

National and Supranational Identities And Ingroup-Outgroup Attitudes Of Hungarian Adolescents

Abstract

Although there is an extensive developmental literature on children's national identities and attitudes from various countries over the past few decades, relatively less research in this area has come from beyond Western Europe. The present study examined Hungarian adolescents' national/Hungarian and supranational/European identities and attitudes towards the ingroup and outgroups. One hundred and sixty-six adolescents aged 13-18 ($M=15.13$) years completed measures (Barrett, 2007) on relative importance of self-descriptors, strength of identification, and affect for, and trait attributions to, Hungarians and three salient outgroups (Romanians, Russians and Americans). Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured by the family affluence scale (FAS; Currie et al., 2008). Results showed that being Hungarian was the most important self-descriptor compared with gender, age and being European, but clear age, gender and SES variations were identified. Early teens (13-15 years) reported stronger European identification than late teens (16-18 years). Lower- to middle-SES, but not higher-SES, adolescents showed stronger Hungarian versus European identification. The lower-SES group liked all outgroups less than Hungarians, but middle- and higher-SES ones liked Hungarians and Americans more than Russians and Romanians. Still, Romanians were stereotyped less positively than all other outgroups regardless of socio-demographics. These findings are discussed drawing on social-psychological and developmental literature in the light of Hungary's sociohistorical backdrop. Despite Hungary's relative ethnic homogeneity, the national identities and attitudes of young Hungarians can vary due to differing experiences related to socio-demographic backgrounds.

Introduction

Since Martyn Barrett's early seminal research in the 1990s (Barrett, 1996; Barrett & Short, 1992; Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998), the substantial literature on children's national identities or attitudes that has accumulated is highly illuminating. For instance, a special issue (Oppenheimer and Barrett, 2011) reporting studies from England to Cyprus identified myriad variations in children's identifications with their own country and attitudes towards people from their own and other countries. Still, less systematic research can be located from places beyond Western Europe, with few exceptions (e.g., Barrett, Riazanova, & Volovikova, 2001; Bennett et al., 2004; Oppenheimer & Midzic, 2011). This work is worthwhile if one considers the complex history and recent socio-political developments in Europe, where sociohistorical conditions do impact children's identities and attitudes (Barrett & Oppenheimer, 2011). The present study examined national identities and attitudes among Hungarian adolescents, where Hungary presents a fascinating context due to its complex relations, from past to present, with nearby countries in Eastern Europe, the European Union, and the West on the whole.

Before delving into the Hungarian context, a review of the literature from other contexts is appropriate to highlight general trends and pertinent factors that may help to formulate certain predictions for this study. Previous research, from Western Europe, Russia and former Soviet states (Barrett, 2005, 2007; Barrett et al., 2001), has revealed that, by the age of 6 years, most children regard their nationality as a relevant 'self-descriptor'. It is not a very important one, however, until around 12 years, when it becomes, at times, more important than even age or gender. From 12 to 15 years, the supranational identity (e.g., 'European') becomes a relevant self-descriptor, if greater importance is generally attributed to national identity, gender or age. By the age of 6 years, children also typically exhibit a systematic preference or greater liking for, or attribute more positivity to, people of their own nationality (the ingroup) over those of other nationalities (outgroups). This bias persists until at least 15 years of age among children in most studied countries, and negative attitudes towards people from so-called 'traditional enemy' countries (e.g., Germans to Britain) have also been found (Barrett, 2005, 2007).

Until relatively recently, research into children's national identities tended to omit studying the 'strength' of national identification. From both empirical and theoretical perspectives, this should be part of the inquiry. Social-psychological studies with adults show that the strength of identification with an ingroup is an important influence on attitudes towards that group and salient outgroups (e.g., Perreault & Bourhis, 1998; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). However, studies with children aged 6 to 15 years have reported that attitudes towards only the ingroup,

not outgroups, varied in relation to the strength of national identification (Bennett et al., 2004) or that the strength of identification and attitudes are unrelated (Clay & Barrett, 2011).

