

Decade of the Roma

3 ROMA GROUPS
Focus Groups Discussion

Hungary



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SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Situation in the country:

The members of three Roma groups underlined the following features in connection with the situation of Hungary.

- **Discrimination and prejudice hitting the Roma in employment, education, health, and every day life.**
- **The labor and educational problems are found vital, since these are perceived the main reasons of the poverty featuring the Roma.**
- **The Roma men of Miskolc spontaneously mentioned the Romani leaders' unreliability and low efficiency.**

Several parties were specified being responsible for the current situation.

- **Government does not create jobs, but provides aids, which "weakens" the Roma minority (men of Miskolc).**
- **Media strengthen the prejudices against Roma in so far as the origin of person is always referred if the perpetrators are Roma (men of Budapest and Miskolc).**
- **Prejudices of Hungarians (men of Budapest and Miskolc).**
- **Own responsibility. Roma should strive to make themselves be accepted (men of Miskolc)**

In connection with joining EU the group members did not show any special interest or expectation. As a background, it can be assumed that the problems thought to be relevant from the Roma's point of view were not connected to the authority of EU and therefore the solutions are also not expected to come from there.

Identity as a Roma

Based on the groups we can say that participants had a very strong Roma identity.

The emphasis of the positive parts of Roma's identity and the pride for that was essential. The following characters (situation and identity) were mentioned.

- **The beauty of skin color, the talent for music, education for respect;**
- **Happenings to construct and maintain identity (dictionary, translation of Bible);**
- **Showing interest of non-Roma women towards Roma men;**
- **Publicity with social purpose in connection with the difficulties of Roma.**

However identity as a Roma was considered as a stigma and a lifelong disadvantage. The following drawbacks were mentioned.

- **Difficulties in employment;**
- **Segregation in community and education;**
- **Though the prejudice against them has become differentiated, but it has not decreased.**

Greater Integration in the Community at Large

The group members did not consider the Hungarians being an open and acceptive people. The participants from the countryside underlined that these features and the prejudicial thinking can be experienced definitely against the Roma minority, while other groups can be accepted better by the Hungarians.

The changing in consequence of the integration relating Hungarians was considered differently by the interviewed men and women. On the one hand the women saw it rather positive and acceptive, on the other hand the men described it a kind of superficial, keeping the distance friendliness.

A difference also can be found between men and women referring the willingness for flexibility. The women rather inclined to be flexible within a more or less good connection, but men questioned the correctness of the only one side flexibility and expected the same flexibility from the non-Roma side as well.

Summarizing we can say that each participant took the part of integration and refused the phenomenon of segregation, since segregation only increases the prejudice and destroys the status of Roma. For them the integration meant the opportunity for making themselves be acquainted and catching up. The integration was considered of importance in education, community, employment and especially in those professions, where the Roma do not participate or do take part but only in small numbers.

The Government and the Roma

Each participant showed aversion, emotional and rationally reasonable refusal, presumably arising from anxiety, against positive discrimination, since that increases the prejudice hitting the Roma.

Resulting from aids and extra supports the Roma sink into "child status" and become incapable for changing (men of Budapest and Miskolc). "Setting up a foot" was defined as a goal of the possible support and then the success and prosperity is considered to be the responsibility of the Roma person (men of Budapest).

The roll of government in all three of groups was perceived to create jobs in the country. Participants would assign a part to the government in the following fields.

- Enacting anti-discrimination law and its observance,
- Equivalence in education,
- Housing, clearance of Roma's slums.

In connection with the municipals of minority in all three of groups were agreed that those do not represent adequately the Roma's interest, they are motivated only in their own personal material growth.

Towards municipals (both general and minority) the following expectations were set.

- Exploration of Roma's problems in a direct way,
- Equal treatment,

- **Control of families receiving financial support, or providing allowance in kind instead of money.**

The Decade of the Roma

In connection with the initiations targeting the improvement of Roma's situation, the men of Miskolc and Budapest showed a relative familiarity, but the women of Pécs did not know a single initiation and did not feel any affect of them.

Decade of the Roma was not known by any participant, but after its review, there were very positive attitudes shown towards it, since the opportunity of improvement was recognized.

In connection with Decade of the Roma, the attention was called for the following fields.

- **The primary importance of dealing with education,**
- **The exclusion of positive discrimination,**
- **The control of possible misuse.**

In connection with the effort, the women of Pécs anticipated a positive reaction of the majority society, while the men of Budapest and Miskolc presumed a negative reaction of that. The avoidance of positive discrimination was mentioned as a pledge to prevent from the negative reactions.

Among the goals of Decade of the Roma, in general the topics of education and employment were considered of overriding importance.

From the proposed changes of education, the cancellation of segregation was strongly supported by all participants. Although the opportunity of educational support was considered to be required and essential, the participants had an attitude with restraints towards it, because of the possible positive discrimination. During the research we experienced a lower interest in organizing of loan and scholarship programs.

From the supportive proposals of employment, the enacting anti-discrimination law and its observance was considered of basic importance and completely supported by all participants.

The relevancy of "Micro-loans for Roma to start businesses" was valued low by the participants from the countryside.

In accordance with the discrimination observed in health, we found contrary experiences in the circle of men of Budapest (positive ones) and women of Pécs (negative ones). The opportunity of "Free vaccines for Roma children" was refused by each participant because of the image of positive discrimination.

Helping your Community

In general we can say that the participants passed strong self-criticism towards their own community, but emphasized that the negative example is only represented by a small minority in it.

