

STEREOTYPES OF ADOPTIVE AND INTERETHNIC ADOPTIVE FAMILIES IN HUNGARY



KERESZTES-TAKÁCS Orsolya

Doctoral School of Psychology, Eötvös Loránd University
Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education, Eötvös Loránd University
keresztes-takacs.orsolya@ppk.elte.hu

NGUYEN LUU Lan Anh

Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education, Eötvös Loránd University
lananh@ppk.elte.hu

SUMMARY

Background and aims: The aim of this paper is to present the stereotypes that emerge in society toward adoptive families. The general social attitude toward such families is also presented, focusing on parents adopting a Roma child.

Method: We carried out a survey (N = 222) focusing on the attitudes of Hungarian society toward adoption and interethnic and non-interethnic adoptive families. We asked about the attitudes toward adoption, adoptive parents and adopted children according to the stereotype content model.

Results: The majority of our hypotheses were confirmed: interethnic adoption is less accepted than adoption in general, and the stereotypes of Roma and non-Roma adopted children are valid when compared to biological children, i.e. they seem to be more prone to deviancy, and they are expected to be more grateful and less happy. Adoptive parents are considered to be warmer and friendlier, but there is a certain amount of sympathy and pity felt toward them compared with nonadoptive parents.

Discussion: The stereotypes existing in Hungarian society revealed in our research are the foundation for the stigmatized status of adoptive and especially interethnic adoptive families.

Keywords: adoption, stereotype, stereotype content model, interethnic families, Roma

BACKGROUND

Over the last decade several models and theories have tried to offer explanations for

the problems of adoptive families. There are approaches which focus on the child's non-optimal biological features (Lansford et al, 2001), the indulging love and care

of the adoptive parent (Glover et al., 2010), or on the parent's unrealistic expectations (Foli, 2010). There are other approaches which describe the problems related to the child as "adopted child syndrome" (Wegar, 2000). However, these theories do not reflect much on the social context in which the process of adoption actually happens. The actors of the adoption triad (Pavao, 2012), i.e. the adopted children, the adoptive parents and the biological parents, all have their own life-path, and these intersect in a given social context. The persons involved in the adoption are encumbered by society's stereotypes and are stigmatized by the stereotypes they are identified with.

Many researchers dealing with the topic of adoption emphasize the role stigmatization has in the adoption process. The stigma is a label with a strong emotional connection, and it is composed of an attitude expressing an overheated emotional approach and an over-generated view (Allport, 1999). This is a concept in social psychology which serves to describe and identify personal characteristics and features and has a discrediting effect on almost every point of society (Goffman, 1998). The break-out from the stigmatized role is hampered by several psychological and social-psychological processes; for example, the self-fulfilling prophecy, exposure to the stereotypes or the attitude of those stigmatizing hardly changing (Goffman, 1963). The stigma changes the person's social identity and consistently modifies their behavior according to the way they are treated by others. A number of studies have revealed that during adoption both the adopted children and the adoptive parents frequently face differentiation and the stigmatizing attitude of society (Miall, 1987; March, 1995; Wegar, 2000; Harrigan, 2009).

Our research does not include the third actor in the adoption triad, the biological parent, who – for fear of being stigmatized – usually hides the fact that she put her child up for adoption, and thus these parents are "judged and condemned persons who – for the luck of the persons wishing to adopt – do not want or can't raise their children due to their irresponsibility or parental inability" (Herczog, 2001: 63; translated by the authors) and as a consequence of these secrets live as phantoms in society.

Adoption as a stigma is therefore a result of several factors, which can be divided into the following categories: (1) biological foundations are more relevant than family relations; (2) the stigma of infertility – if this is reason for the adoption; and (3) the stigma of outlawry (Wegar, 1997; Miall, 1996). Public discourse and some representations in the media can give us the impression that general thinking in Hungary is ambivalent when it comes to adoption. On the one hand, it appreciates the effort to reshape the family model corresponding to the normative expectations, but on the other hand tends to see family models which are socially constructed and not based on blood relationships as being pathological or deviant (Neményi and Takács, 2015). The increasing tendency of *transracial* or *international adoption* (Goar et al., 2016; Yngvesson, 2010; Lancaster and Nelson, 2009) – in Hungary the term *interethnic adoption* is more commonly used – causes people to feel even more different as a result of possibly visible differences in physical appearance. Interethnic adoption occurs when the adoptive parents and the adoptive child have different ethnic backgrounds. The most common form of interethnic adoption in Hungary is when non-Roma parents adopt Roma children. In these

instances, the stigma of adoption becomes visible and permanent, especially if physical race-specific signs make the difference in ethnic origin clear (Wegar, 2000). The social stigma can be deeper and the difficulties can be more intense if the race-specific differences between the parents and the child are obvious (Maldonado, 2005; Yngvesson, 2010; Miall, 1996).

In Hungary it is a known fact that Roma children are overrepresented in the specialized child-care service-system (Havas et al., 2007), and thus they presumably constitute a higher proportion of the children waiting for adoption too – even if we do not have any official data on this (Szilvási, 2005). However, given the circumstances in Hungary, it is clear that adoptable Roma children are in a disadvantaged situation compared with non-Roma children (Neményi and Messing, 2007; Havas et al., 2007). At the same time, it is also a known fact that parents who do not specify an ethnic background before the adoption request – meaning that they would accept Roma children too – are likely to receive a Roma child. This leads to the creation of interethnic families. The current openly anti-Roma public discourse (Keresztes-Takács et al., 2016), and the general hostile attitude toward all minority groups (Simonovits and Bernát, 2016) make it highly relevant to investigate how this generally negative attitude can influence the attitude of the community toward such adoptive families and toward adoptive families in general.

Attitudes toward adoption

Society has historically stigmatized infertility, and couples without children still face the skepticism and negative judgment of

those around them. However, the way they are judged also depends on the reason why they are childless (Wegar, 2000).

Kirk (1964: 120) identified a pattern of “rejection of difference” or “acknowledgment of difference”, which is created by the adoptive parents, because the community consistently confronts them with the fact that they are different. In Hungary research has not yet been carried out on society’s views of adoption and adoptive families (Neményi and Takács, 2015). Nevertheless, a great amount of research has been done on this issue in other countries, especially in America.

Miall’s (1996) survey asked 150 Canadians about adoption, and found no differences between how adoptive and non-adoptive families were judged. This could be explained by the less durable nature of marriage, but it is also possible that the prejudice does not appear explicitly, as in Canada other prejudices also tend to appear in more clandestine, implicit forms (Son Hing et al., 2008). However, adoptive families do mention the differentiation they face in everyday situations (March, 1995). Miall (1987) found that in North America the idea of being married is closely connected to reproduction, and couples without children are labeled as deviant and unacceptable. This can be even more so in societies where fertility is a value, and being childless is a disgraceful and stigmatized status (Pongrácz, 2007).

