

# Decade of the Roma

5 NON-ROMA GROUPS  
Focus Groups Discussion

**Hungary**



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## ***SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS***

- **The respondents were very pessimistic about the present and future situation in the country; without exceptions they thought that most issues are going to the wrong direction.**
- **We found two different patterns of opinion regarding the evaluation of joining to the European Union: on the one hand there was a line condemning and considering it as necessary evil, and on the other hand respondents concentrated on the future advantages of the Union, basically agreeing with the country joining to the EU.**
- **To summarise it can be stated that the majority of the respondents (with one or two exceptions) show strong ties to their Hungarian identity. The elements of this are the following: culture, history (thousands of years of past), language, patriotism, personal relationships, having been born here, sense of belonging somewhere.**
- **Hungarian nation is perceived by most respondents as a colourful nation however different opinions could be identified on this phenomenon assessed as being positive or negative.**
- **Apart from a few exceptions the respondents assessed Hungarians as a tolerant nation, which treats the minorities in living in the country properly; it is welcoming towards the refugees arriving here and handles issues of religion in a tolerant way.**
- **Sharply different opinions could be observed during the discussion between the different groups and between the respondents within a group as well. To summarise it can be stated that the majority of the respondents think of the Roma along characteristic and deeply anchored biases.**
- **The opinions on the Roma were formulated along the following stereotypes: they do not like to work, they use their children as sources of income, and they are deviant, uneducated, and dangerous and follow very different behavioural patterns.**
- **According to the opinion of the majority of the respondents the Roma would not like to integrate into the Hungarian society – the present situation is suitable for them as the society “maintains” them.**
- **We can state that every respondent has had relationships with Roma people and the experience arising from that had some effect on their image of the Roma but the relationship changes this image to a negative direction more easily than to a positive one.**

- **Apart from a few exceptions (see older group from Miskolc and young group from Pécs) the respondents deemed that the Roma are treated well in Hungary. They therefore did not feel backwardness or things to be improved.**
- **According to the respondents the Roma face the following problems in Hungary: discrimination from the majority – prejudices, lack of money – poverty, unemployment being uneducated (mentioned in every group), their own attitude (mentioned in every group).**
- **The general opinion of the respondents was that helping the Roma and handling the complex problems regarding them by no means can be accomplished by segregation, separate schools and institutions, but in a way that provides a real and active relationship and coexistence for the two groups that works on the basis of mutuality. In this respect we can state that the respondents unquestionably argued for integration and against segregation.**
- **The respondents knew several programs or initiatives in every group. The best known seemed to be the advertising campaign on TV and billboards that primarily draws attention to the discrimination against the Roma.**
- **None of the respondents knew any international program or other initiative aimed at helping the Roma. The Decade of the Roma Inclusion Program was known by only two of all the respondents, however, they have heard about it only once and could not talk about it in detail**
- **The reactions given to certain goals of the Program obviously showed that the respondents reckoned the following ones actually existing: Reduced price for preschool programs / books / transport / school lunch for poor Roma children, Loan and scholarship programs so Roma youth can attend University, Free vaccines for Roma children.**
- **The following names of Roma leaders were unanimously mentioned in each group (in the order of frequency): Aladár Horváth, Flórián Farkas, József Krasznai, Orbán Kolompár**
- **The respondents consistently kept on mentioning persons who are not members of the present Hungarian political field as the spokesperson of the Roma Integráció Évtizede Program (Decade of Roma Inclusion).**
- **On the basis of the results of the individual works message "H" had the best average, while message "F" proved to be the least favourable. The following ranking was established among the messages tested on the basis of the averages of all the groups: H (6,63), E (5,96), D (5,2), A (4,75), C (4,58), G (3,9), B (3,23), F (2,74).**

## ***Methodology***

Qualitative research methods have been applied in this research: the method of focus group discussion. Focus group discussions a type of interviewing technique in which the appropriately selected members of the focus group participate in a discussion.

We invited 8 respondents for methodological reasons.

We organised eight focus group discussions in the period between 1<sup>st</sup> June and 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2005. The pattern of the research is summarised in the table below.

places groups	<b>Budapest</b>		<b>Miskolc</b>		<b>Pécs</b>
<b>Roma</b>	Younger male			Older male	Older female
<b>non-Roma</b>	Younger mixed	Older mixed	Younger mixed	Older mixed	Younger mixed

This study contains the interpretation and analysis of the materials obtained during the non-Roma group discussions.

## ***SURVEY RESULTS***

### **1. Situation in the country**

- **The respondents were very pessimistic about the present and future situation in the country; without exceptions they thought that most issues are going to the wrong direction.**

Among respondents from either Budapest or other parts of the country, either young or elder the same pattern of opinions could be observed; respondents think that there are very few areas that one can be optimistic about. They found the following segments loaded with negative effects and problems: health care, agriculture, low wages, high inflow of foreign investments to the country, and the difficulties that Hungarian companies face accordingly. Education was assessed ambivalently; the majority of respondents still assessed it as high standard, however they think there are signs of recession there as well. Different motivating factors could be noticed in the background of the very pessimistic views: the young group from Budapest seemed to be strongly dissatisfied with the ideology of the present (socialist-liberal) government, while we could identify some nostalgia about the period before the change of political system in the older group from Miskolc and the younger group from Pécs.

*We are fundamentally going to the wrong direction, but now we are going to an even worse direction within that. [...] Well, because of the government, the present leadership is incompetent. There is total chaos I suppose. (young group, Budapest)*

*After all we don't get anything. So if we have a look back at the communist era, there used to be the pioneers and everything; they dealt with us. We went to Lake Balaton; there was the company's holiday home. . [...] They let the youth become scattered. There are no programs that would engage them. (young group from Pécs)*

The respondents mentioned Hungarian professional sports as a well-operating area, while they evaluated the reform of the family support system as a positive step.

- **We found two different patterns of opinion regarding the evaluation of joining to the European Union: on the one hand there was a line condemning and considering it as necessary evil, and on the other hand respondents concentrated on the future advantages of the Union, basically agreeing with the country joining to the EU.**

The respondents unanimously agreed that the potential advantages of Hungary joining the EU presently cannot be experienced or to a little extent only and mainly the future generations will make advantage of it.

*I think it wasn't a bad choice all in all, but I suppose people need time to get used to it; they make certain regulations that are effective in Hungary and I think this won't be good for us, not in our lives but our grandchildren might feel the positive effects of these. (young group, Miskolc)*

There were significant differences however in the evaluation of Hungary joining the European Union. On the one hand a view could be identified (shared by three quarters of the subjects) that joining was a necessary evil as being a small country that depends on the other European countries economically, financially and culturally as well, we could not have stayed out of the union.

*We know about a union [viz. the Soviet Union] that has failed; that was started rather similarly. [...] I think we will get to the same problems. Hungary has always needed somebody to belong to, because it has never been able to stand alone. (older group, Miskolc)*

The opportunities to work abroad, the easier way to cross the border and the idea of being European, the union and system of values spreading to Hungary have been mentioned as positive aspects of joining.

*I think it's positive. I definitely like, say, communities and in fact this is a sort of big community. And every community has its positive effects [...] These are mainly taken in terms of mentality and lifestyle. (young group, Budapest)*

In addition the many of the respondents in the group discussions looked on the European Union in terms of the economy defining it as an economic and commercial community that exclusively aims to strengthen the potentials of these two segments and serves to help Europe be competitive worldwide.

*The Union is an economic community; it's a business (young group, Pécs)*

## **2. National identity and attitudes toward differences**

- **To summarise it can be stated that the majority of the respondents (with one or two exceptions) show strong ties to their Hungarian identity. The elements of this are the following: culture, history (thousands of years of past), language, patriotism, personal relationships, having been born here, sense of belonging somewhere.**

While talking about their being Hungarian, a twofold ambivalent attitude could be observed among respondents: on the one hand they mentioned pride in most cases. Besides that many gave the example that now they could choose to work anywhere in

Europe and would be able to provide better financial circumstances for themselves and their families still they would not leave Hungary, because they like living here and feel strong ties towards the country.