Theoretically, both social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorisation theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) posit that ingroup favouritism, outgroup prejudice and stereotyping are psychological consequences of self-identification with an ingroup. These effects are greater if the social group membership is subjectively important (SIT), or if the social context renders it salient (SCT), to the individual. However, SIT also postulates that attitudes towards different outgroups vary depending upon the salience or relevance of those outgroups for the definition of the ingroup which depend on various factors, including the perceived status of an outgroup and perceived legitimacy and stability of the status differential between the outgroup and ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For national attitudes, these may reflect the sociohistorical relations between countries.

Research has also found demographic variations in children's national identification and attitudes. For example, in some research, boys show higher levels of national pride than girls (e.g., Amadeo, Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Husfeldt, & Nikolova, 2002) and, at times, boys hold less positive attitudes towards outgroups than girls (Byram, Esarte-Sarries, & Taylor, 1991). One account for this is that boys have higher levels of interest (Beal, 1994) and participation (Lam & Corson, 2013) in sports, where sporting events offer a potent arena in which national identities and attitudes are forged. Another explanation is that boys engage more with media of the 'war' genre (e.g., Clifford, Gunter, & McAleer, 1995; Valkenburg, 2004), a potent site for constructing or reinforcing national attitudes. Ethnic, ethnolinguistic and religious-group variations within countries, apart from between-country and regional variations, in children's national identification and attitudes have also been widely reported (Barrett, 2005, 2007).

Less studied are 'social-class' differences in children's national identification and attitudes. Some have reported 'working-class' children to exhibit less positive affect for other countries (Bourchier, Barrett, & Lyons, 2002) or less liking for outgroups (Lambert & Klinebert, 1967) than 'middle-class' children. This has been in part attributed to poorer knowledge about other countries due to fewer travel opportunities afforded to poorer children (despite tenuous links from travel to affect; Bourchier et al., 2002). Another potential reason—lower levels of civic knowledge (Niemi & Junn, 1998)—has been based on, amongst other things, fewer contacts with outgroups or less engagement with civic (e.g., museums) or private (e.g., books, atlases, media) resources to understand foreign places and peoples. These factors that can explain the patterns of children's national identities and attitudes in other contexts may equally apply in the Hungarian context, which will be explored next.

Like many other countries in Europe, Hungary has seen many upheavals in recent history. They included the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and major territory loss in World War I, being part of the Soviet Bloc post-WWII and its 2004 ascension to the European Union (Cartledge, 2011). After such remarkable events Hungary has remained one of the most ethnic homogeneous countries in Europe (over 95% Hungarians), and some see this as accounting, in part, for Hungarian adults' sentiments towards minorities or 'outgroups' within Hungary (e.g., immigrants, Jews, Roma; Vukovich et al., 2012). Large-scale surveys have reported prevalent prejudice at some of Europe's highest levels, and particularly among older, lower-income and less-educated groups (Zick, Küpper, & Hövermann, 2011). Past research (Csepeli, Örkény, Székelyi, & Poór, 2004) has found the levels of Hungarian adults' national identity and pride to be higher than those in Western Europe, and related those to widespread ethnocentrism and xenophobia within Hungary. Sociological research has similarly identified nationalism to be a "significant psychological and political force in Hungarian society" (Örkény, 2006; p.1).

In the present research, national identities and attitudes of Hungarian adolescents were measured. To the best of our knowledge, no other research has been published about *national* identities or attitudes of Hungary's adolescents, but a recent study of its adolescents' attitudes towards the Roma has reported levels of prejudice as high as those of adults (Váradi, 2014). As adolescence is a formative period before adulthood when individuals come to terms with 'who' they are in relation to their social groups and contexts (Kroger, 2004; Marcia, 1980), it is reasonable that adolescents' social identities and attitudes start to resemble those of adults.

In terms of identities, we investigated the relative importance of national (Hungarian) and supranational (European) identities (as well as age and gender) and strength of identification. Relative importance, a construct and measure introduced by Barrett (see Barrett, 2005, 2007), compares *across* social identities in terms of their importance in defining one's self-concept while 'strength' of identification is a multi-dimensional (defined by degree of identification, pride, feelings, etc.) construct reflecting how 'strongly' one identifies with *each* membership. The supranational identity makes an interesting idea for the current cohort. Being 'European' is a fairly recent concept to Hungarian adults (Göncz, 2010), but younger adolescents below age 16 years have lived in Hungary as an EU state since infancy while older ones may have memories of an independent Hungary during a developmental period (6-8 years) when social groups feature saliently social cognition (Aboud, 1988). The former might more readily adopt a European identity, rating it as more important than other identities and showing a stronger identification than the latter. Still, in line with the existing findings, adolescents' Hungarian identification was expected overall to be stronger than their European identification.