During the attribution of responsibility we found a duality in a meaning that the responsibility both of society and private persons were emphasized.

The roll and task of the community of Roma was defined in the following way.

- Giving good example, making it frequent,
- Recognition of the importance of learning, obtaining the proper qualifications,
- Obtaining job in spite of difficulties,
- Control of the families showing a type of behavior (unkempt appearance, crime, misuse of aids, etc.), which strengthens prejudices,
- Dialogue among communities of the Roma.

Ambassadors of Change: Voices to Trust

Generally we can say the participants were not informed about the existence and activity of the Roma's organizations. From Roma leaders the followings were recognized: Flórián Farkas (all three of groups), Aladár Horváth (Budapest, Miskolc); only in Miskolc: Orbán Kolompár, Antónia Hága, Viktória Mohácsi, József Csóri Daróczi, János Bársony (a non-Roma activist), Gábor Váradi; only in Pécs: Kosztics, Guszti Bódi, Jenő Zsigó, László Teleki.

The following demands were raised towards the Roma's leaders:

- honesty, schooling, helpfulness, frankness,
- be a practical professional, who aspires to accomplishment and not to big promises,
- Know closely the Roma's problems,
- Keep in touch with the Roma

The participants of Budapest and Pécs could accept a non-Roma as well, if s(he) satisfies the above demands.

Message Concepts

The measures of agreements in the three statements, based on the given points, were as follows.

1. Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because governments have committed real resources. It's not just 'talk.'	5.8
2. Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because of the involvement of organizations like the World Bank and the Open Society Institute.	6.4
3. Statement: If the Decade of Roma effort is to have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary, we Roma will have to play a prominent role in ensuring that the goals are achieved.	9.5

The greatest and the most unified agreement among the tested statements was by the third one evoked in the interviewed groups, which let us conclude that the Roma define the success of the Decade of Roma not in the Government and not in the international organizations, but in their own community. It shows considerable involvement and taking intense responsibility, which is a good sign from the viewpoint of success.

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 1st June and 3rd June 2005. The pattern of the research is summarised in the table below.

places groups	Budapest		Miskolc		Pécs
Roma	Younger male			Older male	Older female
non-Roma	Younger mixed	Older mixed	Younger mixed	Older mixed	Younger mixed

In connection with the sample we find important to mention that the three Roma groups differed from each other regarding the socio-economic status of participants.

On the one hand the members of Budapest group was featured by high qualification, on the other hand the participants in Pécs had a very low schooling or even were uneducated and lived among bad circumstances. Miskolc could show the two extremes together.

SURVEY RESULTS

1. Situation in the country

- **The members of three Roma groups underlined the following features in connection with the situation of Hungary.**
 - A. **Discrimination and prejudice hitting the Roma in employment, education, health, and every day life.**
 - B. **The labor and educational problems are found vital, since these are perceived the main reasons of the poverty featuring the Roma.**
 - C. **The Roma men of Miskolc spontaneously mentioned the Romani leaders' unreliability and low efficiency.**
- **Several parties were specified being responsible for the current situation.**
 - A. **Government does not create jobs, but provides aids, which "weakens" the Roma minority (men of Miskolc).**
 - B. **Media strengthen the prejudices against Roma in so far as the origin of person is always referred if the perpetrators are Roma (men of Budapest and Miskolc).**
 - C. **Prejudices of Hungarians (men of Budapest and Miskolc).**
 - D. **Own responsibility. Roma should strive to make themselves be accepted (men of Miskolc).**
- **In connection with joining EU the group members did not show any special interest or expectation. As a background, it can be assumed that the problems thought to be relevant from the Roma's point of view were not connected to the authority of EU and therefore the solutions are also not expected to come from there.**

The characters of Roma minority's life circumstances were spontaneously associated to the current situation of Hungary by the participants of Roma groups. In the most powerful way from those characters the everyday discrimination was mentioned. As they said, they frequently found discrimination and the prejudice of Hungarians against them in their daily routine.

The discrimination is experienced in employment, education, health, offices and during everyday activities like shopping.

In connection with employment they mentioned as a difficulty that a Roma origin person will find a job harder, because the employers reluctantly employ him/her. The female Roma group in Pécs underlined if the Roma had a job, they would find an acceptance from the local colleagues' side. On the contrary in accordance with the experiences of men of Miskolc, the acceptance in employment is only superficial and the colleagues behind Roma's backs stress their prejudicial opinion. According to Roma men's perception of Budapest, the difficulties in

employment are also raised because the Roma should prove more to obtain the acceptance or the acknowledgement, than the non-Roma.

According to education as a problem was mentioned that the Roma have low level of qualification, which also has an impact on the latter employment. The low qualification – as they see – does not depend on the lack of motivation but caused by the shortage of funds and discrimination hitting the Roma in education. The discrimination of Romani children can manifest itself on an organizational level (separated Roma classes) and on a personal level (teacher with prejudices) as well. According to participants' perception both phenomena decrease the probability of obtaining a qualification.

The respondents spoke about the prejudicial behavior of Hungarians that they must learn during their daily routine. This appears several times only in a keeping the distance behavior e.g. in a supermarket during shopping (women of Pécs) but some times it manifests itself in a concrete segregation e.g. refusal of an admittance into a place of amusement (men of Budapest)

Several reasons and parties being responsible for the creation and maintenances of Hungarian Roma situation were specified by participants.