*Belonging somewhere is the common past; it mainly means that for me. And when we talk about going abroad from this country to work with my husband – he would go anyway – to make it a little bit better, to establish our future... I wouldn't like to go away. (young group, Pécs)*

At the same time many respondents told about some strange negative feeling mixed with their pride. If they look at the Hungarian people from outside – they think Hungarians are generally pessimistic and sometimes passive – they feel something bad. In addition many respondents have had negative experience about the generalisations towards Hungarians abroad and foreigners think stereotypically about them.

*It's a sense of belonging somewhere, but it's a little bit negative for me; especially people's attitude, this pessimism all the time. (young group, Budapest)*

*And then there was a warning: „Hungarians, do not steal!“, out there [i.e. in Austria] in the shops it was written in Hungarian. And if they had heard someone speaking Hungarian they wouldn't have talked to them (older group, Budapest)*

- **Hungarian nation is perceived by most respondents as a colourful nation however different opinions could be identified on this phenomenon assessed as being positive or negative.**

In responders' opinion it can be experienced in Hungary that more and more groups from different countries live together. Regarding the assessment of this, different opinion patterns were identified: mostly the younger respondents of higher status had positive attitudes towards this phenomenon.

*It definitely makes the country interesting. (young group, Pécs)*

The respondents named the Swabians, Slavic, Chinese and Tót living in Hungary and they listed the resettlement of people into and out of the country and the different periods of occupation as the source of this colourfulness.

*Well, Hungarian history has been full with disasters unfortunately. And then when the different Slavic and Swabian people were settled into Hungary it set up a rather colourful culture. (young group, Budapest)*

Negative opinions could also be identified among the respondents regarding the country becoming colourful: they think that the great number of foreigners in the country does not have good effects on the Hungarians.

*There are more and more foreigners in the country. [Is that good or bad?] Considering the Hungarians it's bad. (young group, Miskolc)*

- **Apart from a few exceptions the respondents assessed Hungarians as a tolerant nation, which treats the minorities in living in the country properly; it is welcoming towards the refugees arriving here and handles issues of religion in a tolerant way.**

Answering the question on how we, Hungarians treat tourists the respondents reported twofold features: on the one hand they characterised Hungarians as a very hospitable nation; on the other hand however they assessed events when taxi drivers and people working in catering issue too high invoices to foreign tourists negatively. In addition they assessed as a further problem that very few people speak foreign languages in Hungary, which makes welcoming foreign tourists even more difficult.

*Well it is shown mostly in hospitality. I think Hungarians are infinitely kind, polite and especially with tourists. (young group, Miskolc)*

Concerning the treatment of immigrants and refugees the respondents unanimously shared the opinion that Hungary acted in an absolutely admitting way in contrast with the Western countries, which have been very refusing in this issue according to the respondents.

*I think we are tolerant, because we let them in the country. However if we see the Americans, they don't let us or everybody in. They are not so tolerant to let everybody enter. (older group, Miskolc)*

The respondents completely agreed that nobody is suffering disadvantages or enjoys advantages – that is there is no discrimination at all – because of their religion. They assumed that the background of this is the fact that religion is a very insignificant aspect of life at the moment.



### 3. Attitude toward the Roma

- **Sharply different opinions could be observed during the discussion between the different groups and between the respondents within a group as well. To summarise it can be stated that the majority of the respondents think of the Roma along characteristic and deeply anchored biases.**

#### Young group, Budapest:

We could observe a very harsh attitude toward the Roma occasionally filled with hatred from the respondents in the young group from Budapest with the exception of one boy.

*I don't understand why the Hungarians can't be a bit like the Dutch or the Germans or the British. There are so many communities living together so closely tied up that they are inseparable and still they have been getting on for decades. (young group Budapest)*

In contrast the majority of respondents in the young group from Budapest had a racist attitude toward the Roma arguing along opinions that genetically coded personal characteristics inhibit the integration of the Roma.

*It's their genetic code in terms of their attitude toward work. They don't like to work; it's "in their blood". (young group, Budapest)*

To summarise we can state that the respondents thought about the Roma in a very unifacial way through generalisations. It was very surprising because the respondents in this group were widely travelled young people presently being in a higher status who had university degrees. Their hostile and refusing behaviour therefore cannot be explained by the fact that they behave and think like this because they are afraid, or they feel the Roma are endangering their own existence if the state supports another group instead of them.

#### Older group Budapest:

Two opinion patterns were drawn up among the respondents in the older group from Budapest – on the one hand a more differentiated image of the Roma could be identified in half of the respondents: The respondents reported that they do not perceive the Roma in Hungary as one unified mass, but similarly to the Hungarian society they experience them as a layered group that has poor and rich, hardworking and criminal members as well. As a borderline of this dichotomy many respondents

determined living in the country or in Budapest, while others talked about the differences between the groups within the Roma.

*These people however mostly live in the countryside. There are much more honest, decent people among the Roma living in the countryside. [...] My parents live in Szabolcs County; the house next to them was empty, uninhabited. It was bought by a gipsy family. They had seven, eight, nine children. I have rarely seen such a hardworking family; you never heard a loud word from them, just like "Come Jóska, let's go hoeing!". (older group, Budapest)*

*As a musician I used to play together with Roma people and that's a completely different world. But they were nice; there is no problem with them. And I know from them that they expressly hate these Oláh gipsies because they are the ones who definitely don't like to work. (older group, Budapest)*

In the other part of the respondents however – similarly to the respondents in the young group from Budapest – we could identify a perception of the Roma along prejudices and stereotypes. They looked at the Roma primarily as a homogenous group and they assessed the Roma generally as susceptible for crime, deviant, causing fear in other members of the society, work-slacker, having many children irresponsibly. In case of these respondents it could be observed that even if they have positive experiences with the Roma they are still tied to the negative picture assessing the positive aspects as exceptions.

*I have right to this and I have right to that, then they don't want to do anything but exercise their rights and they have ten children while there are the others like you or me who'll think twice of how many children to have. [...] Here there are ten children all that counts is that they get the childcare allowance and all the other allowances that they can. (older group, Budapest)*

*Some of them like to steal only so they avoid having to work. Let's have a look that the prisons are mostly filled with them and not with Hungarians. Because they always say that there are Hungarians in the prisons as well but let's see the proportions. (older group, Budapest)*

#### Young group, Miskolc:

The pattern of attitudes in the young group from Miskolc was very similar to, often the same as that of the young group from Budapest, with the difference that we did not find such strong aversions and hateful expressions toward the Roma among the respondents. However we could identify the evidence of a changeless picture in their minds from their verbal expressions.

To summarise we can state that in order to move the picture of the Roma in the young respondents' minds into a positive direction steps from the Roma are necessary. It was apparent from their expectations that they do not think it is right to change their

negative opinion toward the Roma until their experiences show that the Roma do not change their present behavioural patterns, that is they do not work and they mostly create problematic situations.

*They should be willing to do something in order to get ahead. They should go to work, learn, be clean, and behave normally. Because as a group they are absolutely unbearable I think. (young group, Miskolc)*

#### Older group, Miskolc:

Among the respondents of the older group from Miskolc a more rationally based than emotional opinion pattern came to the surface that we did not observe in the other groups. Namely that it is an attitude accepting a starting point as an axiom that the Roma are actually forced to a more difficult way than the non-Roma; the background of which is that strong, and mostly invalid prejudices can be seen among the non-Roma towards the Roma, and as a consequence they do not have equal chances in certain situations. Jobs, education and health care were mentioned during the discussion where the respondents think the Roma face negative discrimination. The respondents feel this is dangerous because it strengthens conflict between the two groups. Besides this however we have to recognise the fact as a source of danger that institutional discrimination makes such discrimination "legalised" and justifiable for the members of society.