In terms of attitudes, we measured adolescents' affect for, and trait attributions to, ingroup Hungarians and three outgroups (Romanians, Russians and Americans). These groups were chosen based on piloting that found them to be highly salient due to sociohistorical reasons. Romania was a 'traditional enemy' (cf. Germany to Britain) due to a long, complex history of conflict and territorial disputes and continuing diplomatic difficulties (Romsics, 1995, 1999). Russia has shared a mixed history of melancholic relations with Hungary dating back to their close ties during the Soviet era followed by a 1956 revolution that saw a gradual release from Moscow's rule, to their more recent retightening of ties deemed controversial by the EU peers (Amerikai Nepszava, 2012). The US was seen as a recent, if distant, de facto 'ally' due to its genial relations with the EU even though it had been a past rival by default during WWII due to its representing 'the West' when Hungary allied Germany (Romsics, 1995). Adolescents' attitudes towards different national outgroups may bear out their country's convoluted historic relations with those countries, where young people do derive their social attitudes in part from adults, both directly (as parents and educators) and indirectly (through books and the media; Barrett, 2007). In this vein, Hungarian adolescents' attitudes towards Romanians would be expected to be the least positive compared with those towards Russians and Americans.

This study also tested for gender differences in Hungarian adolescents' national identities and attitudes. Here, the 'sport' angle from which gender differences have been explained earlier may not be as pertinent as the account based on boys' greater interest in 'war' media, considering the sociohistorical backdrop of Hungary in relation to those particular outgroups. In this vein, boys were expected to rate their national identity as more important and report stronger national identification and less positive outgroup attitudes compared with girls.

A distinctive feature of this study is that socioeconomic status (SES) was measured for its effect on the identities and attitudes. As a demographic factor, SES impacts outcomes such as health and educational achievement (Caputo, 2003; Strand, 2014). SES differences in national identities of adolescents have not been systematically tested, but discursive research suggests that socioeconomics profoundly affect their sense of belonging (Sutton, 2009) and how they position themselves and others and create boundaries (Spencer, Clegg, & Stackhouse, 2013). One can also draw on the literature above on social-class differences in national attitudes in other contexts and Hungarian adults and adolescents' attitudes towards minorities in Hungary. It would be plausible that Hungarian adolescents of higher SES, due to more opportunities to learn about, and be exposed to, national outgroups (including other Europeans), would report stronger European identification than their lower-SES counterparts, who would identify more strongly with the ingroup and show less positive attitudes towards national outgroups.

Finally, we explored the associations between the strength of national and supranational identifications and ingroup/outgroup attitudes. As reviewed earlier, there tends to be a relation between the strength of identification with the national ingroup and attitudes to its members. For attitudes to outgroups, they need to be salient and relevant 'comparators' for defining the ingroup for social identity processes to occur in relation to them (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As such, although all three outgroups were seen as salient to the adolescents, the relation between their Hungarian identification and attitudes towards Romanians should be more apparent due to Hungary's longstanding disputes with Romania rendering this 'comparator' more relevant.

Method

Participants.

A sample of 166 (86 girls) Hungarian adolescents, aged 13 to 18 ($M = 15.13$, $SD = 1.44$) years, completed all measures. All participants were born in Hungary and self-identified as ethnic 'Hungarian' and recruited from two secondary schools in a city in Southern Hungary. They were divided into two age groups; the younger group ('early teens') consisted of 98 (49 girls) 13-15 year-olds ($M = 14.10$; $SD = .78$) while the older group ('late teens') consisted of 68 (37 girls) 16-18 year-olds ($M = 16.60$; $SD = .69$).

SES was assessed by the family affluence scale (FAS; Currie, Molcho, Boyce, Holstein, Torsheim, & Richter, 2008), which contained indices of household wealth (e.g., if participants had their own bedroom, number of computers with Internet and cars owned by the family and holidays taken per year). Using the original aggregate scoring and classification, the sample was split into three groups: 'lower' ($N = 30$), 'middle' ($N = 73$) and 'higher' ($N = 63$) SES.

