpatizánsai Körében', 2011, https://www.academia.edu/32724685/A_radikalizmus_%C3%A9s_a_cig%C3%A1nyelleness%C3%A9g_gy%C3%B6kerei_a_sz%C3%A9ls%C5%91jobboldal_szimpatiz%C3%A1nsai_k%C3%B6r%C3%A9ben_co-authors_Juh%C3%A1sz_Attila_Krek%C3%B3_P%C3%A9ter_Moln%C3%A1r_Csaba_.

Hungarian society can be considered strongly anti-Semitic, 13% are moderately anti-Semitic, and 67% are not anti-Semitic. While between 2006 and 2011 the level of antisemitism grew, it seems to be falling since then. At the same time, it is worrying that those with strong prejudices are in the majority among those with anti-Semitic attitudes. Historical data suggests that the level of cognitive antisemitism expressing agreement with concepts, false ideas and conspiracy theories relating to Jews has been increasing since 2006 gradually, albeit only slightly; however, the degree of antisemitism expressing emotional rejection and a wish to remain socially distant increased considerably since 2010. Since 2013, it has been showing a decreasing trend altogether even though the share of moderately anti-Semitic citizens is wavering.

The main differences between antigypsyism and antisemitism

While antigypsyism is descriptive of Hungarian society at large, across political camps and social groups (only smaller parties are exceptions, such as LMP's supporters, while Jobbik's followers are more against the Roma than the average[7]), attitudes concerning Jews are strongly polarised and are strongly connected to party preferences.

It follows from the content, extent of conspiracy theory-based cognitive antisemitism and their connection to party preferences that antisemitism fulfils a primarily symbolic, ideological role explaining the world, and it appears in a coded way.[8] In contrast, personal rejection plays a large role in antigypsyism. While Jews are mainly described with positive traits, and people are worried that they gain too much influence, antigypsyism is based on negative traits attributed to the Roma.

The symbolic nature of antisemitism and the "practical" nature of antigypsyism interpreted as a direct threat largely explains the differences between the materialisation of the two phenomena. Although one-third of society can be considered anti-Semitic, not counting some sad events, the phenomenon does not materialise in aggressive physical atrocities against individuals or property, or in personal discrimination. In contrast, antigypsyism is directly present among some members of society, which closes the channels between the Roma and the non-Roma, and it carries the risk of ethnic confrontation as it was confirmed by numerous cases.[9]

Meta-analysis

Search method and selection criteria

Meta-analysis is a research method enabling the analysis of different research outcomes while taking into account the specific features of the analysed datasets. In our meta-analysis we re-examined the correlation of different variables. The more diverse the researches we are looking at the more reliable the meta-analysis results are.

In order to be selected for the meta-analysis, the following criteria was set up: (a) measuring antisemitism or antigypsyism; (b) data collection among Hungarians; (c) the language of the paper is English or Hungarian; (d) data collected between 2005 and 2017; (e) non-experimental quantitative research – experimental research pre-test data providing information on correlations – that contained at least one of the variables of our interest. Two independent coders decided whether these criteria were met. In case of disagreement, a third coder was included.

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[7] Anikó Bernát et al., 'A Radikalizmus és a Cigányellenesség Gyökerei a Szélsőjobboldal Szimpatizánsai Körében (co-Authors'.

[8] Krekó Péter, Juhász Attila, and Molnár Csaba, 'Antiszemita Bestiárium - Hét állítás a Magyarországi Antiszemitizmus Politikai Természetéről', Szombat Online, 25 November 2013, http://www.szombat.org/politika/antiszemita-bestiarium-2.

[9] The most tragic and most notable is 2008-2009 mass Roma murders.

Although the final selection of the effects are relatively low, furthermore studies conducted in the same research labs are relatively high limiting the diversity of the effects, this is somewhat compensated by the fact that the total number of respondents as well as the average number of respondents per effect included in the meta-analysis is clearly higher, and the samples are more diverse than the typical psychological studies that are included in similar meta-analysis.

