



ROMA
VERSITAS



HUNGARIAN NATIONAL REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

2021

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FOREWORD

The Peer Education to Counter Antigypsyist Hate Speech Online project focuses to address and counter antigypsyist hate speech online by working with young people, using a combination of peer education and monitoring in order to obtain two-fold results: the peer education methodology serving the purpose to achieve a direct change in attitudes and actions of a high number of young people, and the monitoring to contribute to better understanding and a more systemic change of policies through advocacy based on the results.

The following report represent a deliverable of the PECAO project in relation to the project's overall objectives:

- 1** To reach out to at least 2000 young people in Spain, Hungary, Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Italy, France, North Macedonia and Albania through peer education activities in universities or youth clubs to raise their awareness of the adverse impact of hate speech on Roma and to empower them to recognise and report hate speech online.
- 2** To empower 50 young Roma peer educators in 10 countries to monitor hate speech in online media and report cases of hate speech to IT companies, national equality bodies and relevant state institutions to reinforce implementation of anti-discrimination legislation. Their work will lead to national datasets of at least 150 cases, as well as at least 50 reported cases.

- 3 To advocate towards national and EU decision-makers for anti-discrimination policies that take into account the online sphere as well as antigypsyism as a bias motivation for hate speech and hate crime.
- 4 To use the experiences of peer educators and results of the monitoring to raise awareness of other stakeholders (wider civil society, educational practitioners, young people) of antigypsyist hate speech in online media and the urgency to counteract.

More in-depth, the reports offer insight of alignment to the short-term results, which are directly contributing to the aforementioned objectives:

- 1 The peer education activities as well as the media monitoring by the peer educators themselves will lead to a higher number of reported cases of hate speech and a higher number of antigypsyist content taken down from online platforms. We expect that on average every of the around 1000 young people targeted will until the end of the project report 2 cases of hate speech in social media to the IT platforms. With a removal rate of 90%, this means that 1800 posts will be removed in five EU Member States.
- 2 The peer educators will directly monitor and report hate speech in online media and collect the information for analysis and dissemination. Each of the 50 peer educators will report at least 10 cases until the end of the project, which means that for each country a dataset of at least 150 cases will be collected, contributing to increased knowledge of the phenomenon of hate speech online.
- 3 Increased awareness of the negative impact of antigypsyist hate speech among the young people targeted, leading to a change of attitude among the young people.

- 4 Increased self-confidence and skills of 50 young Roma who are trained in peer education and media monitoring.
- 5 Increased knowledge about recognising and reporting anti-gypsyist hate speech among the readers of the toolkit that will be developed based on the experiences of the peer educators.

The results of the advocacy activities asking for better policies or media self-regulations combating hate speech will only be measurable in the long-term. The expected long-term results are targeting relevant stakeholders on the ground of raising awareness and stronger adherence:

- Higher awareness of journalists' ethical commissions on the prevalence and impact of anti-gypsyist hate speech online, leading to improved self-regulation guidelines.
- Higher awareness of national equality bodies and other relevant state institutions on the prevalence and impact of anti-gypsyist hate speech online, leading to better programmes targeting antigypsyism.
- Stronger adherence by IT companies to the Code of Conduct on countering online hate speech.
- Better data collection on hate crime and hate speech disaggregated by ethnicity and gender to allow analysis of trends by member states.
- Stronger condemnation of anti-gypsyist hate speech in the public discourse.
- More positive narratives promoted by young people online to counter anti-gypsyist hate speech.

PECAO foresees young media users to increase their digital skills through the training they receive and more strongly question hateful content that they see online. Subtle antigypsyism is rarely detected by mainstream media users, and these young people will be better able to react to such subtle forms of racism. Furthermore, as the peer

educators will be from Roma origin, the young people reached will reduce their stereotypes through meeting Roma peers in person. Their attitudes towards equality and human rights will be positively influenced as a result of this project.

When it comes to the Roma people: The people most suffering from hate speech are obviously those targeted – Roma, citizens of Europe. The project will have a positive long-term impact on them if hate speech content is reduced in online media as a result of this project. Less hate speech online means less incitement to violence and less stereotyping by the majority society, leading to a general decrease of antigypsyism.

The present Report focuses on Hungary and is a result of a one-year-long work containing data gathered for 8 months (October 2020 – June 2021) and peer-education by 5 young people, aimed to investigate the adverse impact of and raise awareness of anti-Roma online hate speech.

With the results presented in this report, we aim to take a step further to learn about the presence and impact of antigypsyist online hate speech and to learn lessons that can be brought forward to make the future of an equal and inclusive society in a safe digital environment happen.