*So if a gipsy applies for a job, he is rejected right away. This is what happens in 90 %. (older group, Miskolc)*

*For example in health care I think they are discriminated because there were cases when gipsies were not put together with non-gipsies. They didn't put them in the same rooms. (older group, Miskolc)*

*I see the problem is that we basically don't give them opportunities in higher education. Why are they ... I hear in the gipsies and the Hungarians are separated in many schools. So there aren't mixed classes here. I know for sure if you go around schools in Miskolc they are discriminated.*

Certainly there were respondents in the older group from Miskolc who were biased towards the Roma and their attitudes were characterised by hostile thinking. The background of this was that the respondents were not highly educated and had rather under-average financial circumstances. Among them it could be obviously observed that they perceive the support of the Roma as allowances taken from them and this strengthened their refusing behaviour towards the Roma.

*To tell the truth, Hungarian people, we work hard, make efforts, we don't spend too much. Let's take the child care allowance, they are waiting for the postman. And where do they go then? They don't go to the grocer's to do the shopping, but they go to the pub. (older group, Miskolc)*

Young group, Pécs:

The respondents in the young group from Pécs expressed similar opinions to those of the older group from Miskolc. On the one hand their image of the Roma seemed to be complex; they perceived the Roma as a layered nationality including many different groups.

Some of the respondents from Pécs also thought about the Roma along prejudices.

*It's like if a gipsy hits you, you don't get surprised; if a white man hits you then you get surprised. [...] I think even the children are aggressive. (young group, Pécs)*

Generally they saw problems that they experienced very little motivation from the Roma to educate themselves and acquire knowledge demanded by the present times, adjust to the requirements. They perceive all this as an evidence for the lack of making efforts to integrate.

*And this has terminated. The knowledge that is the level of knowledge is not needed what they know. And here they can't do anything so they just live like that. [...] They don't look like people who want to integrate. (young group, Pécs)*

- **The opinions on the Roma were formulated along the following stereotypes: they do not like to work, they use their children as sources of income, and they are deviant, uneducated, and dangerous and follow very different behavioural patterns.**

In the table below we summarised the similarities and differences between the Roma and them according to their views. To summarise we can state that a common characteristic unanimously mentioned in each group is "we are humans", while the differences were shaped primarily along culture and a general dimension of attitudes towards life.

It is also important to see in the table that the comparison virtually exclusively is concluded with negative result for the Roma – only the characteristics mentioned by the older group from Miskolc and the younger group from Pécs like "loving the family and solidarity" are exceptions.

groups	common	different
Younger group in Budapest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>We are people</b></li> <li>• We are living in the same country</li> <li>• Usually we are speaking the same language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Way of thinking</li> <li>• Lifestyle</li> <li>• Attitude toward life and work</li> <li>• They don't like to work</li> <li>• Mentality</li> </ul>
Younger group in Miskolc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our citizenship</li> <li>• We walk on two feet</li> <li>• <b>We are people</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Way of life</li> <li>• Culture</li> <li>• Way of speaking</li> <li>• Attitude toward life</li> <li>• The Roma are less intelligent</li> <li>• The Roma are lazy</li> </ul>
Older group in Miskolc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>We are people</b></li> <li>• They also love their family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture</li> <li>• The Roma need less in terms of their demands</li> <li>• Family relations are stronger for them (positive)</li> </ul>
Younger group in Pécs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• We want to stay alive</li> <li>• <b>We are people</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demands are different: the Roma don't want to break out of their situation</li> <li>• They don't think about the future – the Roma live from one day to the other</li> <li>• Culture</li> <li>• Family relations and solidarity are stronger for them (positive)</li> </ul>

In the respondents' unanimous opinion if we compare the Roma living in Hungary with other minorities living here as well then we will find a lot of differences. The Swabians, the Tóts, the Rács, the Croatians and the Serbians were listed by respondents as minority groups – regarding these respondents emphasised that besides keeping their own culture, language and customs each group is an integral part of Hungarian society. In contrast with the Roma who according to their opinions have not incorporated but they can very visibly – according to some respondents in a deviant way – be perceived as a separate group.

*Anyway the Swabians are just as organised, they are similar, they go to work actively and they talk to me in Hungarian normally without accent. I think this is very important. So they are not deviant. (young group, Budapest)*

*The problem is that they don't live their culture like say a Swabian or a Croatian culture lives its own. [...] And they are treated specially [i.e. the Roma], much more positively. (young group, Pécs)*

The only exception from the negative image of the Roma expressed by the respondents were the group of “musician gypsies” – they were unquestionably perceived by the respondents as a group that on the one hand carries important cultural value and on the other hand consists of hardworking people.

- **According to the opinion of the majority of the respondents the Roma would not like to integrate into the Hungarian society – the present situation is suitable for them as the society “maintains” them.**

The majority of the respondents think that the Roma are not willing to integrate into the Hungarian society as on the one hand they do not show any efforts to improve their standard of living, unemployment is high among them which – according to the majority of the respondents – is due to the fact that the Roma do not even want to work. They mentioned as a further reason for the Roma preferring to remain separated is that not changing their situation is a more convenient, less difficult way for the Roma to get on as there is an unambiguous message from the state toward them: they will help them with allowances and financial support. The respondents did not see the efforts from the Roma to integrate if they on one hand would try to adjust to the expectations actually experienced in terms of education, professional knowledge and level of living standard. On the other hand they would see efforts of integration if they experienced less emphasis from the Roma of their Roma identity and they would rather define themselves more as belonging to the Hungarian nation.

*They have their own community. He doesn't say "I'm a Hungarian gypsy" although he could say this. But he doesn't say that. He says he is a gypsy. (young group Pécs)*

- **We can state that every respondent has had relationships with Roma people and the experience arising from that had some effect on their image of the Roma but the relationship changes this image to a negative direction more easily than to a positive one.**

Examining the quality of the relationship with the Roma we can state that the respondents are primarily suspicious, careful and behave with reservations with the Roma people they do not know. Many respondents mentioned that if a group of Roma people come in front of them in the street they first think “there might be some trouble here” so they react by paying more attention. Some reported that they are afraid and they watch their belongings much stronger.

*I grasp my bag stronger and I check if I still have my wallet. (young group, Budapest)*

*It depends on how many of them there are. Because if you travel on the bus or tram and a gypsy mob (sic!) of three or four gets on then in 90 % of cases they might be standing in two opposite ends of the bus and they are shouting and brawling. [And what do you feel in such a situation? Fear?] Yes, partly. I have bad feelings. (young group, Budapest)*

*I was taken in with them so that they robbed me three times. So it's not prejudice but if I see a group of them coming in the underground I will get on the other wagon, (older group, Budapest)*

In contrast when we asked their opinion about Roma people whom they have closer relations with originating from school, work or other areas of life different opinion patterns could be observed. According to the respondents' opinion in case the Roma person works with them then "there is no trouble with them" as this means they are educated and willing to work.

- **Apart from a few exceptions (see older group from Miskolc and young group from Pécs) the respondents deemed that the Roma are treated well in Hungary. They therefore did not feel backwardness or things to be improved.**

According to the respondents the Roma are unquestionably treated well in Hungary on individual, different institutional and state levels as well.

The opinion was mentioned in each group that the Roma are not discriminated negatively but rather positively that is they are treated much better in some life situations than the non-Roma

*The thing is that my father went to ask for financial support, an allowance. He wasn't given. The gipsy gets it. (young group, Pécs)*

#### 4. The Government and the Roma

- **According to the respondents the Roma face the following problems in Hungary: discrimination from the majority – prejudices, lack of money – poverty, unemployment being uneducated (mentioned in every group), their own attitude (mentioned in every group).**

The respondents objected to and saw the main problem primarily in the fact that at different levels – in the state and the civil sphere that is both at the level of issues controlled from above and the ones initiated from below – there is no unified idea or plan to improve the circumstances of the Roma. That is the respondents unanimously thought that neither the government nor the Roma organisations and leaders are doing their jobs properly and effectively. In fact they expressed as a criticism that the actual help and support only handles the symptoms of the complex problems but does not grasp the essential core of the issues.

