

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND LEGAL AWARENESS OF THE RIGHT TO EQUAL TREATMENT

SURVEY FINDINGS

2019

Budapest, 2019

Table of Contents

1	KEY FINDINGS	3
2	ABOUT THE SURVEY	6
3	DISADVANTAGED STATUS AND DISCRIMINATION	8
3.1	Direct and indirect personal exposure	8
3.2	Reasons underlying disadvantaged status	9
4	PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION	11
4.1	Reasons leading to discrimination	11
4.1.1	Changes in the grounds of perceived personal discrimination between 2017 and 2019	14
4.1.2	Changes in the grounds of perceived personal discrimination between 2010 and 2019	14
4.2	Areas of discrimination experienced recently	18
4.3	Multiple discrimination	22
4.4	Characteristics of persons subjected to discrimination	25
4.4.1	Socio-demographic characteristics	25
4.4.2	Labour market status characteristics	27
4.4.3	Financial status characteristics	28
4.5	Grievances: violence, harassment	28
4.5.1	Grievances suffered	29
5	PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION	32
6	PERSONALLY AND SOCIALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN ROUTINE DECISION-MAKING	35
6.1	Modelling decision-making situations by applying the vignette methodology	35
6.2	Personal and presumed social perceptions of stories about vulnerable groups	36
6.3	Congruent and incongruent decisions from the perspective of the respondents	39
6.4	Reasons underlying decisions	42
7	AWARENESS OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND THE EQUAL TREATMENT AUTHORITY	45
7.1	Awareness of the Act on equal treatment and opportunities for legal remedy	45
7.2	Awareness of the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) and its perception	50
8	CONCLUSIONS	53
	REFERENCES	56
	APPENDICES	57
	1: Additional tables	57
	2: Case Studies (extract of the questionnaire)	62

Authors:

Mária Neményi

Bence Ságvári

Katalin Tardos

The data was collected by ZRI Závecz Research Market and Social Research Ltd.

The survey was conducted by the Research Excellence of the Centre for Social Sciences,
Hungarian Academic Sciences Centre for the Equal Treatment Authority.

© Equal Treatment Authority, 2019

1 Key Findings

Disadvantaged status and discrimination

- ✓ Similarly to previous years, *alcoholism* and *addiction* ranked first in 2019 as the reason given for a disadvantaged status. This is followed by *minority (Roma) origin* and *disadvantaged family background*. There is also a high rate of respondents that mention the social climate, social prejudice and the lack of equality beyond structural and personal reasons.

Personal perception of discrimination

- ✓ Four protected characteristics were mentioned as the most frequent grounds for discrimination in 2019, with *age discrimination* ranked first, *gender* discrimination ranked second, *political opinion* ranked third and *social origin* ranked fourth for reasons leading to discrimination.
- ✓ In relation to 2017, respondents mentioned personally experienced discrimination less frequently in connection with each protected characteristic in 2019. It is definitely important to point out that the declining trend in relation to 2017 is a novelty in the case of subjectively experienced personal discrimination. Discrimination based on age, financial status, state of health and social origin decreased most significantly between 2017 and 2019 based on the personal experiences of respondents.
- ✓ Whilst there was a significant decrease in the frequency in discrimination that may be associated with specific protected characteristics in the final period of the decade, between 2017 and 2019, the positive trend is much less explicit when comparing 2010 and 2019, because from the nineteen protected characteristics improvement was only recorded in the case of four protected characteristics between 2010 and 2019.
- ✓ Overall, by comprehensively assessing the entire decade from 2010 to 2019, the most frequent grounds for discrimination were stable over the past 10 years, with *age* remaining the most frequently mentioned reason for discrimination over the course of the past 10 years. Besides *age*, *gender*, *state of health*, *social origin* and/or *financial status* were mentioned as the top five reasons for discrimination.
- ✓ Similarly to 2017, respondents experienced discrimination *at the workplace* most frequently over the past 12 months, with *social and healthcare services* mentioned as the second most problematic area. *Trade and use of services* was mentioned the third most frequently. Respondents least frequently experienced discrimination in the area of *education and training*.
- ✓ The rate of persons subjected to multiple discrimination overall decreased significantly between 2017 and 2019; at the same time, multiple discrimination continues to be the dominant characteristic within the discriminated group.
- ✓ Multiple discrimination is significantly more characteristic in the *Roma population and among persons with disabilities* in relation to the national average. The deteriorating

trend in the Roma population and among persons with disabilities identified in the middle of the decade reversed, but continues to remain exceptionally high.

- ✓ Discrimination at the workplace was typically high in the case of Roma persons throughout the entire decade compared to the other groups surveyed. This was coupled by discrimination in two areas at once, namely, at the workplace and in other institutions, which in the case of Roma persons likewise exceeded the rate of other groups.
- ✓ *Persons with disabilities* most frequently experienced discrimination in the area of institutional services and their most disadvantaged status persisted in this regard throughout the entire 2010-2019 decade.
- ✓ No significant correlation was found between employment discrimination and labour market status in 2019, presumably owing to the high increase in the employment rate. However, by applying the more detailed types of categories of labour market status, it was possible to determine that persons experiencing discrimination were significantly over-represented in three categories, namely, *among persons employed in the public work scheme, persons regularly engaging in casual work and persons on childcare benefit and paid parental leave.*
- ✓ The number of grievances per respondent decreased between 2010 and 2019; as such, typically 10 percent of the population mentioned a grievance, with the frequency of the specific type of grievances decreasing in 2019.

Social perception of discrimination

- ✓ The highest rate of directly witnessed discrimination by respondents was against *Roma* in the past year. *Age* discrimination was the second most frequently witnessed form of discrimination at a relatively high rate, but with a significant margin.
- ✓ By reviewing the period between 2010 and 2019, it is possible to pinpoint a trend change in the social perception of discrimination in the middle of the decade. In the first two survey series conducted, discrimination based on Roma origin, age and disability ranked as the top three reasons for discrimination highly or relatively prevalent in society in 2010 and in 2013. Other (non-Roma) ethnic groups and belonging to a national minority ranked third in 2017 alongside discrimination based on Roma origin and age. At the time of the most recently conducted survey, in 2019, the first two socially perceived reasons for discrimination remained the same as the rank order in 2017 (discrimination based on Roma origin and other (non-Roma) ethnic groups and belonging to a national minority); however, discrimination based on sexual orientation was ranked third, which may suggest an increase in homophobia toward the end of the decade.

Personally and socially experienced discrimination in routine decision-making

- ✓ The vignette methodology applied in the survey sheds light on the personal components of intent for discrimination and concurrently confirmed the findings we made earlier in connection with the gaps between various social groups.
- ✓ Respondents described themselves as being much more tolerant than what they presumed of those with the right to make decisions, thereby demonstrating that the social climate is not favourable for certain groups of people who typically have to tolerate discriminative measures and being treated unequally by the majority. When explaining positive decisions, the principle of equal treatment surfaced as one of the most frequent reasons provided. Even if we do not think that this conviction based on principle would be so widespread and accepted in Hungarian society as the high rate for this response option offered by us suggests, we nevertheless feel that those that do not wish to discriminate against others at least do so on the basis of a principle and this is a major achievement.

Legal background and awareness of the Equal Treatment Authority

- ✓ After a decrease in the awareness of the Act on Equal Treatment in 2017, this legal awareness slightly increased in 2019; however, it still does not equal the rate for 2010 and 2013. In 2019, half of the respondents believed that there is a law that protects people from discrimination.
- ✓ Awareness of the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) did not change compared to 2017. Approximately four out of 10 respondents responded that they are aware of the Authority. This represents an explicit increase in relation to 2010; but a decrease compared to 2013. It is possible to explicitly associate the latter with the communication campaign conducted by the Authority. It seems as though the approximately 40 percent (overall) social awareness of the ETA is stabilising for the time being.

2 About the Survey

The survey bearing the title *“Growth rate of legal awareness concerning equal treatment — with special focus on women, Roma people, people with disabilities and LGBT people”* was conducted by the Centre for Social Sciences Institute for Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA TK SZI) for the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) in 2010 and 2013 on a national representative sample, which was a part of the longitudinal research aimed at mapping the various dimensions of discrimination (Neményi et al., 2013).

Identifying various life situations experienced, practices engendering discrimination and causal connections, in particular, in connection with the protected groups of women, Roma and persons with disabilities was the objective of the survey series. In terms of the strategies adopted by the authorities, mapping current processes that may serve as a guideline for reducing discrimination, and shaping social attitudes by assessing legal awareness was the other objective of the survey.

The Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academic Sciences conducted the third survey series in 2017 and subsequently the fourth one in 2019¹. A survey questionnaire was conducted on a national representative sample of one thousand respondents within the framework of this. We assessed (1) personally experienced discrimination, (2) social perception of discrimination and (3) awareness of and attitudes towards the legal framework of equal treatment and the ETA within the framework of the survey (Neményi et al., 2017).

The fourth survey series was conducted in June 2019, which, similarly to the 2017 survey, was conducted by Ipsos Media, Advertising, Market and Opinion Research Ltd. within the framework of the regular monthly Omnibus survey. One thousand respondents were included in the sample, which reflects the composition of the Hungarian population over the age of 18 by gender, age, education and residence.

We present the key findings of this survey in the survey report. Wherever relevant and enabled by the structure of the data, we also compare it to the experiences of the three previous surveys conducted. However, it is necessary to take account of how the methodology of the first and last two surveys series conducted slightly varies. Whilst in 2010 and 2013 the survey was conducted based on a paper questionnaire (PAPI), interviewers used a laptop in 2017 and 2019 (CAPI). Data collection was dedicated in the survey conducted in 2010 and 2013, meaning that only items relating to discrimination and equal treatment were included in the questionnaire. However, the survey conducted in 2017 and the present survey was conducted within the framework of the so-called Omnibus survey; as such, questions relating to this topic were not the only ones respondents had to answer. Finally, and this is perhaps the most relevant aspect, the sampling procedure of the two series of surveys conducted is not entirely identical. This is

¹ As of September 1, 2019 the name of the institution became Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Sociology – MTA Centre of Excellence.

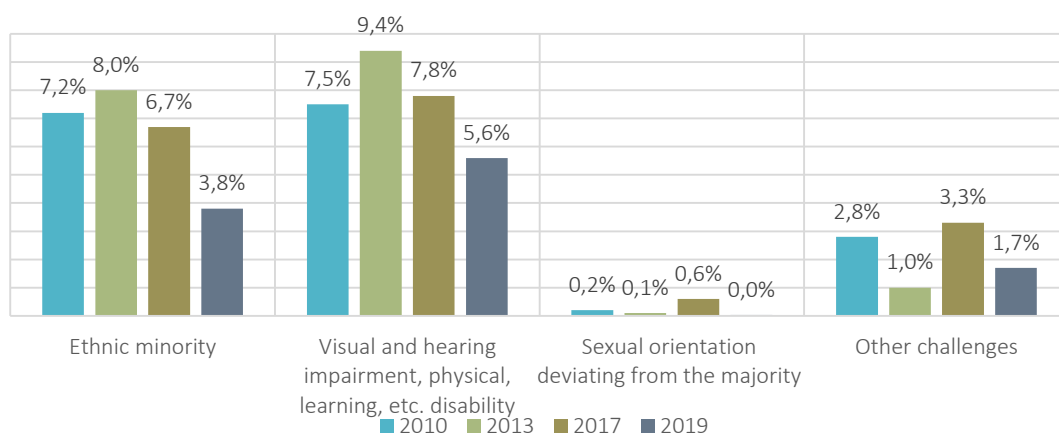
why simply presenting the specific results in percentages alongside one another may be misleading in certain cases, which, however, does not have any effect on us making findings in connection with the general trend of changes.

3 Disadvantaged Status and Discrimination

3.1 Direct and indirect personal exposure

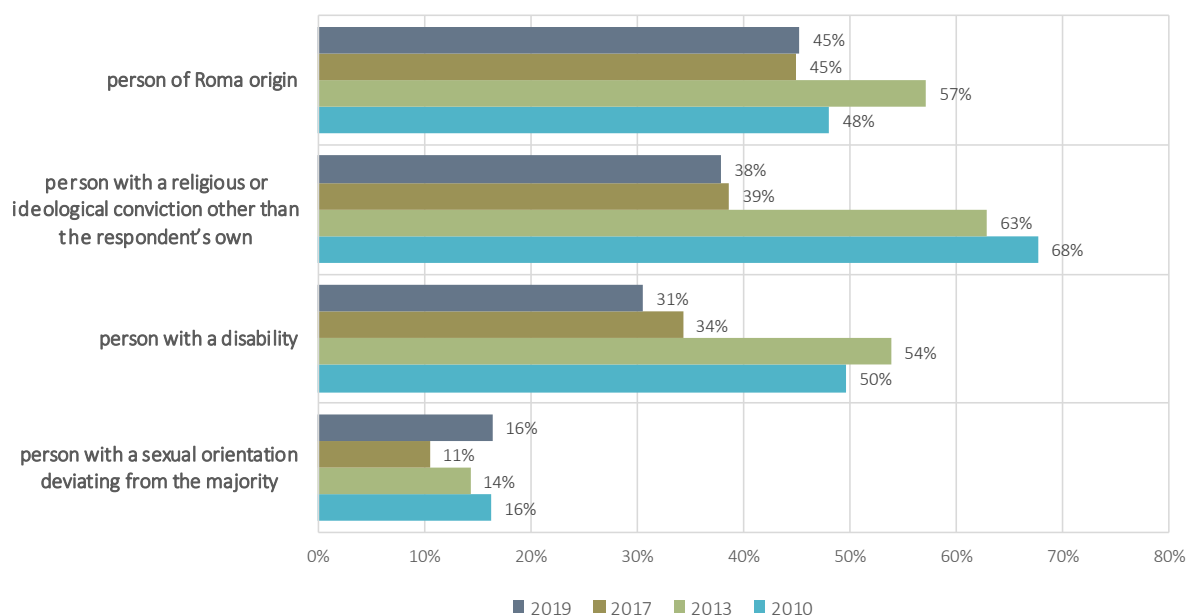
The extent of personal exposure based on disadvantaged status is somewhat lower in the 2019 survey in relation to previous years; at the same time, there is no marked change in the case of either group, since the values are relatively stable, only indicating slow changes within a society. Belonging to a minority or ethnic group was problematic for 4 percent of the respondents included in the sample, 6 percent of the respondents mentioned experiences relating to visual, hearing impairment, physical, learning, disability. There is a considerably lower rate of problems caused by sexual orientation deviating from the majority and experiences related to other factors. These figures are presumably higher in reality owing to the methodology of the survey and the characteristics of face-to-face interviews. (FIGURE 1)

FIGURE 1
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE 1, 2010-2019 (%)
Do you experience either of the following in your everyday life?
(in percentage of yes responses)



In the case of direct personal experience, we examined whether the respondent knows anyone for whom these characteristics cause problems on a routine daily basis. We recorded stagnation in each category in relation to the data collected in 2017. Almost half of respondents know a person of Roma origin, four out of ten respondents know a person that believes in another religion/has different convictions, whilst three out of ten know a person with a disability. 16 percent of respondents knew a person with a sexual orientation deviating from the majority.

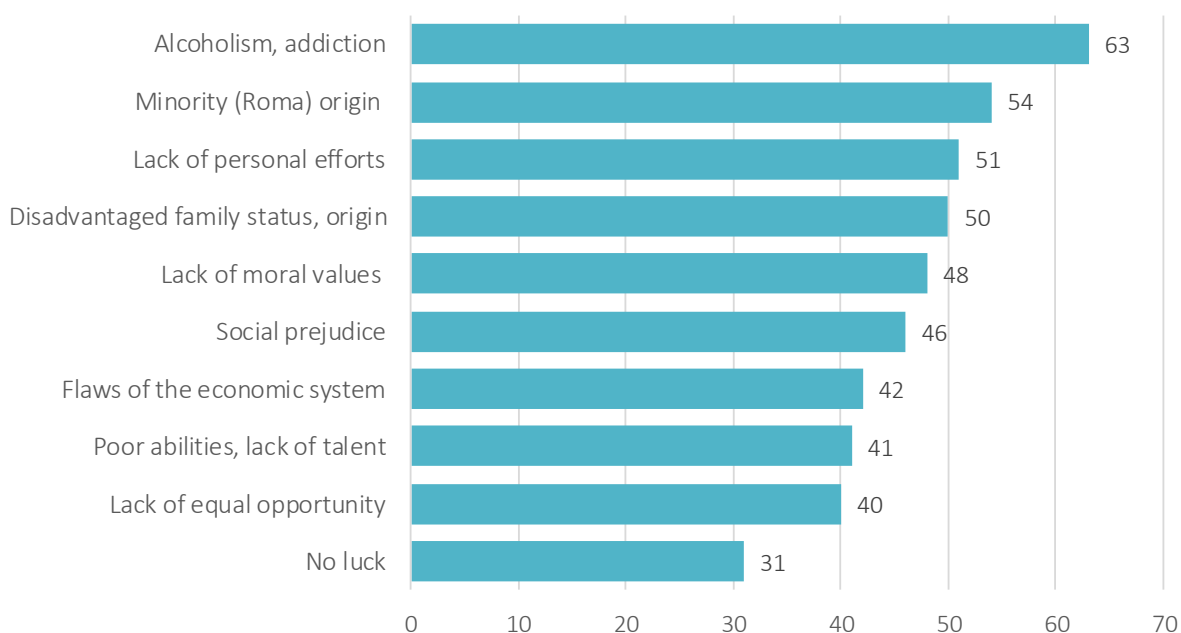
FIGURE 2
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE 2, 2010-2019 (%)
"Is anyone you know a...?" (in percentage of yes responses)



3.2 Reasons underlying disadvantaged status

What do people think are the reasons underlying disadvantaged status in Hungary today? Similarly to the experiences of previous years, respondents mentioned alcoholism and addiction first in 2019 as well. By aggregating the responses "frequently" and "very frequently", 63 percent of respondents believe that the person that landed in a bad situation is responsible for how their life evolved, caused by alcoholism and other addictions. However, likewise similarly to the previous surveys, belonging to a minority, or being Roma ranks second (54%), followed by disadvantaged family status (50%), which are structural reasons beyond the scope of responsibility of the individual. There was also a high rate of respondents that mentioned the social climate, social prejudice (46%) and the lack of equal opportunity (40%) beyond the scope of structural and personal causes for the disadvantaged status of the person. Therefore, the rank order of the presumed causes triggering disadvantaged status did not fundamentally change in the period between 2010 and 2019. (FIGURE 3)