Method

We used the Comprehensive Meta-Analysis program for the analysis (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2005), relying on correlation coefficient and sample size as effect size indications. For calculating the summary effect and confidence intervals, we used random effect models (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001; Raudenbush, 2009). This model takes into account the variation between studies, as a result of different designs, participants, measurements, and it does not require the assumption of a true effect size. In order to establish the heterogeneity of the effect size, we used Q statistics. A significant Q value indicated heterogeneity, that is, the variability of the studies was greater than it may be expected from the sampling error only on the subject level (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). We used the visual examination of the funnel plot to identify publication bias (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein 2009). However, we did not expect a publication bias, considering that most unpublished work that we identified were not prepared for publication (research papers or theses) or they were very recent. The classic fail-safe N suggests the confidence of the effect. This numbers shows how many studies should be included for the identified significant relationship to become nonsignificant. The result is robust if the faile safe N is above 5k+10 (*k* = number of studies in the meta-analysis; Rosenthal, 1979).

Although we ran all analyses on the combination of different types of attitude measures, we also distinguished between them based on the different attitude components: (a) comprehensive prejudice measure if it included cognitive, affective, and behavioural intentions; (b) affective; and (c) behavioural. We ran the meta-analysis of the connection between the variables with all measures combined together, but checked whether the results change when tested against only one attitude component. Results related to the specific analyses based on the effects related to components are presented in the appendix. We report these results in the current paper only if they highlight a different pattern than the results related to the combined measures.

Results of the meta-analysis

Although antisemitism and antigypsyism are clearly different from one another in terms of their expression, their measurement, or prevalence in society, they seem to reflect a very similar pattern of underlying demographic and psychological variables. Gender and age are unrelated to prejudice, while higher level of education is associated with somewhat less prejudice. This result suggests the possible influence of social desirability bias, but the lack of important demographic differences.

We found the strongest connection with RWA and SDO and the two forms of prejudice. Considering that average SDO scores tend to be lower than RWA scores, we can presume that susceptibility to right-wing authoritarianism may function as a potential political tool for political mobilization, and therefore it can play an important role in increasing or decreasing prejudice against the Roma or against the Jews. We found a connection between national identity and both forms of prejudice underlining the importance of maintaining the conventional boundaries of the national in-group. The connection with national identity suggests on the one hand, the potential exclusion of these groups from the nation in the presence of higher identification. On the other hand, it may refer to considering

these two groups as symbolically threatening to the in-group's norms, values, security, or even maintenance (for the integrated threat theory see Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Political orientation was somewhat less connected to antigypsyism than to antisemitism in line with earlier research suggesting that antisemitism is closely related to political interest (Kovács, 2014) while antigypsyism is prevalent across the political spectrum (Keresztes-Takács, Lendvai, & Kende, 2016). We can explain the differences with the normative context that allows the blatant expression of prejudice, discriminatory remarks and even dehumanization against the Roma on both sides of the political spectrum much more than about Jewish people.

Against the mainstream literature on prejudice and intergroup contact, but not unexpectedly, we found no connection between contact and prejudice in either cases, with the exception of positive connection with the affective component of antigypsyism, and negative connection between the mere frequency of contact and antigypsyism. The level of segregation of Roma people and their marginalized social position make it difficult to create optimal conditions for contact, therefore the typically superficial meeting lead to negative rather than positive attitudes. In case of antisemitism, the lack of connection may be related to the invisibility and assimilation of the group, and the fact that antisemitism is more closely related to ideological and political issues than personal aversion.

In sum, antigypsyism appears as overtly expressed, hostile stereotyping that lead to no wish for contact and approval of discrimination, and this attitude is prevalent among Hungarians. In contrast, antisemitism appears not on the level of personal aversion, but rather as a form of ideological bias about too much influence and dominance, and Hungarians neither accept, nor reject these notions. Nevertheless, the psychological antecedents of these two forms of prejudice are highly similar, they stem from a fragile identification with the national in-group and the personal adherence to authoritarianism.

Survey results

In a follow-up study, our aim was to place the psychological and ideological motivations of prejudice that we identified as highly relevant into a unified theoretical framework as motivated social cognitions (e.g. Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). According to this approach, both prejudice and ideological preferences stem from personal motivations, that is, certain psychological motivations lead to ideologies and intergroup attitudes that satisfy these motivations.

