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# INTRODUCTION



This report summarizes findings from research conducted in collaboration with local scholars and civil society organizations to better understand public opinion toward refugees and asylum seekers, Jews, Roma, and LGBTQ+ in Hungary today. Building on a broad body of work examining rising prejudice and intergroup division in Hungary, our hope for this research was to identify actionable insights for civil society organizations and other groups addressing relevant dynamics in the country.

In recent years, Hungary has witnessed pervasive propaganda campaigns targeting various individuals, groups, NGOs and the European Union in a heavily consolidated and government-aligned media market. As funding for civil society has diminished and financial and rhetorical attacks on such organizations have increased, the space for NGO work has shrunk while the stakes have risen. Amidst these incredibly difficult conditions, what insights can help inform programming and communications strategies to counteract rising prejudice and instead build inclusive narratives? How can these narratives reach and resonate amona audiences?

We interviewed Hungarian experts and NGOs to better understand these issues, using their insights to launch a survey that further explores various factors that influence intergroup divisions and hostilities within Hungary.

While contemporary Hungary is without doubt a deeply polarized country, our research found that the Hungarian public is not simply divided into two monolithic camps with singular views related to migration, the European Union, Hungarian identity, or other heavily politicized issues. Instead, based on our survey findings, we identified at least five different segments or personas, each representing a distinct audience group that NGOs might wish to engage in their programming. Through highlighting these distinctions providing a fuller picture of these segments, we hope to distill potential entry points for engaging new or different audiences in NGO work.

We elaborate on these clusters, as well as our overall research methodology and findings in the following sections.











### **Qualitative**

We conducted in-depth interviews with members of eight Hungarian NGOs whose work is focused on building more inclusive identities and addressing hostile rhetoric and actions targeting specific groups in Hungary. Respondents expressed a strong interest in learning more about the gradations of intergroup attitudes among the Hungarian public and whether, amidst the above-described dynamics, there were alternative strategies or entry points for engaging new audiences in their work.

### **Quantitative**

Using insights from our qualitative research, we designed a survey to better understand Hungarians' stances on issues that might contribute to their views toward marginalized groups in the country, ranging from perceptions of Hungarian identity and a sense of belonging in Europe to warmth felt toward or a willingness to have social contact with outgroups.

We launched the survey on a nationally-representative sample of Hungary's online population (n=1800) in Fall 2020.

A full list of concepts measured in the survey is available upon request.

## 7 SEGMENTATION -

Using the survey results, we conducted a cluster analysis to identify five segments, described below. The five personas transcend mere demographic factors or political alignment to explore the dynamics that influence views toward immigration and minorities in Hungary. Through a fuller picture of each of these groups, NGOs may be better positioned to target and engage them in their work.

We specifically derived our segmentation from the following measures:

- ▶ Identification with the ethnic Hungarian nation
- ▶ Identification with the Hungarian political state
- ▶ feeling like a stranger in Hungary due to political landscape
- ▶ feeling like a stranger in Europe due to political landscape
- endorsement of Hungarian politics
- ▶ perception that Hungarians matter to Europe
- ▶ support for hierarchical relationship between groups in society
- ▶ belief that people working hard almost always get what they want

Based on the above criteria, we developed five clusters:

- → Disillusioned and unwelcoming (29% of respondents)
- → Uninvolved and exclusionary (26% of respondents)
- → Cosmopolitan and tolerant (17% of respondents)
- → Frustrated and progressive (17% of respondents)
- → Proud and hostile (12% of respondents)

We next explore each cluster in greater depth. Last, we provide a dashboard that compares the five clusters to one another and the average Hungarian.



Nobody wants to come here anyway, but if you did, don't. Not even for a settlement bond that fills the pocket of the state!



There is no need to let immigrants in.
The economic situation here is bad enough already. And immigrants are not known for their hard work. Or for their learning abilities.



## HUNGARY & EUROPE



pessimistic

Political apathy

I would not vote Don't know Don't anwser



Attitudes to recent political changes in Hungaru

Outlook on current affairs



critical

They are critical of recent political trends in Hungary and do not believe that the Hungarian political system operates as it should, nor that those who work hard are rewarded for their efforts.

Attachment to Hungarian identity:



I have a deep emotional bond with my country.

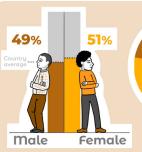
While they nurture a strong tie to their Hungarian identity, they are still very likely to say that with the political changes of the past decade they feel like strangers in their own country.