FIGURE 3
REASONS LEADING TO DISADVANTAGED STATUS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS
FREQUENCY IN 2019 (%)



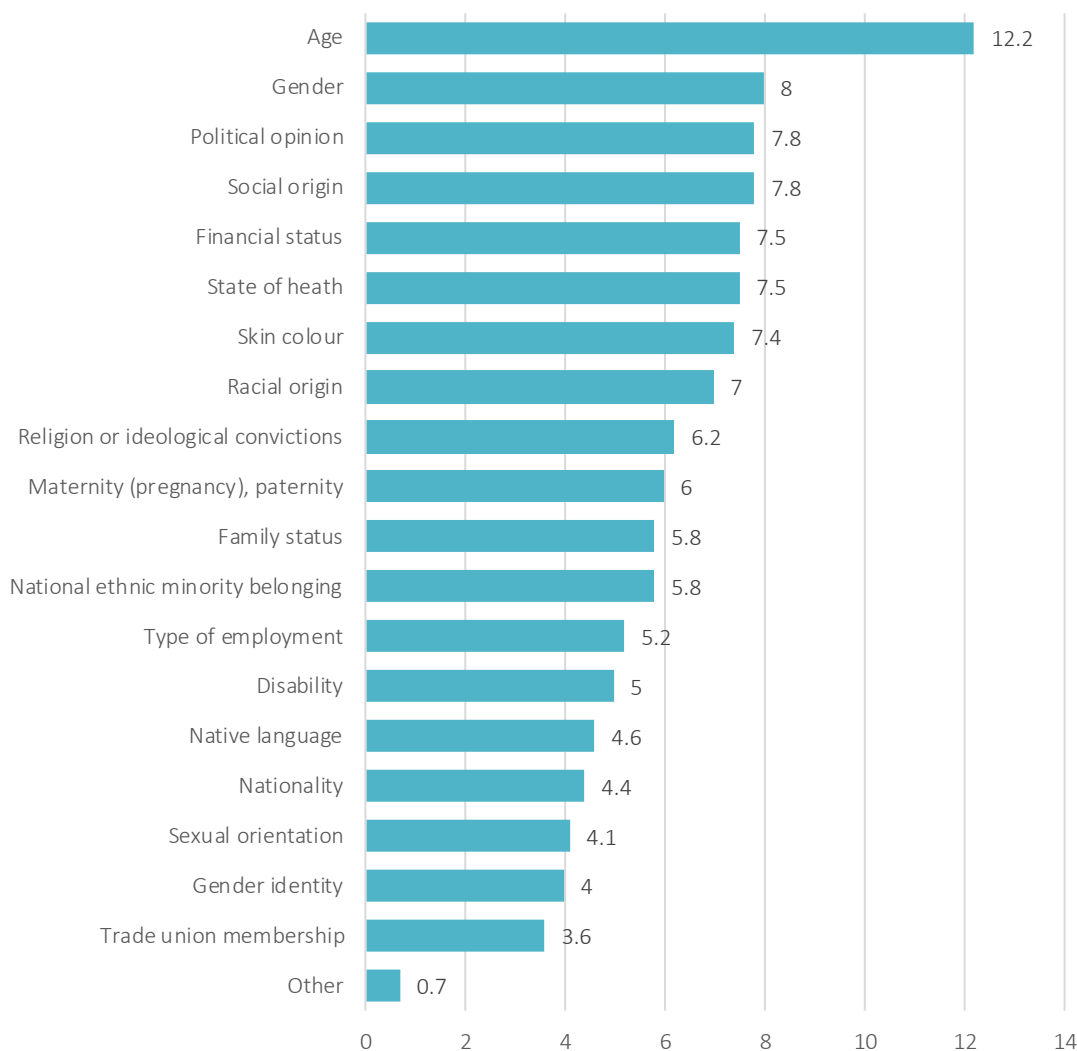
Disadvantaged status alone does not necessarily provide a reason for discrimination; however, there is a correlation between disadvantaged status and exposure to discrimination. Persons that become a member of a distinct group based on their physical, psychological characteristics, gender, social/ethnic origin or other fundamental characteristic irrespective of their will (such as age) can be described as a group that can be distinguished in the eyes of the majority society, and as such, are to be handled in a stereotypical and uniform manner. Schematised categorisation in turn ultimately depersonalises the members of the discriminated ethnic group; as such, individuals stripped of their personal characteristics will more probably be exposed to processes and practices, among others, in the areas examined in our survey; therefore, in employment, access to services, dealing with and accepting fair treatment of their special life situation. These are phenomena that can be described as discrimination.

4 Personally Experienced Discrimination

4.1 Reasons leading to discrimination

Act CXXV of 2003 on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities lists 19 protected characteristics in which case violation of the obligation of equal treatment are defined as discrimination. The questionnaire includes the list of protected characteristics and respondents were asked to state whether they experienced discrimination, and if they did, how frequently based on the variables listed. (Figure 4)

FIGURE 4
FREQUENCY OF REASONS FOR PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION, 2019 (%)



In 2019, 75,4 percent of the entire sample of one thousand respondents stated that they have never experienced any discrimination during their lives based on the 19 protected characteristics provided. In other words, 24.6 percent of the population stated that they have

been discriminated based on at least one characteristic.² 7.6 percent of respondents felt that they were victims of discrimination based on one characteristic, 3.2 percent based on two characteristics and 7.8 percent based on more than four characteristics (See Chapter 4.3 for the detailed analysis of multiple discrimination).

Based on the responses given, it is possible to determine that four protected characteristics were most frequently mentioned as reasons for discrimination in 2019. Discrimination based on *age* ranked first (12.2% of respondents mentioned that they felt they were at times discriminated based on their age), discrimination based on *gender* ranked second (8.0%), discrimination based on *political opinion* ranked third (7.8%) and discrimination owing to *social origin* ranked fourth (7.8%). *Financial status* (7.5%), *state of health* (7.5%), *skin colour* (7.4%) and *racial discrimination* (7.0%) were mentioned as significant reasons for discrimination.

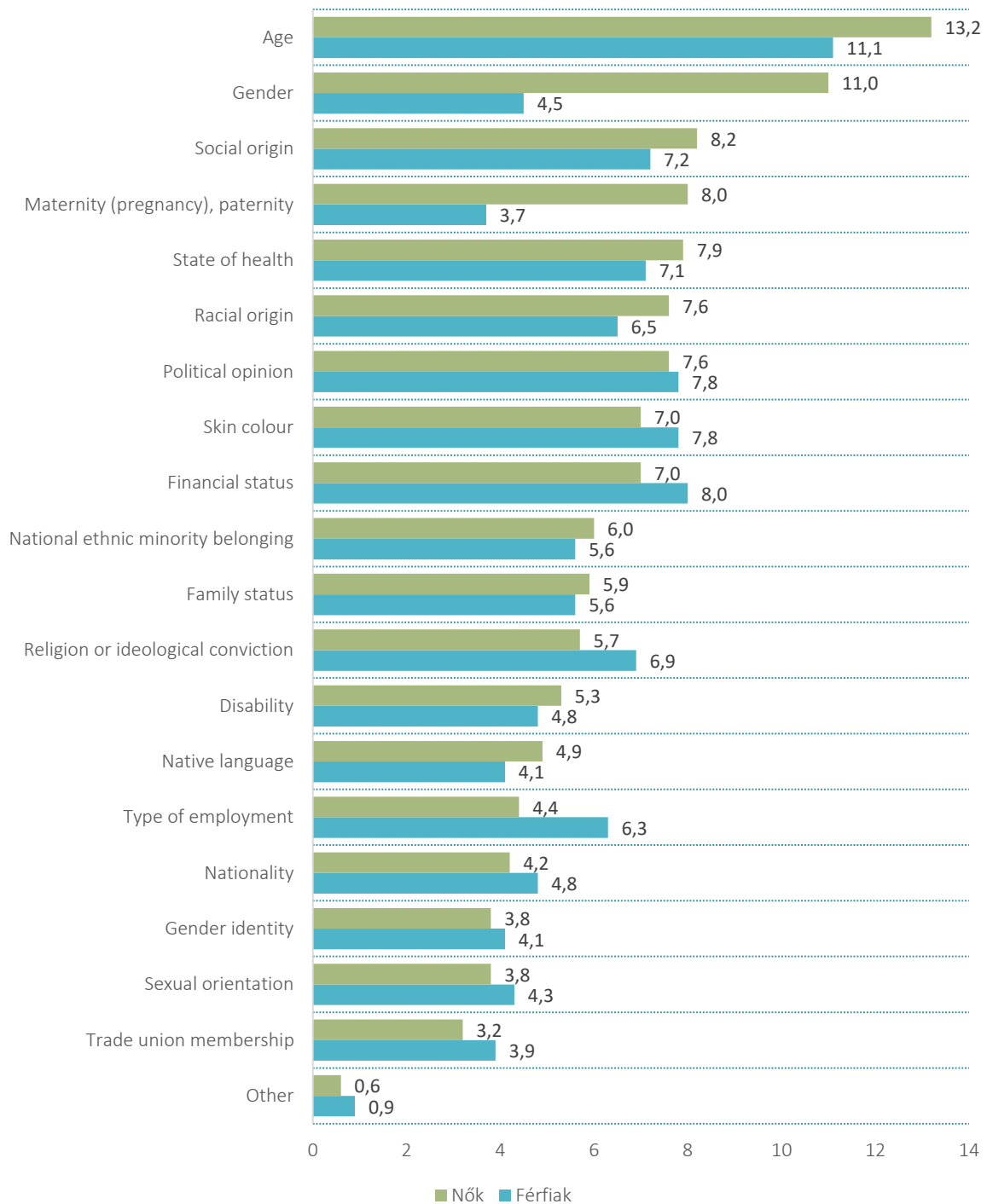
Religious or ideological conviction, parenthood, family status, belonging to a national or ethnic minority, type of employment and disability were mentioned at a medium frequency in connection with personally experienced discrimination (5-6%). Respondents least frequently mentioned native language, nationality, sexual orientation and trade union membership as a reason underlying discrimination (3-4%).

By analysing the data based on the respondent's *gender* in the sample for 2019, we found two protected characteristics in the case of *male* and *female* respondents in which case women were subjected to a significantly higher rate of discrimination than men. *Women* experienced a significantly higher rate of discrimination based on their gender and family status. The difference in personally experienced discrimination is not statistically significant in the case of the other protected characteristics. Although there are only significant differences in frequency between men and women in the case of the protected characteristics of gender and parenthood, the pattern of the five most frequently mentioned reasons for discrimination varied among women and men. In 2019, *women* most frequently mentioned age, gender, social origin, motherhood (maternity) and state of health as reasons leading to discrimination. On the other hand, in 2019, age, financial status, political opinion, skin colour and social origin were most frequently mentioned by male respondents as reasons underlying discrimination. (Figure 5)

In spite of changes to the partly different patterns of discrimination for men and women, there is no significant difference in the case of aggregated experiences of discrimination in the overall population. 24.6 percent of the overall population experienced discrimination during their lives in 2019, 24.0 percent in the case of men and 25.1 percent in the case of women. There likewise is no significant difference in the average number of reasons for discrimination, with 1.14 of men and 1.24 of women experiencing discrimination based on protected characteristics in 2019.

² Respondents that did not select option "never", but selected the very rarely, sometimes, frequently, very frequently option were allocated in the group exposed to discrimination.

FIGURE 5
REFERENCE FREQUENCY OF VARIOUS PROTECTED CHARACTERISTICS IN PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN 2019 BY GENDER (%)



4.1.1 Changes in the grounds of perceived personal discrimination between 2017 and 2019

Whether experiencing, perceiving personal discrimination in the population decreased or increased in the period between the last two surveys, from 2017 to 2019, and between 2010 and 2019 was one of the key questions in our survey. Firstly, we assess the data of the last two surveys conducted in 2017 and 2019, following which we analyse the longer ten year period between 2010 and 2019 in further detail.

Based on the survey questionnaire, we determined that respondents mentioned personally experienced discrimination less frequently in 2019 compared to 2017. It is necessary to point out that *the declining trend experienced in relation to 2017 represents a new trend* in the area of subjectively experienced discrimination. Discrimination based on *age* (-9.2%), *financial status* (-8.2%), *state of health* (-7.4%) and *social origin* (-6.9%) decreased most significantly between 2017 and 2019 according to the personal experiences of respondents. Therefore, in overall terms, the most frequent or frequent factors of discrimination decreased most significantly compared to 2017. (TABLE M2) On the other hand, those protected characteristics that decreased least over the past two years are also worthy of note. These were the following: political opinion, religious or ideological conviction, trade union membership, sexual orientation and gender identity (between -1.1% and -2,5%). With the exception of political opinion, these protected characteristics were experienced less frequently in 2019. (TABLE M2)

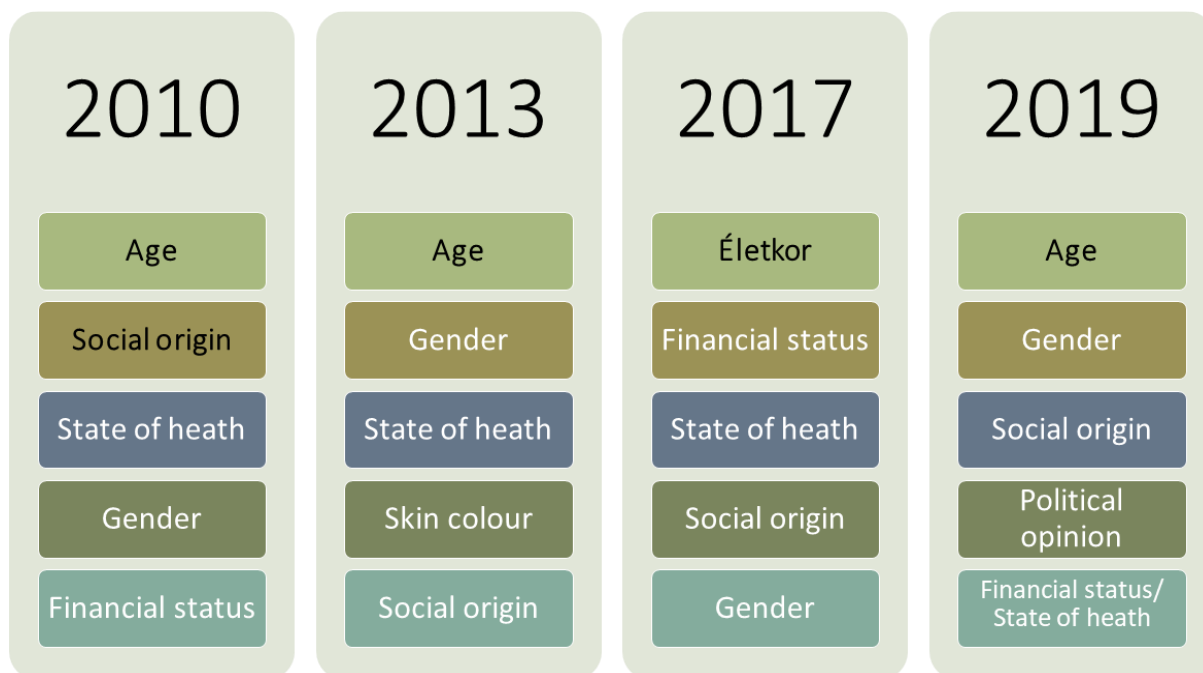
The question ultimately arises which factors are responsible for the decline in the rate of personally experienced discrimination between 2017 and 2019. According to our supposition, this improving trend may on the one hand be associated with labour shortages experienced in the labour market, thanks to which groups that were forced out of the labour market had a higher chance of reintegrating into it. On the other hand, it is possible that the higher level of awareness and competence of employers somewhat contributed to the improving trend in the lack of discrimination, i.e. to the requirement of equal treatment. The way in which only 10 percent of respondents experienced that creating a discrimination-free environment plays an important role at the workplace in 2019 seems to somewhat contradict the former.

4.1.2 Changes in the grounds of perceived personal discrimination between 2010 and 2019

By comprehensively assessing the entire decade from 2010 to 2019, it is possible to determine that the composition of the most frequent reasons for discrimination was stable over the past 10 years, although the relative position of certain underlying reasons changed over the years. *Age* was the most frequent reason for discrimination throughout the past 10 years. Apart from age, gender, state of health, social origin and/or financial status were the top five reasons for discrimination at the time the four questionnaire surveys were conducted in 2010, 2013, 2017 and 2019.

There are two exceptions: discrimination based on skin colour was ranked among the first five reasons for discrimination in 2013. (The proportion of Roma in the sample was somewhat higher in that particular year.) On the other hand, discrimination based on political opinion appears for the first time among the five most frequent reasons for discrimination in Hungary in 2019. (FIGURE 6)

FIGURE 6
FIVE MOST FREQUENT REASONS FOR DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019



Whilst a significant decline in the frequency of discrimination associated with specific protected characteristics was experienced in the period between 2017 and 2019, the positive trend is less evident in relation to the state between 2010 and 2019. Decline was experienced in the case of a total of four protected characteristics between 2010 and 2019 and this data indicating change does not exceed a decrease of 3 percent in a single case. Discrimination experienced based on age decreased in relation to 2010 (-2.9%), discrimination based on social origin decreased at the second highest rate (-1.6%), followed by the protected characteristic of belonging to a national or ethnic minority (-1.0%) and finally there was also a slight improvement in discrimination experienced based on state of health (-0.9%) between 2010 and 2019. (Table 2) At the same time, it is important to stress that the rate of decrease did not radically change the rank order of the key reasons for discrimination.

The data of the first and the fourth survey series conducted explicitly indicates stagnation, more specifically, in the case of discrimination experienced in connection with motherhood (maternity), type of employment and financial status. It is particularly necessary to highlight the

stagnating character of discrimination based on gender and motherhood, in light of the fact that these two characteristics particularly discriminate against women.