Most of our ideological and intergroup attitudes can be traced back to one of two main motivational needs, either to the need for security, stability, and predictability, or to the need for a superior social status. Since right-wing authoritarianism is commonly described as an attitudinal resultant of the first motivation, and social dominance orientation of the second, these two individual-level variables are often used as explanatory motivational variables underpinning our ideological and intergroup attitudes (e.g. Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2017).

In our study, we applied the same approach, and tested to what extent these two individual-level traits explain simultaneously antisemitism and antigypsyism in Hungary. Based on the results of the meta-analysis and previous research, we also assumed that personal preferences for the ideological elements of national superiority and political orientation can also be connected to the RWA- and SDO-based motivational dimensions. For this reason, national superiority and political orientation were

assumed to be significant mediators between the two motivated attitudinal clusters (RWA and SDO), and negative views about the Roma and Jewish people.

Data was collected among a pool of online respondents that is representative to Hungarian society in terms of gender, age, settlement, and level of education (N = 1015).

Majority of respondents disagreed with the statements measuring cognitive antisemitism, whereas the average of antigypsyism scales consisting of explicitly negative stereotypes was somewhat higher. The two types of prejudices strongly correlate.

We applied a structural equation modelling (SEM) approach to test the connection between predictors of these two forms of prejudice. We set up a SEM model with RWA and SDO as input variables and tested how they explain antisemitism and antigypsyism. We also incorporated two latent variables as mediators, national superiority and political orientation. The former was built up from the common variance of national glorification and exclusive collective victimhood, while the later was based on the common variance of self-placements on the left-right and the liberal-conservative scales.
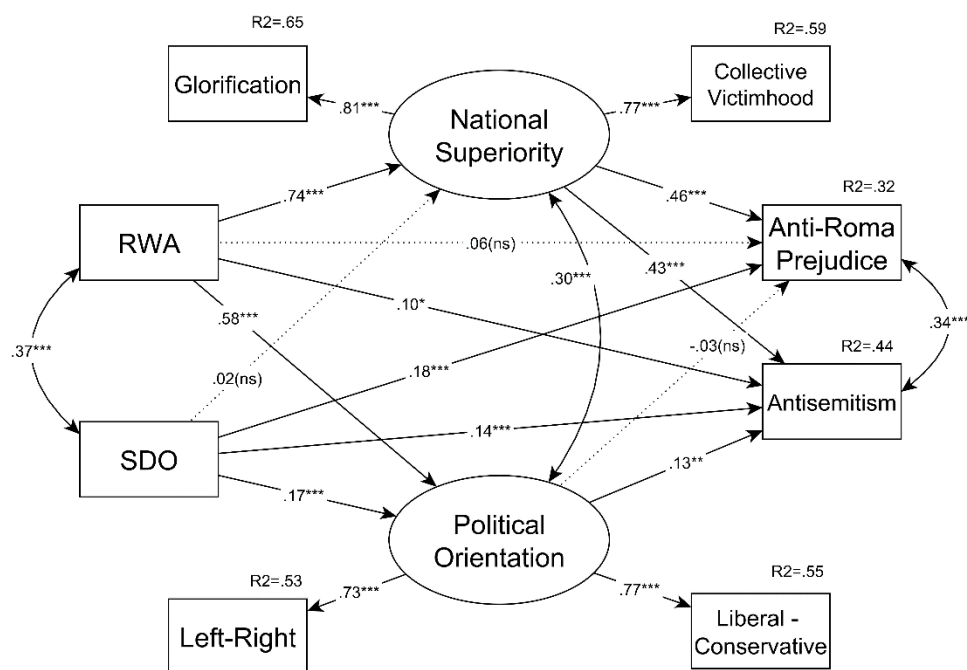

Figure 1. Path model showing relationships between RWA, SDO, national superiority, political orientation, antigypsyism, and antisemitism. Path coefficients are standardized regression coefficients (*** = $p < .001$; ** = $p < .01$; *ns* = not significant).