This report is part of a multi-country study coordinated by ERGO network and financed by the European's Union Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (REC 2012-2020) and Google.Org Impact Challenge on Safety. The study was conducted from September 2020 to September 2021 in 10 countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, North Macedonia, Hungary, Ukraine, Romania, Italy, France and Spain. Based on the national reports, a cross-country analysis will be published in the beginning of 2022.

II.

ABSTRACT

This Report presents a subjective, yet exhaustive public image and representation of Roma within the online environment and public space. Through a focused qualitative methodology, the project aimed to understand what kind of discursive repertoires emerges against Roma. In the same time, the research tackled the identification of main themes and subthemes in which Roma are to be addressed frequently, of different forms of online hate speech, levels of aggressivity and forms of toxicity of hate speech (racially loaded toxic discourse) and finally, a model of web racism.

The report relies on 3 Synthesis Report (on 3 periods of reporting) that gathered 208 Monitoring Tools (MT – the main instrument of research analysis) focusing on anti-Roma content on Facebook. The MT is presented in detail in Annex. Based on our conducted data and the peer educators' observations online hate speech is widespread in both overt and covert forms. Although these forms of hate speech appear across both open and closed Facebook spaces, the overall pattern is that the less limited the visibility of a comment (for example, it appears in the official Facebook page of online news portals), the more covert the hate speech. As a result, in a significant proportion of cases, contributors rely on false profiles or on proxy words and slang (e.g.: Spartan, Swedish) most probably to avoid being reported. More open hate speech against Roma is rather significant in closed groups. In addition, sides and profiles of extremist political forces and their

representatives significantly contribute to the prevalence of online anti-Roma hate speech. Furthermore, it can be seen from the data that anti-Roma hate speech tends to emerge along the lines of common pervading racist stereotypes on Roma, e.g.: if news of violent crime appears on Facebook, it is immediately associated with Roma people.

One of the remarks among the peer-educators and monitors is that due to the prevalence of the hidden forms of hate speech, in most cases, the reports made on racist contents did not become deleted by Facebook after all, as the content is not detectable as a part of the definition of hate speech used by Facebook. Only the most violent forms of hate speech and racism became deleted. This project may raise awareness of the complex, constantly transforming and expanding nature of online hate speech, which thus requires complex and up-to-date solutions.

THE PROJECT CONSORTIUM OF PECAO CONSISTS OF THE FOLLOWING PARTNERS AND FUNDING:



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Integro Association (Bulgaria) | Nevo Parudimos (Romania) | Federation of Catalan Roma Associations (FAGIC), Spain | Romaversitas (Hungary) | Romanonet (Czech Republic) | ERGO Network (Belgium)



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La Voix des Rroms (France) | Upre Roma (Italy) | Roma Women Fund Chiricli (Ukraine) | RROMA (North Macedonia) | Roma Active Albania (Albania)



INTRODUCTION

1 OUR CONTRIBUTION TO PECAO

Based on the data detailed and analyzed below this Report demonstrates that Romaversitas Foundation in partnership with the PECAO project contributed to comprehending the Hungarian situation and its specificities in anti-Roma online activities and spreading the accumulated knowledge among the primarily targeted youth.

Namely, PECAO project participants collected and analyzed 208 cases of online hate speech on Facebook with the application of MT, of which more than a half were reported. In addition, further steps were taken to gain and share knowledge about the context, impact and possible counteracts of anti-Roma hate speech:

- In January 2021, a roundtable discussion was organized on the topic jointly by Romaversitas and Ame Panzh via TV Baxtale's webcast.
- PECAO project fellows joined the Do One Brave Thing project implemented in Hungary by Political Capital and the Budapest Center in the framework of which several Instagram campaigns have been launched to change negative narratives against Roma.

- In March 2021, meeting was taken place with the representatives of the National Media and Communications Authority Internet Hotline to share experiences.
- In June, a meeting was taken place with a representative from Facebook, to exchange. Information on their hate speech policies, and our experiences on the kind of anti-Roma content that their standards currently does not cover.
- Moreover, In the spring of 2021, peer educators held information sessions on the topic more than twenty times all over the country, involving more than 200 young people.

2 NATIONAL CONTEXT

Besides focusing on the goals of PECAO, our project aims, and initiatives were informed by the Hungarian context of anti-Roma hate speech. This is important not only because it shows the relevance of local thematicization of hate speech, but also because, due to the different historical, cultural contexts and the resulting different regulations in different countries, some degree of context-specific responses and advocacy is needed to achieve change.