Finally, it is possible to determine that, if only slightly, the frequency of protected characteristics leading to discrimination increased in the case of the majority of protected characteristics in the period between 2010 and 2019. Respondents mentioned discrimination more frequently based on their religious or ideological conviction (+1.0%), race and skin colour (+1.2% and +1.6%), family status (+1.3%), disability (+1.5%), political opinion (+1.8%), native language (+1.8%), sexual orientation and gender identity (+2.7% and +1.9%) and finally nationality (+3.0%) in relation to 2010. Increasing frequency may be associated with a decline in secrecy in the case of certain protected characteristics, such as sexual orientation and gender identity; however, this may also be a sign of a rise in homophobia. On the other hand, the rise in xenophobia experienced in Hungary indicates that nationality, religious or ideological conviction, race and skin colour were more frequently experienced reasons for discrimination in 2019 in relation to 10 years earlier.

It is possible to distinguish respondents that have experienced discrimination from those that have never personally experienced discrimination based on mentions of discrimination associated with the 19 protected characteristics. The rate of respondents that had personally experienced discrimination was largely identical across the sample between 2010 and 2013 (35% and 34%), following which a slight increase was observed at the time the 2017 survey was conducted (38%) and finally significant improvement was observed across the sample in 2019 (25%). In the following, we compare changes to the rate of personally experienced discrimination across the sample in the period between 2010 and 2019 and in the case of four sub-groups, namely, women, the 50 and 64 age group, persons with disabilities and Roma. (FIGURE 7)

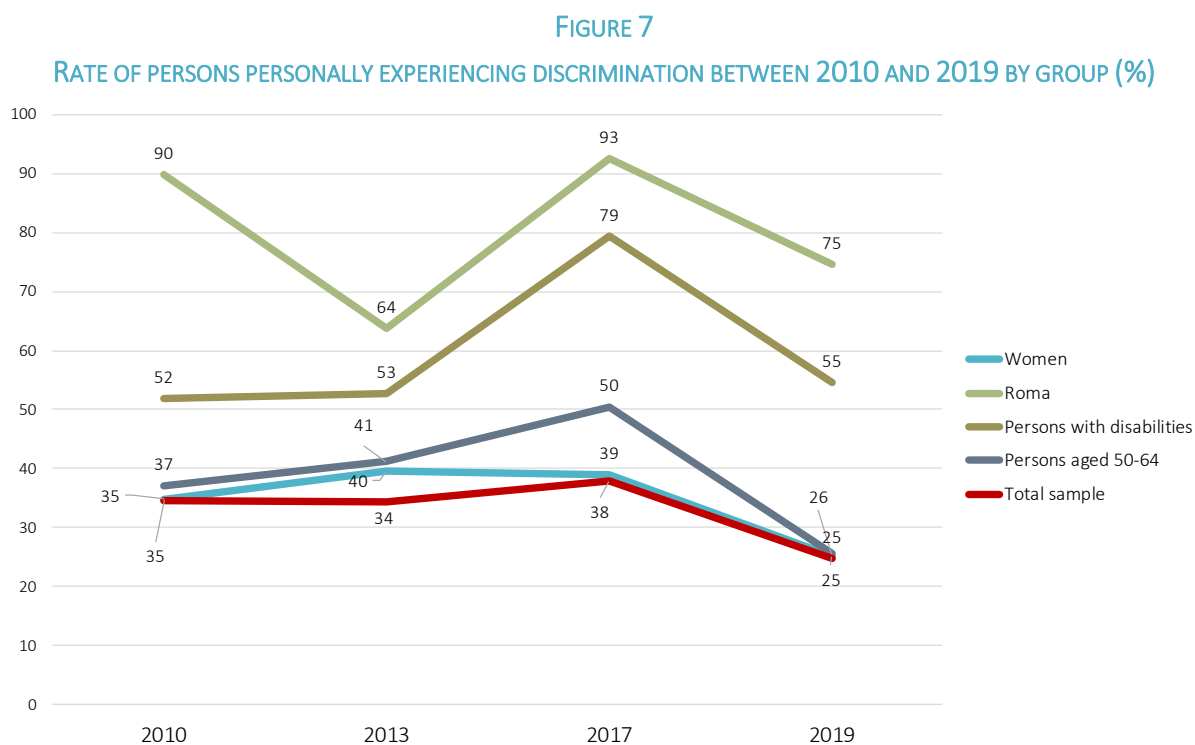
The rate of respondents that personally experienced discrimination was largely identical across the sample between 2010 and 2013 (35% and 34%), following which a slight increase was observed in the rate of discrimination when the 2017 survey was conducted (38%), finally, as indicated above, significant improvement was observed across the sample in 2019 (25%). Based on the data, it is possible to explicitly state that from among the four subgroups surveyed (women, the 50 and 64 age group, persons with disabilities and Roma), changes to the rate of personal discrimination coincides with the rate of the overall population and the subgroup surveyed in the case of women. The rate of discrimination was 35 percent both across the sample and in the case of women in 2010; however, it once again decreased in 2017 and approached or reached the same rate of discrimination across the sample in 2019 (25%).

The rate of respondents experiencing personal discrimination continuously increased in the case of the older, 50-64 age group between 2010 and 2017. *The older, 50-64 age group* experienced a higher rate of personal discrimination in 2017. Half of this group (50%) mentioned discrimination. At the same time, subjective experience of discrimination in this particular age group improved significantly over the past two years based on the data, since in

2019 the rate experienced by the 50-64 age group was merely 1% higher (26% versus 25%) than the average rate of personal discrimination experienced across the sample.

The rate of respondents experiencing subjective discrimination was significantly higher in the case of *persons with disabilities* in relation to the average for the overall population in the period between 2010 and 2019. The average decrease in 2017 was significantly more marked in the case of *persons with disabilities* in the entire period between 2010 and 2019, peaking at 79 percent. Although, similarly to the overall population, experiences of personal discrimination decreased in the group of persons with disabilities between 2010 and 2019; however, the difference between the overall population and the group of persons with disabilities increased between 2010 and 2019, in spite of the relative improvement observed in the past two years. Whilst members of the groups of persons with disabilities experienced personal discrimination at a 17 percent higher rate than the overall population in 2010, this was 30 percent higher in 2019 with 55 percent of the group experiencing it.

Although indicating a certain degree of variation, from among the four groups surveyed, the *Roma* group was systematically in the worst position throughout the entire decade in the case of the rate of respondents experiencing discrimination between 2010 and 2019, i.e. the rate of subjective discrimination was highest among Roma at the time when all four surveys were conducted. Roma respondents mentioned personal discrimination at a significantly lower rate in 2013 in relation to 2010 (90% and 64%). According to our supposition, this trend may possibly be associated with the high rate of participation of Roma in public work schemes in this particular period. The rate of respondents personally experiencing discrimination in 2017 was similar to the rate for 2010 in the case of Roma (93%), which indicates a decreasing trend in 2019 aligned to general trends; however, it was nevertheless highest in the case of the four groups (75%).



4.2 Areas of discrimination experienced recently

One of the questions asked respondents to recall whether they experienced any discrimination during the past 12 months, and if they did, in what area. The Act on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities prescribes compliance with the principle of equal treatment in five areas, namely, employment, education and training, social and healthcare services, housing and use of goods, trade and services. With the exception of housing, data was generated in connection with each area examined in the four questionnaire surveys conducted.

If the accountable areas of implementing equal treatment are reviewed jointly and the data recorded at the time the four surveys were conducted is compared, it is possible to see that, whilst the rate of respondents experiencing discrimination somewhat increased in the four areas assessed between 2010 and 2013, mentions of discrimination somewhat decreased recently between 2013 and 2017, with the exception of the social and healthcare area. The rate of recently experienced discrimination decreased in two areas between 2017 and 2019, most markedly in employment, following by social and healthcare services. Discrimination experienced in the preceding 12 months stagnated in the case of use of goods, trade and services in 2019 in relation to 2017, whilst a slight increase was recorded in the area of education and training. (FIGURE 8)

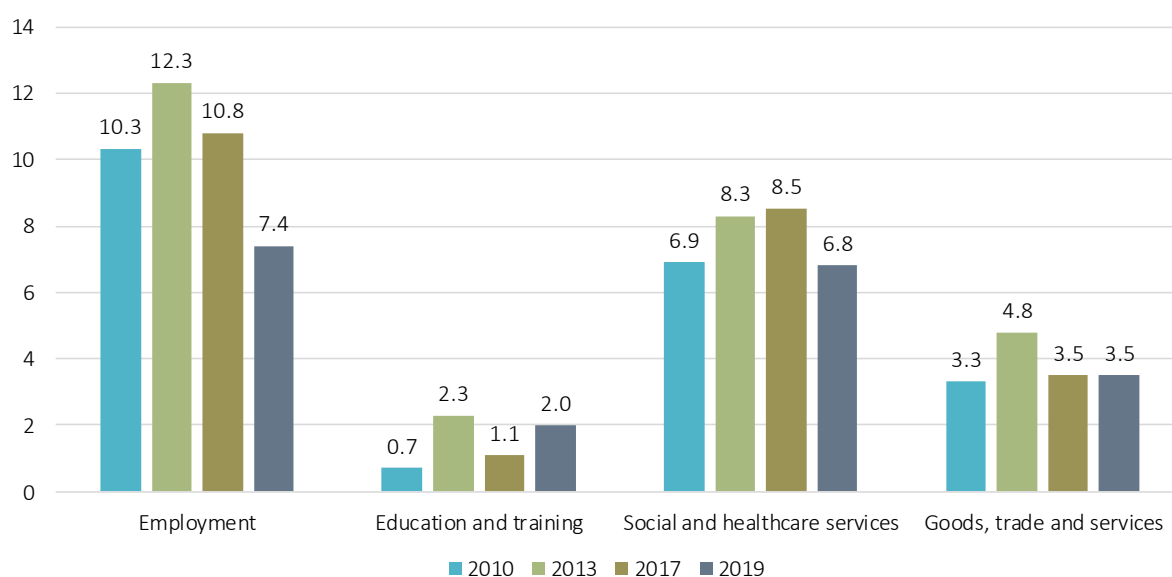
The rank order of frequency in the given areas in the survey conducted in 2019 is identical to the order for the period between 2010 and 2017: respondents most frequently experienced

discrimination at the workplace in the past 12 months (7.4%), social and healthcare services was the second most problematic area in which case 6.4% of respondents experienced discrimination. Use of trade and services was mentioned third most frequently (3.5%). Finally, respondents mentioned discrimination least frequently in the area of education and training (2.0%). (FIGURE 8)

Similarly to 2017, discrimination was most frequently experienced at the workplace and in the area of social services in 2019; however, it did not reach 5 percent in most cases in a more detailed breakdown. The highest rate of discrimination was recorded in the case of *recruitment and selection*, in connection with which 4.3 percent of respondents experienced discrimination in the past 12 months. Discrimination in connection with payment (3.6%), position and promotion (3.6%) was highest within the workplace category. Respondents mostly experienced discrimination in connection with healthcare services (3.8%) and when applying for social benefits (3.1%) in the area of social and healthcare services.

FIGURE 8

FREQUENCY OF PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS BY AREA BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)



The rate of respondents experiencing discrimination increased most markedly at school (+1.1%) and in the area of catering (+1.0%) between 2017 and 2019. Respondents mentioned fewer cases of discrimination in the case of recruitment (-2.6%) and in the area of administration (-2.5%) compared to 2017.

By analysing changes between 2010 and 2019, it becomes evident that the rate of discrimination experienced increased most markedly in healthcare services (+1.7%) and at

school (1.2%). Respondents mentioned significantly fewer cases of discrimination at the workplace (-2.6%) in 2019 in relation to 2010. (TABLE 1)

We assessed the frequency of areas of discrimination in further detail in the disadvantaged group assessed, namely, in the case of women, Roma and persons with disabilities. On the one hand, it is important to note that both men and women experienced discrimination most frequently in employment and when using social and healthcare services in 2019. *Even though there are no significant differences, discrimination in connection with the use of social and healthcare services was more frequently experienced by women* in relation to men; however, a higher rate of men mentioned discrimination in the area of education and services in relation to women in 2017. Men typically experienced discrimination more frequently than women in all four areas in the past 12 months in 2019. (TABLE M3)

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY OF PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED IN THE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY BY AREA BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019
DISCRIMINATION AT THE WORKPLACE						
Recruitment	6.9	8.4	6.9	4.3	-2.6	-2.6
Payment	3.4	3.2	3.6	3.7	0.1	0.3
Position	2.9	2.2	4.3	3.6	-0.7	0.7
Type of employment	2.7	3.8	4.6	3.0	-1.6	0.3
Dismissal	2.8	2.5	2.4	2.3	-0.1	-0.5
DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING						
At school	0.6	2.4	0.7	1.8	1.1	1.2
At kindergarten	0.3	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.6	0.9
DISCRIMINATION IN THE USE OF HEALTHCARE AND SOCIAL SERVICES						
Treatment	2.1	3.5	4.0	3.8	-0.2	1.7
Applying for social benefits	3.8	3.2	3.8	3.1	-0.7	-0.7
Applying for unemployment benefits	1.9	1.2	2.3	2.1	-0.2	0.2
Administration	3.0	4.2	5.0	2.5	-2.5	-0.5
At the police station	1.7	0.4	2.4	1.4	-1	-0.3
DISCRIMINATION IN CONNECTION WITH GOODS, TRADE AND USE OF SERVICES						
Catering	1.6	0.6	1.0	2.0	1	0.4
Transport	1.9	3.3	2.4	2.4	0	0.5
Shopping	1.5	2.7	1.9	1.5	-0.4	0

Similarly to the national sample, respondents likewise mentioned the highest rate of discrimination at the workplace and in the area of social and healthcare services in 2019 *in the case of the Roma population*. However, it is relevant that the extent of discrimination was significantly higher in both areas in relation to the national average in the case of Roma (33% in the case of employment and 25.5% in the area of social and healthcare services). Discrimination at the workplace was nearly five times higher, more than three times higher in the area of social and healthcare services in 2019 in relation to the national average in the case of Roma respondents. At the same time, it is possible to observe a positive trend between 2017 and 2019 in how the rate of respondents experiencing discrimination decreased significantly in the Roma population both in the area of employment and social services. However, the way in which the rate of respondents experiencing discrimination increased from 10.5 percent to 15.7 percent in the case of Roma in the area of education and training between 2017 and 2019 is a cause for concern. (TABLE M3)

Employment and social and healthcare services likewise proved the key areas of discrimination in the group of *persons with disabilities*; however, within the above factors, the way in which not employment, but *social and healthcare services* (30.9%) is the main source of discrimination in the case of persons with disabilities is the unique characteristic of this group. Discrimination experienced decreased in the case of persons with disabilities in the area of employment and use of trade and services between 2017 and 2019; at the same time, stagnation can be observed in the case of *social and healthcare services*, whilst the rate of respondents experiencing discrimination explicitly increased in the area of education and training. (TABLE M3)

As observed, cases of discrimination were most frequently experienced in the area of employment in the case of the various types of discrimination, which is why we were curious about how respondents evaluate their current and last workplace from this perspective, how important a discrimination-free environment is in their opinion and in workplace policies promoting equal opportunities. It seems that in 2019 only around 10 percent of respondents experienced that creating a discrimination-free environment at the workplace played an important role, in which regard the respondent's gender, disability or Roma origin was barely relevant. Slight improvement was observed between 2017 and 2019 at a national level and in the case of the majority of sub-groups surveyed. At the same time, processes are by no means as positive if the entire decade is reviewed. The highest rate of respondents (34.4%) believed that their workplace highly prioritises creating a discrimination-free environment in 2010. The proportion of such respondents had significantly decreased (26.9%) by 2013, with the lowest rate recorded in 2017 (7.6%). This rate decreased most significantly in the case of persons with disabilities between 2010 and 2019. (TABLE 2)

TABLE 2

RATE OF PERSONS ACCORDING TO WHOM ANTI-DICRIMINATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PLAYS (PLAYED) A KEY ROLE AT THEIR CURRENT (LAST) WORKPLACE BY GENDER, ROMA ORIGIN AND DISABILITY BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019
Total	34.4	26.9	7.6	11.0	3.4	-23.4
Breakdown:					0	0
Women	38.1	24.9	8.2	12	3.8	-26.1
Men	35.3	28.5	7.0	10	3	-25.3
Persons with disabilities	44.9	24.0	8.4	9.1	0.7	-35.8
Roma	28.9	18.6	6.3	9.8	3.5	-19.1

4.3 Multiple discrimination

Multiple discrimination and intersectional discrimination are key concepts in studies focusing on discrimination. We found it important to examine in the survey how common it is in Hungary for a person to be subjected to discrimination based on not only one, but multiple protected characteristics and how this affects various groups. Data indicates that nearly three-quarters (75.4%) of the population has never experienced discrimination; however, nearly one quarter of the population (24.6%) has experienced discrimination based on at least one of the 19 protected characteristics during their lives. However, those that have experienced discrimination most typically experienced it not only based of one protected characteristic, but based on multiple protected characteristics during their lives. At a national level, nearly one-fifth (17.1%) of the population experienced discrimination on multiple grounds, whilst within the group that has experienced discrimination more than two-thirds of respondents (69.5%) were not only subjected to one form of discrimination, but several.