The Hungarian Government was held responsible in the meaning that it does not create jobs for citizens so also the Roma can not find job. The men of Miskolc emphasized in a spontaneous way that the Government's strategy, which only provides aids to the Roma instead of creating jobs. It can not be successful for long term, since it only weakens the Roma, decreases their self-respect and motivation, moreover can cause major crime.

„His/her mouth was stopped. You don't have to work, you don't have to care about it, you get unemployment aid you can live on it as you can. Then if you go to steal I will punish you.” (a man of Miskolc)

The importance of media was highly appreciated. It was disapproved that in spite of advertisement campaign targeting the decrease of prejudices against Roma, the increase of prejudices is typical in the Hungarian media. As participants perceive, it is largely contributed by that in a case of crime the origin of perpetrator is always underlined if (s)he is a Roma.

"The state should fuck the whole too, the state too, because in TV not the goods are shown about the Roma, but the bad. And it is in that. But Hungarians could be shown as well. And Hungarians are not shown, such [criminals], only the Roma.” (a man of Miskolc)

As the reason of the background, the men of Budapest and Miskolc also denominated the Hungarian characteristic of prejudicial way of thinking. According to the men of Budapest, the prejudicial way of thinking has been already learned by the Hungarians in their childhood, while the men of Miskolc mentioned as a counter-example the acceptance of Romani life style in France. Consequently we can suppose that the prejudice against the Roma assumed as rather a local than a global phenomenon.

The men of Miskolc also named their own group being responsible for the situation, in the meaning that they consider a kind of change of attitude and a sort of adjustment from the Roma society too to be necessary. According to them it is indispensable to overcome the prejudices of the Hungarians. As a basic goal they denominated the increase of level of schooling.

Also in Miskolc was mentioned in a spontaneous way the unreliability and low efficiency of the Roma leaders. The participants there felt their position more characteristic, since there are a great number of Roma live in their region. As they said, the majority of current leaders keep in view only their own personal material augmentation, so the Roma can not reach any progress either locally or on the country level.

2. Identity as a Roma

- **Based on the groups we can state that participants had a very strong Roma identity.**
- **The emphasis of the positive parts of Roma's identity and the pride for that was essential. The following characters (situation and identity) were mentioned.**
 - A. **The beauty of skin color, the talent for music, education for respect;**
 - B. **Happenings to construct and maintain identity (dictionary, translation of Bible);**
 - C. **Showing interest of non-Roma women towards Roma men;**
 - D. **Publicity with social purpose in connection with the difficulties of Roma.**
- **However identity as a Roma was considered as a stigma and a lifelong disadvantage. The following drawbacks were mentioned.**
 - A. **Difficulties in employment;**
 - B. **Segregation in community and education;**
 - C. **Though the prejudice against them has become differentiated, but it has not decreased.**

Generally we can say that the responders had a strong Roma identity and were proud for their Romani origin.

"I have never wanted to hide and I have never hidden that I am a gypsy. Accept me as a gypsy, but judge me like a human-being. Isn't it simple?" (a man of Miskolc)

As positive characters of the Roma nature the beauty of skin color the talent for music, and additionally by the men of Budapest, the education for respect were mentioned. The men of Miskolc took pleasure that the Romani culture has developed. The issue of the Roma dictionary and the translation of Bible into Romany are such happenings, which support the creation and the maintenance of Roma identity.

Besides, as a part of the Roma identity, they must live together with the stigmatization and the life long disadvantage too.

"I like to be gypsy. I live my life as a gypsy man. Like such a gypsy man who keeps, mostly keeps the traditions and lives good with his family. But I feel myself in the society a sort of ulcer, especially in the current situation. Whatever good I do that will come down as non-good."
(a man of Miskolc)

The change of the situation in time was described as a rather worsening one. According to their perception in the former political system the full employment and hereby more or less the integration were solved, since they could live their everyday life in "mixed" communities. A participant in Miskolc also mentioned that during the Kádár system the prejudicial manifestations had a lack of scope, or then it existed such an institution (secretary of the Party) to whom one could complain. We have found important to mention this, because nobody spoke about any current authority to which, because of the occasional discrimination, one can turn.

"I say it frankly that a little is even worse. Because I recognized that earlier the gypsy was and so and so forth. And now is the same but it is not said so much. But they make you feel it. And I think that is hundred times worse." (a man of Budapest)

On the contrary currently the Roma cope with the unemployment instead of the efforts of integration they experience the segregation both in their community and children's education.

It was also mentioned as a negative effect that the Roma are assumed to obtain more aids than the non-Roma living in similar situation, so a kind of envy is directed against them, although this belief is not grounded.

The men of Budapest reported a new phenomenon. They found that the judgment of Roma is not uniform, in other words the non-Roma distinguish among the Roma, but the starting point of the judgment is still the Roma origin and not the personal characteristics. All three of groups, based on negative examples, held the generalization against them as a common feature, which is the breeding ground of prejudicial thinking. This approach is disturbing for them even if it does not reveal, but only they deduce for its existence.

"In my opinion they are about to take the limbs of men. Let say in the one side they see, that... let say that is a musician gypsy. Then they say this is a more educated gypsy. And this is already a more brigand gypsy. Then they see one who is full of gold... and they say again a different opinion. They do not know that at the end the gypsy man is the same as they are." (a man of Budapest)

The male participants could speak about the positive changes of the Roma life. Both male group underlined that the non-Roma women show interest towards the Roma men, which supports the creation of mixed connection. The participants in Budapest additionally mentioned those publicities with social purpose, which represent well the difficulties of Roma, and further

according to their perception the prejudicial thinking a little bit has already decreased among the young people.