In connection with hate speech in the Hungarian regulations, different areas of laws and their respective regulations each serve as a yardstick against online hate speech:

- Based on the civil law aspect, a member of the community can take action against hate speech and demand damages.¹

¹ About Act V of 2013 on Civil Rights: <https://njt.hu/jogszabaly/2013-5-00-00>

- Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities is a law against segregation, discrimination, and harassment, and retribution.²
- Criminal law wording is key in the context of hate speech, which prohibits incitement to violence.³
- Media law states that no media content may be an incitement to hatred or exclusion.⁴

Various analyzes show that, apart from these numerous areas of law concerning hate speech, the Hungarian judicial practice interprets hate speech as extremely narrow. There have been attempts in the past to change this narrow standard, but this has several times failed in the Constitutional Court. In addition, just as there is no uniform concept of hate speech in international law, as demonstrated above, in the Hungarian context various stakeholders' measures and respective laws simultaneously apply in the issue of online hate speech. In the absence of a unified concept, the field of hate speech is always somewhat vague, and procedural doubts can arise in specific cases.

According to a report by the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)⁵, in addition to law enforcement problems, the situation is further exacerbated by the fact that state action against anti-Roma hate speech is not only lacking in Hungary, but open anti-Roma hate speech is not limited to extremist parties and groups.

² Act CXXV of 2003: <https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=A0300125.TV&target-date=20170701&printTitle=2003.+%C3%A9vi+CXXV.+t%C3%B6rv%C3%A9ny>

³ Btk. 332. §: <https://buntetojog.info/kulonos-resz/btk-332-%C2%A7-kozoseg-elleni-uszitas/>

⁴ Act CIV of 2010 on the freedom of the press and the basic rules on media content: <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1000104.tv>

⁵ ECRI – Country Monitoring in Hungary. 2015. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/hungary>

As accentuated by the report, Hungary is “climate of impunity” is rampant. Influential figures’ degrading, racializing, sexualizing statements on vulnerable and marginalized groups are normalized in the public discourse. Several media platforms disseminate openly racist content without any restrictions. The report further states that despite its cruciality, online hatred does not receive enough attention, which is well exemplified by the fact that Hungary has not signed the Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime yet.

The frequently racist rhetoric against Roma by public and political actors clearly shows that the political climate in Hungary is permissive towards hate speech. However, as the juridical practice on hate speech is relatively narrow, many of these discriminatory statements barely has legal consequences. Zsolt Bayer is a right-wing public figure who after a stabbing incidence wrote that “*significant part of the Gypsies is unfit for coexistence... They are not fit to live among people*”⁶. Although this particular case did not remain unchallenged and the Media Council eventually imposed a fine on the paper that published Bayer’s writing, the decision was preceded by a long period of contesting climate in the public discourse.

At the same time, as our investigations have been limited to Facebook, it is important to talk about Facebook regulations about online hate speech. Facebook basically links the regulation of hate speech to protected groups. Based on Nagy’ study⁷, while Facebook defines the protected categories more broadly (age, gender, ethnicity, etc.),

⁶ Origo (2013). (<https://www.origo.hu/itthon/20130110-nem-nyomoznak-bayer-zsolt-ellen.html>)

⁷ Nagy, Krisztina (2018). ‘Facebook files – gyűlöletbeszéd törölve? A közösségi médiaplatformok tartalom-ellenőrzési tevékenységének alapjogi vonatkozásai’, *ProFuturo*, (2): 128-131. (<https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/profuturo/article/view/4722/4471>)

an attack is only considered prohibited if it is directed against an identifiable protected group. Thus, attacks against unprotected categories even with an extreme level of violent incitement are not prohibited. As the Roma are a protected group, this means that in the case of on-line hate speech against them, if the Roma are clearly identified in the hateful content, the material will be banned. On the other hand, if an attempt is made to hide the fact that the hate speech is directed against Roma – for example, by using different labels or not naming them – the content in question is no longer clearly in breach of the Facebook rules.

IV.

METHODOLOGY

This Report is based on the content analysis research method that used a monitoring tool instrument (see Annex). It contains 208 MT that were applied for a 8-months period (October 2020- June 2021). The MT as the main research instrument of the study was adapted from Siapera, Moreo and Zhou⁸ and Lentin⁹ and it was elaborated together with experts from the partner organisations. The content analysis was made based on the MT results, having specific codes and descriptions for each situation encountered and adapted for social media monitoring activity, according with the research questions and objectives. The results are consistent with the situation from Hungary, and it will be a part of the general research international report.