Materials.

The results from three self-administered tasks are reported in this paper. The tasks were adapted from those used in previous studies on national or other group identities and attitudes (Barrett, 2007). All items were first translated into Hungarian by the second author (a native speaker) and back-translated by an independent colleague where discrepancies were resolved by discussion to reach mutually agreed expressions. The three tasks are described below.

Relative importance of self-descriptors. In this task, participants read the statement "There are many ways by which people can describe themselves. If you could only describe yourself by four things – your age, gender, 'Hungarian' and 'European' – could you state which one is the most important, the next most important and so on?" Participants were prompted to score, against the relevant descriptor, from 4 for the most important to 1 for the least important. The order of self-descriptors was counterbalanced across the sample.

Strength of identification scale (SoIS). This task consisted of two 6-item measures, one for national (Hungarian) identity and one for supranational (European) identity. For each measure participants were asked six questions pertaining to aspects of the identity: 1) how 'Hungarian' or 'European') would you say you are? – 'degree' of identification; 2) how important is being Hungarian (or European) to you? – importance; 3) how proud are you about being Hungarian (or European)? – pride; 4) how happy or sad are you about being Hungarian (or European)? – feeling; 5) if someone said something good about the Hungarians (or Europeans) how would you feel? – internalization (positive); 6) if someone said something bad about the Hungarians (or Europeans) how would you feel? – internalization (negative; to be reverse-scored). The participant answered on a 5-point scale from 1 ('not at all') to 5 ('very'; Hungarian/European, important, proud, happy/sad, etc.). The six items were presented in the same order for each identity while the order of the two identities was counterbalanced across the sample. The scores were subjected to an exploratory principal components analysis using varimax rotation for each identity. This found that, for both identities, all six items loaded onto a single factor (Hungarian: eigenvalue = 3.37, 67% of variance explained; European: eigenvalue = 3.25, 65% of variance explained), with item loadings ranging from .49 to .92. Each set of items showed a high reliability level (Hungarian $\alpha = .87$; European $\alpha = .86$).

Affect and trait attributions for ingroup and outgroup members. These are attitudinal tasks consisting, firstly, of a 1-item measure for affect operationalised as liking for Hungarians (the ingroup) before the same measure was given again for the three outgroups. Participants were presented with the question "How much do you like or dislike Hungarian (Romanian, Russian or American) people?", and responded on a 5-point scale, from 1 (dislike them a lot) to 5 (like them a lot). The trait attribution measure consisted of presenting 12 traits (5 positive – kind, clever, hardworking, peaceful, honest and good; 6 negative – unkind, stupid, lazy, aggressive, dishonest and bad) in relation to the ingroup and outgroups. All items began with "How many Hungarian (Romanian, Russian or American) people are...?", with the responses based on a 5-point scale from 1 (none of them) to 5 (all of them). The ingroup was always presented first whilst the order of outgroups was counterbalanced across the sample for both tasks. For trait attributions, the order of traits was randomised for each presentation. The trait items yielded acceptable reliabilities (positive $\alpha = .65$ to $.76$; negative $\alpha = .61$ to $.73$).

Procedure.

A Hungarian female researcher (second author) first explained the study to participants in their classrooms. Through the two months that followed, she took groups of several students, who were given parental consent, out of class to participate in a quiet room within the school.

The researcher reiterated that the research was about what adolescents thought about “being Hungarian” and people from their own and other countries. She explained that they were not being tested and could ask about the items on the form, but they should not confer with each other during participation and that only the researchers could see their responses afterwards. The participants completed the three key tasks, among others, in the above order which took on average 30 minutes to complete.

Results

As the multi-item parametric (SoIS and trait attribution) measures scaled reliably, the items for each set were combined to form an overall score. An SoIS score was derived by averaging all its item scores, so that the higher the SoIS score the stronger the identification. For trait attributions, the negative items were first reverse-scored before a ‘stereotyping’ score for each national group was derived by averaging the trait item scores for that group, so that the higher the stereotyping score, the more positively a group was perceived.