There was no significant difference in the rate of respondents mentioning a single or multiple reasons for discrimination between 2010 and 2013 (22.1% and 22.6%). However, persons subjected to discrimination more frequently experienced multiple discrimination between by 2017 (28.3%). Even though the overall rate of respondents subjected to multiple discrimination decreased in the group that experienced discrimination in 2019, multiple discrimination remained a key characteristic in the group that experienced discrimination. (TABLE 3)

TABLE 3
RATE OF PERSONS SUBJECTED TO MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019
Never experienced discrimination	65.4	65.6	62.1	75.4	13.3	10
Discriminated only because of one protected characteristic	12.5	11.8	9.5	7.6	-1.9	-4.9
Discriminated because of multiple protected characteristics	22.1	22.6	28.3	17.1	-11.2	-5
Breakdown:						
Discriminated because of 2-5 protected characteristics	17.8	17.2	17.6	11.6	-6	-6.2
Discriminated because of 6 or more protected characteristics	4.3	5.4	10.7	5.5	-5.2	1.2
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%		

Exposure to discrimination was largely identical in the case of *men* and *women* between 2010 and 2019, although there were smaller swings during the decade, some towards women and others towards men. After similar results in 2010, the data indicated that women were more at risk in 2013. The significant differences in 2013 decreased subsequently and minor differences lost their significance by 2017. The gap between the discrimination indicators for men and women further narrowed between 2017 and 2019. The trend is the same in the rates of discrimination because of one or multiple protected characteristics. (TABLE 3)

Multiple discrimination is characteristic at a significantly higher rate in relation to the national average in the *Roma* population and in the case of *persons with disabilities*. Whilst multiple discrimination was two times higher in the case of persons with disabilities and two and half times higher in the case of *Roma* in 2013, this rate dramatically increased by 2017: multiple discrimination based on several protected characteristics increased to three times the national average in the case of *Roma* and two and half times the national average in the case of persons with disabilities. Overall, this implied that over four-fifths (86.4%) of the *Roma* population and nearly three-quarters (71.5%) of persons with disabilities experienced multiple discrimination during their lives in 2017. Every indicator shows that the rate of subjectively experienced discrimination increased significantly in the *Roma* population and among persons with disabilities between 2013 and 2017. However, the downhill trend of multiple discrimination reversed by the end of the decade in the case of the *Roma* population and persons with

disabilities, but continued to remain exceptionally high (62.7% in the case of Roma and 40.0% in the case of persons with disabilities). Therefore, multiple discrimination arising for multiple reasons decreased in 2019 both in the case of the Roma population and persons with disabilities; however, its overall level was nevertheless significantly higher than in the entire population (17.1%). (TABLE M4)

Multiple discrimination may not only surface because the given person is concurrently discriminated against based on several protected characteristics, but because the person is discriminated in several areas of his or her life. In the following, we will examine whether there is a correlation between discrimination experienced in the area of employment and other institutional areas, services. (TABLE 4)

88.8 percent of respondents did not experience any discrimination at the workplace or by other institutions in the 12 months preceding the survey in 2019. From among the approx. 11 percent of respondents that experienced discrimination in the previous year, 3.5 percent of the respondents only experienced it at the workplace, 4.6 percent only by other institutions, whilst 3.5 percent were subjected to discrimination in both areas. On a national average, discrimination only somewhat, yet significantly decreased in the case of discrimination at the workplace in the period between 2010 and 2019, which is not the case in the frequency of other institutional and both types of discrimination. (TABLE 4)

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA IN WHICH THEY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN THE 12 MONTHS PRECEDING THE SURVEY BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019
Did not experience discrimination	85.1	80.5	83.5	88.8	5.3	3.7
Only experienced discrimination at the workplace	6.1	8.4	6.2	3.8	-2.4	-2.3
Only experienced institutional discrimination (social and healthcare services, education, services)	4.3	7.2	5.7	4.6	-1.1	0.3
Experienced both forms of discrimination (workplace and institutional)	4.5	3.9	4.6	3.6	-1	-0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

There was no significant difference in 2019 in which area men and women experienced discrimination, at the workplace, institutional or both, in the 12 months preceding the survey. Whilst more women typically experienced institutional discrimination or multiple discrimination at the workplace or in the case of institutions than men in 2013, these differences disappeared between the two genders by 2017, which process continued in 2019.

Not only discrimination for life, but multiple discrimination and discrimination in the past 12 months surpassed the national average in the two most vulnerable groups, namely, in the case of *Roma and persons with disabilities*; however, significantly different patterns were found by analysing the areas in which it surfaces. Discrimination at the workplace was typically the highest throughout the entire decade in the case of Roma in relation to the other groups assessed. This was coupled by discrimination in two areas concurrently, namely, at the workplace and institutional, which likewise typically exceeded the value of the other groups in the case of Roma persons. Persons with disabilities most frequently experienced discrimination in the area of institutional services, in which regard their most disadvantaged status persisted throughout the entire decade of 2010-2019. (TABLE M5)

4.4 Characteristics of persons subjected to discrimination

4.4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics

Using the survey data, respondents were grouped as discriminated against and not discriminated against based on whether they were discriminated against during their lives based on either of the protected characteristics and, on the other hand, based on whether they mentioned any workplace or other institutional area in which they faced discrimination in the past 12 months. Consequently, the discriminated group became somewhat larger than presented thus far, i.e. over one quarter (27.4% - 25.8% of men and 28.8% of women) experienced discrimination in their lives in the entire population. The combined rate of persons discriminated against was lower in 2019 than the rate in the three previous series of surveys conducted (38.5% in 2010, 36.0% in 2013 and 40.4% in 2017).

By assessing the link between the level of education and discrimination, we found that the trend changed over the course of the decade. The data of the survey conducted in 2010 and in 2013 indicated that there is no significant difference in the distribution of persons discriminated against and not discriminated against based on levels of education. This was a key finding, because it refuted the general opinion that persons with a lower level of education and, thereby, in a weaker position in the labour market, are effectively subjected to discrimination. This also implied that a higher education degree does not "protect" the individual from discrimination: these persons were discriminated at the same frequency as the entire sample. Contrary to previous results, the representative survey conducted in 2017 and

in 2019 showed that there exists, although weak, a significant inverse correlation between the two variables: the lower the person's level of education, the higher the likelihood that this person has experienced discrimination during their life. (TABLE 5)

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS DISCRIMINATED AND NO DISCRIMINATED BY EDUCATION IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	DISCRIMINATED 2017	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2017	2017	DISCRIMINATED 2019	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2019	2019
8 years primary school or less	33.9	25.4	28.8	36.4	24.8	27.9
Vocational training, vocational school	22	22.4	22.2	20.0	23.2	22.4
Secondary school	29	32.9	31.3	28.7	32.9	31.7
Higher education	15.1	19.3	17.6	14.9	19.1	18.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

P=0.021

P=0.003

We find that there was a slight difference in the first half of the decade, i.e. discrimination was overrepresented in the 40-60 year old age group, whilst it was rather underrepresented in the under 40 age group if the discriminated and not discriminated set is analysed by age group in the sample. Exposure to discrimination was particularly high in the 50-59 year old age group in 2017. However, the difference between the two variables was not statistically significant; therefore, it was not possible to state that discrimination is typically a problem for a certain age group, i.e. the older generation. On the contrary, this became significant in 2017, although the correlation was not too strong. The age distribution of the discriminated against and not discriminated against group did not significantly vary in 2019. (TABLE 6)

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS DISCRIMINATED AND NOT DISCRIMINATED BY AGE IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	DISCRIMINATED 2017	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2017	2017	DISCRIMINATED 2019	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2019	2019
18-29 year olds	16.5	19.3	18.2	18.9	17.9	18.2
30-39 year olds	16	21.8	19.5	19.6	19.4	19.5
40-49 year olds	15.1	16.8	16.1	18.2	15.4	16.2
50-59 year olds	22.5	14.4	17.7	17.7	17.6	17.7
60 year olds and over	29.9	27.7	28.6	25.5	29.6	28.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

P=0.012

P=0.687

Correlation between the place of residence and discrimination changed between 2010 and 2019. Whilst place of residence significantly influenced whether a person was subjected to discrimination during their life or not in the first half of the decade, place of residence alone was no longer a differentiating factor by 2017. On the other hand, it is also necessary to point out that place of residence may influence the likelihood of discrimination: the rate of persons discriminated with a place of residence in Budapest was significantly lower and was significantly higher in smaller settlements. (TABLE M6)

4.4.2 Labour market status characteristics

The way in which discrimination, specifically employment discrimination impacts the position in the labour market was one of the key questions of the survey. It is possible to assume that there was no significant correlation between employment discrimination and labour market status in 2019 owing to the strong increase in the employment rate. However, by using the more detailed types of categories of labour market status, it was nevertheless possible to identify that persons that experienced discrimination were significantly overrepresented in three categories, namely, in the case of persons in public work schemes, persons regularly engaging in casual work and persons on child care allowance or paid parental leave. Contrary to the data of the survey conducted in 2013, *there was a significant correlation between discrimination and labour market status according to the data of the national representative sample*. The greatest difference in the labour market status of persons that experienced discrimination in the previous series of surveys conducted was that the rate of unemployed persons was significantly higher in the discriminated group and that the rate of active income earners was significantly lower in the discriminated group. (TABLE 7)

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS DISCRIMINATED AND NO DISCRIMINATED BY LABOUR MARKET STATUS IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	DISCRIMINATED 2017	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2017	2017	DISCRIMINATED 2019	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2019	2019
Active income earner	50.5	59.1	55.6	68.7	64.2	65.4
Pensioner, on disability pension	33.7	27.4	30	24.4	27.7	26.8
Unemployed	9.4	1.7	4.8	3.3	1.8	2.2
Inactive: Student, on child care allowance/paid parental leave, housewife/ househusband	1.7	7	4.9	3.3	5.2	4.7
Other inactive + refusing to respond	4.7	4.7	4.7	0.4	1.1	0.9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

P=0.000

P=0.179

4.4.3 Financial status characteristics

Living conditions significantly deviated in the discriminated and the not discriminated group in 2019; however, from among the four subjective income categories applied, there was only a significant difference in the most affluent (*we comfortably live off our current income*) and struggling category (*we find it very difficult to live off our current income*). Obviously, the not discriminated group was overrepresented in the top income category, whilst the discriminated group was overrepresented in the lowest category. However, it is important to note that the subjectively experienced income status improved in the case of both groups between 2017 and 2019, with only 6.1 percent of the population in the lowest category (*we find it very difficult to live off our current income*) and only 10.2 percent of discriminated households in this category in 2019, which was double this rate, at 19.4 percent in 2017. The rate of persons in the lowest subjective income category (*we find it difficult to live off our current income and we find it very difficult to live off our current income*) gradually decreased in the entire population from the second half of the decade: 60.3 percent of the population in 2010, decreasing from 62.3 percent in 2013 to 44.4 percent in 2017, with only 39.8 percent of the population in the two bottom income categories in 2019. At the same time, alongside this general improvement, differences increased between the discriminated and not discriminated group in the case of the subjectively experienced financial status, i.e., the gap widened between the two groups, following which differences once again began to decrease by 2019. (TABLE 8)

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS DISCRIMINATED AND NOT DISCRIMINATED BY SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THEIR INCOME IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	DISCRIMINATED 2017	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2017	2017	DISCRIMINATED 2019	NOT DISCRIMINATED 2019	2019
We comfortably live off our current income	4	7.4	6	4.0	8.0	6.9
We manage to live off our current income	37.5	53.9	47.3	47.4	52.4	51.0
We find it difficult to live off our current income	38.2	27.6	31.9	37.6	32.2	33.7
We find it very difficult to live off our current income	19.4	7.9	12.5	10.2	4.5	6.1
Don't know	0	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.6
No response	1	2	1.6	0.4	2.2	1.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

P=0.000

P=0.001

4.5 Grievances: violence, harassment

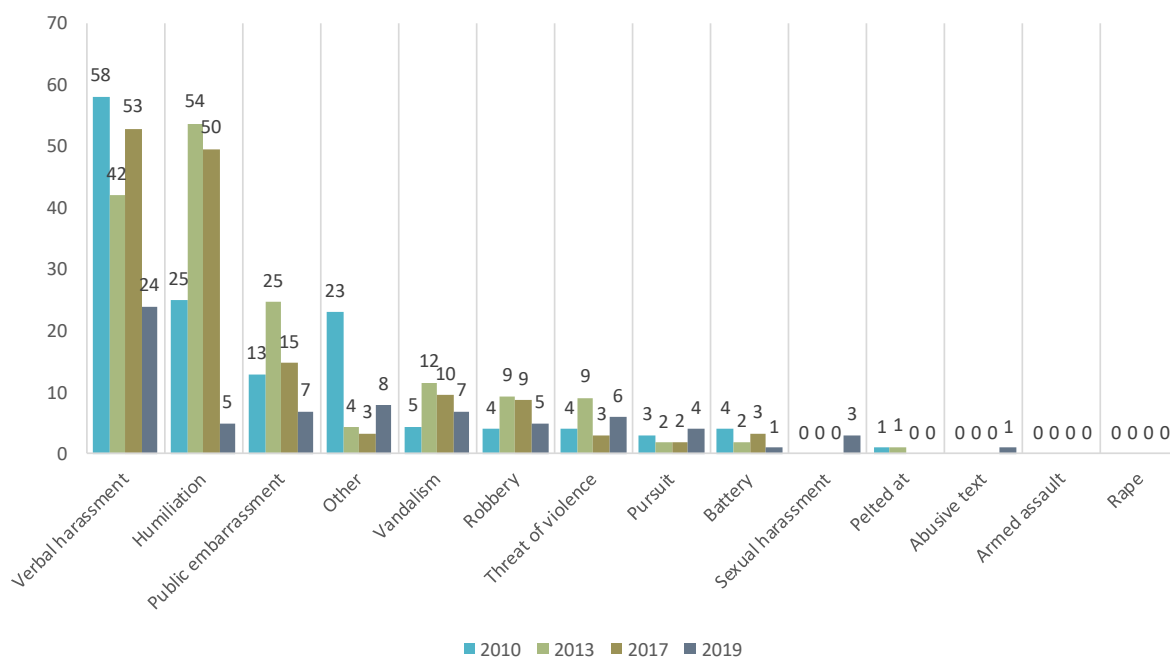
4.5.1 Grievances suffered

Although it may not necessarily exhaust the definition for discrimination, the individual nevertheless suffers various grievances. Such, often humiliating behaviour offending the personality and undermining self-esteem displayed by another person, may be manifested in various forms. In response to the question has the respondent ever been seriously offended, violently attacked or harassed for any given personal characteristic, 10.1 percent of the respondents in the sample responded yes in 2019, which rate was similar throughout the decade and was only under 5 percent in 2017. At the same time, the number of grievances experienced per respondent decreased between 2010 and 2019; therefore, the frequency of specific types of grievances decreased in 2019 in spite of one-tenth of the population mentioning grievances.

Verbal harassment was mentioned most frequently as a manifestation of abusive behaviour by nearly one quarter of respondents in 2019. Public embarrassment and *vandalism of property* were the second most frequently mentioned manifestations (7%), whilst *threat of violence* was mentioned third most frequently by respondents (6%). The three most important grievances (verbal harassment, humiliation, public embarrassment) remained at the same level between 2010 and 2019; however, the relative weight and rank order of specific types of grievances changed. There was one exception in 2019, namely, instead of *humiliation*, *vandalism* was ranked in the top three grievances in 2019. (FIGURE 9)

FIGURE 9

FORMS OF MANIFESTATIONS OF GREIVANCES BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (IN PERCENTAGE OF GREIVANCE SUFFERERS) (%)



Respondents most frequently gave the response belonging to an ethnic group as the reason triggering the grievance. Grievances suffered based on gender and age were mentioned relatively frequently in 2019. Respondents most frequently mentioned the same three underlying reasons, namely, belonging to an ethnic group, age and disability, almost throughout the entire period between 2010 and 2019. The situation changed in 2019 in that the rate of grievances suffered based on disability decreased, whilst grievances suffered based on gender increased, which is why the three most frequently mentioned reasons for grievances changed in 2019. (TABLE 9)

Women and men suffered an identical rate of grievances in 2019 (10.1%). In the case of women, gender (28%), belonging to an ethnic group (20%) and age (11.5%) topped the rank order. The pattern of reasons triggering grievance was somewhat different in the case of men: belonging to an ethnic group was ranked first (36.7%), equally frequently followed by grievances associated with financial status, gender and age (13.3%). At the same time, it is worthwhile mentioning that 2019 was the first year in which grievance based on sexual orientation was mentioned (6.7%). Grievance based on sexual orientation never surfaced in the previous series of surveys conducted. Based on the data, it is difficult to determine whether this is linked to a rise in homophobia or respondents being less inclined to conceal their sexual orientation or both. (TABLE 9)

TABLE 9
FREQUENCY OF REASONS LEADING TO GRIEVANCES BY GENDER BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (N, %)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	MEN 2019 (%)	WOMEN 2019 (%)
Gender	11	4	7.9	20.6	13.3	28
Ethnic belonging	27	42	32.5	29.3	36.7	20
Age	23	25	25.2	12.6	13.3	11.5
Religion	7	6	3.6	3.1	6.7	0
Financial status	7	16	18.8	10.6	13.3	7.7
Sexual orientation	0	0	0	6.9	6.7	7.7
Gender identity	0	1	0	4.1	6.7	0
Disability	19	33	23.8	5.5	10	0
Other	38	20	25.2	31.8	30	34.6
N	123	127	50	56	100	100

In summarising the trend in personally experienced discrimination and grievances between 2010 and 2019 it is possible to state that the composition of the most frequently mentioned reasons for discrimination was stable over the past 10 years, in spite of the fact that the relative position of specific reasons somewhat changed, with *age* remaining the most frequent reason for discrimination throughout the past 10 years. Besides *age*, *gender*, *state of health*, *social origin and/or financial status* were the top five reasons for discrimination. The frequency of discrimination linked to specific, protected characteristics significantly decreased towards the end of the decade, in the period between 2017 and 2019, whilst the positive trend is much less

explicit in comparison to the period between 2010 and 2019, because there is improvement in the case of only four of the nineteen protected characteristics between 2010 and 2019.

By comparing the four series of surveys conducted, we endeavoured to identify the factors in which case there was improvement or deterioration. The shift in the case of age is perhaps the most positive change regarding protected characteristics. The significant decrease in personally experienced discrimination in the older 50-64 aged group is presumably linked to the significant increase in labour shortages in 2019. However, further intentional changes are explicitly required for age to no longer be the most common ground for discrimination in Hungary. It is also necessary to highlight the stagnating character of discrimination based on gender and motherhood, which particularly puts women at a disadvantage. Thirdly, it is necessary to draw attention to how there are more and more signs of homophobia and xenophobia in society underlying both personally experienced discrimination and grievances, which raises the question what measure could be used in the future to best combat these forms of discrimination and exclusion. Last, but not least, it is important to mention that two traditionally most disadvantaged groups, namely, Roma and persons with disabilities, remained the most vulnerable groups in Hungarian society in terms of discrimination, even though their position relatively improved in multiple areas between 2017 and 2019 thanks to a general positive trend.