*They shouldn't be given fish; they should be taught how to catch it. (young group, Budapest. Older group, Miskolc and young group, Pécs)*

According to the majority of the respondents the basis of all problems regarding the Roma is their being uneducated. They also mentioned that the schools, the educational system could not handle the special problems of Roma pupils as an element that makes the problem even more difficult.

*The school doesn't talk their language. If he gets to a school here in the town, that is tailored for us not for them. (young group, Pécs)*

The majority of the respondents generally thought that education is the area where the different organisations and institutions should act effectively. As soon as there is a larger group of Roma intellectuals then on the one hand it would positively shape the image of the Roma in the minds of the majority that is it would decrease prejudices, on the other hand they would show a positive example and evidence for the members of the Roma minority that they might "break out of the present, seemingly hopeless life situation".

In addition to this opinion an opinion pattern certainly came to the surface that – it could be observed at respondents thinking along very deeply anchored prejudices and occasionally expressing racist ideas – learning would not help the Roma. These respondents clearly explained that they do not think the Roma are as intelligent as the Hungarians so they should not possibly be in leading positions.

*In my opinion the Roma would suit as employees rather than entrepreneurs that is managers in some 90 percent. [So do you think that the Roma are not suitable as entrepreneurs?] I'm not saying that they aren't suitable but according to my experience I can rather imagine them in the sphere of employees. (young group, Budapest)*

*I haven't really seen a serious, successful gipsy lawyer, or gipsy brain surgeon, or professor of genetics. (young group, Pécs)*

Some of the respondents found also problematic that the gipsy culture is not part of the knowledge taught in schools at all. By doing this according to the respondents' view some sort of advance could be started between the two groups, between Roma and non-Roma. Getting to know each other would definitely result in the opposition becoming ineffective.

*I should somehow be risen in [that is the elements of Roma culture into the syllabus of schools] so that the children would get to know each other's culture. And then we could accept each other better. (older group, Miskolc)*

- **The general opinion of the respondents was that helping the Roma and handling the complex problems regarding them by no means can be accomplished by segregation, separate schools and institutions, but in**



**a way that provides a real and active relationship and coexistence for the two groups that works on the basis of mutuality. In this respect we can state that the respondents unquestionably argued for integration and against segregation.**

It is important to see however that the respondents rather meant assimilation than integration – so they primarily expect the Roma adjust to the values of the majority, customs, existing systems, norms and models of life.

- **The respondents unanimously stated that the life and circumstances of the Roma have improved in Hungary. They saw this improvement mainly in their living circumstances and in education.**

The respondents obviously stated that helping the Roma is the responsibility of the governmental bodies and the local governments. In addition they emphasised their strong expectations that the Roma leaders and organisations should cooperate with ministries, foundations and civil organisations.

Regarding their own responsibility there were obvious shifting and distancing mechanisms activated in every group from the respondents. Regarding the direction of shifting we can state that it was directed on the one hand toward the administration and on the other hand toward the Roma. The pattern of attitude and approach of the respondents showed that they primarily expect the Roma to make some sort of efforts in order to change and improve their situation.

*Well I wouldn't say there's no advance after all if we see it on TV, where we can see more and more advertisements: "because I'm not employed because I'm Roma". After the entire Hungarian nation tried to advance. For some time but unfortunately this was after all brought up by this system that this happened like this, that it is drawn so much apart. They have had a thousand years to integrate into this country and they didn't manage to do so during this thousand years, and after all they shouldn't expect the Hungarians to accept them in a matter of a couple of years. (young group, Miskolc)*

- **The respondents expressed different opinions whether they see helping the Roma useful: some assessed it unquestionably useful, while others did not agree with that.**

According to the respondents who assessed helping the Roma useful they expected positive effects in the following issues:

- If the living standards of the Roma improve they will need less support so more resources can be used to develop and improve other areas.
- If the living standards of the Roma improve the prejudices of the majority will decrease, the *raison d'être* of thinking along stereotypes will disappear.

- If the living standards of the Roma improve taxes will decrease because the number of taxpaying citizens increases.
- If the living standards of the Roma improve crime will decrease among them.
- If the living standards of the Roma improve there will be fewer conflicts between Roma and non-Roma.

## 5. The Decade of the Roma

- **The respondents knew several programs or initiatives in every group. The best known seemed to be the advertising campaign on TV and billboards that primarily draws attention to the discrimination against the Roma.**

Numerous national programs, initiatives, campaigns were listed in the discussions about which therefore we can state that they reached their goal; they entered the perceptive field of the majority. We show the Hungarian programs related to the Roma mentioned by the groups in the table below.

groups	Programs mentioned	Assessment
Young group, Budapest	Dormitory places were given by the Széchenyi plan	Positive
	Scholarships for Roma students in higher education	Positive
	Initiation by foundations to support enterprises of the Roma	Ambivalent
	Billboards, TV advertisements	Positive
Older group, Budapest	The Decade of the Roma Program, the centre being Hungary	Neutral (because they do not know it in details)
Young group, Miskolc	TV advertisement by RTL Klub channel looking for Roma junior presenters	Ambivalent (because it positively discriminates)
	Television advertisement about the program helping the further education of the Roma / poor / disadvantaged children	Positive
	The following period was declared as the Decade of the Roma in Europe	Neutral (because they do not know about it)
	Common cultural (mainly music) programs (at a local level)	Positive

Older group, Miskolc	Making companies liable to employ Roma people if they have the appropriate qualifications	Positive / ambivalent (because the problem cannot be controlled and indefinable)
	Getting Roma culture (dance, music) known to kindergarten children (local initiative)	Positive
Young group, Pécs	TV advertisement to inform about discrimination against the Roma and to decrease prejudices	Positive / negative (because it communicates that the Hungarian society is racist)
	They are building terraced houses for themselves around the village of Meszes	Positive
	Department of Romology at the University of Pécs	Positive
	Gandhi Secondary Grammar School (Roma secondary school in Pécs)	Positive

- **None of the respondents knew any international program or other initiative aimed at helping the Roma.**
- **The Decade of the Roma Inclusion Program was known by only two of all the respondents, however, they have heard about it only once and could not talk about it in detail.**
- **In terms of the attitudes towards the Decade of the Roma Inclusion Program the respondents were divided.**

A duality could be observed in the assessment of the program among the respondents: on the one hand, they assessed such a program as useful and basically welcomed its main goals. On the other hand, however, they had a sceptical attitude as well: they could not trust in the efficiency of the Program unconditionally, and that it can achieve important results. The main reason for that was the fact that besides initiating such a Program the respondents consider the active participation of the Roma in the opportunities offered by the Program very important.

*It's useless to offer them anything if they don't take it (young group, Pécs)*

Those respondents who were unquestionably against the Decade of the Roma Inclusion Program explained that they were primarily refusing it because they thought that the Roma would not change, supports do not help so the program does not make sense in general and it will not have bring any benefit at all.

*No, I don't think anything about them because it's all pointless. Anybody who went to school can see what the gypsies are like. It will not be better if we support them. Anyway if they want to learn, the ones who wan to learn will learn. (young group, Budapest)*

The respondents treated the program with reservations in several discussions in terms of why the support of the Roma, improving their living circumstances is separated from the support of the non-Roma poor, disadvantaged people, groups. To summarise they did not question the necessity of the Decade of the Roma Inclusion Program, they just think both the Roma and the non-Roma would better welcome a program that does not discriminate between the two groups by separating and definitely underlining in its communication which group is to be supported.