In the circle of the female group the opinion was not uniform relating to the definition of the situation of Romani women within the Roma community. Some of them felt that the situation of women is even more difficult from the viewpoint of employment, because of the limited number of jobs.

The situation of young Roma was considered also tough. Although they mostly have a higher qualification than their parents, they find harder a job because of their Romani origin. In this way they do not have enough contribution to leave the Roma slums and to integrate into the Hungarian society. The participants in Miskolc anticipated very negatively the future of Romani children and youth. According to their perception, the currently typical segregation does not mean a defense but discrimination. It means that they are educated in separated kindergarten groups and school classes on a lower level depriving them of the opportunity to develop.

3. Greater Integration In the Community at Large

- **The group members did not consider the Hungarians as being open and receptive people.**
- **The participants from the countryside underlined that these features and the prejudicial thinking can be experienced definitely against the Roma minority, while other groups can be accepted better by the Hungarians.**
- **The changing in consequence of the integration relating Hungarians was considered differently by the interviewed men and women. On the one hand the women saw it rather positive and acceptive, on the other hand the men described it a kind of superficial, keeping the distance friendliness.**
- **A difference also can be found between men and women referring the willingness for flexibility. The women rather inclined to be flexible within a more or less good connection, but men questioned the correctness of the only one side flexibility and expected the same flexibility from the non-Roma side as well.**
- **Summarizing we can say that each participant took the part of integration and refused the phenomenon of segregation, since segregation only increases the prejudice and destroys the status of Roma.**
- **For them the integration meant the opportunity for making themselves be acquainted and catching up. The integration was considered of importance in education, community, employment and especially in those professions, where the Roma do not participate or do take part but only in small numbers.**

In connection with the success of integrating efforts it was essential to observe not only the opinion of majority but the attitude of Roma as well.

The group members in general did not consider the Hungarians being an open and acceptive people. According to their perception and experience the Hungarians rather have a keeping the distance manner with a lot of prejudices. The participants from the countryside underlined that these features and the prejudicial thinking can be experienced definitely against Roma minority,

while other minority groups can be accepted better by the Hungarians. It was observed that the participants from the countryside considered the immigrating Hungarians from the neighboring countries into Hungary as competitors. Those Hungarians, according to the Roma, have exceptional situation, since they get flats and jobs, which are not ensured for the Roma living already here.

"Because there is simple no job, if there is any that's denied from us. But I don't agree with the Government too, because they give job and settlement permission to those whom shouldn't. We are oppressed because the Rumanians are coming in, the Polish are coming in, and the Germans are coming in and occupy everything from, before us." (a woman of Pécs)

"Against us there are prejudices, while other minorities are simple accepted, acknowledged because they are not in a large number." (a man of Miskolc)

By anxiety against the unknown was explained the reason of attitude relating the Roma by the men of Budapest, while, as a reason, the men of Miskolc denominated the great number and the spread in the whole country of Roma. The men of Budapest, to defeat the anxiety, gave a great roll to media, which could provide information and positive example to the Roma. They mentioned as a fact the presenter having Roma origin of the television program "12+" on the MTV (Hungarian Television), or the creation of movie entitled "Rap, Revue, Romeo"

The judgment of Hungarians in integrated circumstances has changed in a different way according to men and women. The men of Budapest and Miskolc defined the relation of together living or working Roma and Hungarian as a kind of superficial friendliness, keeping the distance acceptance. According to this they particularly do not look for the connection. In spite of this the Roma women wrote down in a spontaneous way positively the change, which comes into existence in consequence of integration. However they described that this "good" connection is unstable, since despite the acceptance the Roma are not considered to be an equal party.

"I think it counts also that you have worked at the same place for long. You are come to know and so, and you are treated like the others." (a woman of Pécs)

"Then they try to accept you as a buddy or acquaintance. They can not really manage it. If you have a problem they get hurt, then they have the same opinion about you as about the previous stranger. Because if you tell them the truth they will say this is the same what it was." (a woman of Pécs)

It was surprising that we could experience a difference in the flexibility of willingness between the Roma women and men. On the one hand the women show a greater readiness for flexibility and keeping the more or less good connections; on the other hand the men questioned the correctness of the only one side, the Roma side flexibility and expected more acknowledgements.

"I think both race should adapt." (a man of Budapest)

The men of Miskolc mentioned as a problem the “rootless” situation of the Roma having higher qualification, since the Roma managers are not accepted by the colleagues and by the Roma as well, because they respect, acknowledge less them, than the non-Roma managers having the same position.

“Simply the people are two-colored. But this is valid for the gypsies too. Because if there is a leader among the Gypsies and he finished any school, and he gets into the gypsies, they will simply freeze him out of themselves. A Hungarian will be much better accepted. In this Gypsy and Hungarian are some how on the same level. And if somebody has reached a certain stage, a gypsy somebody has reached a certain stage, then you will have no place among gypsies and don't have a place yet among Hungarians” (a man of Miskolc)

However based on a certain perception of Hungarians each participant belonged to the integration party, and refused the segregation. In their opinion the segregation only increases the prejudices and destroys the situation of Roma. For them the integration meant the opportunity for making themselves acquainted and catching up. The integration was considered of importance in education, community, employment and especially in those professions, where the Roma do not participate or do take part but only in small numbers.