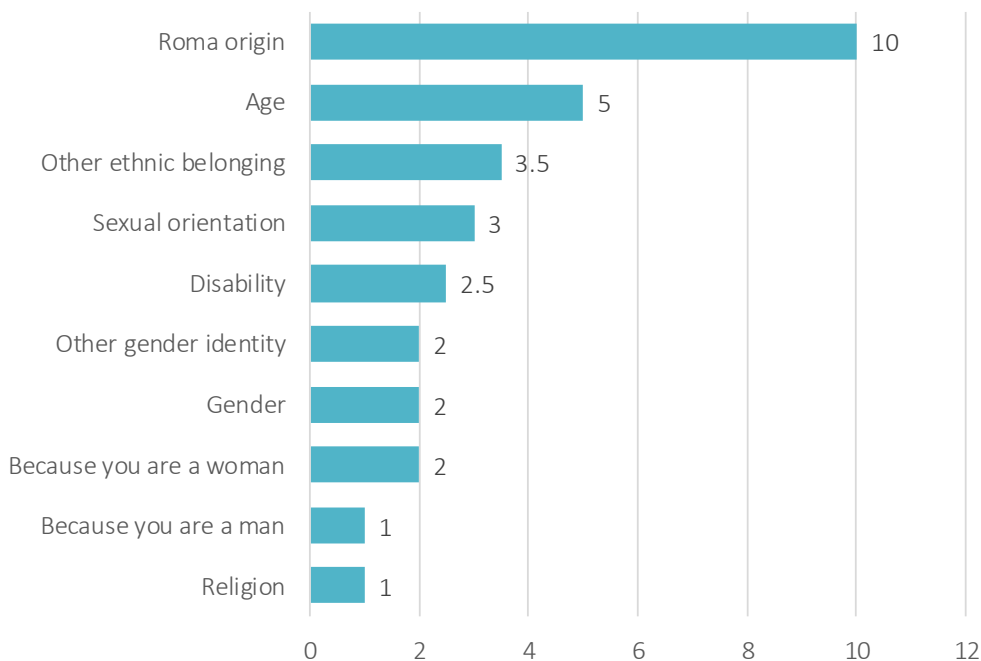
5 Perception of Social Discrimination

In this section, we focus on detecting, witnessing discrimination as a negative phenomenon manifesting in the functioning of society, institutional and personal relationships. By reviewing the groups of people exposed to discrimination, we firstly assessed against the members of which groups respondents witnessed discriminative procedures and practices. Respondents most frequently directly witnessed discrimination against Roma in the past year (10%). They were followed by respondents witnessing discrimination based on age by a significant margin, yet representing a relatively high rate (5.4%). Social perception of discrimination against persons belonging to another ethnic group (3.5%) and based on sexual orientation (3.1%) ranked third and fourth . (FIGURE 10)

FIGURE 10

WITNESSING SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION, 2019 (%)

"Have you witnessed discrimination against someone for the following characteristics over the past 12 months?"



A significant proportion of respondents perceived these types of discrimination as highly or relatively prevalent. They most frequently mentioned discrimination against Roma (62%), discrimination against women and discrimination based on age (40-40%) as the most common forms of discrimination persisting in the society they live in. Nearly half of those that mentioned discrimination against persons belonging to a foreign ethnic group (46%) believed that this phenomenon is highly or at least relatively prevalent in Hungary. This high rate is followed by our observations on the prevalence of discrimination against Roma ranked second. Moreover, in response to the question how have discriminative practices applied against various minority

groups changed over the past five years, respondents mentioned an increase in discrimination (20% in the case of Roma, 16% in the case of persons with a foreign ethnic background), similarly to discrimination against Roma. Thirdly, respondents mentioned an increasing prevalence of discrimination in the case of sexual minorities (15%). However, respondents in the sample did not find discrimination against men or discrimination based on religion characteristic in Hungary today, only 1% of respondents mentioned it in both cases and the presumed prevalence of these is ranked last. (TABLE 10)

TABLE 10
TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION WITNESSED BY PREVALENCE AND CHANGES IN 2019 (%)

TYPE OF DISCRIMINATION	WITNESSED	HIGHLY OR FAIRLY PREVALENT	IN RELATION TO 5 YEARS AGO		
			MORE PREVALENT	UNCHANGED	LESS PREVALENT
Based on gender	2	39	13	49	14
Against women	2	40	12	60	14
Against men	1	21	10	61	14
Roma	10	62	20	53	14
Other ethnic group	3.5	46	16	56	14
Age	5	40	13	59	14
Religion	1	30	12	59	15
Sexual orientation	3	42	15	57	13
Other gender identity	2	38			
Disability	2.5	38	13	58	15

Therefore, based on the above, what emerges is that according to the respondents in the representative sample, Roma are most exposed to discrimination: this is what respondents witnessed most frequently, this is what they believe is the most widespread form of discrimination in the country; moreover, they even assumed that discrimination against Roma has increased in recent years. The Eurobarometer report published by the European Union found similar trends (European Commission 2019a, European Commission 2019b).

If, similarly to discrimination against Roma, we concurrently review data in connection with personally witnessed discrimination, generally assumed and types of discrimination increasing over the past five years, we find that there is a similar link in the case of responses relating to other *ethnic minorities*; therefore, they project the relatively high rate of personal experiences

onto society as a whole and assume an increase in deterioration. We do not regard our supposition as an exaggeration that the anti-migrant propaganda has achieved its intended purpose, even though the majority of respondents do not perceive opinions and treatment threatening ethnic minorities neutrally, but perceive this as a form of discrimination. Finally, discrimination based on sexual orientation deviating from the majority likewise follows this trend: respondents as a witness find the relatively high rate of discrimination against them prevalent, a significant proportion of whom found that it has become increasing prevalent over the past five years.

Reviewing the period between 2010 and 2019, we find that there was a turning point in the trend in the social perception of discrimination in the middle of the decade. Respondents mentioned discrimination based on Roma origin, discrimination based on age and discrimination based on disability, in this particular order, as reasons underlying discrimination in the first two series of surveys conducted. Discrimination based on other (non-Roma) ethnic groups, national minorities ranked third in 2017 alongside discrimination based on Roma origin and discrimination based on age. The first two socially perceived grounds of discrimination remained in the same position in 2019, when the survey was conducted, as the rank order for 2017 (discrimination based on Roma origin and based on belonging to other (non-Roma) ethnic groups, national minorities); however, discrimination based on sexual orientation ranked third, which may imply that homophobia increased towards the end of the decade. (TABLE 11)

TABLE 11

FREQUENCY OF SOCIALLY PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION BY TYPE OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019

TYPE OF DISCRIMINATION	VERY OF FAIRLY PREVALENT			
	2010	2013	2017	2019
Discrimination based on gender	40	37	40	43
Discrimination against women	44	45	42	44
Discrimination against men	10	8	14	24
Discrimination based on Roma origin	82	83	71	68
Discrimination based on other (non-Roma) ethnic, national minority belonging	34	36	43	52
Discrimination based on age	61	59	45	44
Discrimination based on religion or ideological conviction	11	13	21	33
Discrimination based on sexual orientation	29	25	41	47
Discrimination based on gender identity (other than at birth/biological gender)	24	19	33	43
Discrimination based on disability	50	47	39	43

6 Personally and socially experienced discrimination in routine decision-making

6.1 Modelling decision-making situations by applying the vignette methodology

From among the surveys conducted for ETA, we also applied qualitative methods in connection with the vulnerable groups at the focus of the survey in the first survey (2010-2013). We organised focus group discussions with members of the groups surveyed (women, persons with disabilities, LGBT and Roma persons) that agreed to participate as a member of the civil society organisations related to their protected characteristics. We found the method suitable for gaining knowledge of the trends emerging from the survey questionnaire from the perspective of these particular respondents, in their words, to gain an insight into the prejudices, stereotypes, discrimination, concerns and experiences of their respective group in light of personal experiences. We offered stories for discussion to focus group participants, in which a character belonging to one of the groups was at the focus, by discussing all four cases in each group. As such, each group composed of women, persons with disabilities, Roma and gay/lesbian persons listened to a story about somebody's life from their own group and three other ones that are likewise assumed to be "other" in the eyes of the majority society, yet different from their own. This enabled us to map opinions expressed in the context of the confrontation of one's own exposure and otherness, i.e. we also managed to gain an insight into how groups exposed to discrimination are viewed from the perspective of persons who may be victims of discrimination that we already knew based on the survey questionnaire.

We may not have managed to repeat the focus group survey, but we managed to "salvage" the stories used to discuss decision-making problems in connection with possible discrimination in the group discussion for the survey questionnaire repeated for the fourth time. By applying the vignette methodology, we put the original stories used in the questionnaire and, instead of a group discussion enabling personal communication and interaction, we asked the respondents of the representative sample to tell us what their opinion is of the story by giving them set options to choose from. A blind couple wanting to adopt a child and waiting for the decision of the guardianship authority regarding their eligibility are the heroes of the first story. A gay teacher possibly dismissed by the headmaster because of the concerns of pupils and parents is the hero of the second story. In the third story, the employer has to make a decision on taking on a qualified Roma man applying for the job, whilst a single mother applying for an executive position waiting for the decision of the executives of the corporation is the main character in the fourth story.³

³ The relevant part of the questionnaire is presented in the appendix to the report.

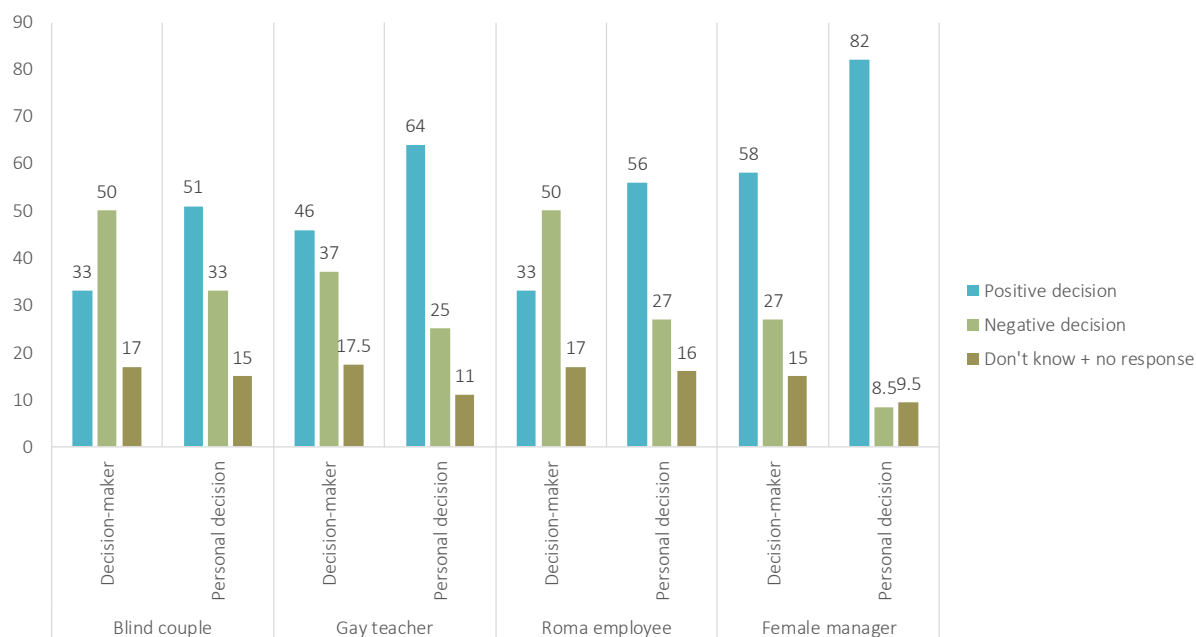
After each of the cases that may have involved discrimination, respondents were asked to answer three questions. The first was how they view the given reaction of the person competent in the matter representing the majority society (let's call them decision-makers) in the decision-making context, the second was what decision they would make in the decision-making context and the third was on what grounds, based on what reasons they would make their decision. This allowed respondents to express their opinions in connection with the four vulnerable groups based on realistic situations offered instead of in an abstract manner. As such, we managed to gain an insight into whether their decisions varied in the case of the four stories, what the differences were and the extent to which they deviate from the presumed decision of the person competent in the matter representing the majority society, whether their decisions vary in the case of those similar in structure, yet different in terms of content, because they were given in connection with different groups exposed and finally which option they chose to justify their decision from among the options offered, whether these are the same or whether they deviate in the case of the various stories. (Reference to the interests of the members of the majority society and the given minority group, conforming to the assumed majority opinion, an abstract argument and commitment to the principle of equal treatment were the options offered.)

6.2 Personal and presumed social perceptions of stories about vulnerable groups

The structure of the four stories was the same in that a member of a vulnerable/minority group was waiting for a decision with either a positive or a negative outcome for the person in each case; however, respondents' opinion of the person varied in terms of the extent to which they were able to empathise. By comparing the two types of responses given to the given story, it is clear that there was a high degree of variation between the presumed reaction of the competent decision-maker representing the majority society and the respondent's decision. On the one hand, we found that in each case the decision of the respondents was significantly more frequently more favourable for the character of the story than the presumed decision of the competent person or organisation. According to respondents, the expected reaction of decision-makers was overall positive in the case of the woman applying for the executive position, less than half of respondents would have made a positive decision in the case of the gay teacher and only one third of respondents would have made a positive decision in favour of the person of minority belonging in the other two cases. (FIGURE 11)

FIGURE 11

PRESUMED "DECISION-MAKERS" AND PERSONAL DECISIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHARACTERS OF THE STORY (%)



Positive decisions made by respondents in favour of the vulnerable person exceeded the rate of 50 percent in the case of each story, although there are substantial differences between the cases. The story of the blind couple made respondents most hesitant, in which case by and large half of them would have made a positive decision in their favour, but one-third of respondents would have rejected their application. Similarly, just over half of respondents would have backed the recruitment of the Roma employee. The difference between the positive decision-making opinion and the respondent's own opinion shows a similar trend in the case of the gay teacher; however, there was stronger support for the person exposed to discrimination in relation to the two previous cases. These figures suggest that the majority of respondents do not presume that even the competent decision-maker would discriminate based on sexual orientation, with nearly two-thirds of respondents expressing their solidarity with him. Responses most frequently coincided in the case of the story of the female manager. Although a higher rate of respondents took the side of the female character in this decision-making context as well, it nevertheless seems that many do not find obstructing the career of a woman, or at least at this level, acceptable and do not even presume that this practice exists.

Since there was a relatively high rate of respondents in each case that were unable to select either of the options offered in connection with their own opinion or that of the competent decision-maker, in the following we will distinguish respondents unable to decide with those that did not select either option to achieve a clear picture of the relationship between their actual responses and the various background variables. We are only able to reliably assess one of the key background variables, namely, whether the respondent is exposed to the possibility

of discrimination against a given minority group, by comparing the male-female dimension. We were also able to assess discrimination based on belonging to an ethnic group by comparing the responses given by the majority society and Roma respondents to various questions relating to discrimination based on the responses given by Roma respondents in the special Roma sub-sample representing 8-10 percent of the respondents in the representative surveys; however, it was not possible to analyse the stories from this angle owing to their extremely low number in the current sample. However, we presume that the age, level of education and financial status of the respondent may make a difference in the case of responses given to the stories about discrimination.

We, therefore, reviewed whether responses deviated in the case of respondents that made a positive decision from the perspective of the given character in the four stories, i.e. believed that the disabled couple is capable of adopting a child, would not dismiss the gay teacher from the school, would employ the Roma applicant in the position advertised and would not hesitate to appoint the 42 year old woman to an executive position, and if they do, to what extent in relation to the average percentages characteristic of the entire sample by the categories mentioned above.

TABLE 12

RATE OF POSITIVE PERSONAL DECISIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CHARACTER OF THE STORY BELONGING TO A VULNERABLE GROUP BY VARIOUS GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS (%)

RESPONDENT	BLIND COUPLE	GAY TEACHER	ROMA EMPLOYEE	FEMALE MANAGER
Average				
Total	61	72	67	91
Respondent's gender				
Male	57	68	64	88
Female	65	75	70	93
Age				
18-29	64	73	75	96
30-39	56	76	66	92
40-49	59	70	65	83
50-59	63	73	62	89
60+	62	69	67	92
Education				
Less than 8 years	59	60	67	97
Vocational school	60	69	63	85
Secondary school	62	77	67	89
College, university	64	83	74	91
Financial status				
Lives well	66	18	71	97
Makes ends meet	59	24	69	90
Struggles	59	37	62	92
Very poor	82	21	78	91

We can see that a higher proportion of women favoured members of vulnerable groups at the focus of our survey, and made positive decisions in their case in the case of each item. The same applies to the youngest age group, which is more accepting in relation to the other age groups and the average in all four cases, particularly in the case of the Roma employee and the female executive. The story of the gay teacher also triggered a positive response of solidarity, particularly in the case of 30-39 year olds. However, the competence of the 42-year-old woman to fill an executive position was explicitly supported by the vast majority of respondents (91%). From among the positive decisions made in connection with her, the rate of positive responses given by the younger age group and, surprisingly, by respondents with a low level of education, is particularly high. Level of education somewhat influenced responses, with the gay teacher particularly dividing the respondents of the sample based on education. In this case, acceptance of gays seems to increase proportionately to the higher the level of education of the respondent. This result coincides with the findings made in our previous surveys, as well as other surveys conducted in connection with the social perception of members of the LGBT community (Neményi et al. 2013, 2017; Takács 2015).

6.3 Congruent and incongruent decisions from the perspective of the respondents

In the following, we present at an individual level how respondents would have decided and how the competent institution, individual would decide in light of the four stories. The two options, either positive or negative, generates a total of four possible combinations. (A positive decision in the table is in every case a favourable decision from the perspective of the character featured in the story.)