*It is not only them to distinguish from because they are Roma and poor. There are poor people among Hungarians just as well. (young group, Miskolc)*

It could be observed in general that the respondents virtually without exceptions stated that they would vote for the Program if they had to decide about it on a referendum. Knowing the € 1-2 M annual budgeted expense, the majority assessed that the program will be useful for the whole country only one or two respondents changed their original opinion and said that in this case they would vote against the Program. € 10-10 M annual expense, however, made the respondents uncertain, in this case the majority would abstain from voting or would vote against the Program.

- **The reactions given to certain goals of the Program obviously showed that the respondents reckoned the following ones actually existing: Reduced price for preschool programs / books / transport / school lunch for poor Roma children, Loan and scholarship programs so Roma youth can attend University, Free vaccines for Roma children.**
- **They deemed the following goal as useful in every group: Enacting very strict anti-discrimination laws that fine employers for hiring and promotion discrimination practices. Meanwhile they assessed the one below as needless: Micro-loans for Roma to start businesses.**

## **6. Ambassadors of Change: Voices to Trust**

- **The following names of Roma leaders were unanimously mentioned in each group (in the order of frequency): Aladár Horváth, Flórián Farkas, József Krasznai, Orbán Kolompár**

The Roma leaders often appearing and giving interviews on different Roma issues in the media were mainly known among the respondents. Aladár Horváth, the leader of the Roma Polgárjogi Alapítvány (Foundation for the Civil Rights of the Roma); Flórián Farkas, the chairman of Lungodrom; József Krasznai, who used to be the chairman of the Fejér Megyei Cigány Kisebbségi Önkormányzat (Fejér County Roma Minority Self-Government), then became well-known by "leading" the Roma people from Zámoly to Strasbourg after the conflict there; and Orbán Kolompár, the chairman of the Országos Cigány Önkormányzat (National Roma Self-Government) were all mentioned in each group.

Very strong antipathy could be identified against Roma leaders, the background of which on the one hand is that the respondents do not feel real eagerness from their side to solve the present problematic situation of the Roma; on the other hand, the elements of the prejudices and stereotypes along which the respondents form opinions on the Roma are projected on them as well.

*"Don't tell me about Farkas company [viz. they are not trustworthy for them as the spokespersons of the program], these are corrupt, I hear all the time what they have peculated again. I think they don't even know, I have always felt, they don't know the problems of the Roma. (young group, Pécs)*

- **The respondents consistently kept on mentioning persons who are not members of the present Hungarian political field as the spokesperson of the Roma Integráció Évtizede Program (Decade of Roma Inclusion).**

During the group discussions they named persons who are participants of the cultural field, mainly musicians, singers and actors were considered the right people as the spokesperson of such a program. To summarise, it was characteristic that they chose exclusively from the group of famous people out of political life. Ibolya Oláh, Laci Gáspár, Caramel (all three are young Roma singers and musicians who have appeared in two series of a recent talent contest show of a television channel), and jazz musician Béla Szakcsi Lakatos, Roma folk-style singer Margit Bangó and the leader of the Budapest Gypsy Symphony Orchestra (Száztagú cigányzenekar) as well.

The opinion pattern was very strongly outlined in all the groups that the respondents do not consider any Roma leader they know competent to take part in the communication of this program because of their reasons described in the point above.

I was interesting to observe that there were respondents in the groups who did not think of Roma persons only; they named non-Roma people as well, as potential spokespersons. In the young group from Budapest former President of the Republic of Hungary Árpád Göncz and his wife Mrs. Göncz; while in the older group from Budapest the present spokesperson of the government, András Batiz was mentioned.

## 7. Message concepts

The messages to be tested were examined in a rotated order during the group discussions. The order of testing by groups is summarised in the table below.

Groups rank	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1.	A	D	H	C	E
2.	B	B	G	D	B
3.	C	H	F	F	D
4.	D	F	E	A	F
5.	E	A	D	H	H
6.	F	E	C	E	G
7.	G	G	B	B	A
8.	H	C	A	G	C

- **On the basis of the results of the individual works message "H" had the best average, while message "F" proved to be the least favourable. The following ranking was established among the messages tested on the basis of the averages of all the groups: H (6,63), E (5,96), D (5,2), A (4,75), C (4,58), G (3,9), B (3,23), F (2,74).**
- **Message „A" was assessed as moderately convincing in the groups receiving widely differing assessment: the respondents in the older group in Miskolc liked it most, while the young respondents in Pécs liked it the least.**

Message A – In order to become a real part of Europe, we must take care of the people in our country who have been most discriminated against. It is a true sign of a modern country.

"A" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	5	5	4	9	2
2	1	10	2	8	2
3	3	8	7	8	1
4	5	6	1	6	6
5	9	3	5	7	2
6	4	4	5	5	2
7	8	3	5	4	7
8	2	5	1	8	2
Total per group	<b>4,6</b>	<b>5,5</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>6,9</b>	<b>3</b>
Total	<b>4,8</b>				

The majority of the respondents objected to the content of message "A" that Hungary is already – many said that it had been even before joining to the EU – a real part of Europe; a modern country that does not need further facts to prove that it is European. To summarise we can state that messages regarding Hungary as part of Europe have to be formulated carefully, because these may offend people's self-esteem, and they may rather refuse the whole statement.

*I don't think we'll become a modern country just because of this, or that we haven't been a modern country till now. So I don't... I don't feel the essence of all this; why we should pump even more money and time and effort into this. (young group, Budapest)*

*I gave mark 1 because I think we don't become part of Europe because of this. And I don't think that we are not part of Europe already. So we are part of Europe. (young group, Pécs)*

Respondents who assessed the message as convincing primarily paid attention to the part arguing for helping people in Hungary suffering from discrimination. It can be stated that this message provided an opportunity to identify themselves with to respondents who are less biased and perceive Europe unambiguously positively.

*It convinces me although I usually stay alone with my opinion. A have already got used to it. So this is the real sign of a modern country, it shows me that you have to look ahead for the future. So not to count economic aspects mainly but the most important thing is to be a unified society. (young group, Budapest)*

Some of the respondents agreed, however, that they meant not only the Roma minority but also people living in poverty, women, older people and disabled people.

*I tried to think more abstractly again, but I thought about disabled people, people with mental deficiencies, people with some other deficiencies, those who suffer, people living on disability pension, people on low pensions; so groups of people who are discriminated in some ways, therefore they need to be taken care of. (young group, Miskolc)*

- **Message „B” caused strong antipathy in the group discussions because of the expression “unjust society”. It received the highest ranking in the older group from Miskolc, and the lowest in the young group from Miskolc.**

**Message B** – Helping the Roma advance and integrate is, quite simply, the right thing to do. This is an issue of human rights. We are an unjust society if we continue to treat them in the way that they've been treated here.

"B" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	1	5	1	10	2
2	5	5	1	8	3
3	3	2	4	8	4
4	1	2	1	4	1
5	8	5	1	5	5
6	1	1	1	3	1
7	2	3	5	1	2
8	1	2	2	7	2
Total per group	<b>2,8</b>	<b>3,1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5,8</b>	<b>2,5</b>
Total	<b>3,2</b>				

Respondents with hardly any exception agreed with the first part of message "B", considering it a statement they could fully identify themselves with. The expression "We are an unjust society" included in the second part of the message resulted, however, in such strong aversion that many scored very low the whole statement.

*And that they have lived here for hundreds of years, and after all this to say we are unjust?! The conclusion of the statement is that we are unjust if we don't help now. I don't feel that. (young group, Budapest)*

In the group discussion with young people from Budapest it was suggested that the message should be converted as follows:

*Let's state something positive about us! We are a just society and as a result it is right to help the Roma develop and integrate. (young group, Budapest)*

The majority of respondents were also against the message because they did not feel the clause true stating that the Hungarian society is not treating the Roma minority in the right way at the moment. To summarise they felt offended by the message and as a result they could not identify themselves with it.