Based on this, three major adoption-related stereotypes can be identified (Miall, 1987): (1) the biological link is important from the perspective of affection and caring, and the affection can only be half as good in the case of adoptive families; (2) the adopted child can be just half as valuable due to the unknown past and genetic background; and

(3) the adoptive parents are not “real” parents. As a result of these stereotypes the parents notice social sanctions too, and their awareness of the stigma influences how much they see their own family as real or authentic. Another study (Clark-Miller, 2005) emphasizes the responsibility of adoptive families, and focuses on the following dilemmas related to the perception of the adoptive families: (1) how the parents view themselves – as the same or different compared to biological parents; (2) how they view their child; and (3) how they wish to reveal and handle the issue of the adoption. Based on these issues, it would be interesting to examine whether the awareness of the difference is itself the basis for stigmatization, or whether it is the threatened identity that causes the feeling of being different.

Adoptive parents also feel this general differentiation from social workers and administrative staff working in adoption services, and one study has even come to the conclusion that the people working in the adoption system are more likely to stigmatize than the community in general (Miall, 1996). Five of the 27 administrative workers interviewed underlined the attitude of the community toward adoption, and especially toward interethnic adoption. The majority agreed on the importance of compatibility in terms of physical and psychological characteristics as a precondition for a successful adoption, and they therefore tend to try to recreate almost “biological families”, thus emphasizing even more the importance of the blood link (Miall, 1987). An organization in North America dealing with adoption periodically carries out surveys (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2002, 2007, 2013) on the attitude of the community toward adoptive

families. The results show that in America over the course of five years the proportion of those with favorable views toward adoption grew from 56% to 63%, and that 46% and then 57% thought that adoptive parents can be as satisfied as non-adoptive parents. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of those interviewed said that adoptions serve a good purpose in society. This trend therefore suggests that attitudes toward adoption and adoptive families are becoming more and more accepting and that the altruistic aspect of adoption is also more appreciated.

A recently published study from Singapore also suggests that general attitudes toward adoption are positive, but contrary to previous research and data, the attitude toward interethnic and international adoption is even more positive. The author’s explanation for this is the steadily increasing level of infertility and the limited number of children available for adoption in Singapore (Mohanty, 2014). This seems to be a general trend, as in the American attitude surveys related to adoption in 2002 and 2007 (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2002, 2007) the researchers focused on the differences between children adopted from foster homes and adopted children in general. However, in the results from 2013 (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013) international adoption seems to be much more dominant and appears as a point of reference alongside the two existing types of adoption. This survey also included race preferences, asking the respondents if they would have any racial preferences if they were to adopt (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013). The results show that people from the three major American racial groups – Caucasian, Hispanic, Afro-American – would prefer to

adopt a child from their own racial group. The group most likely to want to adopt exclusively from the own racial group were Caucasians (56%), followed by Afro-Americans (43%) and Hispanics (30%).

The Perception of the Adopted Child and Adoptive Parents

By comparing nearly one hundred articles (Juffer and IJzendoorn, 2005) a meta-analysis has demonstrated that adopted children suffer from more mental and behavioral problems than their non-adopted peers. However, further analysis led to findings which were contrary to their assumptions, as in the case of international adoptions fewer mental and behavioral problems were present than in the case of domestic adoptions. These analyses discuss the findings of research into adopted children. However, other researchers were interested in society's general view of adoption and adopted children. What does society think about them, and to what extent does society actually presume there are mental and behavioral problems or possible deviances? Several sources in the literature deal with the extent to which adopted children are more problematic (Juffer and IJzendoorn, 2005), however the explanations often seem to neglect the level of stigmatization the adopted children have to face (Wegar, 2000).

According to the findings of one study, one third of adopted children thought that "the people expect the adopted child to have problems" (Benson et al., 1994 quoted by Wegar, 2000). According to the findings of an American study using a semantic differential scale (Clark-Miller, 2005) respondents viewed adopted children as mean, weak and inactive compared to non-adopted

children, and ascribed a significantly lower status to being adopted as a child or being an adoptive parent. Behavioral disorders, school issues, alcohol and drug problems, and lower levels of self-confidence, happiness and well-being are all more associated with children adopted from foster care and adopted children in general than with non-adopted ones. Furthermore, 25-30% of the respondents questioned the mental health of the adopted child (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2007; Clark-Miller, 2005).

Adopted child identity can be linked to feelings of being different and inferior, especially in families where adoption is – perhaps implicitly – less accepted by the parents or by more distant relatives. The identity of minority group members may become distorted due to discrimination and feelings of inferiority, and they may also internalize these elements in their own self-esteem and self-perception (Breakwell, 1993). In the case of interethnic adoption, the adoption is obvious to outsiders because of the race-specific features (Harrigan, 2009). In Hungary international adoption is rare. In a domestic context, interethnic adoption typically refers to the adoption of Roma children by non-Roma parents. It is important to note that some Hungarian Roma, who are perceived as visibly different from the Hungarian majority, incorporate the feeling of being different into their identity due to the feedback received from those around them, in contrast to instances when people decide themselves whether or not to accept the differentiated status (Nguyen, 2012).

It is important to consider to what extent positive self-esteem and factors related to it – such as happiness, self-confidence or

emotional stability – are associated with adopted children and adopted Roma children, as in many cases their identity as an adopted child means they have to face the feeling of being different too. This can be even more difficult in the case of a visible adoption. An American study based on a sample of nearly 50,000 adopted children came to the conclusion that the self-esteem of adopted children is even higher than the national average (Benson et al., 1994 cited by Wegar, 2000). This phenomenon is, however, not unknown in the field of social psychology, as it has been observed that the self-esteem of members of various social minority groups is higher than that of the members belonging to the dominant groups of the given society (Crocker and Major, 1989). We presume that the conclusions of these studies can be applied to adopted children and their self-esteem, but what is the perception of society on this issue? It appears pertinent to determine the extent to which society judges the psychological and mental health of adopted children.

The relationship and bond created between the adoptive parents and their children (Lansford et al., 2001), and the perception of these have been the subject of several studies (Miall, 1987, Wegar, 2000). In a previous interview-based study, 85% of the respondents agreed with sentences which claimed that the bond with a biological child can be stronger than the one created with an adopted child (Wegar, 2000). Another study found that there is a stereotype in society which states that the biological link is the most important when it comes to care and love, and that as a result, affection can be only half as strong in adoptive families (Miall, 1987). In this very same study, the majority agreed with the claim

that identical physical and psychological features are important preconditions for a successful adoption and that common features can strengthen the link between parents and adopted children. Benson (1994 cited by Wegar, 2000) summarizes the results of a large-scale study focusing on adoptive parents, according to which a fifth of adoptive parents think that “society in general does not understand adoptive families” (363). These are the assumptions of key players in the adoption. At the same time, however, the research revealed that the parent–child relationship does not differ in adoptive and non-adoptive families.