Conclusions

The main motivations for prejudice against both Jewish and Roma people is not the desire for dominance over these groups and to keep them in an underdog position, but the need for a secure, stable, and predictable social environment. The in-group's norms and conventions are very effective tools to create the sense of this kind of security and predictability in the social environment. If people cannot feel the personal control for creating a stable and secure individual environment for themselves, they are likely to turn towards the in-group and its conventional rules and traditions for guaranteeing control and security. As we can conclude from the strong relationship between RWA and

national superiority, this kind of inward turn can result in perceiving the in-group being in a special and elevated position compared to other groups in general.

Given that the very same mechanism was identified for both antisemitism and antigypsyism, we can also conclude that this mechanism is independent from the unique characteristics of the target groups. People develop an ethnocentric perspective due to their wavered sense of societal security, and as a consequence, every non-conventional out-group seem to violate conventional in-group norms from such an ethnocentric point of view.

Although the differentiation between national superiority and political orientation in our model may seem somewhat arbitrary since many studies considered the former as an integral part of the later, by doing this differentiation we were able to support the assumption that it is the national superiority mindset of the political right that mainly serves as an ideological base for general out-group derogation. The significant correlation between national superiority and political orientation unequivocally (and not surprisingly) indicates that it is the political right that tends to propagate this mindset, but since the relationship between political orientation and intergroup attitudes virtually disappears when controlling for national superiority, it is also obvious that it is the specific ideological element from the political right that serves as an underpinning for negative intergroup attitudes towards non-conventional out-groups.

In summary, the results of the meta-analysis as well as the survey suggest that the psychological aspects of these two forms of prejudice are closely related, while their expression and level are entirely different. This suggest that these two groups are excluded from the national in-group for similar reasons mostly related conservative conventionalism, striving for security and ethnocentric rejection.

Assessing interventions

The method of assessing interventions

First, we gathered all post-2006 openly accessible, implemented interventions aimed at reducing anti-Roma and anti-Semitic prejudices, which declared explicitly that reducing prejudices as one of their goals. In total, we have identified 139 such interventions. We selected prototypical interventions and organisations from this group. We conducted deep interviews with the prototypical organisations to gain a more accurate picture on the methods used by these organisations, the planning and implementation of their interventions. Subsequently, we organised three focus group interviews with experts and the representatives of organisations with a total of 35 participants, which were added to our intervention database. The examined and approached organisations remained anonymous. We based our analysis on the interventions' own descriptions. We might have left out numerous interventions from our analysis that are relevant but their descriptions did not include the reduction prejudices as a goal.

The main traits of interventions

Most interventions were connected to the topic of antigypsyism, and they were general prejudice reduction projects. We categorised the interventions under review based on what method they used to reduce prejudices. Subsequently, we defined the following groups:

Prejudice reduction as a direct or indirect goal

The majority of programmes under review defined reducing prejudices as a direct goal. Most of the interventions aimed at directly reducing prejudices focus on disadvantaged (Roma) groups, the goal is their integration and providing them with training, which are expected to also reduce prejudices against the groups. The direct prejudice reduction programmes focusing on antisemitism try to reduce prejudices against Jews through education on the Holocaust and – in general – knowledge about prejudices, racism.

Contact-based programme or not

While numerous interventions use contacts consciously as a method of prejudice reduction, in many cases contact is only present as a given factor. In the majority of contact-based interventions aimed at antigypsyism contact is not a goal but an opportunity (e.g., when in a project aimed at integrating the Roma there was also an attempt to sensitise the majority population). Interventions against antisemitism however were not generally based on contact, although in some projects contact was present solely to sensitise the majority population.

Local or international

Most of the interventions under review were local initiatives, developed and implemented locally. Interventions dealing with antigypsyism were in the slight majority over ones concerning antisemitism among internationally-connected projects.

State or civil society organisation

The vast majority of programmes under review (120) were developed and implemented by civil society, while there were only 14 state organisation-led interventions.