*Well I marked it 2, but I would have liked to give mark 1. Mainly because of the part saying: "if we continue to treat them in the way that they've been treated here" How have they been treated? We have been supporting them, haven't we? Aren't we giving them help?(young group, Miskolc)*

*We are not a society that would discriminate them. I mean they would have long been expelled somewhere else. (young group, Pécs)*

This message touched the respondents in the older group from Miskolc most; they tended to accept that they are also responsible - to some extent – for the biased and stereotypical thinking of the majority about the Roma.

*I wrote mark 7, because it's a fact that they need to be helped integrate. (older group, Miskolc)*

- **Message „C” proved to be moderately convincing: The respondents of the older group from Miskolc could identify themselves with it most, while the respondents of the young group from Miskolc could identify with it the least.**

Message C – Helping the Roma is a matter of simple economics. All taxpayers will continue to pay more in the future if we don't do something now to truly help educate the Roma and move them out of lives of poverty, it will cost us and our children more in the long run.

"C" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	2	5	1	7	2
2	1	10	1	5	9
3	4	3	8	7	7
4	7	1	1	9	1
5	2	1	1	9	3
6	8	1	1	8	5
7	7	2	1	6	10
8	2	7	1	8	9
Total per group	<b>4,1</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>1,9</b>	<b>7,4</b>	<b>5,8</b>
Total	<b>4,6</b>				

In case of message „C” we could observe an interesting phenomenon: it caused difficulties in interpreting and understanding in each group with no exception. The core of the misunderstanding was due to the fact that the respondents’ attention was drawn to the part stating “All taxpayers will continue to pay more in the future...” and they did not care much about the fact that the statement is bound to a condition. Therefore many respondents from the young group from Miskolc gave very low scores because they misinterpreted the question, or became indignant at “having to pay more money as tax in the future”.

*I got shocked about this question; I mean it’s impossible to write down something like this seriously. I surely won’t pay more, moreover I might even start to hate all these, hate all the gypsies. (young group, Miskolc)*

Additionally this message is problematic because – and it was mentioned in each group – in people’s minds there is a connotative contextual relationship between the “matter of economics” and the idea to help the Roma integrate, meaning giving them financial support. None of the respondents agreed to it.

The respondents were also divided in their opinions whether supporting the Roma may or may not be seen as a simple matter of economy. It could be observed that in the young group from Budapest, where respondents had a strongly negative attitude towards the Roma and any issues related to them, and also deeply anchored biased thinking was obviously felt in their answers this message was accepted relatively better.

*To tell the truth it is wrong in terms of marketing but I think it is true. [...] It may sound bad but why [viz. why else if not for economic reasons] are we doing all this? Why are we trying to integrate them? (young group, Budapest)*

In the young group from Pécs and the young and the old group from Miskolc the respondents expounded that they do not agree that helping the Roma may be assessed purely as an economic issue because they think mentality and attitude of both sides – Roma and non-Roma – has to change therefore besides the economic questions solutions have to be thought over in terms of sociological and moral dimensions as well.

*I think it’s not purely economic. [...] It’s everything else as well; moral, sociological and all kinds of questions. (young group, Pécs)*

*Well, how shall I put it, I think it should not only be solved economically. [...] So it is also a question of thinking not only economical. [Who should think differently?] The gypsies and us too. (older group, Miskolc)*

- **Message „D” received strong average assessment considering the total of the group averages: the respondents in the young group from Pécs considered it as the most worth identifying themselves with, while it convinced the respondents of the older group from Budapest the least.**

Message D – If there’s one thing we must do, it is to help the Roma children so that they will have the opportunities to prosper in a way that our own children have.

"D" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	2	5	1	8	10
2	2	5	1	7	7
3	2	5	4	8	9
4	8	2	2	3	4
5	4	5	1	6	8
6	2	1	10	10	10
7	8	3	1	9	10
8	1	2	10	5	7
Total per group	<b>3,6</b>	<b>3,5</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8,1</b>
Total	<b>5,2</b>				

Mainly female respondents reacted on message “D” very positively; the high scores given by them resulted in this message getting a relatively higher assessment compared to the average. Women were mainly touched because the message focused on children and this attitude provided them with an opportunity to identify themselves with. Children – according to female respondents’ argument – being innocent - cannot help where they are born, thus biased thinking is not acceptable against them, therefore they definitely need help to have similar chances in life like others.

*I gave a little bit higher scores because children are generally not responsible for anything. And as it is exactly about children they have to be given the opportunity. (young group, Budapest, female respondent)*

*The word “children” is the most important in this and I gave the maximum score ten because I think this is the future. (young group, Pécs, female respondent)*

*I think it has to be started in childhood because if we give them the same opportunities then there might not be great conflict between them there would not be conflict between the Roma and the non-Roma. (older group, Miskolc)*

However, the message carries dangers as well as it might recall and strengthen the fear in people that the Roma take opportunities from them, and due to positive discrimination they may have better chances in the future than the respondents.

*I gave mark one because I think they literally have free education. We don't. And when our children get there, they will not have it either. (young group, Miskolc)*

*Children are not wrong but should I help them? They should help my child! (older group, Miskolc)*

- **Message „E” was generally well received in the group discussions: It was best liked in the older group from Budapest, and in the young group from Miskolc the least.**

**Message E** – Helping the Roma is really about giving every person in our country the opportunity to achieve his/her potential. This is the true meaning of freedom and the fall of the wall.

"E" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	2	5	3	7	8
2	8,5	10	2	9	5
3	3	10	5	7	5
4	8	5	1	9	7
5	8	8	3	4	5
6	5	10	3	9	3
7	5	5	5	10	5
8	5	8	10	2	6
Total per group	<b>5,6</b>	<b>7,6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7,1</b>	<b>5,5</b>
Total	<b>6,0</b>				

Most respondents approached the contents of message “E” very positively: the background of this was primarily the appearance of the expression “the opportunity to achieve his/her potential”; on the other hand its positive and hopeful meaning touched the respondents.

*So I like this idea of achieving his/her potential. So let's give them the chance really. Not like: all right, let him try, but hey you gipsy, not for you. And then you wouldn't have to send a CV with a photo for a job. (young group, Budapest)*

*I'd score it nine because I think – yes - the truth may somewhere be here. So really we can get on with things only like that; everyone according to their potential obviously, and if we get the opportunities to do so, then we might succeed as well. (older group, Miskolc)*

The majority of respondents were not able to interpret the expression “the fall of the wall” properly: it proved to be too abstract and inconceivable from which we can draw the conclusion that it might be more practical to use metaphors and symbols that are easier to “decipher”.

*It's a bit confusing. [...] I can't, I really can't put it in words right now. (young group, Pécs)*

Those, however, who understood the meaning of “the fall of the wall” and interpreted it as the symbol of the segregation and distance kept between the Roma and the non-Roma either denied its truth or tried to shift the responsibility.

*Well it's about between the Roma and the non-Roma, but I think there is no wall here; the wall was artificially created. (older group, Miskolc)*

*They [viz. the Roma] put up this wall again that had been pulled down by this society. (young group, Miskolc)*

- **Message „F” gained the lowest score among all the messages tested – it was not received well in any of the groups: young respondents from Miskolc were the most refusing, while the older respondents from Miskolc were the most accepting.**

<p>Message F – The way the Roma have been treated in this country is simply wrong. It makes me ashamed and I want it to change.</p>
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"F" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	1	5	1	4	2
2	1	5	1	7	3
3	1	2	3	5	3
4	1	3	2	6	1
5	7	10	1	2	1
6	1	1	2	3	1
7	2	2	1	5	3
8	1	2	2	5	1
Total per group	<b>1,9</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>1,6</b>	<b>4,6</b>	<b>1,9</b>
Total	<b>2,7</b>				

The message caused severe aversion – even rage in some cases – in every group. The strong emotional reactions were caused by two factors: on one hand the majority of the respondents did not agree with the Roma not being treated well. On the other hand, they categorically refused that they should feel ashamed – it could be obviously felt among respondents that they do not recognise their own role in the present situation of the Roma and that they rather send the question of taking responsibility off.