Relative Importance of Self-descriptors

For this task, participants evaluated the importance of four self-descriptors, age, gender, Hungarian and European, in relation to each other. Table 1 shows the mean importance score of each descriptor for the sample and by age, gender and SES subgroups. Overall, the sample judged ‘Hungarian’ as being more important than the other three descriptors ($ps < .001$). This was found to be the case for male ($ps < .001$), lower- and middle-SES ($ps < .01$) and early ($ps < .001$) teens in separate analyses. Female, higher-SES and late teens still rated Hungarian as being more important than ‘European’ ($ps < .001$). Between-groups analyses confirmed that male, lower-SES to middle-SES and early teens rated Hungarian as more important compared with their respective female, higher-SES and late-teen counterparts (see table 1).

Table 1. Mean relative importance scores of self-descriptors by age group, gender and SES (standard deviations in brackets; groups differing significantly from each other in bold).

	Mean relative importance (higher = more important)				Friedman χ^2
	Age	Gender	Hungarian	European	
Early teens (N=97)	2.35 (1.06)	2.34 (1.02)**	3.21 (1.02)**	1.99 (1.09)	44.06***
Late teens (N=68)	2.57 (.95)	2.85 (1.06)**	2.75 (1.20)**	1.78 (.98)	28.88***
Males (N=80)	2.43 (1.00)	2.35 (1.08)*	3.21 (1.00)*	1.84 (1.06)	43.00***
Females (N=85)	2.46 (1.04)	2.74 (1.01)*	2.84 (1.19)*	1.96 (1.03)	23.40***

Lower SES (N=30)	2.33 (.80)	2.33 (1.16)	3.27 (1.11)**^a	1.97 (1.07)	15.93***
Mid SES (N=73)	2.34 (1.06)	2.53 (1.04)	3.12 (1.05)**^a	1.89 (1.05)	32.44***
Higher SES (N=62)	2.61 (1.06)	2.68 (1.04)	2.77 (1.17)**^b	1.89 (1.04)	18.18***
Sample (N=165)	2.44 (1.02)	2.55 (1.06)	3.02 (1.12)	1.90 (1.04)	59.69***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, Mann-Whitney/Kruskal-Wallis test; a>b Bonferroni corrected.

National and Supranational Identification

The SoIS scores were first analysed by two 2 (age group) \times 2 (gender) \times 3 (SES) between-groups ANOVAs, one for Hungarian and one for European identification. A main effect of SES for Hungarian identification ($F(2,152) = 5.99, p = .003$) and a main effect of age group for European identification ($F(1,153) = 5.21, p = .02$) were found. Hungarian identification was stronger among the lower- and middle-SES versus the higher-SES adolescents ($p < .02$) whilst European identification was stronger among the early teens than the late teens.

To compare directly the strengths of national identity and supranational identity, a repeated measures ANOVA with identification (Hungarian versus European) as the within-participants variable and the three between-groups factors above was conducted. It revealed a main effect of identification ($F(1,151) = 15.98, p < .001$), qualified by an identification \times SES interaction, $F(1,153) = 3.43, p = .04$. Post hoc tests found that Hungarian identification was stronger than European identification only amongst lower- and middle-SES participants ($p < .01$).

Table 2. Mean Hungarian and European SoIS scores by age group and SES (standard deviations in brackets; groups differing significantly in bold).

	Early teens	Late teens	Lower SES	Middle SES	Higher SES
Hungarian	3.82 (.81)	3.81 (.89)	4.06 (.83)**^a	3.98 (.76)**^a	3.51 (.85)**^b
European	3.62 (.73)*	3.35 (.87)*	3.53 (.84)	3.53 (.84)	3.48 (.74)

* $p < .02$; a>b Bonferroni corrected.

Affect for and Stereotyping of Ingroup and Outgroups

Participants rated their affect for each national group on the 1-item liking scale. A repeated measures ANOVA, with 'liking' (Hungarian vs. Romanian vs. Russians vs. Americans) as the within-participants variable and the three between-groups factor found a main effect of liking ($F(3,447) = 37.72, p < .001$), qualified by a liking \times SES interaction, $F(6,447) = 2.57, p = .02$.