There are several perceptions of adoptive parents. People may feel sorry about them, because they “could not have own children”, or they admire them because “it’s the saint metaphor” (Foli, 2010: 395). The latter can be especially valid if they adopt older, disabled or Roma children (Keresztes-Takács and Nguyen, 2017). Several studies have revealed the stigmatization of adoptive parents. One of them suggests that if someone’s adoptive status becomes known, the communication toward her/him changes. This can be either negative or positive; however, the change itself is important, as it creates a feeling of being different (March, 1995). The answers of the respondents showed that they viewed adoptive parents as different kinds of parents. In interviews conducted with adoptive mothers, the majority felt that the society differentiates adoptive parents from non-adoptive parents, and that the biological link plays a key role in this differentiation (Miall, 1987). It is therefore common for adoptive parents to experience society’s preference for biological families, and that their parental skills and the authenticity of their

parental roles are challenged (Neményi and Takács, 2015). In a study focusing on attitudes toward adoption, adoptive parents and their children were perceived in a more negative way and as less authentic, and the expected behavior is ambivalent and less supportive than in the case of the biological families (Clark-Miller, 2005). In the large-scale American Adoption Attitude Survey, 46% and later 57% of the respondents claimed that the adoptive parents are as happy as non-adoptive ones (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2002, 2007). In interviews with adoptive mothers, two thirds of the women thought that adoptive mothers are “the second best” compared to their biological counterparts (March, 1997). Motherhood is culturally linked to biological motherhood, and thus it is not surprising that adoptive mothers do not have the same authentic status (Wegar, 2000). During the interviews carried out with adoptive and biological mothers, it was mentioned that both groups have a strong, socially constructed, romanticized view of what a real mother should be like (March, 1997). The perception of adoptive parents and their children is therefore more negative and less authentic, and the expected behavior is ambivalent and less supportive, compared to the non-adoptive families (Clark-Miller, 2005).

According to the stereotype content model, there are four types of prejudice. These are the consequences of the relative status of the dominant group compared to other groups and of the various levels of dependency toward these (Fiske et al., 2002). It may be interesting to analyze the perception of adoptive families and families adopting Roma children by applying the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007) in order to

analyze how characteristic or non-characteristic the various general stereotypes, such as (parental) competence, (parental) capability, warmth and friendliness, and feelings including contempt, disgust, admiration, pride, pity, sympathy, envy, jealousy are in interethnic and non-interethnic adoptive families.

RESEARCH

After reviewing the academic literature relevant to this topic, we made the following hypotheses.

Hypotheses

1. Approval of adoption in general is higher than approval of interethnic adoption. We assume that a large proportion of respondents will agree with those parents who specify ethnic preference when it comes to adoption and that a large proportion of respondents will claim that it is important for the child and the parents to have a common ethnic background from the perspective of the family's unity.
2. Based on the academic literature focusing on adopted children and on previous studies (Benson et al., 1994 cited by Wegar, 2000; Clark-Miller, 2005; Juffer and IJzendoorn, 2005), we made the following hypotheses:
 - a. We assume that respondents will associate more deviances with the adopted child and especially with the adopted Roma child, and will therefore think that problems related to school performance, behavior, alcohol, drugs and medicines are more characteristic of these children (Abajo, 2008; Havas et al., 2001; Kende, 2013).

- b. We assume that a child's positive features, such as happiness, self-confidence and emotional stability are mostly associated with non-adopted children (Clark-Miller, 2005) and least associated with adopted Roma children (Kende, 2013, Neményi, 2007).
 - c. We assume that a feeling of gratitude is associated with the adoption itself, and within this we do not assume that there is a difference between Roma and non-Roma adopted children, but we assume that the respondents will claim that there is a stronger emotional bond between parents and their biological child than between parents and an adopted child (Miall, 1987)
3. With regard to adoptive parents, based on previous studies (Clark-Miller, 2005; Neményi and Takács, 2015; Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013) and the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007) we assume the following:
- a. In terms of stereotypes, we believe that the adoptive parents are perceived as being less competent, capable and authentic than non-adoptive parents (Neményi and Takács, 2015), yet at the same time they are considered warmer and friendlier (Cuddy et al., 2007) regardless of whether the adopted child is of Roma ethnicity or not.
 - b. We assume that there are ambivalent feelings toward adoptive parents, as we believe that besides admiration and pride (Foli, 2010), there is also contempt, as society prefers biological parenthood. Furthermore, we expect this to be emphasized even more in the case of adoptive parents with Roma adopted children.
 - c. We do not expect there to be envy and jealousy toward the adoptive parents, but we do assume that there will be pity (Cuddy et al., 2007) toward the adoptive parents who adopt a Roma child, and sympathy toward the adoptive parents with a non-Roma adopted child.

Sample

The research involved 222 persons, composed of 180 female (81.1%) and 42 (18.9%) male respondents. The average age of the respondents was 35.49 (SD = 11.96) years. The questionnaire also included questions focusing on demographic background-variables, i.e. beside the gender and the age of the respondents we also asked them about place of residence (capital city 59.5%, county town 13%, town 11.3%, village 9%, abroad 7.2%), level of education (vocational schools and centralized training 3.2%, high school diploma 15.7 %, academic degree 81.1%), financial situation (below average 8.6%, average 64.8%, above average 26.6%) and ethnicity (Hungarian 95%, other (Jewish, Roma, Bulgarian) 5%). In addition to this, we asked about the respondents' marital status (married 35.6%, partnered 36.1%, single 19.8%, divorced 5.9%, widow 1.4%, 1.2% no response) and the number of children they have (43.7% had at least one child).

Process

The study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education and Psychology at Eötvös Loránd University. On the first page of the questionnaire, respondents had to indicate

whether or not they agreed to take part in the research. In order to encourage the respondents to take part, we also organized a lottery. The approval from the Research Ethics Committee contains the detailed description of this too. We created online questionnaires and edited these using Google spreadsheets. Respondents were then able to provide their responses using these platforms. The sampling method we applied was the “snowball-method”. First, we sent the questionnaire to easily accessible respondents and asked them to forward it to others. In order to avoid distortion in the sample, we gave the online questionnaire the title “Beliefs about family”, thereby avoiding the word “adoption”. We therefore tried to avoid only or mainly receiving responses from those with experience of adoption-related issues. The link to the online questionnaire was also published in specific groups on social media, where we also asked potential respondents to forward it to their friends. We then analyzed the data using SPSS 20.0 statistical software.

Method

The questionnaire comprised several parts and was published online for the respondents. Participation was voluntary. In the first part we formulated the questions based on several American attitude studies focusing on adoption and adapted these to the Hungarian context (Clark-Miller, 2005; Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013).

In order to preserve the meaning of each item in every construction that we intended to measure, we applied the method of double translation. We adapted the questions containing the term “international adoption” to the Hungarian context by

using the expression “adoption of Roma children”. In this current paper we do not refer to all parts of the questionnaire, and we will only present the variables which are necessary in order to check our hypotheses.

First we asked our respondents to indicate on a 1–5 Likert scale the extent to which they support adoption. Then using a feeling thermometer we asked them to give a value from 1 to 100 for both adoption in general and interethnic adoption in Hungary, which refers to the adoption of Roma children (0 – very negative; 50 – neutral; 100 – positive) (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013).

The following questions focused on the extent to which our respondents find it acceptable for future adoptive parents to specify a preference for the ethnicity of future adopted child (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013). We also used our own question to measure the extent to which respondents feel common ethnic background is important within a family.

The associations and social representations of both Roma and non-Roma adopted children were measured on a three-point scale (less likely, equally likely, more likely) (Clark and Miller, 2005; Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2013). For this question respondents had to indicate the extent to which they associate certain behaviors or characteristics with adopted children and then with Roma children compared to non-adopted children (which statistically meant the midpoint [2]). The questions were worded as follows: “*Do you think adopted children are [...] compared to non-adopted children?*” and “*Do you think adopted Roma children are [...] compared to non-Roma and non-adopted children?*”. These questions included the following

behaviors and characteristics: problems at school, future behavioral disorders, future alcohol or drug-related problems, future medicine-related problems, future emotional and psychological stability, happiness and self-confidence, future gratitude to parents and a close relationship with parents in the future.