TABLE 13
COMBINATIONS OF PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS IN THE FOUR STORIES (%)

	BLIND COUPLE	GAY TEACHER	ROMA EMPLOYEE	FEMALE MANAGER
Individual: positive, institution: positive	43	53	39	67
Individual: positive, institution: negative	3	4	3	2
Individual: negative, institution: positive	21	19	28	24
Individual: negative, institution: negative	33	25	30	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

This table provides further information on how the decision made in connection with the appointment of the female executive is not only positive by the highest margin in relation to the other stories, but the presumed institutional and personal opinion coincides by the greatest margin in this case according to two-thirds of the respondents. The coefficient of the two types of decisions (53%) is also high in the case of the gay teacher. The lowest rate of coinciding decisions was given in the case of the qualified Roma labourer applying for a job (39%), preceding the rate of coinciding institutional and individual responses given in connection with the adoption intent of the disabled couple (43%). However, what is perhaps more interesting is the response combination when the individual would make a negative decision whilst presuming that the competent decision-maker would positively evaluate the intent of the vulnerable minority and would not make a discriminative decision or one that violates equal opportunity. Four-fifth of respondents choosing this ambiguous response combination where the respondent is negative and the majority is sincerely positive perhaps suggests an attitude that is more rigid, intolerant towards minorities, prejudiced and aversive towards vulnerable groups, i.e., senses, but at the same time resents that majority society is nevertheless inclined to accept these groups.

The story itself somewhat influenced the overall picture. In the case of the adoption application of the blind couple, a higher rate of female respondents believe that the presumed institutional decision would coincide with their personal decision than in the case of men. (The two types of positive decisions coincides in the case of 40 percent of male respondents and 47 percent of female respondents.) The rate of coinciding positive decisions increases linearly by age and level of education in the case of this story; however, it deserves a mention that the rate of respondents that would reject the application of the disabled couple both at a decision-making and at an individual level is highest in the case of respondents with a maximum of eight years of primary school education. It seems that the presumed institutional/majority and personal opinion of the gay teacher depends less on the various categories of respondents, although it is likewise possible to observe the impact of the higher level of education on coinciding positive decisions in this case too, as well as how respondents with the lowest level of education do not find it possible for the gay teacher to continue to teach at the school neither on an institutional nor on a personal level. Interestingly, the story of the Roma job seeker does not follow the usual trend in the case of genders, since in this case a higher proportion of male respondents would decide in a positive manner on their own behalf, as well as on behalf of the employer than female respondents (M: 41%, F: 38%). Moreover, one-third of female respondents would not employ the qualified Roma labourer applying for the job, yet presume that the employer would, as opposed to 23 percent of male respondents. The story of the female executive also produced interesting response combinations, primarily in the case of the comparison between genders. In this case, three-quarters of the male respondents (73%) believe that their own respective positive decision coincides with the positive decision of the management of the company, as opposed to only 63 percent of female respondents. What is even more interesting is that 30 percent of female respondents believe that the company would appoint the single 42 year old

woman with two children to the position she applied for; however, they would not decide to, whilst only 16 percent of male respondents give this ambiguous response.

We may perhaps add to the finding we espoused above in connection with the response combination in which the respondent gave a negative response, whilst the majority of society is sincerely supportive, which happens to be at the highest relative rate in the case of female respondents in the case of the story about the female executive, that negative attitudes towards vulnerable groups may not only suggest prejudice, aversion, but also the negative self-image of the given minority group, which requirements set for equal treatment accepted in principle do not override.

The table below provides an additional insight into the above, which presents the difference between the potential decision of respondents and the presumed reaction of decision-makers even more markedly.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF POSITIVE DECISIONS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE GIVEN CHARACTER OF THE STORY AT A DECISION-MAKER AND INDIVIDUAL LEVEL BY RATE OF DECISION-MAKING RESPONSES (%)

NUMBER OF POSITIVE DECISIONS	EXPECTED INSTITUTIONAL DECISION	PERSONAL DECISION
0	16	6
1	32	14
2	31	24
3	16	30
4	5	25

If we take a look at in how many cases a given respondent presumes that the institution/person competent to make a decision makes a positive one in connection with the person crimination in the story and in how many cases the respondent makes a positive decision on their own behalf, it is possible to observe that this difference is not only associated with the specific topic of the story, i.e. the dilemma in which the vulnerable group assessed it is about, but in general sheds light on the attitude the actual respondent has towards the minority group. *One quarter of the respondents of the representative sample would make a positive decision in connection with the given person in the case of each option offered and three-quarters of respondents would do so in three various cases.* However, the rate of the positive presumed responses of the decision-maker is much lower. According to 16 percent of respondents, the competent institution or person would never make a positive decision in the interests of the main character of the story, nearly two-thirds of respondents would only back the given person in one or two cases and all four stories would end in a positive decision for the given person in the case of only 5 percent of the responses given by presumed decision-makers. *It seems that the attitudes of the majority society, therefore those of decision-makers, competent individuals, persons actually competent to make decisions in connection with the vulnerable groups presented in the stories, is much more negative than what they would consider right in the given case in the opinion of the vast majority of respondents.* This discrepancy in their opinion is the intent of

discrimination that can be strongly sensed in society and a phenomenon in their own, more empathetic and inclusive opinion in society that necessitates further research, similarly to the questions raised above that arose in connection with the group deviating from the presumed majority based on their more discriminative responses.

6.4 Reasons underlying decisions

In the following, we present the basis of what respondents made their decision on, which was more positive towards minority persons, and deviated from the decision-making responses they presumed in the case of each story. Respondents were offered the option of referring to the interest of society as a whole as the first option, and made their decision by identifying with the given member of the minority group in this person's interest in the case of the second option. The third option offered respondents the opportunity to shy away from taking responsibility and align their decision to the imagined majority in a conformist manner. Finally, respondents were offered the opportunity to refer to principle, according to which everyone has the right to equal treatment irrespective of gender, sexual orientation, belonging to an ethnic group or disability, i.e. highlighting one of the key questions of the survey by complementing the similar items included in the survey.

TABLE 15
REASONS FOR PERSONAL DECISIONS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH VULNERABLE GROUPS (%)

	BLIND COUPLE	GAY TEACHER	ROMA EMPLOYEE	FEMALE MANAGER
Institutional/majority interest	44	22	17	24
In the interest of the given person	5	9	12	20
Reference to majority	10	11	15	10
Based on principle	29	49	42	38
Don't know/No response	12	9	14	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is clear based on the responses that the intent of the blind couple to adopt most frequently conflicted with the "correct" intention according to public opinion, i.e. 44 percent of respondents opted to reject the application primarily in the interest of the child intended to be adopted and not the disabled couple. From among the characters featured in the stories exposed to discrimination, the highest number of respondents accepted the interests of the woman applying for the executive position and took her side supportively, with the response excluding discrimination in the case of the Roma labourer applying for a job ranked second.

However, the number of responses referring to the interest of the given person was lower than backing the presumed institutional/majority interest in the case of each story. However, with the exception of the story about the disabled couple, reference to the principle of equal treatment was the most common reason selected by respondents in the other three cases. The highest number of respondents made their decision based on principle in the case of the gay teacher. Perhaps, it is not a long shot to draw the conclusion that *even though respondents are not particularly committed to recognising the rights of gay persons, as well as other minorities to a lesser extent, yet at a higher rate in relation to the other options offered, they nevertheless find reference to the principle of equal treatment politically correct.*

We will analyse these possible correlations in the following, explicitly in light of responses in which case the respondent made a positive decision from the perspective of the main character of the story.

TABLE 16
REASONS FOR POSITIVE DECISIONS BY GENDER (%)

REASON UNDERLYING THE DECISION	BLIND COUPLE		GAY TEACHER		ROMA EMPLOYEE		FEMALE MANAGER	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Institutional/majority interest	50	50	29	19	20	20	31	21
In the interest of the given person	6	8	10	10	15	14	20	23
Reference to majority	13	10	13	12	21	14	11	11
Based on principle	31	34	49	59	44	52	37	45
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

It seems that there is no significant difference between the responses given by male and female respondents in the distribution of reasons stated in the case of the four stories, if the reasons based on which the respondents made their decision is presented *in gender comparison*. Women show somewhat greater empathy towards members of the vulnerable group than men in two cases (competence of the persons with disabilities and female executive); however, the difference is not significant. We may nevertheless think that these two stories were rather for women who more easily identify with situations specifically relevant to women and not society as a whole according to general opinion, like becoming a family or the issue of a woman's career. Perhaps the way in which only the reason given for the positive decision made in connection with the female executive significantly deviates in the case of the two genders also supports this, with male respondents being more inclined to prioritise institutional interest, i.e., make a rational decision in the interest of the company, namely, that the woman applying for

the job will fill the position she applied for well, with fewer respondents referring to general principles of equal opportunity. However, female respondents find the woman enforcing her own interests equally important as those of the company, whilst an even higher rate of female respondents refer to principle in the case of this particular item.

We found distinct differences in the case of the reasons given for decisions made in connection with specific items based on the respondent's *age*. The age group of respondents potentially affected (20-39 age group) were most distrustful toward the disabled couple in the case of the story about adoption, with 59 percent of respondents prioritising the interest of the child over the rights of persons with disabilities. This age group least frequently referred to the principle of equal opportunity and most frequently adopted the presumed majority opinion. Respondents aged over 60 most frequently represented the interest of the gay teacher (12%), although, even in their case, respondents prioritising the presumed interest of the school is double this rate. Responses given by the oldest age group of respondents also deviate from those given by the other age groups in the case of the Roma labourer, in which group the rate of respondents who would make their decision in his interest was highest (18%), exceeding the rate of decisions made in the presumed interest of the employer (15%). One quarter of the oldest age group, therefore, likewise a high proportion, would prioritise the interest of the woman applying for the executive position over the interests of the company (21%), which is even higher in the 40-49 age group (29%). *The fact that reference to equal opportunity and equal treatment was strongest in the youngest age group is true for all four stories, which rate decreased by age*, which is obviously associated with how these age groups have more personal experiences and, as such, have a distinct opinion in connection with certain characters and conditions; therefore, do not exclusively make decisions based on abstract principles.

The level of education of the respondents likewise somewhat influenced the reasons based on which respondents made a positive decision in a situation that can go either way. Reasons homogenous in structure were most typical in the case of the story about the adoption of the disabled couple; it is only possible to state in the case of respondents aligning their option to that of the presumed majority opinion that the rate of such responses decreased as the level of education increased. Respondents with a higher level of education (baccalaureate or degree) are more inclined to make decisions based on principle in the case of the story about the gay teacher and the story about the Roma employee.

7 Awareness of the Legal Framework and the Equal Treatment Authority

Assessment of awareness of the Act on equal treatment and the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) is a permanent item of the survey series conducted since 2010. Data indicates that the extent of awareness of both the regulation and the authority varies, indicates increasing and decreasing trends influenced by numerous factors. The authority had only been operating for a few years at the time when the 2010 survey was conducted⁴; at the same time, a strong social awareness and communication campaign targeting the European Union keeping the topic at the top of the agenda was launched in Hungary in this particular period. A complex national communication campaign (billboards, radio and television spots) was launched in 2013, immediately before the survey was conducted; a reference network was set up, numerous training courses, workshops and other professional events were held. This highly active communication campaign focusing on the activity of the ETA and the principle of equal treatment definitely had a serious impact on the outcome of this survey. However, such strong communication activity was no longer characteristic after 2013; as such, such impacts cannot be observed in the data generated in 2017 and 2019.

7.1 Awareness of the Act on equal treatment and opportunities for legal remedy

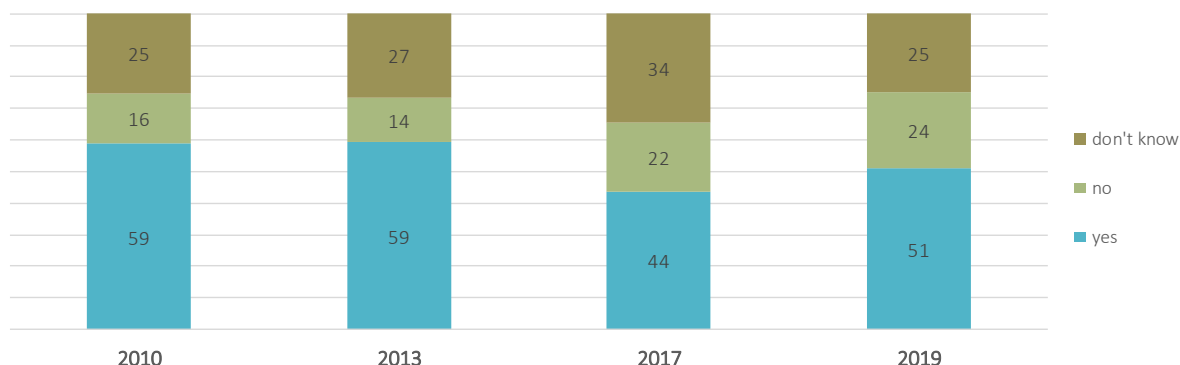
*After a decrease recorded in 2017, awareness of the Act on equal treatment somewhat increased in 2019; however, it still did not reach the level for 2010 and 2013 (59%). Half of the respondents (51%) believed in 2019 that there is a regulation in place that protects people from discrimination. Based on the data, it is possible to observe that the rate of respondents according to whom there is no such regulation did not change in relation to 2017; therefore, the decrease in the number of respondents selecting the *don't know* option was what primarily behind this increase.*

⁴ The Equal Treatment Authority was set up in 2005.

FIGURE 12

AWARENESS OF THE ACT ON EQUAL TREATMENT, 2010-2019 (%)

Are you aware of any law in Hungary that protects people from discrimination, i.e. is there an Act on equal treatment?

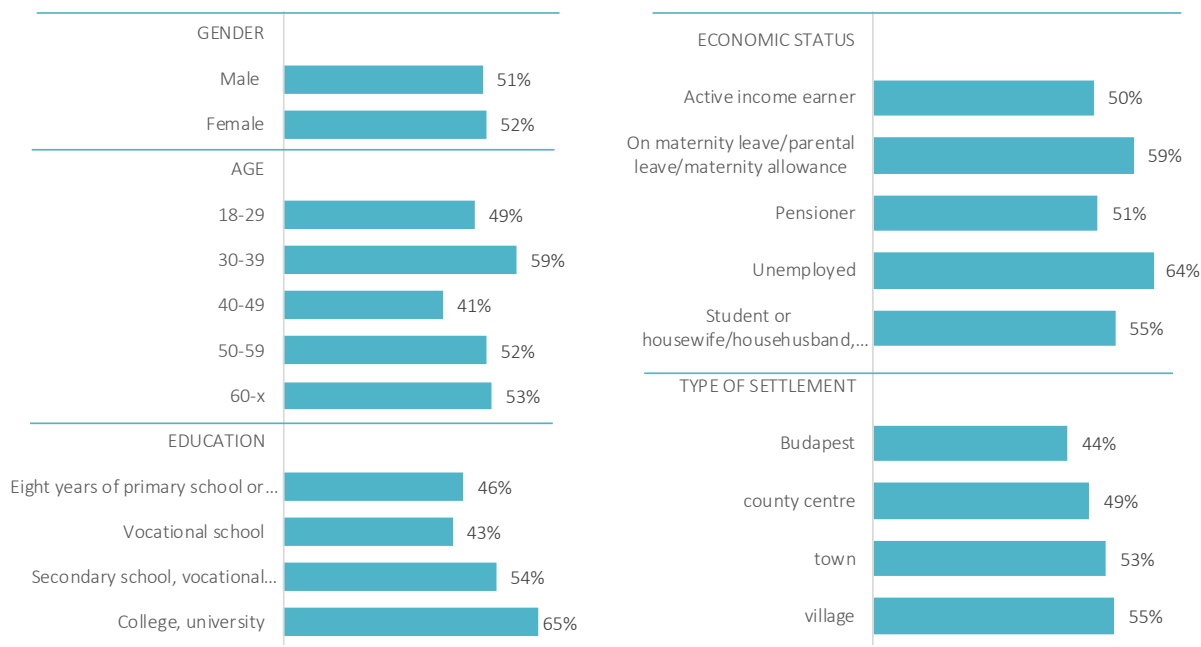


In comparison to the results for previous years, it became more difficult to identify explicit trends in regard to in which group awareness of the regulation was higher or lower in 2019. The impact of education levels is most explicitly clear in the latest survey: the line is drawn between respondents with primary education or vocational qualification and respondents holding a baccalaureate or a degree. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the above average values of the 30-39 age group. The greater deviations between the various categories of economic activity (e.g. in the case of unemployed persons) are not so much the consequences of real social trends, but are related to the low number of items.