Figure 1 shows the mean liking score for each national group by SES. Post hoc tests revealed that lower-SES adolescents liked the ingroup (Hungarians) significantly more than all three outgroups (Romanians/ Russians, $ps < .001$; Americans, $p < .01$), but middle- and higher-SES adolescents liked the ingroup more than Romanians or Russians ($ps < .001$; $p < .01$, Russians by higher-SES) but not Americans. Middle- and higher-SES adolescents also liked Americans more than Russians and Romanians ($ps < .001$), and Russians more than Romanians ($p < .01$, middle-SES; $p < .001$ higher-SES).

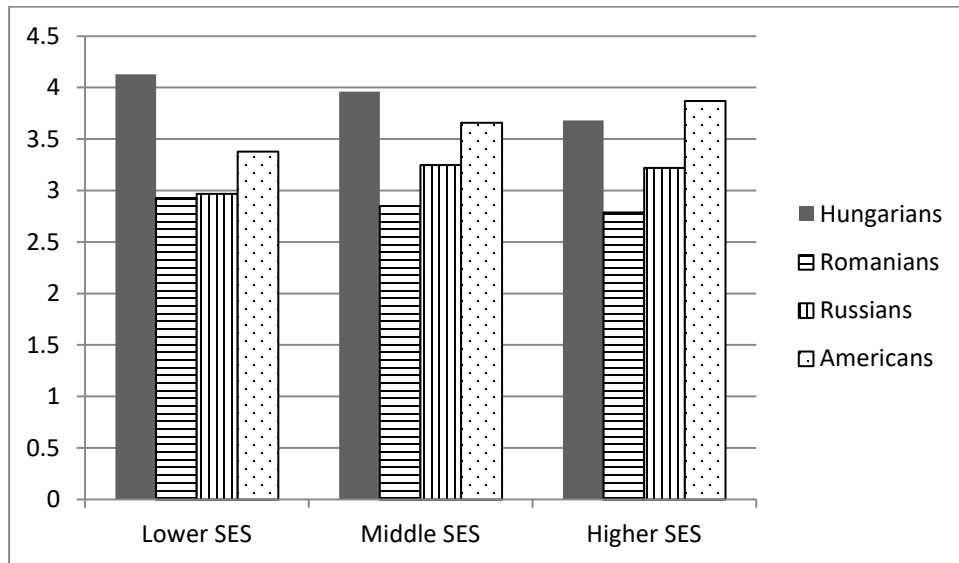


Figure 1. Mean liking scores for Hungarians and three outgroups by SES.

The stereotyping measure consisted of aggregate scores derived from the trait attributions for each national group. Another repeated measures ANOVA with 'stereotyping' (Hungarians vs. Romanians vs. Russians vs. Americans) as within-participants variable and the same three between-participants factors found a main effect of stereotyping, $F(3,459) = 9.35$, $p < .001$. Post hoc tests revealed that Romanians ($M = 3.09$; $SD = .62$) were stereotyped less positively than all of Hungarians ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .52$; $p < .001$), Russians ($M = 3.25$; $SD = .46$; $p < .01$) and Americans ($M = 3.36$; $SD = .52$; $p < .001$) by the sample, who also stereotyped Russians less positively than Americans ($p < .01$).

Associations between Identities and Attitudes

The associations between the parametric measures of strength of Hungarian and European identification and attitudinal measures of affect and stereotyping concerning the ingroup and outgroups were explored, controlling for age and SES (family affluence score). The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Partial correlations between Hungarian and European strength of identification, and stereotyping of, and affect for, the ingroup and three outgroups (controlling for age and SES).

	Hungarians		Romanians		Russians		Americans	
	stereo- typing	Affect	stereo- typing	Affect	stereo- typing	Affect	stereo- typing	Affect
	.43***		.58***		.36***		.44***	
Hungarian identification	.23**	.41***	.07	.02	.18*	.08	-.03	-.12
European identification	-.02	.21**	.31***	.20*	.12	-.01	.17*	.18*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, 1-tailed.