Categorisation by methods and goals

The interventions can be categorised into two basic groups based on the methods they used and their goals. One group includes organisations that try to influence the views of majority society and manage prejudices with the aid of educational materials, sensitisation trainings and communication campaigns. This group generally contains interventions concerning antisemitism, while antigypsyism interventions belong here to a lesser extent. The target group of these interventions is the majority society, mainly the so-called "grey zone", people who have neither definitely positive nor definitely negative experiences with minorities, meaning that their attitudes can still be formed. Interventions mainly targeting minority groups, the Roma or Jews, instead of the majority belong to the other group. Their aim is reducing prejudices through creating the optimal conditions for individual meetings. These initiatives strive to create situations, forums, channels for integration that aid the Roma and/or Jewish communities in becoming equal parts of society. At the same time, interventions with the goal of strengthening the identity of and bonds between minorities also belong here. Jewish organisations belonging to this category mainly focus on positive Jewish identity and try to create communities through it. These interventions create community spaces, they operate them, and organise festivals, musical and public life-related events.

Education, communication	Social inclusion, integration
Direct prejudice reduction	Indirect prejudice reduction
Mainly related to antisemitism	Mainly related to antigypsyism
Target group: "grey zone"	Target group: minority groups

Goal: change of attitudes	Goal: creating optimal environment for contacts between the minority and the majority, creating channels for inclusion and integration.

Perceived challenges for organisations implementing interventions

Organisations' institutional challenges

Short-term projects vs long-term social change

The majority of interventions under review were implemented by civil society organisations over a duration of one or two years, but their goal is changing social processes and attitudes prevalent over multiple generations. In order to achieve long-term social change, it is important that they be allowed to plan not only in the frames of one- or two-year-long projects, but to be able to think in long-term support and organisational structures allowing for drawing up a long-term vision.

The lack of sustainability and continuity as a result of project-based operation

Project-based operation does not only make it harder to achieve long-term social change, but it also hinders the ability of interventions to fully achieve their goals even if it proves to be successful. The disadvantage of a project-based approach is that short interventions can cloud belief in success and hope even if they are successful in case they do not continue, become sustainable.

Lack of impact assessment

Only in the case of the minority of interventions under review is there a thorough impact assessment of the results. Instead of impact assessments the organisations analyse their programmes based on quality assurance-related factors. They have information on whether the implementation of the programme went according to plan, if reactions to it were positive. The lack of methodically sound, detailed impact assessment is mainly explained by project-based operation, the short duration of the projects, support structure and the organisations' financial situation.

Challenges originated in the social and political environment

The closed nature of state institutions and lack of dialogue

In terms of cooperation with the state, the main challenge for organisations is entering the state's institutional system. Interventions would have the most impact if they could become part of the state's provision system and they were implemented in a wider area with state support. However, we found no example for this, which organisations explained with the complete lack of dialogue between state and civil society actors.

Political and social environment

The organisations believe the political and social environment they operate in – and in which they implement their interventions - to be a considerable challenge. The high level of prejudices, the lack of a positive trend, and prejudices generated by a layer of political actors and mainly by the government because of temporary political interests, the conscious polarisation of society makes success much harder to achieve through interventions aimed at reducing prejudices and strengthening social cohesion.

Lack of political will

Although government efforts to step up against antisemitism and antigypsyism have always existed, organisations believe that no government has intervened effectively so far.

Recommendations

General recommendations

- **Emphasising positive, inclusive national identity**

  o The rejection of outgroups, such as the Roma and Jews, is mainly explained by Hungarians' conservative conventionalism and their desire to live in safety, which results in ethnocentric rejection.

  o It would be important to make the Roma and Jewish communities a part of national identity and the nation's image.

  o To achieve this, the inclusive, binding factors and powers of national identity should be emphasised, pushing its exclusionary nature into the background.

  o The state, education, civil society and the media have crucial roles in this.

- **Creating the optimal[10] conditions for living together**

  o The requirements of effectively decreasing the level of prejudice in society are mostly fulfilled by interventions with the goal of creating the prerequisites of optimal contact with outgroups.

  o The creation of externally built and natural integrational channels, as well as meeting points is necessary to achieve this goal, and these efforts could later help groups excluded from the nation's image become the accepted and equal part of the nation and the majority society.