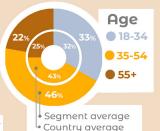
Politically I feel like a stranger in Hungary.

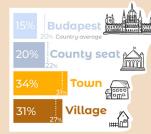
Politically
I feel like
a stranger
in Europe.

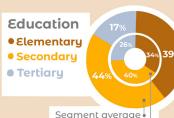
Attitude to European integration: Favours
Independence Integration
16% 13% 13% 30% 28%

Though the most likely to think that Hungarians do not matter to Europe, they are still solidly in favour of European integration.



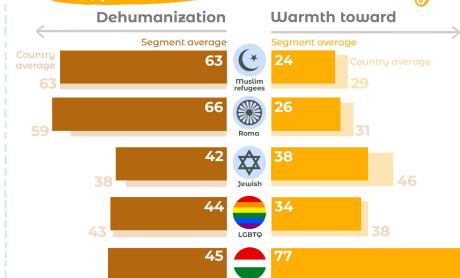






Segment average Country average

## MIGRATION & MINORITIES IN HUNGARY



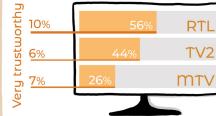
This segment is not comfortable with social groups they see as different.

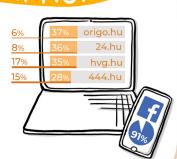
They are coldest toward Muslim refugees, and are also notable for their cold feelings toward Roma and Jews.

They view Roma and Muslims as significantly "less evolved" than Hungarians and would avoid social interactions with both.

While they do not feel great warmth towards Jewish or LGBTQ people, they do not view them as less evolved than Hungarians.

MEDIA CONSUMPTION





### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

- → Almost 1 in 3 Hungarians fall in this group, so anyone intending to shape attitudes in the country needs to consider people with this profile.
- → Their animosity toward home-grown ethnic minorities Roma and Jews is considerable and likely contributes to a closed stance toward strangers. Interventions trying to reduce antagonism against refugees would do well to account for this overarching stance and aim to address hostility to out-groups more generally instead of focusing on improving attitudes toward a specific group or community.
- → Given that this group primarily resides in small towns and villages, organizations seeking to engage this segment would benefit from forming partnerships with entities with existing relationships and social capital outside of Budapest.

# UNINVOLVED & EXCLUSIONARY

You don't need a load of loafers! They don't want to work, they kill, they break in, they steal. So they should stay where they come from.



Only in this way can we preserve our identity, our Christianity! It is enough for us to put up with the Roma!



### HUNGARY & EUROPE

Outlook on current affairs (Hungarian & European alike):



reluctant to take a strong stance

Political apathu I would not vote Don't know Don't anwser

Attitudes to recent political changes in Hungary:



content

They are content with Hungarian current affairs and believe that those working hard in this world will reap the benefits they deserve.

to Hungarian identity:



I have a deep emotional bond with my country.



Theu are attached to their Hungarian identity and stand out on their low feelings of estrangement from both Hungary and the EU when considering recent political

Politically I feel like a stranaer in Hungary.

**Favours** 

Attitude to Integration Independence European integration:

They believe Hungarians matter to Europe and are markedly pro-European integration, thinking that Hungary should back a unified Europe.

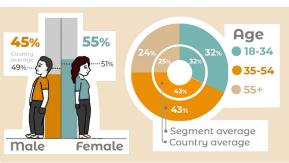
Politically

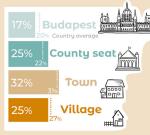
I feel like

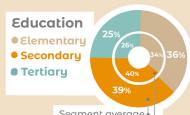
a stranaer

in Europe.