The stereotyping of, and affect for, each national group were positively and significantly correlated. Hungarian identification was also correlated with stereotyping of, and affect for, Hungarians. European identification was also positively correlated with affect for Hungarians and with both stereotyping of, and affect for, Romanians and Americans. Multiple exploratory regressions were used to test for the prediction regarding ingroup and outgroup affect, where the identity measure(s) and/or stereotyping that correlated significantly with affect for each group were entered. For the affect for Hungarians ($R^2 = .35$; $F(3,162) = 28.60$, $p < .001$), all of Hungarian ($\beta = .38$, $p < .001$) and European ($\beta = .13$, $p = .05$) identification and stereotyping of Hungarians ($\beta = .29$, $p < .001$) were unique predictors. For the affect for all three outgroups, only stereotyping of the group emerged as the unique predictor (Romanians, $\beta = .57$, Russians, $\beta = .38$, Americans, $\beta = .43$; $ps < .001$).

Discussion

This study was conducted to investigate aspects of national and supranational identities and ingroup and outgroup attitudes among Hungarian adolescents. As expected, they judged being Hungarian as the most important identity, over age, gender and European, but age, gender and SES variations were found. Also as expected, younger adolescents showed stronger European identification than older ones, and lower- to middle-SES groups reported stronger Hungarian identification than their higher-SES counterparts, who also did not show the 'Hungarian-over-European' pattern. In terms of affect, lower-SES adolescents liked all outgroups less than the ingroup, but middle- and higher-SES adolescents liked the ingroup and Americans similarly, and both more than Russians and Romanians. Still, as expected Romanians were stereotyped less positively than all other groups, regardless of SES. Finally, affect for Hungarians could be uniquely predicted by both Hungarian and European identifications, and the latter was also associated with stereotyping of, and affect for, Romanians and Americans, though it was not predictive of either attitudinal measure for these groups.

Certain patterns from the relative importance measure correspond with existing findings in other contexts. That being Hungarian was more important than being European is in line with most past studies that measured both national and supranational identities in Western Europe (e.g., UK, Spain, Italy), but national identity being more important than gender has only been found for newly independent (Georgian) or autonomous state (Catalan and Basque) identities (Barrett, 2007). While Barrett attributes that to the groups' concerns for defending distinctive heritages from the recent (Russian) or ongoing (Spanish) dominance of neighbouring cultures, the relative importance of Hungarian identity is curious for the ethnic majority adolescents in a highly homogeneous country with its latest 'outside' influence being the EU (Göncz, 2010). Still, as this finding is not uniform across the sample, a closer inspection of group variations in this and the SoIS measures may shed more light on the adolescents' identity patterns.

As expected, male adolescents ascribed greater importance to the national identity versus female adolescents (although the same was not observed for the SoIS). While boys' interest in sport or war-genre media may lift the sense of nationhood (Beal, 1994; Clifford et al., 1996), the importance of national identity among female adolescents was largely offset by the greater importance, versus male adolescents, they ascribed to gender. This might bear out the greater salience of gender for girls in male-dominant societies (Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993) and differing stereotypes held by the sexes due to differences in their frames of reference and perceptions of intergroup relations in comparative contexts (Turner et al., 1987). Similarly, the importance of national identity among older adolescents (in the absence of age variations in SoIS) was partly explained by the greater importance they ascribed to gender which might reflect heightened sex-role expectations during emerging adulthood (Crockett & Beal, 2012).

SES variations in Hungarian identity were consistent between the relative importance and SoIS measures. The higher-SES adolescents ascribed similar importance to age, gender and Hungarian (unlike its counterparts that rated the latter as distinctively important) and showed similar levels of Hungarian and European identification when the two were not ranked against each other. It could be that the families of these adolescents afforded them more opportunities for exposure to, and gaining knowledge about, other countries which led them to noting more commonalities with national outgroups, including other Europeans, increasing identification with them. Indeed individual differences in access to some of the key means and tools such as travel (Bourchier et al., 2002) and the media (Niemi & Junn, 1998) for those opportunities are captured by the FAS (e.g., holidays, vehicles, Internet). Conversely, adolescents of lower SES might identify relatively strongly with the national group due to their fewer opportunities to be exposed to, learn about, and thus identify with, other national groups.