*I gave score two because I don't feel that I should feel ashamed. This is a sense of collective responsibility that they would pose here and I refuse it. (older group, Budapest)*

*They get all kinds of support, they could go to work, and they go to school, so why should I feel ashamed? I think they are given all opportunities. (young group, Miskolc)*  
*I don't feel that people, not only me but globally that they treat the Roma wrong. [Will you rather become angry if you read a message like this?] Of course. Absolutely. (young group, Budapest)*

- **Message „G” received average results considering the total of the individual work: the respondents in the older group from Miskolc approved it most, while it convinced the respondents of the young group from Budapest the least.**

**Message G** – Having a large minority population like the Roma living in such abject poverty and experiencing constant discrimination reflects badly on our country. I think our country can do better.

"G" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	1	5	1	6	3
2	1	5	1	8	7
3	3	1	6	7	4
4	1	6	8	6	5
5	3	2	1	9	2
6	3	3	5	5	2
7	2	5	5	3	2
8	1	3	5	5	5
Total per group	<b>1,9</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6,1</b>	<b>3,8</b>
Total	<b>3,9</b>				

It could be observed during the group discussions that the respondents' attention was grasped by two major elements of message "G", and their attitude was accordingly determined by their thoughts around these factors. These were the following two expressions: „reflects badly on our country”, and „constant discrimination”. While regarding the first expression the respondents were looking for the faults of other countries; in the second case the background was the stereotypical way of thinking concerning the Roma characteristic of the respondents.

In the older group from Miskolc and the older respondents from Budapest we experienced that they felt the content of message "G" as some sort of attack as a result of which they quoted the similar events concerning minorities in other countries that they assess negatively.

*I gave score three because it surely reflects badly on us, but from a country which sends them back just like that [the Roma who apply for the status of refugees e.g.: in Canada, France, Austria etc.], then we cannot be blamed... (older group, Budapest)*

*Well, surely there are countries where they think, we aren't doing the right things but I think that we also think that many countries aren't doing it well. Because if we think about the Hungarian minority in other countries then we could say as well that it reflects badly on them. (older group Miskolc)*

The message mainly caused a search for the causes of „constant discrimination” in the young groups; the respondents emphasised the responsibility of the Roma. According to their opinion the Roma are obviously responsible for the discrimination, because „they don't want to work”, „learn”, „they are deviant”, „they prefer to live on allowances” (see the table attached containing the respondents' spontaneous associations about the Roma); and some respondents think, in spite of that they are discriminated positively.

*I think yes, they are constantly discriminated, but it's not negative, it's positive. I think the way we treat them doesn't reflect badly on our country, rather the way they "work".*  
(young group, Pécs)

*We are hammering this into people's heads that you are so racist and discriminate the gypsies. It is not that, it's a lie. The media are lying and say you are racist.* (young group, Budapest)

*They are discriminated, but it's because they are responsible for that themselves*  
(young group, Miskolc)

- **Message „H” was the received best – this statement was scored the highest marks in nearly every group. The reason for the positive assessment was obviously the sense of “equality” in the statement.**

Message H – Our country is on the road to prosperity. We must make sure that this prosperity is shared by all.

"H" message	Younger group in Budapest	Older group in Budapest	Younger group in Miskolc	Older group in Miskolc	Younger group in Pécs
1	1	10	3	5	10
2	5	10	7	4	10
3	5	10	4	3	7
4	5	9	5	3	8
5	6	3	2	10	10
6	10	10	2	8	10
7	5	10	2	7	9
8	5	10	5	9	8
Total per group	<b>5,3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3,8</b>	<b>6,1</b>	<b>9</b>
Total	<b>6,6</b>				



Most respondents were absolutely able to identify themselves with the message because they tended to discover the value or idea that seemed to be essential for them, namely equality.

*I gave mark eight because I agree [i.e. it is shared by all] it's quite important; no matter if it's Roma or non-Roma the poor must be helped. (young group, Miskolc)*

It is important to point out that the word "all" appearing in the statement resulted in positive attitudes even from the respondents who showed very harsh reactions in earlier parts of the discussion and they occasionally talked about the issue with hatred.

*I absolutely agree with this statement. It will be good for us as well if it is good for each person. (young group, Budapest)*

The only disturbing aspect of the message for the respondents was that they do not feel that Hungary is in fact on the way of prosperity. Many respondents questioned the truth of this statement and focused on the second part of the statement in their assessment accepting that if the country starts to develop in the future, then the results of that should be shared by all without discrimination.

*I gave mark nine because I think after all the prosperity itself should be shared by all. (older group, Miskolc)*

To summarise we can point out as an important element that message "H" was perceived as the message of the idea of equality among the respondents, which was also strengthened by the fact that the distinction between the Roma and the non-Roma did not appear explicitly in the statement; or it did not contain negative meanings or judgements on anybody.

**APPENDIX**

## THOUGHTS ON ROMA

### Older group in Budapest

thoughts group members	Words that best describe for you the Roma community			Words or phrases that best describe for you Roma that you know		
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
1 – Male	THEY ARE COMPETENT IN MUSIC	THERE ARE MANY OF THEM WHO ARE UNDER-EDUCATED AND UNEMPLOYED	THEY ARE NOISY	WELL-DRESSED	HAVING A JOB, AND STUDYING	SYMPATHETIC
2 – Male	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) DO NOT LIKE WORKING	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) ARE AGGRESSIVE	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) ARE INCLINED TO CRIME	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) DO NOT LIKE WORKING	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) ARE AGGRESSIVE	THEY (THE MAJORITY OF THEM) ARE INCLINED TO CRIME
3 – Female	THERE ARE BETWEEN THEM EDUCATED PERSONS	THEY ARE LIVING PROPERLY ARRANGED	THEY ARE HARD-WORKING	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	HARD-WORKING	LIVING PROPERLY ARRANGED, LOVING HIS / HER FAMILY
4 – Female	SOLIDARITY	PARTLY THEY ARE INTELLIGENT, PARTLY NOT	THEY LOVE THEIR FAMILY	TRUSTWORTHY / RELIABLE	HONEST	INTELLIGENT
5 – Male	THERE ARE ONLY FEW WHO ARE EDUCATED	THERE ARE MANY UNEMPLOYED BETWEEN THEM	THEY LOVE THEIR FAMILY	HARD-WORKING	LOYAL AND DEVOTED TO HIS / HER GROUP	HIS / HER STANDARD OF LIVING IS LOWER THAN AVERAGE
6 – Female	HIGH-SPIRITED PEOPLE	THEY LOVE THEIR FAMILY AND THEIR CHILDREN	PARTLY THEY ARE UNDER-EDUCATED	THEY LOVE THEIR CHILDREN	RESPECTFUL AND HELPFUL PEOPLE	HAPPY PEOPLE WHO LOVE FOR WORK
7 – Female	UNEDUCATED	UNEMPLOYED	HAVING A LARGE FAMILY	MUSICIAN	ASSIDUOUS	POOR BUT AMBITIOUS
8 – Male	CRIME	THEY ARE DIRTY	THEY ARE VIOLENT	THERE ARE SOME WHO ARE WORKING	I KNOW HIM / HER AS HONEST	RESPECTFUL