4. The Government and the Roma

- **Each participant showed aversion, emotional and rationally reasonable refusal, presumably arising from anxiety, against positive discrimination, since that increases the prejudice hitting the Roma.**
- **Resulting from aids and extra supports the Roma sink into “child status” and become incapable for changing (men of Budapest and Miskolc). “Setting up a foot” was defined as a goal of the possible support and then the success and prosperity is considered to be the responsibility of the Roma person (men of Budapest).**
- **The roll of government in all three of groups was perceived to create jobs in the country. Participants would assign a part to the government in the following fields.**
 - A. Enacting anti-discrimination law and its observance,**
 - B. Equivalence in education,**
 - C. Housing, clearance of Roma’s slums.**
- **In connection with the municipals of minority in all three of groups were agreed that those do not represent properly the Roma’s interest, they are motivated only in their own personal material growth.**
- **Towards municipals (both general and minority) the following expectations were set.**

- A. Exploration of Roma's problems in a direct way,**
- B. Equal treatment,**
- C. Control of families receiving financial support, or providing allowance in kind instead of money.**

In general we can state that each participant showed strong aversion against the positive discrimination directed towards the Roma. According to their opinion this would only increase further prejudices against them. They ask only for equal treatment in the whole society, they do not expect more support than the Hungarians and other minorities living among the same circumstances.

It was remarkable that the male participants beside the increase of prejudices threw light upon the conclusion of exaggerated support that holds the Roma in a sort of "child status" and because of the aids many of the Roma are not motivated for changing their situation and developing. According to the perceptions of participants of Miskolc there is an important difference in the Romani and Hungarian character that the Roma inclined to accepting this "child status" without exogenous demands, while the Hungarians build up their own requirements to face.

"The state gives those small aids and we accept them because it gives them, and then I go nowhere, after that I don't step. That's it. It depends on that." (a man of Miskolc)

"We would feel ourselves smaller if they give more money. Because of that we are weaker or why? "

The participants of Budapest expressed in connection with the above perception of aids that the support must facilitate the "setting up a foot" target and the person can be left to oneself in making success.

„So much should be the gypsies lifted out of mud, give them opportunity of job, money, for normal circumstances. And help them there and send them on their way to let them have a job. And from there on if he falls back he should thank to himself. So help them to build preferentially but in the same way as the Hungarians, parallel...the core that the state shouldn't differentiate between the Roma and non-Roma. It should help the life of those families, which are really on such a level that they can't their children to school and to ensure a roof them...And that is also true that many Roma become lazy if they are getting money... Really they should be only supported till they can stand on two feet. So only lift them give them a push... and then they will go." (a man of Budapest)

All three of groups intended the job-creation roll to the government. They meant a kind of general job-creation namely they thought the whole population of the country should be touched. The improvement of the general situation, according to their perception would alone increase the opportunities of Roma. The Miskolc group also raised the possibility of decreasing the pension age, which could release new jobs.

"At that time you had to work, and now you are paid for being at home. The Government didn't decide well on this. In my opinion job should be given to everybody." (a woman of Pécs)

Naturally the government is intended to have roll in a process that if there are jobs, which can be applied, the Roma should be able to get them with equal chance. In other words the Government should enact an anti-discrimination law and control its complying.

According to responders' opinion Government should take responsibility for the creation of equivalence in education and in those fields where poor children need equal chance, independently of their origin, living in bad conditions. The male group in Miskolc had a special idea about supporting the Roma by the Government in middle and higher education.

The participants from the countryside kept of importance the roll of government in housing as well. This meant for the women of Pécs the ensuring of the housing circumstances for a normal life, while for the men of Miskolc the clearance of Roma slums and providing an accommodation, which supports the integration.

During the research generally the participants meant the municipals as municipal of minority. When they talked about the municipal in a wider meaning they expected only equal treatment. The men of Miskolc found that it would improve the level of collaboration and administration if the Roma were treated by Romani administrators who understand better their situation.

Against the municipals of minority we found in all three of the groups a great deal of unreliability. According to their experience the members of municipals of minority target the improvement of financial situation not of the larger community but their own. Because of this fraudulent misuse of funds, which originally targeted the support and improvement, the situation of Roma can not turn to be better. As a consequence of unreliability the Roma would have a higher control over the municipals and the funds.

"But I have heard too that money is transferred to gypsy municipals to let gypsy children to go to school and for constructions in the gypsy program... and nicely it was put into their pocket. The money shouldn't be given to gypsy municipals because the gypsy municipals as the Hungarian municipals take the money, they peculate. The money shouldn't be sent there." (a woman of Pécs)

The creation of trust in municipals of minority plays an especially important roll because in an ideal situation the Roma perceive them the cohesion and the control of Roma community. In case of proper work of municipals they would expect the on going direct keeping connection (family visit), the control of misuse and punitive sanction (instead of aid cloth to the needy or an obligatory receipt showing of shopping).