We measured how adoptive parents and adoptive parents with Roma children are perceived through a series of questions based on the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007). The respondents had to indicate on a seven-point scale the extent to which certain concepts on the stereotype scale and feeling scale are characteristic of adoptive parents compared with non-adoptive parents (which meant statistically the midpoint [4]). The concepts on the stereotype scale were (parental) competence, (parental) capability, warmth and friendliness, and on the feeling scale they were contempt, disgust, admiration, pride, pity, sympathy, envy and jealousy. Respondents then had to answer the same questions, but in relation to parents adopting a Roma child.

RESULTS

Perception of adoption and interethnic adoption

From the Independent Sample T-test results we can conclude that in general the attitude toward adoption in general ($M = 80.10$, $SD = 21.86$) is more positive ($M = 66.70$, $SD = 29.40$) than the attitude toward the adoption of Roma children ($t = 5.451$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.517$). The less respondents approve of the adoption of Roma children, the more they think that common

ethnic background is an important condition for the unity of the family ($r = -0.597$, $p = <0.001$), and the more they approve of future adoptive parents specifying a preference for the ethnicity of the child ($r = -0.623$, $p = <0.001$). 17.1% agreed that a common ethnic background was important within the family, while 32% approved of future adoptive parents specifying a preference for the ethnicity of the child.

Stereotypes of Roma and non-Roma adopted children

Based on the results of Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance, we can demonstrate that there is a significant difference ($p < 0.001$) in all the questions referring to the four problems – educational, behavioral, alcohol-related, and drugs and medicine-related problems. As for problems at school, there is an overall significant difference between the three analyzed groups (ANOVA, post hoc Games Howell test, $F = 64.334$, $p < 0.001$), as well as when we compare the three groups to each other. This suggests that respondents assume adopted children will have more problems at school than non-adopted children ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 0.41$) and that adopted Roma children will have even more problems ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.53$) (post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, between non-adopted – adopted Cohen's $d = 0.495$; non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.560$; adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.565$). Behavioral problems (ANOVA, $F = 32.624$, $p < 0.001$) were also primarily associated with adopted Roma children ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 0.51$), followed by adopted children ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 0.45$) and the post hoc analysis comparing the non-adopted and two adopt-

ed groups find differences (post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, between non-adopted – adopted Cohen's $d = 0.639$; non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.818$). Alcohol and drug-related problems (ANOVA, $F = 11.952$, $p < 0.001$) were also mainly associated with adopted Roma children ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 0.43$), followed by adopted children ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.36$), when compared with non-adopted children (post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.001$, between non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.482$; adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.248$). The result of the Analysis of Variance shows that there is a significant difference in medicine usage between the groups (ANOVA, $F = 9.993$, $p < 0.001$). The post hoc analysis comparing the groups showed a significant difference (post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.001$, non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.450$; adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.233$) between non-adopted and Roma adopted and adopted and Roma adopted children, as drugs use was primarily associated with adopted Roma ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.41$) followed by adopted ($M = 2.04$, $SD = 0.36$) children, when compared with non-adopted children. Conversely, there was no difference between adopted and non-adopted children for alcohol or drugs (post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$), and medicine usage (post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$).

In order to test our sub-hypothesis, we checked with Analysis of Variance the positive statements referring to the children – happiness, self-confidence, and emotional stability – to see whether these are more associated with adopted children and adopted Roma children than with non-adopted children. We found that the perception of emotional stability (ANOVA, $F = 6.000$,

$p < 0.05$), self-confidence (ANOVA, $F = 3.387$, $p < 0.001$) and happiness (ANOVA, $F = 13.955$, $p < 0.05$) differs considerably between the groups of children, as adopted children are associated with lower levels of emotional and psychological stability, happiness and self-confidence than non-adopted children. Further analyses have revealed that the difference is significant between both groups of non-adopted and adopted children (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, emotional and psychological stability dimension: between non-adopted – adopted Cohen's $d > 0.410$; non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.229$; self-confidence dimension: nonadopted – adopted Cohen's $d = 0.449$; non-adopted – Roma adopted Cohen's $d = 0.521$); however, there is no difference between the two adopted groups – Roma ($M_{\text{emo}} = 1.91$, $SD = 0.56$, $M_{\text{self-conf}} = 1.81$, $SD = 0.49$) and non-Roma ($M_{\text{emo}} = 1.86$, $SD = 0.47$), ($M_{\text{self-conf}} = 1.86$, $SD = 0.43$) (Post hoc Games Howell test $p = 0.365$). As for the perception of happiness, even if there is a significant difference between the groups (ANOVA, $F = 3.387$, $p < 0.05$), based on further analyses between the groups the only difference is between non-adopted children and adopted Roma children ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 0.41$, Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.262$), and there is no correlation (Post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$) with adopted children ($M = 1.97$, $SD = 0.36$). In terms of association with gratitude, there was a significant difference for adopted children according to the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA, $F = 8.302$, $p < 0.001$). This difference still appears when we compare the non-adopted group and the two groups of adopted children (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, non-adopted – adopted Cohen's $d = 0.119$; non-adopted – Roma adopted

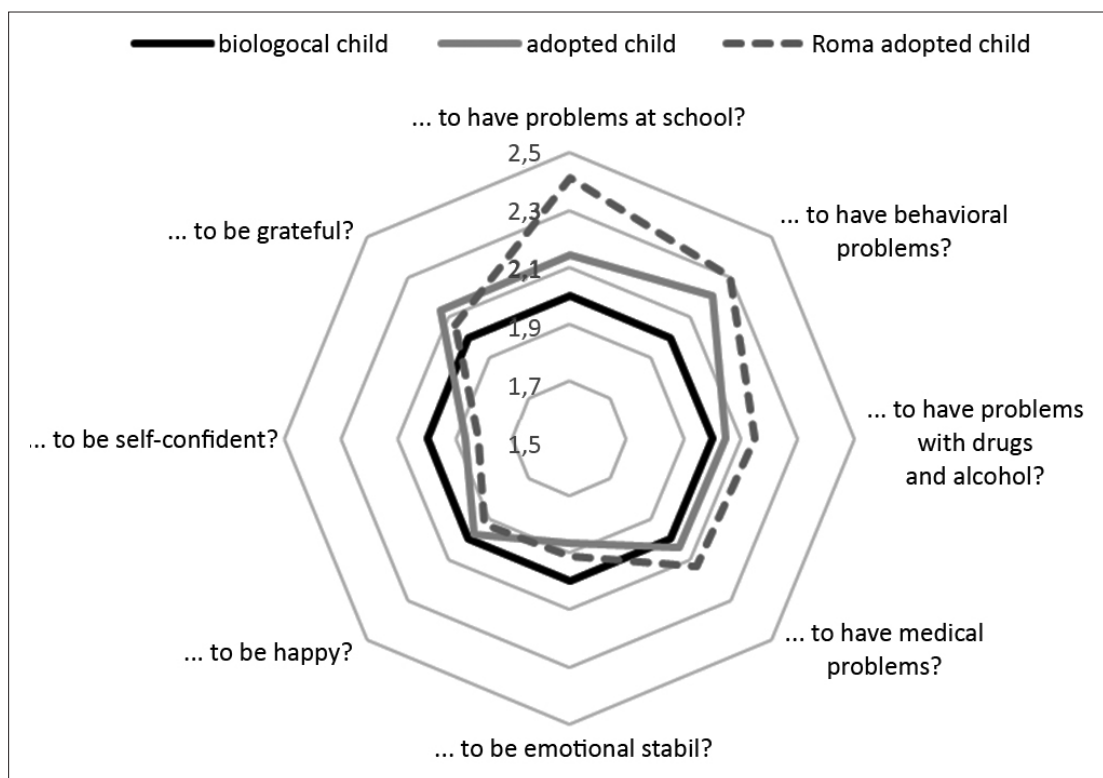


Figure 1. Stereotypes related to adopted and Roma adopted children ($p < 0,05$)