3%

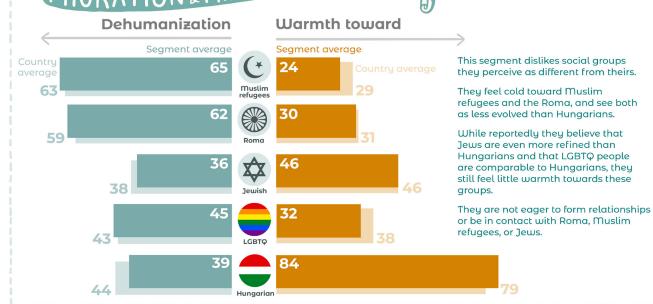


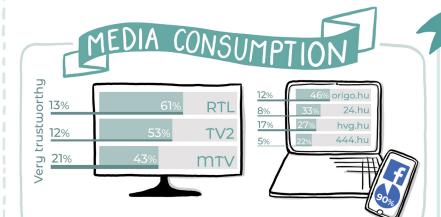




Segment average Country average •







- > 1 in 4 Hungarians fall in this group, making it the second largest seament.
- → Organizations might wish to engage this group through tapping into their strong attachment to their Hungarian identity and their pro-European stance. Given their less polarized/critical views of current affairs this group could also be engaged through activating higher order or cross-cutting identities - for instance, a local community or parental identity.
- → Given their concern that outsiders may be a resourcedrain on Hungary, it could benefit organizations to showcase that these groups are not competing for resources with Hungarians and to alleviate their sense
- → When considering effective messengers for engaging and influencing this group, it would benefit organizations to recognize their especially low trust in media and instead consider leveraging trusted local messengers or other influencers.

# COSMOPOLITAN & TOLERANT

Throughout history, Hungary has always been an immigrant country, from which it has benefited both intellectually and culturally.







Political apathy

I would not vote Don't anwser

Attitudes to recent



They are fiercely critical of the political status quo in Hungary and are skeptical that hard work can lead to success.



Their bond to their Hungarian identity and their country is no weaker than their fellow citizens'.

Politically I feel like a stranger in Hungary.

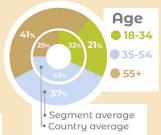


Attitude to

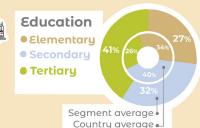


They believe that Hungarians matter to Europe and are the most ardent supporters of European integration in Hunaaru.

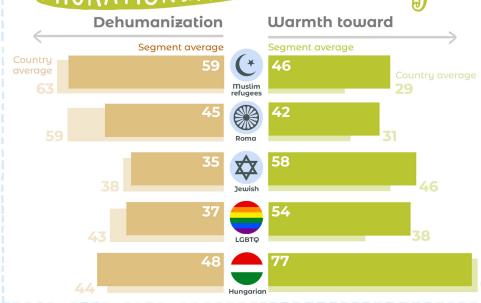








## GRATION & MINORITIES IN HUNGARY

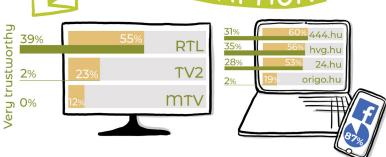


This segment is comfortable with social groups different from their own and is especially tolerant of minorities and disadvantaged groups.

They feel the most warmth of all segments toward Roma, Jews, Muslim refugees, and LGBTQ people, and claim to see all but Muslim refugees as more evolved than Hungarians.

This segment is the most likely amona Hungarians to have dinner with Jews, Roma, and Muslim refugees.

They empathize with refugees' challenges, likening them to how Hungarian emigres fare abroad.



- → This group comprises 1 in 6 Hungarians, making it a small to middle-sized segment. Being the most egalitarian and tolerant, organizations might wish to activate this segment to act on their positive attitudes (to become more involved in CSO work for instance) rather than targeting them for attitude change.
- → They are discerning media consumers, and are strongly influenced by what they see in outlets they consider trustworthy (e.g., RTL and 444.hu). Organizations should consider such outlets in trying to engage or activate this group, perhaps through authoring op-eds or placing advertisements.
- → In more rural contexts, areas where NGOs do not typically have much influence or reach, it may be worth trying to leverage this segment's community standing and position as trusted messengers among their peers to influence others' attitudes toward targeted groups.

## FRUSTRATED & PROGRESSIVE

No one should be expelled and a helping hand should be extended to all who turn to us for help. The more demographically diverse the more beautiful and strong a country is.





### HUNGARY & EUROPE

Outlook on Hungarian current affairs:



bleak

Political apathy

I would not vote Don't know Don't anwser

50%

Politicaly

I feel like

a stranger

in Europe.

Attitudes to recent political changes in Hungary:



critical

They are the most likely to think the political system is broken and the least likely to believe that it is possible to reap the rewards of hard work in this world.

Attachment to Hungarian identity:



I have a deep emotional bond with my country.