The finding concerning age group differences in the strength of European identification is in line with the rationale based on cohort effects in relation to Hungary's ascension to the EU. Hungary joined the EU before most of the younger group turned 5 years old, whilst the older adolescents were aged 6-8 years. The cognitive-developmental literature (Aboud, 1998) about intergroup perception denotes that towards 7 years of age is a time in middle childhood where children attend most to between-group differences and within-group similarities. This is when ingroup favouritism and outgroup prejudice peak before giving way to social cognition based more on individual psychological characteristics towards later childhood. It might be that such intergroup processes defined, in part, what was 'European', initially an unfamiliar idea and perhaps an 'outgroup', for the older adolescents whilst their younger counterparts were more receptive of it as an ingroup identity due to the earlier ages at which it appeared in their lives. More research is needed to shed light on Hungarian adolescents' representations of 'Europe' and 'European' as the supranational state and identity to ascertain this account.

The SES effect on affect, where lower-SES adolescents liked all outgroups less than the ingroup, are largely in line with findings from previous studies of Hungarian adults that found higher levels of outgroup prejudice, ethnocentrism and xenophobia among the lower-income and less-educated groups (Csepeli et al., 2004; Zick et al., 2011). Less positive affect for national outgroups has also been found among 'working-class' children in at least the UK and US (Bourchier, Barrett, & Lyons, 2002; Lambert & Klinebert, 1967). That the middle- and higher-SES adolescents liked Americans and Hungarians more than Russians, and Romanians least, may bear out the sociohistorical reasons by which America has been portrayed as their modern 'ally', Russia as an authoritarian former-ruler and Romania as a 'traditional enemy'. Nonetheless, regardless of SES, the adolescents stereotyped Romanians least positively which might bear out the ongoing difficult relations between Hungary and Romania that may impact perceptions of Romanians. Being the nearest 'neighbour' may also render Romanians highly salient for social comparisons due to proximity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987).

Similar to the previous findings of children from other contexts (Bennett et al., 2004), the strength of national identification was associated with affect for only the ingroup and not the outgroups. However, European identification also predicted ingroup affect; this suggests that the supranational identity can be part of the self, pertinent to forming positive ingroup affect. That European identification was associated with (if not predictive of) affect for Romanians and Americans implies that these groups are relevant 'comparators' (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) in defining at least part of these adolescents' identities for social identity processes to occur in relation to them. It makes sense that one needs to identify oneself more as 'European' for one

to be more positive towards other Europeans (including Romanians) and their allies (such as Americans). This might further be one explanation for the lack of relations between European identification and attitudes towards Russians; this group may not be a relevant 'comparator' in that Russia has not been seen as part of Europe or its ally (Romsics, 1999).

From a theoretical perspective (SIT) and findings with adults (Perreault & Bourhis, 1998; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001) and other children (Clay & Barrett, 2011; Bennett et al., 2004), it is pertinent to note that the relations between national identifications and attitudes are not consistently found. This research suggests that national and supranational identifications are relevant mainly in driving ingroup affect amongst Hungarian adolescents. A clear indication is that national group attitudes are driven by factors beyond cognitive development or social identity processes alone, such as sources of information about and exposure to other countries (Barrett, 2007) and the sociohistorical backdrop involving children's own and other countries (Oppenheimer & Barrett, 2011). In light of the demographic variations found here, and those in other contexts and in research with Hungarian adults, only a broader conceptual framework can explain patterns of national identities and attitudes amongst young people.

Inevitably, there are limitations to the present study. First, the sample was drawn from one region and might not be representative of young people from other parts of Hungary. Second, whilst much of the previous research studied younger preadolescent children (Barrett, 2007), this study focused on the years of adolescence and found ingroup identification and biases to be already strong. It would be useful to also study younger Hungarians to ascertain the earlier development of identities and attitudes and relations between them. Third, the measures used here were global and quantitative, precluding the 'fine-grained' details (Clay & Barrett, 2011) about participants' understanding of national groups and identifications. Contextually richer forms of information from participants would complement existing measures in future studies.

In conclusion, this study shows that adolescents' national and supranational identities do not only differ by age, but also by gender and SES. Outgroup attitudes, and their relations with national identifications, may vary depending upon the sociohistorical context concerning the relations between adolescents' own and those countries. Our findings show that, despite Hungary's ethnic homogeneity, its adolescents' national identifications and attitudes are far from homogeneous. This could be a product of all of cognitive development, social identity processes, socio-demographics and cohort effects tied to Hungary's history. Future research with young people from a wider age range and regions and using a larger set of measures can provide a more comprehensive insight into the development of their identities and attitudes.

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