Cohen's $d = 0.016$), however we did not find any difference between Roma ($M = 2.06$, $SD = 0.41$) and non-Roma ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.45$) adopted children (Post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$). With regard to close bonds we did not find any difference between non-adopted, adopted and adopted Roma children (ANOVA, $F = 0,863$, $p > 0,05$).

Stereotypes of parents adopting Roma and non-Roma children

From the Analysis of Variance we found that there is no difference in terms of perceived parental capability (ANOVA, $F = 1.337$, $p > 0.05$) and competence (ANOVA, $F = 0.910$, $p > 0.05$) between non-adoptive parents, adoptive parents and adoptive parents with Roma children, however there is a significant difference in relation

to warmth and friendliness. The parents judged to be the warmest and friendliest are those who adopt a Roma child ($M_{\text{friendly}} = 4.17$, $SD = 0.80$), ($M_{\text{warmth}} = 4.13$, $SD = 0.83$), followed by adoptive parents in general ($M_{\text{friendly}} = 4.05$, $SD = 0.67$), ($M_{\text{warmth}} = 4.05$, $SD = 0.77$). The Post hoc Games Howell test allowed us to compare within the groups for the category of warmth ($p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.292$) and friendliness ($p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.238$), and we found that there is a significant difference between non-adoptive parents and parents who adopt a Roma child. However, there was no significant difference between other groups (Post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$).

Our findings then go on to indicate how adoptive parents are judged on the emotional scales of admiration, pride, disgust and contempt. The compact sample Analysis of

Variance showed that there is no significant difference in terms of admiration (ANOVA, $F = 0.172$, $p > 0.05$) and contempt (ANOVA, $F = 1.124$, $p > 0.05$); however, there is a significant difference in terms of pride (ANOVA, $F = 3.311$, $p < 0.05$) and disgust (ANOVA, $F = 4.161$, $p < 0.05$). In the case of pride, the difference is between non-adoptive and adoptive parents (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.215$), and between non-adoptive parents and parents adopting Roma (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.264$). However, there is no difference between the two adopting groups (Post hoc Games Howell

test $p > 0.05$). Based on these results, we can affirm that compared with non-adoptive parents, adoptive parents ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.92$), and then parents adopting a Roma child ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.94$) trigger fewer feelings of pride. In terms of disgust, it is only between adoptive parents ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 0.78$) and adoptive parents with a Roma child ($M = 4.16$, $SD = 0.98$, Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.223$) that there is a difference. Adoptive parents therefore give rise to less disgust and the adoptive parents with a Roma child give rise to more disgust when compared with non-adoptive parents.

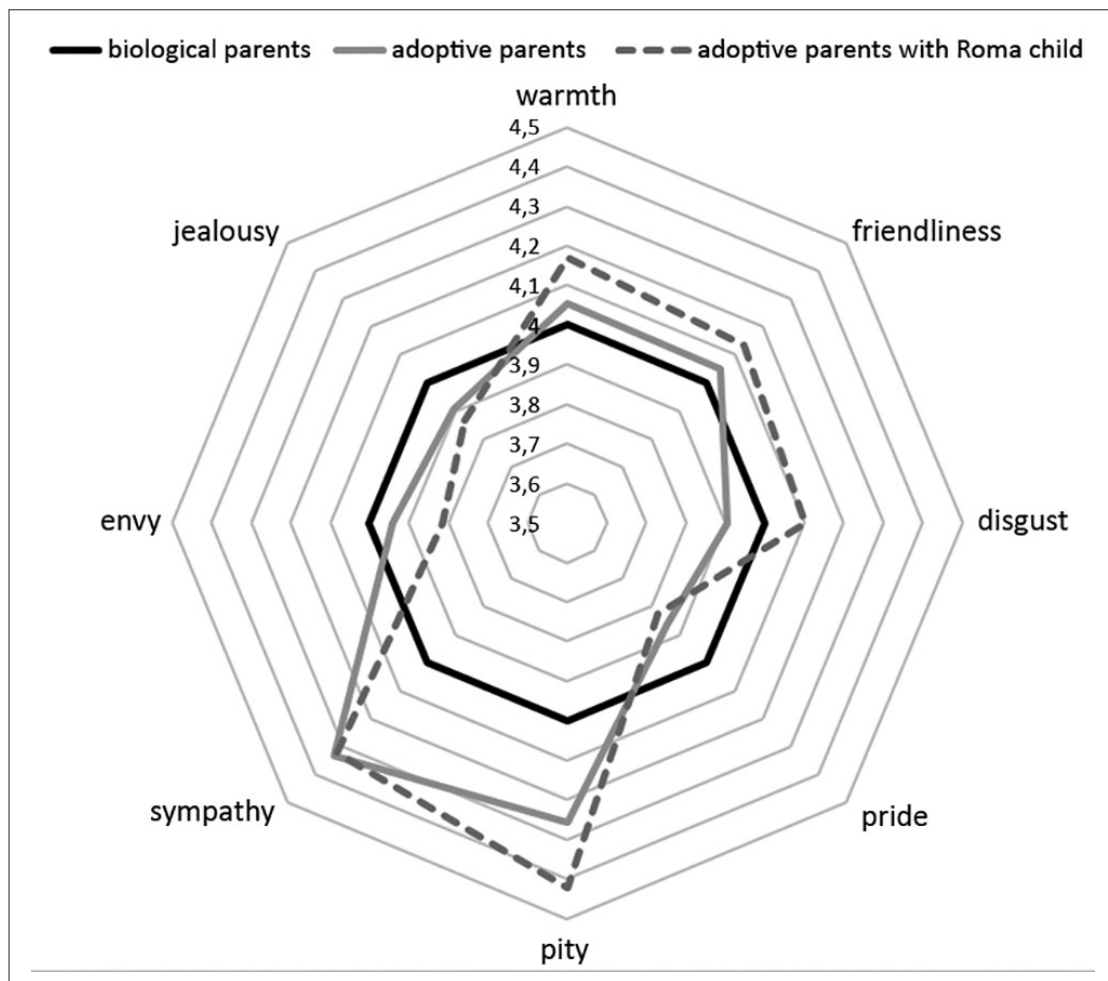


Figure 2. Stereotypes related to adoptive parents and parents adopting Roma child ($p < 0.05$)