The MT was applied by 5 young Roma peer-educators that were special trained and counselled, familiarized with the research instrument during a period of trainings and piloting according with the social research ethics and standards. They aged between 20-30, they were of different formal levels of education (e.g. students, volunteers,

⁸ Siapera, Eugenia, Moreo Elena and Jiang Zhou (2018). Hate Tracking and Monitoring Racist Speech Online (<https://www.ihrec.ie/app/uploads/2018/11/HateTrack-Tracking-and-Monitoring-Racist-Hate-Speech-Online.pdf>)

⁹ Lentin, Alana (2016) 'Racism in Public or Public Racism: doing anti-racism in post-racial times', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(1): 33-48.

employed etc.) and they were selected based on a special call. According with the project's activities and objectives, the MT instrument was applied on a subjective manner, as the peer educators have the freedom to choose the content and the online platform they monitor, including their own personal account (Fb, Instagram, Tik Tok or Youtube) as the information appeared in their news feed. Approximately 15 MT/ person per month of MT were enclosed to the periodical Synthesis Reports (See Annex). For developing a better and a common ground, in order to keep a constant check and valid step for all the partners involved, each partner filled and transmitted to the research coordinator a Synthesis Report as it follows:

- 1st period: Oct–Dec 2020
Report on 15th of January 2021
- 2nd period: Jan–April 2021
Report on 15th of April
- 3rd period: Apr–June 2021
Report on 15th of July
- 4th period: July–Sept 2021
Report on 15th of October

The sampling of the cases was on non-probabilistic bases (conveniences), on random selection and on subjectivity of the operator. The main reason for using this type of sampling was to give an insight of how the ordinary Roma young persons' personal account appears and also to underline the constant emotional pressure one can face in the online public space. On the second register, our purpose is to observe how the media informational algorithms are targeting the Roma users based on their preferences, consume and users profiles when using social media platforms and internet on private, personal accounts (see the study cases presented).

Although the total number of 208 MT realized (and targeted within the project's request) has reached a certain level of expectancy and saturation, the results should not be generalized for the entire Roma community. However, they represent a solid insight and a foundation

for developing and advocating social, digital and even educational policies to fight against proliferation of the antigypsyist online hate speech, for a more safe, inclusive and creative internet public space.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONITORING TOOL

The Monitoring Tool is organized in 5 parts.

- 1 GENERAL INFORMATION** – refers to social media platform monitored and internet page identification, types of accounts (personal, public, groups or institutional/ private companies), themes and subthemes, general title of the article/ media post and its subjective evaluation (on a 3 scale range: positive, negative and neutral), details on influence and popularity (numbers of likes, shares etc.);
- 2 GENERAL TOPIC AND APPEARANCE** – refers to types and forms of the content (text, visual, videos), the place of the content (first page, shared, special page, story page etc.), the relevance of the relation (if any) between the content and title/ visual element, types of non-textual content and (if any) evaluation of the emotional impact of the non-textual content on (a 3 scale range: very little, so and so, very much).
- 3 CONTENT** – describes in different scales forms of racist of the online hate speech in 2 dimensions: *Open discourse*: crude epithets, racist slurs, grossly offensive, dehumanizing utterances *Coded discourse*: Using slang, circumlocutions, irony, ambiguity, pseudo-scientific references, reborn of white supremacist ideologies; “whataboutery”, narratives of elsewhere, bogus statistics, metonymies; *levels of aggressivity/ toxicity of hate speech, using frozen vs motile scale* (Lentin, 2016) – racially loaded language as toxic when it conveys messages that: reinforce stereotypes, entrench polarisation, spread myths and disinformation, justify exclusion, stigmatization and inferiorisation, reinforce exclusivist notions of national belonging and identity; main *forms of racially loaded toxic discourse*: crude forms of racism: insults,

slurs, criminal comparisons, direct denigration, racial stereotypes (colour, smell, physical features), notion of “nation” (ad hominem attacks, right wing discourse, race, ethnicity, religion, culture), “over sensitive” or “played the race card”: being racist against white people, coming from cultures of victimhood, fake news, bogus statistics, research published with dubious credential, recited truths, trigger events (the media frame and present news in a special manner that can influence the readers and the comments!), non-textual forms: memes, multimedia materials, hashtags, tagging etc.; *comments* section describing types and number of comments, intensity, persistency, popularity (likes, shares etc.); *a list of most used expressions* within the content on a 3 scale level of intensity.

- 4 **PERSONAL OBSERVATION (NARRATIVE)** – it describes in a short abstract the main idea of the content and how this content affects the Roma person correlated with (possible) certain national specificities;
- 5 **BACKGROUND INFORMATION** – identification data of the operator (respecting the GDPR regulation), used only for the purpose of coding and research.