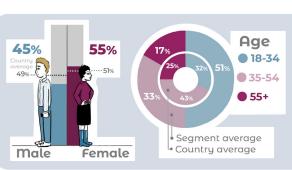
This disillusionment is mirrored in their weak bond to their Hungarian identity, which sets them apart from all other segments.

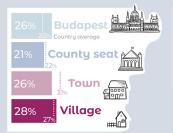




Attitude to European integration:

Uhile their pessimism also makes them more likely to feel that Hungarians do not matter to Europe, they are enthusiastic about European integration.

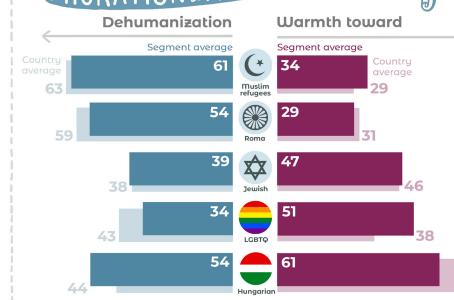






Segment average • Country average •





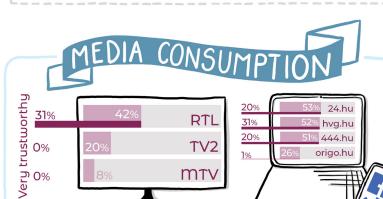
This segment is at ease with groups they consider different from themselves and is especially positive towards Jewish and LGBTQ people.

The warmth they feel towards Hungarians is the lowest of all segments, though they still feel more warmth toward Hungarians than they do toward outgroups.

They do not see Muslim refugees or Roma as less evolved than Hungarians, and even think of Jewish and LGBT people as more refined.

They do not believe refugees are endangering Europe and empathize with them. They are more open for social contact with all of these outgroups than the Hungarian average.

70



### PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

- → 1 in 6 Hungarians falls in this group, making it a small to middle-sized segment. They have the most critical view of Hungarians, but view outgroups quite favorably.
- → While this group is empathetic and welcoming to outsiders in Hungary, they are also disillusioned and, as a result, potentially disengaged on issues they care about. Organizations could support them in becoming more involved in civic actions and advancing causes they care about, including ameliorating the situation of outsiders in Hungary. This could provide experiences of positive communal agency and help prevent their further descent into political apathu.
- → They may be more attuned to discourses about LGBTQ and recently politicized vulnerable groups than they are about Roma. Engaging them in activities related to these groups could be a springboard for generating engagement on issues related to groups they don't currently consider as much.

# PROUD & HOSTILE

Several immigrants abused the situation already. There are too many violent people already. We do not need people from a culture where women do not count as human beings for instance.





Outlook on current affairs:



content, conservative Political apathu

I would not vote Don't know Don't anwser

of their efforts.



Attitudes to recent political changes in Hungary:

positive

Attachment to Hungarian identitu:

Politically

I feel like

a stranger

in Hungary.



I have a deep emotional bond with my country.



They are very strongly attached to their Hungarian identitu.

They feel that the Hungarian political system works as it

ought to and also believe that

there is a just economic system, as those working

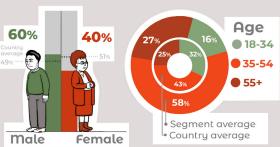
hard will reap the rewards

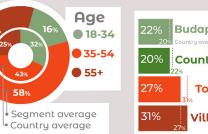


Attitude to European integration:



They feel that Hungarians do not really matter to Europe and are the most likely to say that Hungary should strive for independence from Europe.