There are significant differences between the groups for all four feelings in the category of pity and jealousy. Envy (ANOVA, $F = 5.168$, $p < 0.05$) and jealousy (ANOVA, $F = 2.834$, $p < 0.05$) are less associated with adoptive parents ($M_{\text{envy}} = 3.94$, $SD = 0.74$, $M_{\text{jealous}} = 3.91$, $SD = 0.77$) and even less associated with adoptive parents with a Roma child ($M_{\text{envy}} = 3.81$, $SD = 0.78$, $M_{\text{jealous}} = 3.86$, $SD = 0.72$). We found a significant difference between non-adoptive parents and adoptive parents with a Roma child, both in terms of envy (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.336$) and jealousy (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, Cohen's $d = 0.264$). There is a significant difference in terms of pity (ANOVA, $F = 18.369$, $p < 0.05$) and sympathy (ANOVA, $F = 15.430$, $p < 0.05$). Sympathy, however, is expressed more toward adoptive parents ($M_{\text{adpt}} = 4.33$, $SD = 0.89$, $M_{\text{adptR}} = 4.30$, $SD = 0.87$), whereas pity is expressed more toward parents adopting a Roma child ($M_{\text{adpt}} = 4.25$, $SD = 0.97$, $M_{\text{adptR}} = 4.42$, $SD = 0.84$) when compared with non-adoptive parents. The results of the post hoc analyses carried out between the groups show that it is only between non-adoptive and adoptive parents and parent adopting Roma child that there is a significant difference for both of these feelings (Post hoc Games Howell test $p < 0.05$, sympathy dimension: between non-adoptive and adoptive parents Cohen's $d = 0.529$, non-adoptive and parent adopting Roma child Cohen's $d = 0.525$; pity dimension between non-adoptive and adoptive parents Cohen's $d = 0.374$, non-adoptive and parent adopting Roma child Cohen's $d = 0.712$). There is no difference between adoptive parents and parents adopting a Roma child (Post hoc Games Howell test $p > 0.05$) in terms of pity or sympathy.

DISCUSSION

We considered it important to investigate how Hungarian society perceives adoption, how Hungarians think about children living with their biological parents compared to adopted children and adopted Roma children, and how they relate to adoptive parents and adoptive parents of Roma children. In public discourse both dignity and contempt were associated with the adoption in general, which makes the everyday lives of adoptive families more difficult (Foli, 2010; Neményi and Takács, 2015). We assume that this is particularly the case in interethnic families, where discrimination against adoptive families is added to general anti-Roma sentiment. Although the academic literature indicates a need for and approval of interethnic adoption due to the high infertility rate (Mohanty, 2014), the general rejection present in Hungary (Simonovits and Bernát, 2016) causes us to assume that interethnic adoption is less-approved family construction. Our initial assumption based on these research findings has been confirmed, as adoption in general has a higher approval ratio, and is associated with more positive feelings than interethnic adoption. This is also reflected in the finding that those who tend not to approve of the adoption of Roma children tend to emphasize the importance of ethnic homogeneity within the family. They also consider it acceptable for future adoptive parents to specify a list of ethnic preferences, thereby excluding the adoption of Roma children. According to a study on prospective adoptive parents in Budapest, in 2013 66% of applicants set ethnic exclusions (Neményi and Takács, 2015), but in our sample only 32 approved of this atti-

tude. This significant difference could be explained by the fact that in our survey respondents perceived the adoption as a theoretical and abstract situation. However, it is possible that a real-life situation would alter the approval ratio.

The findings published in the international academic literature led us to assume that in Hungary we will also find a certain amount of ambivalence in terms of attitudes towards adoptive families. This dual judgment is especially valid for adoptive parents, who are associated with the stereotype of being warm and as well as receiving pity from the community, while the children are more associated with a lower level of satisfaction, less happiness and with a higher level of school and behavior-related problems.

The results therefore reflect the general view that adopted children are more prone to deviancy than their non-adopted counterparts. Society tends to presume that there is a difference between adopted and non-adopted children in terms of school problems or adaptation. Our assumptions relating to how children are associated with certain deviances were supported, as most of these are associated with adopted children, and especially with adopted Roma children. Analysis of further responses provided us with valuable results. According to these findings, behavioral disorders appearing later on are thought to be due to the adoption, as we did not find any significant difference between Roma and non-Roma children. Respondents associated the various behavioral disorders and problems related to school, alcohol and drugs more with the adopted than non-adopted children. These findings are in line with the result of the American attitude survey

(Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2007; Clark-Miller, 2005). Within deviant behavior, drug use is more associated with adopted children of Roma ethnicity, as there was no difference between adopted and non-adopted children in this aspect. The stereotypes associated with adopted Roma children may stem from the Hungarian social context, and even if we do not have any comparative data we can assume – based on the general and open anti-Roma narratives in Hungary –, that this is one reason why far more potential problems are associated with adopted Roma children with than other children. Our findings in this sense confirm the results of previous studies focusing on society's general view of Roma children (Abajo, 2008; Havas et al.; 2001, Kende, 2013), as society tends to associate a higher level of drug use with Roma youth, even if they become children of ethnically Hungarian parents through adoption.

We also assumed that the identity of being adopted may cause those affected to feel different and that feelings of inferiority mean that positive self-esteem and other emotions, such as happiness, self-confidence and emotional stability, are associated less with adopted children. Based on our results, we can claim that our hypothesis proved to be correct, as in line with previous studies (Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, 2002; Clark-Miller, 2005) emotional and psychological stability, happiness and self-confidence are less associated with adopted children than their non-adopted counterparts. However, we did not find any difference between the attributions to Roma and non-Roma adopted children. Therefore, society's assumption that in the future a child will be less emotionally

and psychologically stable, and less happy and self-confident is more linked to the fact that they are adopted and not the fact that they are Roma.

Based on the three major stereotypes related to the adoption – that the biological link is more important, that there cannot be such a strong emotional connection and that adoptive parents are not real parents (Miall, 1987) – we assumed that when it comes to judging the intensity of emotional connection, the bond between adopted children and their adoptive parents would be less strong than that between children and their biological parents, and inversely proportionate to this they would expect gratitude from the adopted child toward his/her parents. Our hypothesis on the emotional connection was, however, not confirmed, as there was no difference in how the intensity of the emotional connections between the groups was judged. Therefore, contrary to our assumption, the respondents did not presume that the emotional connection between parents and children in adoptive families is less intense. Our hypotheses focusing on gratitude were, however, confirmed, as respondents perceived that adopted children would have more gratitude, but there was no significant difference between the Roma and non-Roma adopted children. This indicates that the respondents associate the sentiment of gratitude with adoption.

In this study we measured the stereotypes of adoptive parents using the concepts in the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007). Based on this, contrary to our assumption, we found that there is no difference in terms of parental warmth and authenticity between adoptive and non-adoptive parents. Our initial assump-

tion was that parental ability and authenticity could be questioned in the case of adoption (Neményi and Takács, 2015); however, this was not confirmed in this research. As for the other aspects of the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007), our initial assumptions proved to be correct, as adoptive parents are viewed as friendlier and warmer. Initially we did not focus on the issue of whether these perceptions would be higher in the case of adoptive parents or the parents who adopt a Roma child, but our results show that parents who adopt a Roma child are considered warmer and friendlier.