- **Developing and implementing methods able to measure the effectiveness and success of organisations**

  o With the help of exhaustive impact assessment interventions would gain strong legitimacy in the eyes of policy institutions, donors and society in light of the assessments' results.

  o It is important that interventions be based on scientific facts.

  o Civil society, the state and research institutes should be made to cooperate closer.

  o It would be important that donor organisations take on a larger role in this field.

  o Donor organisations should include the impact assessment among the requirements of projects as an integral part of the intervention, they should also provide the financial, temporal and professionals means to carry it out.

  o 'Impact assessment culture' must be built up, and donors should contribute to this by getting together the appropriate actors in some sort of a coordinator role.

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[10] Contact hypothesis is perhaps the most established and most widely used effective method of prejudice reduction (originally put forward by Allport, 1954; for a meta-analysis see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). According to the theory, positive intergroup contact can reduce prejudice (especially) if optimal conditions are met, such as common goals, cooperation, equal status, and supportive norms of authorities.

- Allocating extraordinary support to scientifically proven, effective anti-prejudice methods is important.

- The creation of 'impact assessment culture' should not generate fears among organisations that their work is being threatened.

- In case the intervention proves to be less effective, the donors should help re-think the intervention in cooperation with the supported organisation, taking into account the reasons for failure.

State actors

- **Segregation must be abolished in institutions operated by the state (e.g., education)**

  - Frequent but shallow contact between the Roma and the majority society has a negative effect on anti-Roma sentiments.

  - Most organisations working with antigypsyism works on creating the optimal requirements for contact between the Roma and the majority society.

  - This is also why it is important for institutions under state control, for example the largest platform for socialisation, education, to become a platform for creating optimal – regular, in person and institution-backed - contact points instead of blocking this by segregating the Roma.

  - Countries with successful integration models (e.g. US) suggest that segregated education does not solve the issue of integration. Integrated education on its own, however, might also lead to spontaneous segregation and therefore requires special pedagogical methods to make sure that students with different ethnic background are able to establish closer ties. For this purpose, special curriculum and the involvement of psychologists is recommended in classes with high number of Roma students.

- **Civil society should get an opportunity to hold professional discussions with state actors.**

  - Realising their good practices in a wider layer of society comes up as a challenge.

  - We met only one practice that was originally developed by a civil society organisation and was then transferred to the state level, and it was found to be effective by the impact assessment.

  - It is important to provide civil society organisations that prove to do effective and successful anti-prejudice work with more and more available opportunities to hold professional dialogue with state actors and transfer good practice to the state level.

Civil society

- **Professional dialogue, cooperation and the development of convincing power in the civil sphere**

  - Professional cooperation and dialogue between the organisations would allow for gaining wider knowledge on each other's good practices and mistakes.

  - Therefore, tighter professional relationships could be formed and they would strengthen the transparency of their work.

- o The cooperation of civil society organisations and research institutes with a professional background would be important, as they could develop a complex set of requirements for effective interventions that are also sensitive to local peculiarities.

- o Goal: increasing the convincing power and visibility of good practices.

The media

- **Repulsing hate- and fearmongering content**

  - o Media employees must devote special attention to avoiding hate- and fearmongering against foreigners and minorities.

Organisations and bodies distributing and monitoring financial support (state and non-state actors)

- **Close cooperation on the distribution of funding**

  - o The close cooperation of donors and supported organisations in all stages of planning and implementation.

  - o Donors should assess the potential supported interventions in the frames of a more consultative process. With this, they would provide an opportunity to supported organisations to explain their project proposals in more detail, and to mull on their ideas together with the donors.

- **Advancing long-term interventions covering multiple generations.**

  - o In order for the organisations to achieve a sustainable, real change in attitudes, the one- or two-year-long project cycles need to be rethought.

  - o Risks carried by project cycles longer than one or two years can be overcome by regular impact assessments, the monitoring of project cycles and potential interim reviews.

  - o Excessive support centralisation could be mitigated by forming consortia of civil society organisations included in longer project cycles in the form of networks.

- **„Trial and error" mentality**

  - o New methods and innovative approaches are needed when it comes to reducing prejudices. This, however, requires bigger risk tolerance on the side of the donor organisation as new methods are not always working perfectly from the very fist moment. Instead of sticking to the old methods, with the strict requirement of impact assessment the application of innovative methods might be more effective and long-term results are more likely to be achieved.

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