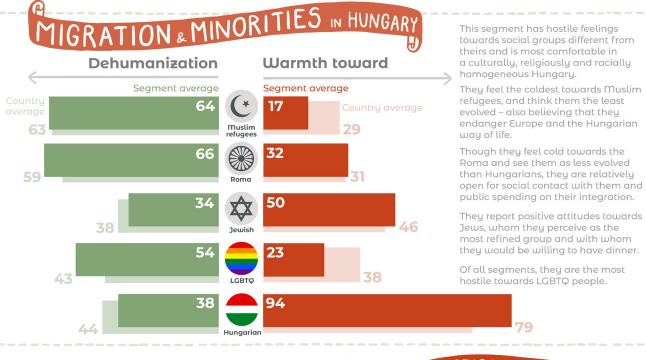


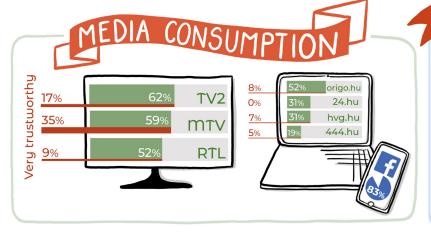
Education • Elementaru Secondary

Tertiary



Segment average Country average •





- → This segment represents only 1 in 8 Hungarians. They are very deeply set in their views, which align with and will have been bolstered by government communications of the last years. As such, they will likely be the most difficult to shift and may not be the most resource effective target for NGO activities.
- → If organizations do wish to engage this segment, consider leveraging their ethnic pride and their stated tolerance toward some outgroups (e.g., Jews and Roma).
- → Tapping into difficulties Hungarians may face abroad, or even as arrivals to Hungary (16% of this segment identifies as 'over-border' compared with 8% of the whole sample) might activate some empathy towards individuals who face those same difficulties as refugees.

### **Comparative Dashboard**

The following dashboard provides an overview of how the clusters compare to one another and to the average Hungarian. The dashboard addresses demographics, views on society and politics, views on minorities and migration, and media consumption habits.

### **Demographics**

Item	Represented Response	Cosmopolitan & Tolerant	Uninvolved & Exclusionary	Disillusioned & Unwelcoming	Proud & Hostile	Frustrated & Progressive	Population Average
Segment size		17%	26%	29%	12%	17%	
Gender	Male	53%	45%	49%	60%	45%	49%
	Female	47%	55%	51%	40%	55%	51%
Age	18-34	21%	32%	33%	16%	51%	32%
	35-54	37%	43%	46%	58%	33%	43%
	55+	41%	24%	22%	27%	17%	25%
Residence	Budapest	28%	17%	15%	22%	26%	20%
	County Seat	21%	25%	20%	20%	21%	22%
	Town	33%	32%	34%	27%	26%	31%
	Village	18%	25%	31%	31%	28%	27%
Highest education	Elementary	27%	36%	39%	33%	33%	34%
	Secondary	32%	39%	44%	43%	40%	40%
	Tertiary	41%	25%	17%	24%	26%	26%
Attends church at least a few times a month		5%	11%	8%	17%	2%	8%

### Views on society

Item	Represented Response	Cosmopolitan & Tolerant	Uninvolved & Exclusionary	Disillusioned & Unwelcoming	Proud & Hostile	Frustrated & Progressive	Population Average
We should not push for group equality.	In favour or strongly in favour (5 point scale)	6%	14%	20%	29%	13%	16%
In general, the Hungarian political system operates as it should.	Rather or largely or totally agree (7 point scale)	1%	28%	3%	61%	0%	15%
If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.	Rather or largely or totally agree (7 point scale)	20%	49%	19%	56%	15%	30%
In the past ten years, the political landscape in Hungary has changed so much that I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own country.	Agree or totally agree (5 point scale)	86%	3%	72%	7%	78%	50%
In the past ten years, the political landscape in Europe has changed so much that I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own country.	Agree or totally agree (5 point scale)	3%	3%	56%	81%	19%	30%
As a Hungarian, I feel that we don't matter to Europe.	Often or very often (5 point scale)	12%	13%	50%	59%	36%	33%
I have a deep emotional bond with the (ethnic group identified with) people.	Largely or totally agree (7 point scale)	52%	51%	48%	83%	4%	46%
I have a deep emotional bond with my country.	Largely or totally agree (7 point scale)	43%	47%	40%	84%	6%	42%

### **Political views**

Item	Represented Response	Cosmopolitan & Tolerant	Uninvolved & Exclusionary	Disillusioned & Unwelcoming	Proud & Hostile	Frustrated & Progressive	Population Average
Hungarian immigration policy should seek to preserve a Hungarian culture that is Christian.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	20%	54%	44%	86%	10%	42%
Hungary should prioritise its security, even if that means curtailing democracy.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	6%	32%	24%	66%	9%	25%
Hungary should strive for independence from Europe.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	1%	16%	16%	43%	2%	14%
Hungary should back a unified Europe.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	77%	28%	28%	17%	55%	40%
Hungary should financially support the integration of the Roma population into society.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	25%	7%	10%	17%	13%	13%
Hungary should promote traditional family values.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	18%	54%	48%	86%	16%	44%
The state of Hungary should be allowed to infringe upon personal freedoms if it deems necessary.	View matters a 'lot' or 'extremely' (5 point scale)	1%	6%	6%	24%	2%	7%
I would continue to support an organization that fights for these issues even if the organization sometimes breaks the laws.	Agree or completely Agree (5 point scale)	20%	7%	20%	19%	15%	16%