Ambivalent feelings toward adoptive parents were measured in this study by examining what respondents associate with various feelings based on the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2007). We initially assumed that this ambivalence would be found in the categories of admiration, pride and contempt, but the findings only partly support this assumption. In terms of admiration and contempt there was no difference between the various groups of parents – non-adoptive parents, adoptive parents and adoptive parents with a Roma child. However, at the same time there were differences related to admiration and disgust, which we did not assume initially. The feeling of admiration was associated more with the adoption itself, while disgust was associated more with the adoption of Roma children. The association of feelings linked to admiration with adoptive parents may stem from the stereotype that adoption is a noble social act, a sort of altruistic gesture (Foli, 2010). Disgust, even if this seems an overwhelmingly negative term, was strongly associated with the adoption of Roma children. The clear association

with this strong emotion is probably down to anti-Roma stereotypes.

The four feelings linked to pity and jealousy revealed differences between non-adoptive parents, adoptive parents and parents adopting a Roma child. Based on our results, we can claim that in accordance with our assumption that there is less envy and jealousy of adoptive parents. However, at the same time there is a significant amount of pity and sympathy toward them. Pity – as we assumed – is felt more toward parents adopting a Roma child, while sympathy is felt more toward adoptive parents who do not adopt a Roma child. This feeling of pity may result from the fact that society is likely to consider that parents adopting Roma children have to deal with problems stemming from the Roma identity and the social difficulties it causes in addition to the stigmatized nature of the adoption itself (Bogár, 2011).

Limitations

Several aspects of this issue still need to be investigated. It would be useful to reveal the stereotypes which are related to the third person involved in the adoption process, i.e. the parent who puts the child up for adoption. This issue has been somewhat neglected by researchers to date. In this study, unlike in previous studies, we analyzed parents using a different approach, by applying a research method, i.e. the stereotype content model, which did not allow for a more detailed comparison with the results of former studies. This paper – besides the questions it includes – applied several measuring methods that have not been mentioned in the methods section. It would, however, be worth looking for correlation with these factors too. For example, it

would be interesting to examine data relating to manifestations of anti-Roma attitudes and their influence on interethnic adoptive families.

CONCLUSION

Our findings reflect the fact that in Hungary today it is possible to gauge the status of adoption by examining the public views on adopted children and adoptive parents. The stereotypes and misconceptions which exist in Hungarian society, and which have been revealed through our research, may feed the stigmatization of adoptive families, especially in the case of interethnic adoptions. In such cases, adoptive families have to face, besides general views on adoption, general anti-Roma sentiment as well (Keresztes-Takács et al., 2016).

As for adopted children, the general view in society is that an adopted child is different from other children (March, 1995; Miall, 1996; Clark-Miller, 2005). This differentiation is reflected in the assumptions that adopted children are prone to various problems and deviancies, or in assumptions that they are not as happy, self-confident or stable as their non-adopted counterparts. However, in terms of the emotional links, there is no difference between these groups of children.

The analysis of the stereotypes of adoptive parents and association with feelings proved that several, apparently contradictory feelings and stereotypes exist in the case of both interethnic and non-interethnic families. The biggest contradiction can be observed in the way parents adopting Roma children are judged. They are associated with warmth and friendliness, yet also with pity and disgust. Even if there are no comparative

research findings referring to the stereotype content model, we can affirm that the double or mixed feelings appearing in other societies are present in Hungary too. The Hungarian situation corresponds to the findings of

Clark-Miller (2005) in that adoptive parents are perceived as less authentic, and they are looked upon in a more negative way, and that expected behavior is more ambivalent and less supportive than in non-adoptive families.

ÖSSZEFOGLALÓ

AZ ÖRÖKBEOFAGADÓ ÉS AZ INTERETNIKUS ÖRÖKBEOFAGADÓ CSALÁDOKKAL KAPCSOLATOS SZTEREOTÍPIÁK MAGYARORSZÁGON

Háttér és célkitűzések: A tanulmány célja az örökbefogadó családokat körülvevő társadalmi közeg szociálpszichológiai és interkulturális vonatkozásainak bemutatása, vagyis az örökbefogadó családokat körbevevő társadalmi kontextus vizsgálata. Célunk annak feltárása, hogy a társadalomban milyen vélekedések, sztereotípiák fogalmazódnak meg az örökbefogadó családokkal kapcsolatban és milyen a társadalom viszonyulása ezen családokhoz különösen abban az esetben, ha nem roma szülők roma gyermeket fogadnak örökbe.

Módszer: 2016 nyarán készített kutatásban kérdőív segítségével mértük fel (N = 222), hogy ma a magyar társadalom hogyan viszonyul az örökbefogadáshoz, valamint az örökbefogadó interetnikus és nem interetnikus családokhoz. Az örökbefogadáshoz, örökbefogadó szülőkhez és örökbefogadott gyermekekhez kapcsolódó attitűdöt a sztereotípiá-tartalommodell alapján kérdeztük.

Eredmények: Feltételezéseink nagy része beigazolódott, miszerint az interetnikus örökbefogadás kevésbé elfogadott, mint az örökbefogadás általánosságban. Valamint örökbefogadott gyermekekkel és azon belül a roma gyermekekkel kapcsolatban élnek azon sztereotípiák, elvárások, miszerint biológiai családdal felnövekvő társaikkal szemben hajlamosabbak devianciákra, hálásabbnak kell lenniük szüleiknek, valamint kevésbé boldogok. Az örökbefogadó szülők esetében eredményeink alapján elmondható, hogy általánosságban melegszívűbbnek és barátságosabbnak ítélik őket. De emellett az együttérzés és a szánalom érzete is érvényesül összehasonlítva a nem örökbefogadó szülőkkel, ez utóbbi különösen igaz roma gyermeket örökbefogadó szülőknél.

Következtetések: Ezen magyar társadalomban élő örökbefogadással kapcsolatos és jelen kutatásban kimutatott sztereotípiák és tévhitek alapjául szolgálnak az örökbefogadó családok stigmatizált helyzetére, különösen ha interetnikus örökbefogadásról beszélünk, amely esetben a családoknak az általános romellenes közhangulattal is meg kell birkózniauk.

Kulcsszavak: örökbefogadás, sztereotípiá, sztereotípiá-tartalommodell, interetnikus, roma