FIGURE 13

AWARENESS OF THE ACT ON EQUAL TREATMENT, 2010-2019 (%)

Percentage of yes responses



Furthermore, it seems that whether someone has personally experienced some sort of discrimination indicates an inverse correlation to whether the respondent is aware of the Act

on equal treatment. (This was not observed in the survey conducted in 2017.) Awareness of the regulation is higher (53%) in the case of respondents that have never experienced any discrimination during their lives, which rate is merely 45 percent in the case of respondents that have been subjected to discrimination. However, the survey data does not open the opportunity to analyse these connections in further detail. (Table 14)

TABLE 17
AWARENESS OF THE ACT ON EQUAL TREATMENT
DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED PERSONALLY, 2017-2019, (%)

		Are you aware of any law in Hungary that protects people from discrimination, i.e. is there an Act on equal treatment?		
		Yes	No	Don't know
Have you ever experienced discrimination?	No	53 (45)	24 (21)	23 (34)
	Yes	45 (42)	25 (24)	30 (35)

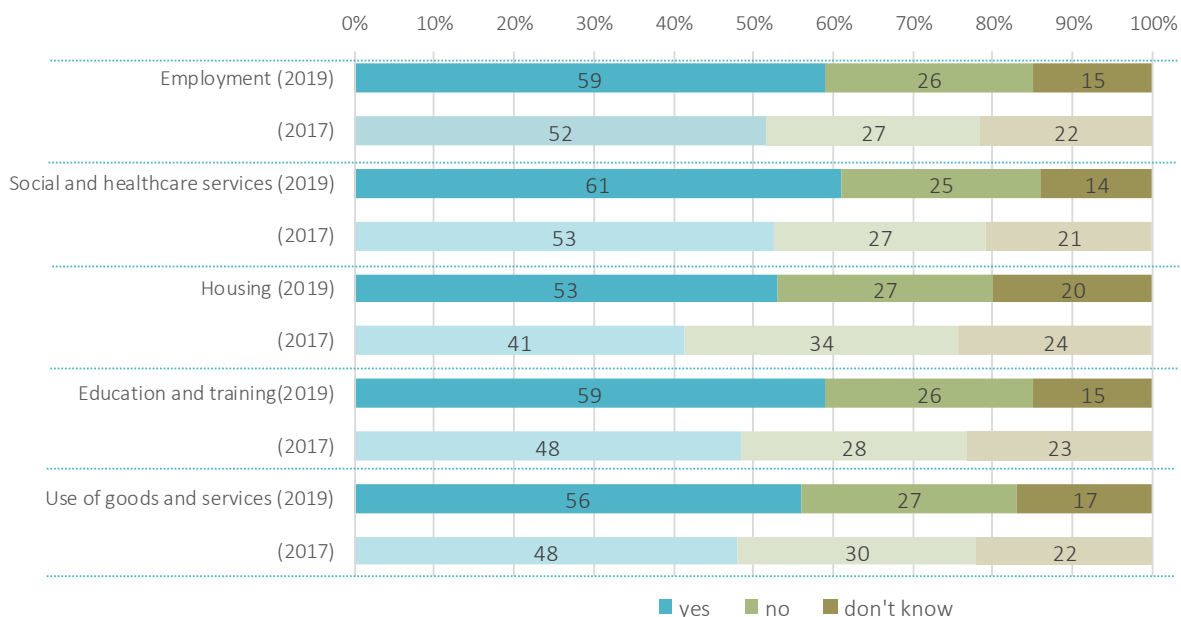
(Data for 2017 in brackets)

Similarly to the previous survey series, we assessed opinions given in connection with whether there is an opportunity for legal remedy in various areas in the case of the violation of equal treatment. The distribution of responses by category shows a similar trend to the previous surveys conducted. *Therefore, respondents believe that there is an opportunity for legal remedy in the area of social and healthcare services (61%), employment (59%) and education and training (59%). A somewhat lower rate of respondents believe that such an opportunity exists in the area of use of goods and services (56%) and housing (53%). It is important to mention that the rate of positive responses increased in relation to 2017 in each category.*

FIGURE 14

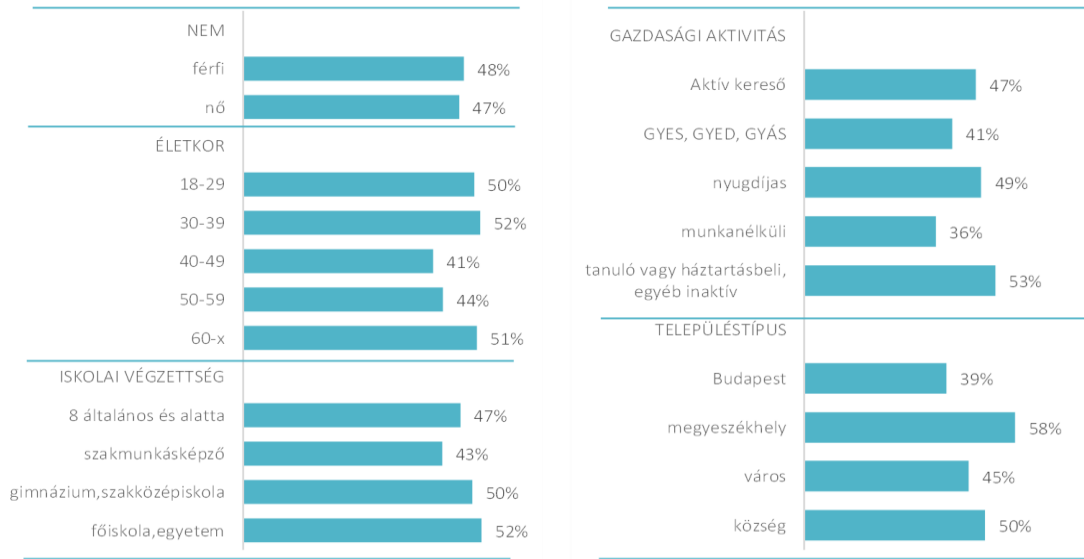
AWARENESS OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEGAL REMEDY 2017-2019 (%)

Is there any opportunity for legal remedy in the following areas in the case of the violation of equal treatment?



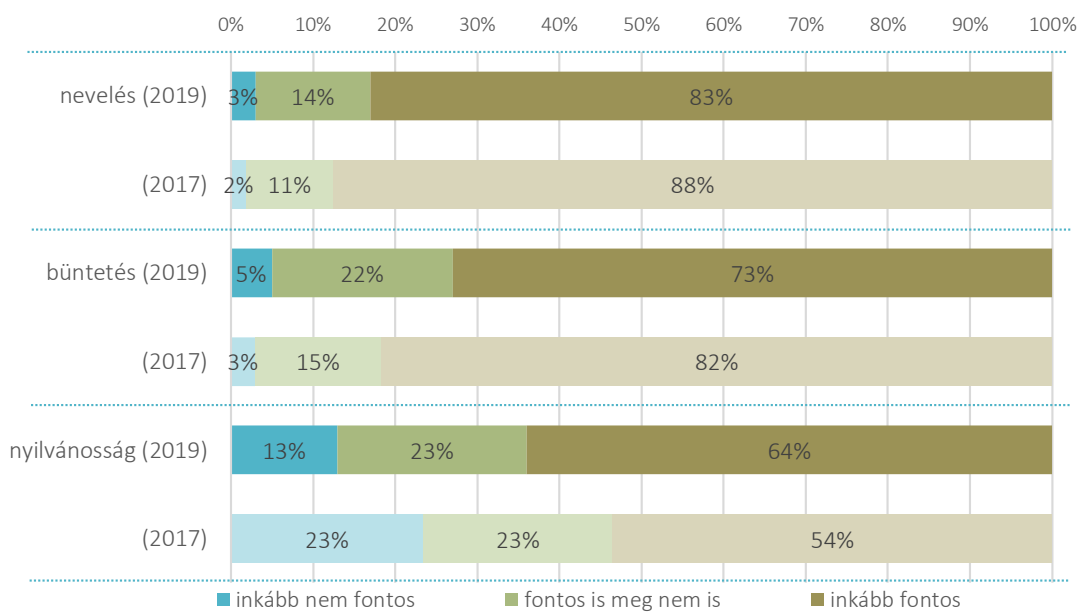
These five various opportunities for legal remedy can also be analysed jointly, i.e. it is possible to create a group of respondents according to whom there is no opportunity for legal remedy in any area and there is another large group that believes that such an opportunity exists in all five areas. Naturally, there are respondents in between the two; however, their number is insignificant, so it seems as though people are most inclined to think in terms of "black and white" categories. 35 percent of respondents in the entire sample did not find a single opportunity available for legal redress, whilst 48 percent of respondents belonged to the group that believed every opportunity for legal remedy is available. (The remaining 16 percent are divided into the various subcategories, i.e. believe that certain opportunities are available, whilst others are not.) It is difficult to interpret the proportion of the latter group in the breakdown of specific demographic variables, since it is not possible to identify any explicit trends. Higher levels of education and lower age rather make respondents inclined to be aware of the opportunity for legal remedy; however, it is not possible to state more than this.

FIGURE 15
AWARENESS OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEGAL REMEDY, 2017-2019 (%)



We also asked what the most important instruments may be in combating discrimination in the questionnaire. There were three options, namely, (1) *education* (opinion-shaping, school education, religion, family) (2) *punishment* (compliance with relevant regulations and making others comply with these), (3) *the public* (humiliation and exclusion). Results are consistent with those of the previous surveys in this case as well: *education was believed to be most important (83%), followed by punishment somewhat lagging behind (73%), whilst the public was ranked somewhat lower (64%)*. There were also major shifts in this case since 2017, with the number of respondents believing that this is (also) important increasing by 10 percent.

FIGURE 16
INSTRUMENTS FOUND TO BE IMPORTANT IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION, 2017-2019 (%)



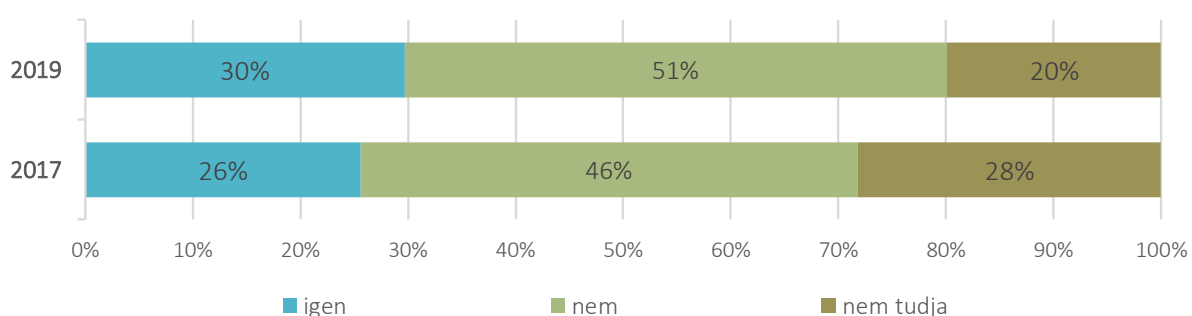
*0-10 fokú skála összevont értékei, ahol 0-3: inkább nem fontos; 4-6: fontos is meg nem is; 7-10: inkább fontos

Finally, similarly to the previous years, we also asked about the importance of discrimination and equal treatment. *The majority of respondents (51%) believed that this issue is not sufficiently focused on in Hungary.* The result received represents a 5 percent increase in relation to the 46 percent recorded in 2017. By analysing the item at an individual level, 77 percent of respondents believe that discrimination and equal treatment is an important or very important issue. A further 17 percent were indifferent, whilst the number of respondents choosing the not important or don't know option is negligible. The rate of respondents choosing the *very important* option somewhat increased in relation to 2017; however, no other major shift can be observed apart from this.

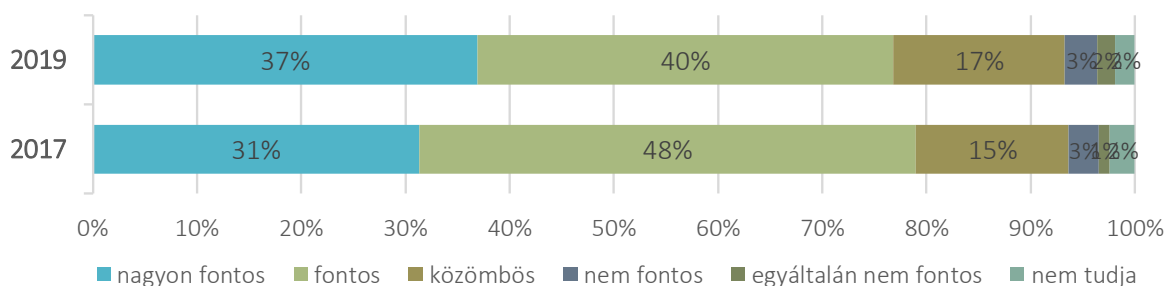
FIGURE 17

SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF EQUAL TREATMENT, 2017 (%)

In your opinion, is the issue discrimination and equal treatment discussed enough in Hungary?



How important is the issue of discrimination and equal treatment to you?

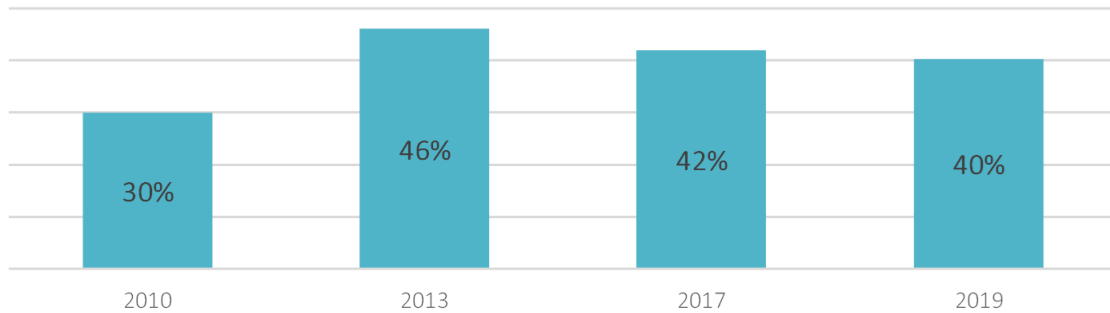


7.2 Awareness of the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) and its perception

Awareness of the Equal Treatment Authority (ETA) essentially did not change in relation to 2017, approximately 4 out of 10 respondents said they know of the authority. This rate represents an explicit increase in relation to 2010, whilst it represents a decrease in relation to 2010. However, the latter can be distinctly associated with the communication campaign launched by the authority. Awareness of ETA at around 40 percent in society (as a whole) seems to be stabilising for the time being.

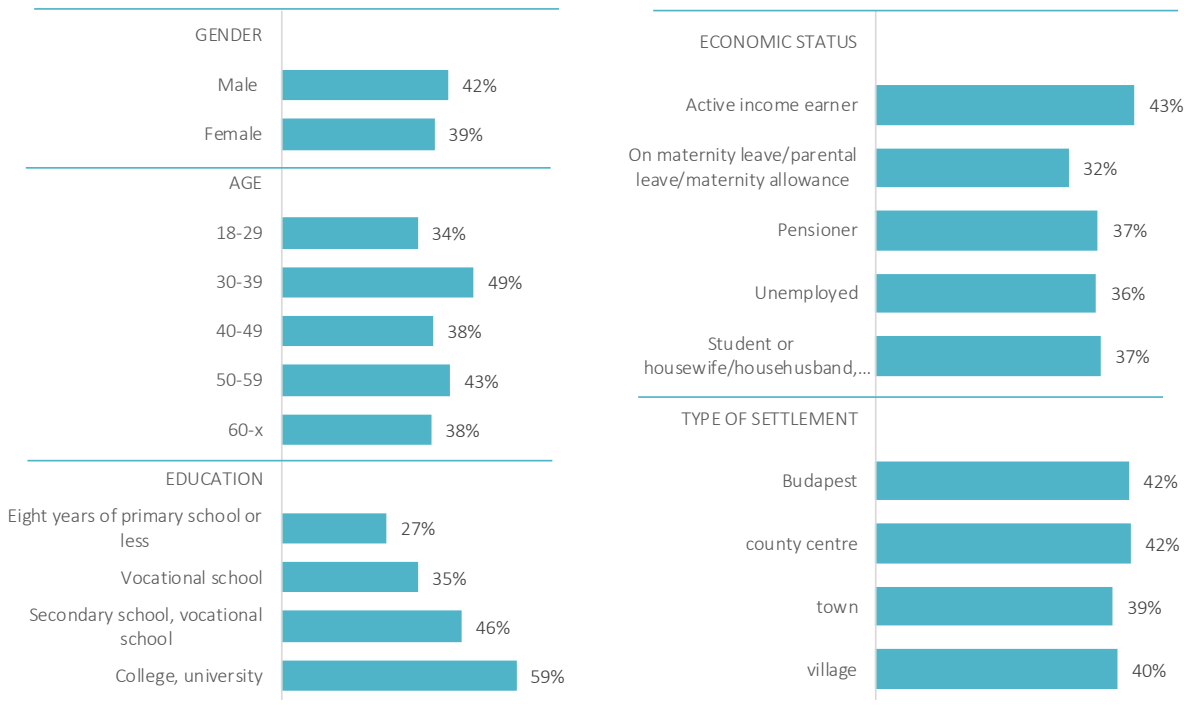
FIGURE 18
AWARENESS OF THE EQUAL TREATMENT AUTHORITY (ETA)

*Have you heard of the Equal Treatment Authority?
Percentage of yes responses*



Similarly to several other previous items and the experiences of the series of surveys conducted earlier, the age and the level of education of the respondent played the key role in the case of this item. To summarise, middle aged respondents (mostly aged 30-50) and respondents with a higher level of education were most aware of the ETA.

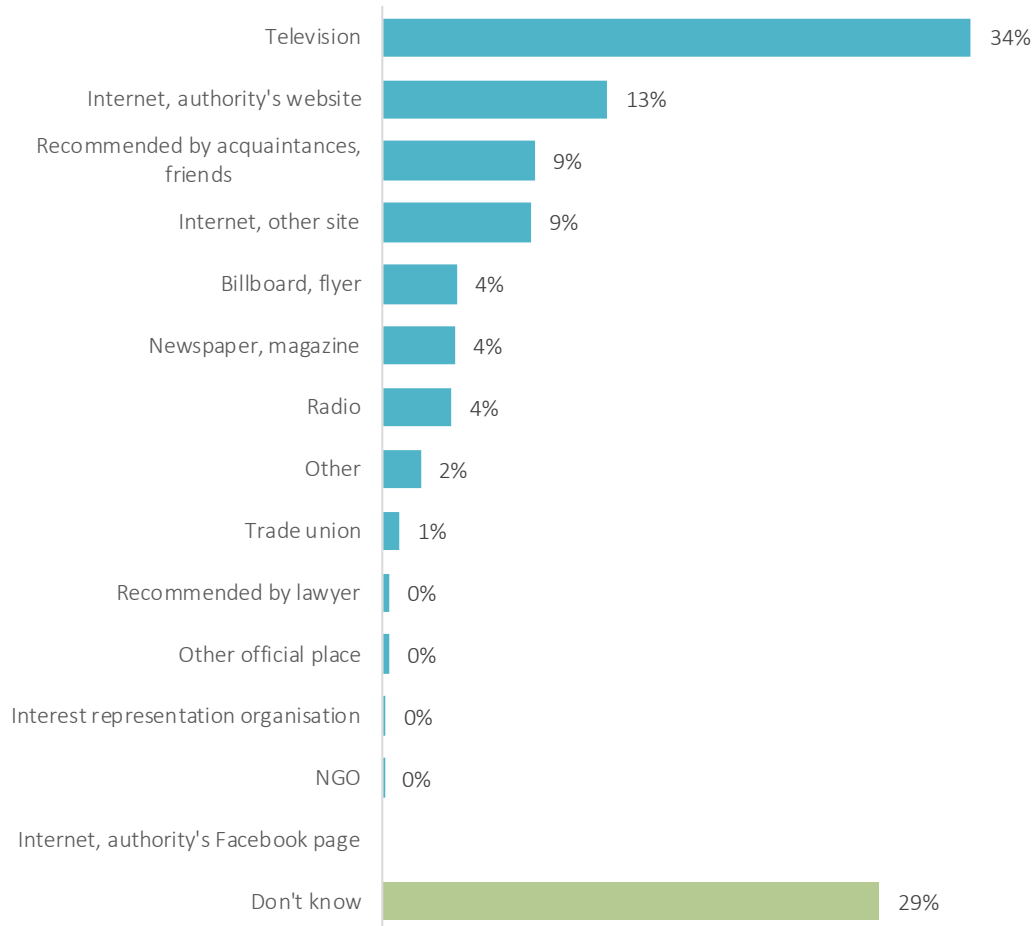
FIGURE 19
AWARENESS OF THE EQUAL TREATMENT AUTHORITY (ETA)



Television continues to remain the foremost source of awareness of the ETA. Every third respondent (34%) mentioned this medium from among respondents that knew of the authority. This is followed by the Internet (the authority's website). In addition, other online sources and recommendations made by friends/acquaintances deserve a mention (9%). It is

important to note that 29 percent of respondents were unable to state how they know of the ETA.