### **Political Apathy**

Would not vote / not know whether would vote / not tell	38%	46%	56%	14%	50%	44%
who they would vote for						

### **Views on Minorities and Migration**

views on minorities and migration									
Item	Represented Response	Cosmopolitan & Tolerant	Uninvolved & Exclusionary	Disillusioned & Unwelcoming	Proud & Hostile	Frustrated & Progressive	Population Average		
Warmth	Hungarians	77	84	77	94	61	79		
(100 point thermometer)	Roma	42	30	26	32	29	31		
	Jews	58	46	38	50	47	46		
	Muslim Refugees	46	24	24	17	34	29		
	LGBT	54	32	34	23	51	38		
Most migrants feel cold towards Hungarians.	Totally or largely agree (7 point scale)	9%	23%	29%	47%	15%	24%		
Refugees are endangering Europe.	Totally or largely agree (7 point scale)	8%	44%	42%	71%	18%	36%		
Immigrants remind us of the difficulties that many Hungarian emigrants have to go through	Totally or largely agree (7 point scale)	43%	13%	18%	11%	28%	22%		
I would be willing to have dinner with a Muslim refugee in their home.	Mostly or completely agree (7 point scale)	47%	13%	9%	12%	35%	21%		
I would be willing to have dinner with a Roma person in their home.	Mostly or completely agree (7 point scale)	45%	19%	22%	30%	37%	28%		
I would be willing to have dinner with a Jewish person in their home.	Mostly or completely agree (7 point scale)	74%	42%	35%	65%	59%	52%		
Dehumanisation index	Hungarians	48	39	45	38	54	44		
(100 point scale)	Roma	45	62	66	66	54	59		
	Jews	35	36	42	34	39	38		
	Muslim Refugees	59	65	63	64	61	63		
	LGBT	37	45	44	54	34	43		
Lacking self-restraint, like animals	Hungarians	33	26	31	24	38	30		
	Roma	29	54	62	58	39	49		
	Jews	24	22	29	21	27	25		
	Muslim Refugees	44	52	52	56	39	49		
	LGBT	23	37	30	45	17	31		
Of the 320,000 refugees entering Europe in 2019, to how many Hungary should have granted asylum?	Slider with 0 and 10000 as endpoints	4196	2002	2138	1167	4415	2718		
What percentage of the budget do you think should be support and integration vs city parks?	37%	24%	22%	19%	38%	27%			
What percentage of the budget do you think should be support and integration vs city parks?	25%	14%	16%	8%	20%	17%			

### **Media Consumption**

Item	Represented Response	Cosmopolitan & Tolerant	Uninvolved & Exclusionary	Disillusioned & Unwelcoming	Proud & Hostile	Frustrated & Progressive	Population Average
Watches TV		83%	82%	82%	86%	63%	79%
Watches MTV		12%	43%	26%	59%	8%	29%
Watches TV2		23%	53%	44%	62%	20%	41%
Watches RTL		55%	61%	56%	52%	42%	54%
How much do you trust these outlets to provide	MTV Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	0%	21%	7%	35%	0%	18%
content that is accurate and politically unbiased?	TV2 Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	2%	12%	6%	17%	0%	9%
	RTL Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	39%	13%	10%	9%	31%	18%
Listens to radio		58%	64%	58%	68%	46%	59%
Reads print newspaper/magazines		21%	25%	20%	25%	15%	21%
Reads online news portals		87%	78%	77%	83%	86%	81%
Reads hvg.hu		56%	27%	35%	31%	52%	39%
Reads origo.hu		19%	46%	37%	52%	26%	36%
Reads 24.hu		53%	33%	36%	31%	53%	40%
Reads 444.hu		60%	22%	28%	19%	51%	35%
How much do you trust these outlets to provide content that is accurate and politically unbiased?	hvg.hu Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	35%	17%	17%	7%	31%	24%
	origo.hu Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	2%	12%	6%	8%	1%	7%
	24.hu Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	28%	8%	8%	0%	20%	14%
	444.hu Very trustworthy (5 point scale)	31%	5%	15%	5%	20%	19%
Uses Facebook		87%	90%	91%	83%	85%	88%



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