REFERENCES

- ABAJO ALCALDE, J. E. (2008): *Cigány gyerekek az iskolában*. [Gypsy children at school]. Translated from Spanish into Hungarian by Papp Attila. Nyitott Könyvműhely, Budapest.
- ALLPORT, G. W. (1999). *Az előítélet*. [The Prejudice]. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest.
- BOGÁR ZS. (2011): *Az örökbefogadás lélektana*. [Psychology of Adoption]. Ágacska Alapítvány az Örökbefogadásért és a Családokért, Budapest.
- BREAKWELL, G. M. (1993): Social representations and social identity. *Papers on Social Representation*, 2(3). 198–217.
- CLARK-MILLER, K. M. (2005): The adoptive identity: stigma and social interaction. PhD Dissertation. The University of Arizona. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/195518> (Downloaded on 16 January 2018)
- CROCKER, J., MAJOR, B. (1989): Social stigma and self-esteem. The self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96(4). 608–630.
- CUDDY, A. J. C., FISKE, S. T., GLICK, P. (2007): The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(4). 631–648.
- DAVE THOMAS FOUNDATION FOR ADOPTION (2002): *National foster care adoption attitudes survey*. Harris Interactive. <http://empoweredtoconnect.org/wp-content/uploads/Adoption-Attitudes-Study-June-2002.pdf> (Downloaded on 16 January 2018)
- DAVE THOMAS FOUNDATION FOR ADOPTION (2007): *National foster care adoption attitudes survey*. Harris Interactive. https://dciw4f5317k9i.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/ExecSummary_NatlFosterCareAdoptionAttitudesSurvey.pdf (Downloaded on 16 January 2018)
- DAVE THOMAS FOUNDATION FOR ADOPTION (2013): *National foster care adoption attitudes survey*. Harris Interactive. Retrieved from <https://dciw4f5317k9i.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/DTFA-HarrisPoll-REPORT-USA-FINALI.pdf> (Downloaded on 16 January 2018)
- FISKE, S. T., CUDDY, A. J. C., GLICK, P., XU, J. (2002): A Model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6). 878–902.
- FOLI, K. J. (2010): Depression in adoptive parents. A model of understanding through grounded theory. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 32(3). 379–400.
- GLOVER, M. B., MULLINEAUX, P. Y., DEATER-DECKARD, K., PETRILL, S., A. (2010): Parents' Feelings Towards Their Adoptive and Non-Adoptive Children. *Infant and Child Development*. 19(3). 238–251.
- GOAR, C., DAVIS, J. L. MANAGO, B. (2016): Discursive entwinement. How white transracially adoptive parents navigate race. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 3(3). 1–17.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1963): Stigma and social identity In Goffman, E.: *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs. 1–40.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1998): Stigma és szociális identitás. [Stigma and social identity]. In Erős F. (szerk.) *Megismerés, előítélet, identitás*. [Cognition, prejudice, identity]. (Ford. Csepeli Gy. és mtsai). Új Mandátum, Budapest. 253–295.

- HARRIGAN M. M. (2009): Contradictions of identity-work. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 26(5). 634–658.
- HAVAS G., HERCZOG M., NEMÉNYI M. (2007): *Fenntartott érdektelenség. Roma gyerekek a gyermekvédelmi rendszerben*. [Dis-interest of the child. Romani children in the Hungarian child protection system]. Európai Roma Jogok Központja, Budapest.
- HAVAS G., KEMÉNY I. LISKÓ I. (2001): *Cigány gyerekek az általános iskolában*. [Gipsy children at ordinary school]. Oktatókutató Intézet, Budapest.
- HERCZOG M. (2001): Vesztesség, gyász és örökbefogadás. [Loss, mourning and adoption]. *Család, Gyermek, Ifjúság*, 10(2). 61–65.
- JUFFER, F., VAN IJZENDOORN, M. H. (2005): Behavior problems and mental health referrals of international adoptees. A meta-analysis. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 293(20). 2501–2515.
- KENDE, Á. (2013). Normál gyerek, cigány gyerek. [Normal child, roma child]. *Esély*, 25(2). 70–82.
- KERESZTES-TAKÁCS O., LENDVAI L., KENDE A. (2016): Romaellenes előítéletek Magyarországon. Politikai orientációtól, nemzeti identitástól és demográfiai változóktól független nyílt elutasítás. [Anti-roma prejudice in Hungary. Blatant rejection independent of political orientation, national identity and demographic variables.]. *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 71(4). 609–627.
- KERESZTES-TAKÁCS O., NGUYEN LUU, L. A. (2017): Az örökbefogadás szociálpszichológiai megközelítése. Interszekcionalitás az örökbefogadásban. [Social aspect of adoption. Intersectionality and adoption]. *Alkalmazott Pszichológia*, 17(2). 53–69.
- KIRK, H. D. (1964): *Shared fate. A theory of adoption and mental health*. *Social Forces*, 43(1). 120.
- LANCASTER, C., NELSON, K W. (2009): Where attachment meets acculturation. Three cases of international adoption. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, 17(4). 302–311.
- LANSFORD, J. E., CEBALLO, R., ABBEY, A., STEWART, A. J. (2001): Does family structure matter? A comparison of adoptive, two-parent biological, single-mother, stepfather and stepmother households. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63(3). 840–851.
- MALDONADO, S. (2005): Discouraging racial preferences in adoptions. *UC Davis Law Review*, 39(4). 1415–1422.
- MARCH, K. (1995): Perception of adoption as social stigma: Motivation for search and reunion. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57(3). 653–660.
- MARCH, K. (1997): The dilemma of adoption reunion: Establishing open communication between adoptees and their birth mothers. *Family Relations*, 46(2). 99–105
- MIALL, C. E. (1987): The Stigma of adoptive parent status. Perceptions of community attitudes toward adoption and the experience of informal social sanctioning. *Family Relations*, 36(1). 34–39.
- MIALL, C. E. (1996): The Social construction of adoption: Clinical and community perspectives. *Family Relations*, 45(3). 309–317.
- MOHANTY J. (2014): Attitudes toward adoption in Singapore. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(5). 705–728.

- NEMÉNYI, M. (2007): A serdülő roma gyerekek identitás-stratégiái. [Identity strategies of Roma adolescents]. *Educatio*, 19(1). 84–98.
- NEMÉNYI M., MESSING V. (2007): Gyermekvédelem és esélyegyenlőség. [Child protection and equal opportunity]. *Kapocs*, 6(1). 2–19.
- NEMÉNY M., TAKÁCS J. (2015): Az örökbefogadás és diszkrimináció. [Adoption and discrimination]. *Esély*, 27(2). 69–96.
- NGUYEN LUU, L. A. (2012): Magyarországon élő fiatalok többségi és kisebbségi identitása egy kvalitatív vizsgálat tükrében. [Majority and minority identity of youth living in Hungary in the light of a qualitative study]. In Nguyen Luu, L.A., Szabó, M. (szerk.): *Identitás a kultúrák kereszttüzében*. [Identity in crossing of cultures]. ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest. 45–91.
- PAVAO, J. M. (2012): *Az örökbefogadás háromszöge*. [The triangle of adoption]. Mózeskosár Egyesület, Budapest.
- PONGRÁCZ T. (2007): A gyermekvállalás, gyermektelenség és a gyermek értéke közötti kapcsolat az európai régió országaiban. [Connection among willingness to have children, being childless and the value of child in European countries]. *Demográfia*, 50(2–3). 197–219.
- SIMONOVITS B., BERNÁT A. (2016): *The social aspect of the 2015 migration crisis in Hungary*. TÁRKI Social Research Institute, Budapest.
- SON HING, L. S., CHUNG-YAN, G. A., HAMILTON L. K., ZANNA, M. P. (2008): A two-dimensional model that employs explicit and implicit attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(6). 971–987.
- SZILVÁSI L. (2005): Örökbefogadás – Identitás – Sajtó – Botrány. [Adoption – Identity – Press – Bobbery.] *Család Gyermek Ifjúság*. 14(1). 4–7.
- WEGAR, K. (1997): In search of bad mothers. Social constructions of birth and adoptive motherhood. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20(1). 77–86.
- WEGAR, K. (2000): Adoption, family ideology, and social stigma: Bias in community attitudes, adoption. *Research, and Practice. Family Relations*, 49(4). 363–370.
- YNGVESSON, B. (2010): *Belonging in an adopted world: Race, identity, and transnational adoption*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.