**Younger group in Budapest**

Words that best describe for you the Roma community				Words or phrases that best describe for you Roma that you know		
thoughts group members	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
1 – Female	WORK-SHY	DIRTY	CRIMINAL	HARD-WORKING	UNEDUCATED	SIMPLE
2 – Female	PASSIVITY	DIRT	MISERY	HONESTY	LOVING HIS / HER FAMILY	HARD-WORKING
3 – Female	FURY	SEPARATE BEING	NON-ACCEPTANCE, REFUSING	LOVE	DEVOTION	SACRIFICE
4 – Male	LIFE OF VICISSITUDE	LOVING THE AMUSEMENT	WORK-SHY	LOVELY	FRIENDLY	IF IT WAS NOT NECESSARY, HE / SHE WOULD AVOID WORKING
5 – Male	SEPARATE LIVING	PROVOCATIVE	POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION	NEUTRAL	SOMETIMES HE / SHE IS BUMPTIOUS	
6 – Male	THEY ARE MANY	THEY ARE LOYAL TO EACH OTHER	THEY ARE NOT WORKING	HE / SHE PRACTICES SPORT	HE / SHE IS WORKING	HE / SHE IS TRYING TO INTEGRATE
7 – Male	LOYALTY (OVER AGAINST NON-ROMA PEOPLE)	STEALING	CHEATING	QUIET	SHIFTY / FOXY	HE / SHE SPEAKS ILL OF NOBODY
8 – Female	LOYALTY	THEY ARE MANY		HARD-WORKING	FREE AND EASY	RELIABLE

**Older group in Miskolc**

Words that best describe for you the Roma community thoughts group members	Words that best describe for you the Roma community			Words or phrases that best describe for you Roma that you know		
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
1 – Male	CREATION OF WORKPLACE FOR THEM IS NEEDED	IT DOES NOT HAVE TO MAKE THEM FEEL BEING IN MINORITY		NOT THE SAME POINT OF VIEW IS DOMINANT BETWEEN THEM	WHO I KNOW IS HARD-WORKING	
2 – Male	AUTONOMOUS	IRRESPONSIBLE	NEGLIGENT	ALWAYS CLEAN	HARD-WORKING	RELIABLE
3 – Male	LOYAL TO EACH OTHER	LARGE FAMILY	QUARRELSOME	UNKEMPT	ILL-MANNERED	UNCONTROLLED
4 – Female	LARGE FAMILY	POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT	DISORDER	AMBITIOUS	LARGE FAMILY – FAMILY ORIENTED	ALWAYS CLEAN
5 – Female	SELF CONFIDENT	AIMLESS	THEY HAVE TOO MANY EXPECTATIONS	LIVE FROM HAND TO MOUTH	KNOWING HIS / HER RIGHTS, BUT DO NOT WANTING TO KNOW HIS / HER TASKS	HAVING CHILDREN IS EQUAL LIVING POSSIBILITY
6 – Female	THEY ARE SENSITIVE CONCERNING AFFILIATION	MANY CHILDREN, POVERTY	LOYALTY	MANY CHILDREN	ALWAYS CLEAN	RESPECTFUL
7 – Female	LIVING HONEST, I HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO THEM	UNEMPLOYED	IF THEY REALLY WANTED, THEY COULD WORK	NICE	STRAIGHT	WORKING
8 – Male	MANY	MINORITY		LOVE FOR WORK	DETERMINED	FRIEND

**Younger group in Miskolc**

Thoughts group members	Words that best describe for you the Roma community			Words or phrases that best describe for you Roma that you know		
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
1 – Male	THEY ARE POOR	UNDER-EDUCATED	UNEMPLOYED	WORKER	STRAIGHT	HONEST
2 – Female	UNEDUCATED	LAZY	POOR	BEAUTIFUL	CLEVER	LOVELY, NICE
3 – Female	UNEMPLOYED	LIVING FROM WELFARE	THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO INTEGRATE	WORKING	STRAIGHT	HAVING A FAMILY
4 – Female	THEY DO NOT LIKE WORKING	THEY HAVE MANY CHILDREN	THEY DO NOT HAVE AMBITION	WORKING		
5 – Female	UNEDUCATED	UNDEMANDING	LAZY	IRRESPONSIBLE	CARELESS	DIRTY
6 – Male	LOYALTY	MAJORITY	WORK-SHYNESS	WORKING	UNEDUCATED	QUICK
7 – Male	SOCIABLE PEOPLE	LOYAL TO EACH OTHER	OUTSPOKEN PEOPLE	LOVING HIS / HER FAMILY	SOCIABLE	HONEST
8 – Male	HAVING MANY CHILDREN	UNEDUCATED	HANGER-ON PEOPLE	HANGER-ON	STUPID	NAIVE

## Younger group in Pécs

Thoughts group members	Words that best describe for you the Roma community			Words or phrases that best describe for you Roma that you know		
	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>
1 – Female	EXCLUDED	UNDERPRIVILEGED	LIVING FROM WELFARE	DISRESPECTFUL BEHAVIOUR	DIRTY, UNKEMPT, UNDEMANDING	ALL THE FAMILY HAVING POLICE CASES
2 – Female	CARELESS PEOPLE	UNEDUCATED	CONFUSED	CONSCIOUS	MOTIVATED	HIS / HER PURPOSES ARE EXEMPLARY
3 – Female	UNDERPRIVILEGED	COUNTING ON SERVICES FROM GOVERNMENT	LIVE FROM HAND TO MOUTH	LIVING AND BEING BADLY OFF	HAVING A CLEAN AND WELL-ARRANGED HOME	SENDING HIS / HER CHILDREN TO SCHOOL WITH THE HELP OF WELFARES
4 – Male	LAZY	UNEDUCATED	TRICKY	TRICKY	COMPLAINING	
5 – Male	CAROUSING	COLOURFUL CULTURE	PASSIONATE	FREE AND EASY CONVERSATION	STAND UP FOR BEING EDUCATED	DOES NOT CARE WITH THE STEREOTYPES
6 – Male	UNEMPLOYED	POVERTY	HAVING A LARGE FAMILY	WORKING HONESTLY	HAVING A GOOD SALARY	HELPING HIS / HER FAMILY
7 – Male	DIVIDED	SUSCEPTIBILITY		UNRELIABILITY	ARROGANCE FROM BEING UNEDUCATED	
8 – Male	LOYALTY	POVERTY	UNEMPLOYMENT	ALCOHOLISM	BRUTALITY IN FAMILY	TRADITIONALISM

## RESULTS ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

	Younger group in Budapest			Older group in Budapest		
	more resources	fewer resources	about the amount	more resources	fewer resources	about the amount
1. Agriculture and rural development	7	0	1	7	0	0
2. Health	8	0	0	7	0	0
3. Infrastructure (roads, transport, bridges)	8	0	0	6	0	1
4. Attracting foreign investment to our country	1	4	3	4	2	1
5. Services for the poor	5	1	2	7	0	0
6. Environmental protection	5	1	2	7	0	0
7. Assistance for minority groups such as the Roma	0	3	5	4	1	2
8. Education	6	0	2	6	0	1
9. Governance (corruption)	3	4	1	4	3	0
10. Economic growth	6	1	1	6	0	1
11. Employment (particularly for our youth)	7	0	1	7	0	0

	Younger group in Miskolc			Older group in Miskolc		
	more resources	fewer resources	about the amount	more resources	fewer resources	about the amount
1. Agriculture and rural development	6	1	1	7	0	1
2. Health	8	0	0	8	0	0
3. Infrastructure (roads, transport, bridges)	7	0	1	6	1	1
4. Attracting foreign investment to our country	3	2	3	4	3	1
5. Services for the poor	5	1	2	5	2	1
6. Environmental protection	8	0	0	6	1	1
7. Assistance for minority groups such as the Roma	1	4	3	0	1	7
8. Education	7	0	1	5	1	2
9. Governance (corruption)	1	7	0	3	1	4
10. Economic growth	7	0	1	7	0	1
11. Employment (particularly for our youth)	8	0	0	6	1	1



	Younger group in Pécs		
	more resources	fewer resources	about the amount
1. Agriculture and rural development	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
2. Health	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
3. Infrastructure (roads, transport, bridges)	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
4. Attracting foreign investment to our country	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
5. Services for the poor	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
6. Environmental protection	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
7. Assistance for minority groups such as the Roma	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>
8. Education	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
9. Governance (corruption)	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
10. Economic growth	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
11. Employment (particularly for our youth)	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>