5. The Decade of the Roma

- **In connection with the initiations targeting the improvement of Roma's situation, the men of Miskolc and Budapest showed a relative familiarity, but the women of Pécs did not know a single initiation and did not feel any affect of them.**
- **As such an initiation, the following were mentioned:**
 - A. Radio C [the Roma Radio]**
 - B. The "C tent" on the Island [a summer festival]**
 - C. A local program in Miskolc for organization of education**
 - D. A Dutch foundation for Roma Art**
- **Decade of the Roma was not known by any participant, but after its review, there were very positive attitudes shown towards it, since the opportunity of improvement was recognized.**
- **In connection with Decade of the Roma, the attention was called for the following fields.**
 - A. The primary importance of dealing with education,**
 - B. The exclusion of positive discrimination,**
 - C. The control of possible misuse.**
- **In connection with the Decade of the Roma effort, the women of Pécs anticipated a positive reaction of majority society, while the men of Budapest and Miskolc presumed a negative reaction of that. As a pledge to prevent from the negative reactions, it was mentioned the avoidance of positive discrimination, and the persuasion process of the Hungarians for accepting that it is also their interest to let the Roma catch up with them.**
- **Among the goals of Decade of the Roma, in general the topics of education and employment were considered of overriding importance.**
- **From the proposed changes of education, the cancellation of segregation was strongly supported by all participants. Although the opportunity of educational support was considered to be required and essential, the participants had an attitude with restraints towards it, because of the possible positive discrimination. During the research we experienced a lower interest in organizing of loan and scholarship programs.**
- **From the supportive proposals of employment, the enacting anti-discrimination law and its observance was considered of primary importance and completely supported by all participants. The relevancy of "Micro-loans for Roma to start businesses" was valued low by the participants from the countryside.**

- **In accordance with the discrimination observed in health, we found contrary experiences in the circle of men of Budapest (positive ones) and women of Pécs (negative ones). The opportunity of “Free vaccines for Roma children” was refused by each participant because of the image of positive discrimination.**

In general we can say that the men of Miskolc and Budapest showed a relative familiarity in the initiation targeting the improvement of Roma’s living standard. On the contrary the women of Pécs, perhaps because of their lower socio-economic status, did not know a single initiation and as they said, they did not find any intention for improving their life circumstances. The men of Budapest denominated Radio C [the Roma Radio] and the C tent on the Island [a summer festival] as a positive initiation, which are applicable for raising and debating the problems affecting the Roma, although their problem solving efficiency is low. Relating the initiations the participants of Budapest again expressed their requirement for information. The men of Miskolc were split from the viewpoint of familiarity. There were some participants who did not know any initiation, while others even tried on their own to win an application. As a local initiator, they named Gábor Váradi to whom they connected those educational opportunities that were organized to Roma.

Over that a Dutch foundation occurred, without name, which supports the Roma artists. Those participants of Miskolc, who already took part in a competition, objected that the correspondence of formal requirements of application is very hard so without competent help the application can lose its chance.

"For me it was alarming, when I saw the paper of such a competition... To do that, I would need three and a half month ... so I think, this can be a kind of locking, a kind of gate. An opening and a locking too, because I open it to you to see this opportunity but to enter, you need such a huge quantity of information that you or your surroundings can not work out." (a man of Miskolc)

Decade of the Roma was not known by any participant, but after its review, there were very positive attitudes shown towards it, since it solves the improvement. The men of Miskolc took the support of education of primary importance among the goals of effort, while the men of Budapest called the attention that they do not expect the positive discrimination and the effort should control the occasional misuses in both circle, which works in the programs and which only enjoys their effects.

In connection with acceptance of the effort by the major society the opinions were split. The women of Pécs anticipated a positive, while the other two groups (men of Miskolc and Budapest) a negative reaction from the Hungarian side. According to women’s opinion at the beginning the effort can count on aversions in the Hungarian circle, but the negative attitudes will decrease and latter come to an end as Hungarians will face the positive examples and success. On the contrary, according the men of Miskolc and Budapest, the efforts will not be accepted by the Hungarians because of positive discrimination of Roma. This negative attitude being assumed as attitude of Hungarians actually was accepted by the participants as well, since during the research they showed aversion toward the positive discrimination and acknowledged that a number of non-Roma families also cope with the poverty. The men of

Miskolc called the attention for the need of convincing the Hungarians about their mutual interest to get the Roma minority catching up. This opinion coincided with one of the statements tested on the non-Roma groups.

"I think it would have a good effect so far as that it is the interest of the Hungarian society too, that we should catch up. Because we live together, beside each other. So it is not the interest of the Hungarian that we roll about in the mud, because it is not good for them too." (a man of Miskolc)

Concerning the concrete objectives we got the following opinions.

Education

- In the sample, we had a unanimous opinion about the subsidy of school expenses. It was kept of primary importance and necessary, but refused the possibility of positive discrimination. They explained the refusal with that the poor children's support should be targeted, since the positive discrimination of Romani children only would increase the prejudice against them. The men of Miskolc offered the solution of free meals as a possibility for each needy child. The women of Pécs emphasized that beside the subsidy having material nature, it would have primary importance to teach the teachers to treat the Romani children in a proper way, in order to the teachers should deal with the soul of children and their fears as well.
- Each responder kept of primary importance the cancellation of segregation in school. This segregation does not solve the defense of Romani children but it means a lower level of education. It was underlined that the integrated education can come up with double benefits. On the one hand it could decrease the fears and restraints against the Roma, on the other hand the better learning children would mean a stretching force and this way the Roma would be more motivated for learning.
- About the loan and scholarship programs, we got no opinions full of character. In the Budapest group the scholarship was preferred to the loan, since paying the installments would make the starting out on a career difficult, which is already without any installment is problematic. The men of Miskolc emphasized the importance to support the Romani youth intending to take part in middle and higher education, since it means real perspective. The women of Pécs called the attention for that to control the occasional misuse of subsidy, since the current available subsidy is employed by the non-Roma as well.