FIGURE 20
HOW DID YOU FIND OUT ABOUT THE ETA?



8 Conclusions

Our research that now allows us to reflect on our key topic retrospectively in the last decade, namely on identifying discrimination and responses that may be given to it, largely reflects continuity and consistency in relation to the results of the previous surveys conducted, but nevertheless does expose new phenomena in certain cases. Both consistency and the new phenomena are obviously associated with the social climate in which the sample representing the entire society live their day-to-day lives. This social climate is determined by the continuity of government policy, as well as steps taken by force in response to various challenges, which are at times favourable for a significant part of society, yet rather maintain disadvantages from the perspective of others, even at times aggravating their situation. The economic recovery following the crisis and the influx of EU funding restructured the labour market during this decade, whilst the appearance of a labour shortage put the younger generation, the age groups that are mobile and capable of adjusting to the changing circumstances, in a more favourable position and, at the very least, was able to offer public work for the uneducated masses stranded in the cohesion regions. Steps taken by the government in response to population decline, the increasingly aggravating demographic crisis, among others, the generous expansion of the family support policy in favour of those in a better situation and freezing financial support for disadvantaged families also had a contradictory impact on the status of women in the labour market. The scheme called paid parental leave extra encouraged higher status women to have a child and return to work, whilst poorer families with several children mostly living in impoverished regions were not only left out of the financial support, but also lost out on the opportunity to work. Meanwhile, keeping "migrant danger" on the agenda at the focus of government policy gradually increased xenophobia and intolerance towards persons belonging to other ethnic groups, with intolerance towards ethnic groups of other cultures appearing alongside anti-Roma sentiment traditionally persisting in society and homophobia and prejudice towards LGBTQ+ persons also increasing as a side effect.

These problems just outlined at present left their mark on the picture we can see based on the survey questionnaire conducted in 2019. Responses given to the questions we asked in the various topics and the comparison of these reveal a society that is highly divided, almost split in two, even if persons that are successful and by and large get along form the larger part of society. Primarily educated men living in Budapest or in towns with employment and sufficient income seemingly not subjected to "otherness" are the ones that only sporadically experience discrimination or grievance in comparison to other groups; however, women of working-age with a similar demographic background appear alongside the former. However, those that do not belong to the affluent group owing to their age, state of health, disability or family status, particularly in the case of women, are more highly probably exposed to disadvantages that keep them in an inferior status and for which reason they are increasingly subjected to the disrespectful and derogatory manifestations of the majority society. Roma at the focus of our

survey also belong to this particular group most exposed to discrimination, whose "obvious otherness", together with social and demographic characteristics, most of which are specifically rooted in their exclusion, drives them to the periphery of society. It is no coincidence that the Roma respondents consistently stated that they personally experienced some sort of discrimination at the highest rate, at a rate of 75 percent in our most recent survey, in the period between 2010 and 2019, they were the ones that most frequently experienced discrimination at the workplace and in the area of institutions providing services.

Therefore, whilst more successful, higher status persons living in good conditions in a divided society barely experience any form of discrimination, or if they do, at least they are aware of the unlawful nature of the discriminative treatment they received and mostly know where to seek legal remedy, the vulnerable groups in society that can be distinctly determined are mostly without means to enforce their rights in connection with grievances recognised.

However, our survey wanted to go beyond these findings and did not wish to simply approach injustices, disadvantages caused and discrimination experienced personally and in society on a statistical basis, from the angle of those subjected to these, but also wanted to examine whether there is any intent of discrimination in the respondents themselves, and if there is, to what extent. The stories in the questionnaire offered respondents the opportunity to decide whether the competent decision-maker would discriminate against the character of the story or not and how respondents would decide in the given context in situations characteristic of, or associated with the life context of specific vulnerable groups. All four stories, namely, the adoption application of the disabled couple, the possible dismissal of the gay teacher, taking on the Roma employee and appointing a single mother to an executive position in a company, are cases in which the presumed majority response may come into conflict with the principle of equal treatment and equal opportunity equally applicable to the members of the vulnerable group, as indicated by our results, even if not to the same degree. Based on the stories, persons with disabilities formed the vulnerable group triggering the least empathy and the highest rate of discriminative decisions, in which case the respondent's decision and the presumed institution decision coincided most frequently and the contrary interest of the majority society to the parent, or to the child growing up in the given case, is mentioned most frequently. This is followed by the Roma employee, whilst there was no such great distinction between the respondent's reaction and the presumed decision-makers reaction in the case of the gay teacher. Finally, both competent persons and respondents would have obstructed least the appointment of the female executive based on presumptions.

Respondents were more tolerant themselves than what they presumed of the decision-makers in the case of each story, thereby indicating that the social climate does not favour certain groups of people, who typically have to put up with being discriminated against by the majority, and tolerate discriminative measures. The principle of equal treatment was one of the most frequently mentioned reasons underlying their positive decision. Even if we do not think that this presumption is not as generally widespread and accepted in Hungarian society as the high number of options selected indicates, we nevertheless consider the way in which respondents

do not wish to discriminate against others, or at least do so in principle, to be an outstanding result. The way in which one quarter of the respondents of the representative sample took the side of the person belonging to the vulnerable group and would not make a discriminative decision against this person can be considered a good sign.

However, it is worthy of note that a specific, not negligible number of respondents happens to presume that the decision-maker intended to represent the majority would make a more inclusive and non-discriminatory decision than what the respondent would believe to be right. They are surely those that resent any given minority group being treated equally to the majority even if they are not in a decision-making context in real life. These respondents may believe in the myth of the "excessive support" of Roma, who are offended if someone overtly identifies with sexual orientation deviating from that of the majority or focuses on their career instead of their conventional role as a woman. It is likewise worth pointing out that there is a high number of respondents that would make a discriminative decision in the case of the woman applying for an executive position in the case of the story in which the position of the respondent coincides with that of the main character of the story, at least in terms of how both the respondent and the main character was a woman. Self-evaluation deficit, negative self-image not unknown among the members of the minority group may underlie these responses, which largely internalises the negative, derogatory attitudes the majority displays towards them, thereby legitimising the persistence of structural disadvantages. Various socio-demographic characteristics influence the subjective and presumed majority opinion of the stories: respondents with a higher level of education, younger respondents and higher status respondents are consistently in favour of discrimination-free procedures.

This "quasi-qualitative" dimension of the survey questionnaire on the one hand sheds light on the personal components of discriminatory intent and concurrently confirmed previous findings made in connection with the social division between various groups. In light of how the entire survey series was conducted at the request and with the support of the Equal Treatment Authority, it is important to note how great responsibility and strong influence an institution that serves social integration by keeping equal rights for everyone, the principle of equal opportunity and equal treatment alive and offering legal remedy for those subjected to discrimination may have in this divided society. Even if not in the context of day-to-day interactions or specific knowledge in connection with the ETA, the approach that every person has the right to these noble principles is spreading at least in principle, and even if division and discriminatory intent persisting in the social climate suppresses these voices, this is encouraging.

References

European Commission (2019a). *Discrimination in the European Union. Special Eurobarometer 493*. Brussels: European Commission. doi: 10.2838/5155 .

European Commission (2019b). *Discrimination in the European Union. Special Eurobarometer. Hungary*. Brussels: European Commission

Neményi M., Ferencz Z., Laki I., Ságvári B., Takács J., Tardos K., Tibori T. (2013). *Analysis of the increase in legal awareness of equal treatment between 2010 and 2013 - women, Roma persons with disabilities and LGBT persons in the focus*. Budapest: Equal Treatment Authority, 2013. p. 96

Neményi M., Ságvári B., Tardos K., (2017). *Legal awareness of equal treatment. Survey results 2017*. Budapest: Equal Treatment Authority

Takács J (2015). *Homophobia and Genderphobia in the European Union: Policy contexts and empirical evidence*. Stockholm: SIEPS (Swedish Insitute for European Policy Studies), p. 88.

Appendices

1: Additional tables

TABLE M1

FREQUENCY OF MENTIONS OF FACTORS UNDERLYING DISADVANTAGED STATUS BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

REASON FOR DISADVANTAGED STATUS	2011	2013	2017	2019
Lack of skills, talent	57	49	48	41
No luck	36	38	39	31
Disadvantaged family status, origin	59	53	53	50
Lack of moral values	56	42	42	48
Alcoholism, addiction	87	76	70	63
Minority (Roma) origin	73	67	60	54
Lack of personal effort	68	58	57	51
Social prejudice	52	48	51	46
Lack of equal opportunity	46	43	48	40
Flaws of the economy	64	65	50	42

TABLE M2

FREQUENCY OF MENTIONS OF AGGREGATED AND SPECIFIC PROTECTED CHARACTERISTICS IN THE CONTEXT OF PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019 (%)

	2010	2013	2017	2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2017 AND 2019	CHANGE BETWEEN 2010 AND 2019
Age	15.1	15.0	21.4	12.2	-9.2	-2.9
Financial status	7	8.0	15.7	7	-8.2	0.5
State of health	8.4	8.5	14.9	7.5	-7.4	-0.9
Social background	9.4	8.3	14.7	7.8	-6.9	-1.6
Gender	7.7	9.0	12.2	8	-4.2	0.3
Skin colour	5.8	8.4	11.8	7.4	-4.4	1.6
Race	5.8	7.9	11	7	-4	1.2
National ethnic minority belonging	6.8	8.1	10.8	5.8	-5	-1
Political opinion	6	5.8	10.3	7.8	-2.5	1.8
Employment	4.7	6.0	10.1	5.2	-4.9	0.5
Motherhood (maternity), fatherhood	6.3	6.6	9.2	6	-3.2	-0.3
Disability	4.3	5.0	9.1	5.8	-3.3	1.5
Family status	3.7	5.7	9.1	5	-4.1	1.3
Religion or ideological conviction	5.2	5.5	8.3	6.2	-2.1	1
Nationality	1.4	3.3	7.5	4.4	-3.1	3
Native language	2.8	3.7	7.3	4.6	-2.7	1.8
Sexual orientation	1.4	2.0	5.5	4.1	-1.4	2.7
Trade union membership	N/A	2.5	5.4	3.6	-1.8	N/A
Gender identity	2.1	2.0	5.1	4	-1.1	1,9
Other	1.8	3.4	3.1	0.7	-2	-1.1
Not discriminated based on any characteristic	65.4	65.6	62.1	75.4	13.3	10
Discriminated based on one or more characteristics	34.6	34.4	37.9	24.7	-13.2	-9.9
Discriminated based on 1 characteristic	12.5	11.8	9.5	7.6	-1.9	-4.9
Discriminated based on 2-5 characteristics	17.8	17.2	17.6	11.6	-6	-6.2
Discriminated based on 6 or more characteristics	4.3	5.4	10.7	5.5	-5.2	1.2

TABLE M3

FREQUENCY OF PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION BY COMBINED AREA IN THE 12 MONTHS PRECEDING THE SURVEY BY GENDER, ROMA ORIGIN AND DISABILITY IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	MALE 2017	MALE 2019	FEMAL E2017	FEMAL E 2019	ROMA, 2017	ROMA 2019	DISABILI TY 2017	DISABILI TY 2019
Discrimination in employment	12.4	7.1	9.4	7.5	50	33.3	29.9	14.5
Discrimination in the area of education and training	1.3	2.6	0.8	1.5	10.6	15.7	0	9.1
Discrimination in the area of social services and healthcare	9	6.0	8.1	7.5	47	25.5	32.9	30.9
Discrimination in the area of use of goods, trade and services	4.1	5.2	2.8	2.1	7.6	7.8	14.5	10.9

TABLE M4
RATE OF PERSONS EXPERIENCING MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATION BY NON-ROMA, ROMA ORIGIN AND DISABILITY IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	MALE 2017	MALE 2019	FEMAL E 2017	FEMAL E 2019	ROMA, 2017	ROMA, 2019	DISABILIT Y 2017	DISABILIT Y 2019
Never experienced discrimination	63.4	75.8	61	74.9	7.6	25.5	20.8	45.5
Only discriminated based on one protected characteristic	9.6	6.2	9.4	9	6.1	11.8	7.8	14.5
Has experienced discrimination based on multiple protected characteristics	26.9	18	29.6	16.1	86.4	62.7	71.5	40
Breakdown:								
Has experienced discrimination based on 2-5 protected characteristics	15.8	12.6	19.3	10.5	47	49	41.6	25.5
Has experienced discrimination based on six or more protected characteristics	11.1	5.4	10.3	5.6	39.4	13.7	29.9	14.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE M5

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY THE AREA IN WHICH THEY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION IN THE 12 MONTHS PRECEDING THE SURVEY BY ROMA ORIGIN AND DISABILITY IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	MALE 2017	MALE 2019	FEMAL E 2017	FEMAL E 2019	ROMA 2017	ROMA 2019	DISABILITY 2017	DISABILITY 2019
Never experienced discrimination	82.2	89.2	84.6	87.2	29.9	60	53.2	60
Only experienced discrimination at the workplace	7.1	3	5.4	4.5	19.4	14	9.1	5.5
Only experienced institutional discrimination (social and healthcare services, education, services)	5.6	3.7	6	5.3	19.4	6	16.9	25.5
Experienced both forms of discrimination (at the workplace and institutional)	5.2	4.1	3.9	3	31.3	20	20.8	9.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE M6

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS DISCRIMINATED AND NOT DISCRIMINATED BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 2017 AND 2019 (%)

	DISCRIMINATE D	NOT DISCRIMINATE D	2017	DISCRIMINATE D	NOT DISCRIMINATE D	2019
Town	29.5	28.9	29.1	35.8	27.0	29.4
City	34.5	35.1	34.9	30.3	35.5	34.1
County centre	17.3	18.3	17.9	20.8	17.2	18.2
Budapest	18.6	17.8	18.1	13.1	20.4	18.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

P=0.970

P=0.003

2: Case Studies (extract of the questionnaire)

- K1. First story: A blind couple would like to adopt a child. Their doctor tries to talk them out of their plan. The guardianship authority decides on the authorisation of the adoption.**
- A. In your opinion, how would the guardianship authority decide?**
- 1 – Would authorise it
 - 2 – Would not authorise it
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- B. How would you decide in place of the guardianship authority?**
- 1 – I would authorise it
 - 2 – I would not authorise it
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- C. How would you explain your decision?**
- 1 – I would prioritise the interests of the child intended to be adopted
 - 2 – I would prioritise the interests of the blind couple
 - 3 – Others would decide similarly to me
 - 4 – I would decide based on principle: everyone has the right to equal treatment
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- K2. Second story: The headmaster of the secondary school finds out that one of the teachers is gay. Some parents demand that the school dismiss the gay teacher.**
- A. In your opinion, how would the headmaster decide?**
- 1 – Would initiate the dismissal of the gay teacher
 - 2 – Would not initiate the dismissal of the gay teacher
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- B. How would you decide in place of the headmaster?**
- 1 – I would initiate the dismissal of the gay teacher
 - 2 – I would not initiate the dismissal of the gay teacher
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- C. How would you explain your decision?**
- 1 – I would prioritise the wish of the students studying at the school and that of their parents
 - 2 – I would prioritise the interests of the gay teacher
 - 3 – Others would decide similarly to me
 - 4 – I would decide based on principle: everyone has the right to equal treatment
-
8. Don't know | 9 No response
- K3. Third story: A qualified Roma job seeker applies for the shop assistant job advertised. They call him in for an interview, at which point the employer comes face to face with the presumed origin of the applicant.**

A. In your opinion, how would the shop owner decide?

- 1 – Would employ the Roma applicant
- 2 – Would not employ the Roma applicant

8. Don't know | 9 No response

B. How would you decide in place of the shop owner?

- 1 – I would employ the Roma applicant
- 2 – I would not employ the Roma applicant

8. Don't know | 9 No response

C. How would you explain your decision?

- 1 – I would prioritise the interests of the owner
- 2 – I would prioritise the interests of the Roma job seeker
- 3 – Others would decide similarly to me
- 4 – I would decide based on principle: everyone has the right to equal treatment

8. Don't know | 9 No response

K4. Fourth story: There is a vacancy in an executive position at a Hungarian corporation. There are several applicants for the position, including a 42-year-old woman. The applicant has been working at the company for years, holds suitable qualifications, her work performance and skills are excellent. She is a single mother with two school-aged children.

A. In your opinion, how would the CEO of the company decide?

- 1 – Would appoint the 42-year-old woman in the position advertised
- 2 – Would not appoint the 42-year-old woman, would choose someone else instead

8. Don't know | 9 No response

B. How would you decide in place of the CEO of the company?

- 1 – I would appoint the 42-year-old woman in the position advertised
- 2 – I would not appoint the 42-year-old woman, would choose someone else instead

8. Don't know | 9 No response

C. How would you explain your decision?

- 1 – I would prioritise the interests of the company
- 2 – I would prioritise the interests of the 42-year-old woman
- 3 – Others would decide similarly to me
- 4 – I would decide based on principle: everyone has the right to equal treatment

8. Don't know | 9 No response