Employment

- The plan of micro loans for Roma to start business was considered to be non relevant by the participants of non-Budapest. The men of Miskolc argued that the banks have not differentiated among clients so this idea could be qualified as a positive discrimination. The women of Pécs showed a low interest in connection with the proposal because, according to their opinion, the Roma would hardly undertake, since they have no adequate qualification to start a business. On the contrary, the men of Budapest, presumably because of their higher socio-economic status, appreciated the idea but called the attention for the importance of controlling the occasional misuse.

- Against the employers' discrimination during hiring and promotion, establishing a severe legislation and jurisdiction was considered of primary importance in all the three of groups. The outstanding relevance of the proposal, according to participants, was caused by the general nature of this phenomenon in Hungary. Solving of this problem would allow the Roma to get job, to increase of their self-respect and by so doing their rise.

"As I have said earlier that it should enact a law for these discriminations. It could be helped with these for instance. That I should be given the same chance as a Hungarian. But it shouldn't give me a different chance as to a Hungarian, because with this ... it would stir up the conflict even more." (a man of Miskolc)

Health:

- In connection with the discrimination experienced in health, the opinions of men of Budapest and women of Pécs were diametrically opposed. On the one hand the participants of Budapest did not find any discrimination in health, on the other hand the responders of Pécs reported several such a hurting affairs. Remarkably only one participant of Budapest had the information that the life span of Roma is shorter than of non-Roma. He assumed, as a back ground, a genetic determination of the Roma and not the special features of the Hungarian health system.

"Some years ago I was in the Hospital and I was taken into a room, where there were only gypsy women. And I heard with my own ears, when the nurse said that this woman should be taken to that room, because she should be put there." (A woman of Pécs)

- Free vaccines for Roma children were refused by each participants, and it was emphasized that the poor children should be cared, not only the Romani.

"Do the Gypsy need free vaccines? No they don't. Without that there are conflicts, as I feel. It appears of the program that it wants very much with good intention to help the Roma. But it doesn't recognize that with that it writes down that definitely alone to the Gypsy... and it wants help in such a field where the Hungarian is needy to." (a man of Miskolc)

6. Helping your community

- **During our research we examined the self-perception of the Roma and their attribution of their current life situation. In general we can say that the participants passed strong self-criticism towards their own community, but emphasized that the negative example is only represented by a small minority in it. The features of the negative picture were the followings: misuse of aids (squandering), work-shyness, ignorance**

- **During the attribution of responsibility we found a duality in a meaning that the responsibility both of the society and private persons were emphasized. In other words for the bad living standards, several times the private person is responsible in general, while in case of the Roma, discrimination and hindrance hit the Roma even those who intend to improve their situation and to exploit their opportunities.**
- **The roll and task of the community of Roma was defined in the following way.**
 - A. Giving good example, making it frequent**
 - B. Recognition of the importance of learning, obtaining the proper qualifications**
 - C. Obtaining job in spite of difficulties**
 - D. Control of the families showing a type of behavior (unkempt appearance, crime, misuse of aids, etc.), which strengthens prejudices**
 - E. Dialogue among communities of the Roma**

We had the goals, during our research, to learn the self-perception and the attribution of responsibility of Roma. In general we can say that the participants formulated critics relating the Romani way of life and their own community, which mostly coincided with the contents of prejudices hitting the Roma.

They raised as critics against the Roma the misuse of aids, its squandering, its irresponsible handling (drinking and playing on slot machines), the work-shining and the low level of schooling. However they underlined that, although these behaviors are existing in reality at the Romani communities, those are only shown by a minority. They were aware, that in spite of this, these negative examples jut out and therefore the control and cancellation of these would be essential.

During the attribution of responsibility we found a duality in a meaning that the responsibility both of the society and private persons were emphasized. In other words for the bad living standards several times the private person is responsible, while in case of the Roma discrimination and hindrance hit those Roma as well, who intend to improve their situation and to exploit their opportunities.

Beside the assignment of government and municipals, the participants did not refuse undertaking a task by Roma community in connection with the improvement of Roma situation. They addressed themselves a triple task circle.

First, they targeted the cancellation of prejudices hitting them. In this respect they can base on their personal efforts to refute the prejudices, teaching in their own community the families showing a behavior or life style, which corresponds to the prejudices. As most important, they considered the refutation of being the Roma unkempt, criminals and squandering the aids.

"... that to show to the gadios, to the Hungarians that we are as much as they are." (a man of Budapest)

Second, they considered their own task to seize those opportunities, which can elevate them out of their current situation. According to the participants' opinion, the pledge of this is that all of the Roma should be motivated, in spite of difficulties, to educate their children, to obtain the required qualification and latter to be employed.

"... all of you know that at that time the Gypsy always took that scarce profession that the other hardly did, but then in communist system the initiation was taken out of us. Now the communist system has passed, on our own we should say again what to do, where to put ourselves in this society. Where is our place? We can not find it, and we complain only, we do it badly." (a man of Miskolc)

The third task was denominated by the group members of Miskolc. For them, perhaps because of the great number of Roma living in the vicinity, it was important to create the possibility for a dialog within the Roma community, to accomplish a union, a real community.

7. Ambassadors of Change: Voices to Trust

- **Generally we can say the participants were not informed about the existence and activity of the Roma's organizations. The participants of Budapest raised the demand for information.**
- **From Roma leaders the followings were recognized: Flórián Farkas (all three of groups), Aladár Horváth (Budapest, Miskolc); only in Miskolc: Orbán Kolompár, Antónia Hága, Viktória Mohácsi, József Csóri Daróczy, János Bársony (a non-Roma activist), Gábor Váradi; only in Pécs: Kosztics, Guszti Bódi, Jenő Zsigó, László Teleki.**
- **The following demands were raised towards the Roma's leaders:**
 - A. honesty, schooling, helpfulness, frankness,**
 - B. be a practical professional, who aspires to accomplishment and not to big promises,**
 - C. Know closely the Roma's problems,**
 - D. Keep in touch with the Roma**
- **The participants of Budapest and Pécs could accept a non-Roma as well, if s(he) satisfies the above demands.**

Generally we can say the participants were not informed about the existence and the activity of the Roma's organizations. The participants of Budapest mentioned the Roma Parliament, the members of Miskolc named the Public Foundation for the Hungarian Gypsies, while the participants of Pécs did not denominate any single organization. One of the participants of Miskolc underlined that in the acknowledgement of Roma the Romani artists play a greater roll,

than the Roma organizations, since the artists represent the Roma more authentically and perhaps more successful.

The participants of Budapest raised the demand for information.

From Roma leaders the followings were recognized:

- Flórián Farkas (all three of groups),
- Aladár Horváth (Budapest, Miskolc);
- in Miskolc: Orbán Kolompár, Antónia Hága, Viktória Mohácsi, József Csóri Daróczi, János Bársony (a non-Roma activist), Gábor Váradi;
- in Pécs: Kosztics, Guszti Bódi, Jenő Zsigó, László Teleki.

The participants laid well defined requirement against an ideal Roma leader. Since for them, the confidence was hurt the most, the honesty appeared as the most important requirement against their current leaders, which in a narrower meaning hinted at the handling of funds.

In general they found the schooling, the helpfulness and the frankness as essential characters.

The ideal leader is a practical professional, who aspires to accomplishment and not to big promises. (S)he says only what (s)he can fulfill, (s)he strives for real actions not only for media tricks.

The responders from the countryside took very important that a Roma leader should know closely the Roma's problems, circumstances and (s)he should refresh his/her knowledge with visits and direct keeping of connections.

"Because (s)he should know better the Gypsy. (S)he shouldn't only sit in an office. His/her duty would be to go into some house in order to [check] if there is really a need for that pack or money." (a woman of Pécs)

The participants of Budapest and Pécs could accept a non-Roma as well, if s(he) satisfies the above demands.

8. Message concepts

- The measures of agreements in the three statements, based on the given points, were as follows.

1. Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because governments have committed real resources. It's not just 'talk.'	5.8
2. Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because of the involvement of organizations like the World Bank and the Open Society Institute.	6.4
3. Statement: If the Decade of Roma effort is to have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary, we Roma will have to play a prominent role in ensuring that the goals are achieved.	9.5

- The greatest and the most unified agreement among the tested statements was by the third one evoked in the interviewed groups, which let us conclude that the Roma define the success of the Decade of Roma not in the Government and not in the international organizations, but in their own community. It shows considerable involvement and taking intense responsibility, which is a good sign from the viewpoint of success.**

During the research we tested the following messages. The tables under the messages show the appraisal of the given message divided into individuals, groups and then summarized.

- Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because governments have committed real resources. It's not just 'talk.'

1 st statement	Younger Male group in Budapest	Older Male group in Miskolc	Older Female group in Pécs
1	5	5,5	6
2	5	6	10
3	5	5	6
4	2	5	10
5		5	8
6		4	10
7		5	9
8		1	10
Total per group	4,3	4,6	8,6
Total		5,8	

It can be seen that the acceptance of the first statement is slightly positive, and the women of Pécs showed a greater agreement relating that than the men of Budapest and Miskolc. Beyond that, although we can not speak about the relevant size of the sample, it is remarkable that the appraisal of the statement relatively split the participants in other words the points show a high standard deviation. Based on all of these we can assume that the statement would not produce a high level of agreement in a wide circle.

2. Statement: I believe the Decade of Roma effort will have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary because of the involvement of organizations like the World Bank and the Open Society Institute.

2 nd statement	Younger Male group in Budapest	Older Male group in Miskolc	Older Female group in Pécs
1	7	8	9
2	5	10	10
3	6	3	9
4	3	1	10
5		5	8
6		1	10
7		7	9
8		1	10
Total per group	5,3	4,5	9,4
Total		6,4	

Based on the figures, we can say that the second statement got a middle positive appraisal, and similarly to the first one the women of Pécs showed a greater agreement than the men of Budapest and Miskolc. This is surprising especially because the women of Pécs showed the smallest familiarity about the Roma matters among the groups. Based on all of these, we can assume that the statement would not produce a high level of agreement in a wide circle.

3. Statement: If the Decade of Roma effort is to have a positive impact on the lives of Roma here in Hungary, we Roma will have to play a prominent role in ensuring that the goals are achieved.

3 rd statement	Younger Male group in Budapest	Older Male group in Miskolc	Older Female group in Pécs
1	10	10	10
2	10	10	10
3	9	10	10
4	9	10	10
5		10	10
6		9	10
7		10	10
8		10	10
Total per group	9,5	9,9	10
Total		9,5	

It can be seen well that the third statement got the most positive appraisal. This is a good sign, since undertaking of the own responsibility can support the success of effort. At the same time this statement divided the groups the least. We can assume that the content of the third statement coincides with the perception of Roma and their requirements against themselves.

Based on the obtained solutions, we can suppose, relating the Decade of Roma effort, a great involvement and responsibility of the Roma. This can be interpreted as a very positive sign, since based on the participants' opinion the Roma determine the pledge of changing of their situation not primarily by the government or international organizations but by their own community.