V.

DATA / INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

1 GENERAL INFORMATION

a.) Types of accounts

As previously indicated, we monitored data gathered exclusively from Facebook based on random selection, without restrictions, which allowed us to delve into relevant content from a wide spectrum on this online platform. As is shown in Chart 1, in nearly half of the 208 cases the content was found on public Facebook accounts of public or political figures, organizations, or initiatives. A less, but still significant number of cases were found in relation to news articles shared on Facebook (20,9 %), and in similar proportions in either closed or open Facebook groups (23,3%). It occurred in significantly fewer cases (7,3%) that someone shared hateful content from their own profile during the period under review. These ratios in topics are similar in each of the periods monitored, with no significant change.

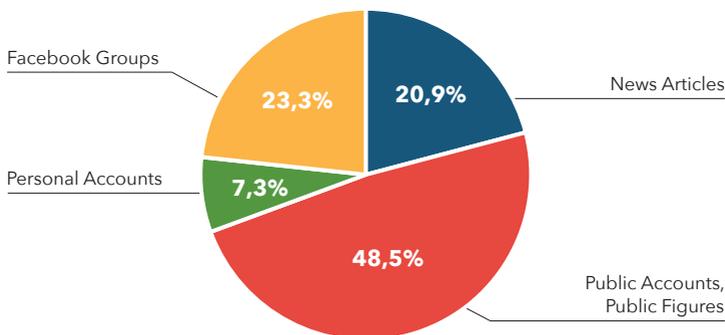


Chart 1: Types of Accounts

b.) Themes and Subthemes

It can be clearly shown from the data collected that the topic of *crime* is the primer trigger in or focus of the hate speech in the Hungarian Facebook community: in 75% of cases, the content was related to this topic, often overlapped with other frequent sub-themes. In addition, there was a high incidence of *social issues* (29.5%) such as housing, poverty, welfare; and *educational issues* (15.5%), although apparently at a much lower rate than of the area of crime. *Social movements* related hate speech was found in 9, and politics related in 8 cases. *Health and hygiene issues* also occurred, but only in 7 cases. Any other topic was identified only once during the investigated period. Again, observable change did not occur in the frequency of themes during the three investigated subperiod. Content related to the topic of crime is the most widespread in all the three periods, however it is more prevalent in the data gathered from October till December. In sum, Chart 2 demonstrates that the deep-rooted racist ideas of identifying Roma people with crime has an impact on anti-Roma online hate speech. Indicators related to crime and theft also appeared in posts and comments, for instance: “70% of bike thieves are from the minority”. News of violence, drugs, and prostitution at the local (usually small settlement)

level seemed to be identified first and foremost with Roma people. A recurring theme within the topic of crime is theft, a problem identified with the Roma. In one instance, the commenter encourages strong action by property owners against “our copper-skinned visitor in the garden”. Next to the term, it appears to be powerful, either aggressive or life-threatening (introducing electricity into the fence) action. Anti-Roma hate speech is triggered in the case of more serious crimes, many times falsely referencing that “most prisons are full of gypsies”. Based on our experiences, most often this stereotypical link was either a central idea in the content shared on Facebook, or crime-related issues immediately triggered comments in which the perpetrators are associated with Roma.

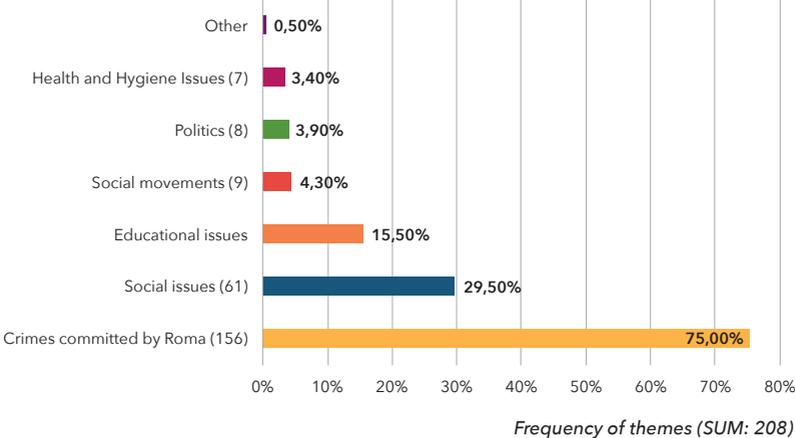


Chart 2: Frequency of Themes

Based on the students’ analysis and subjective evaluation, in 95,7% of the cases, Roma people were mentioned in these themes in a negative manner. Given the large array of activities, groups, and accounts we looked into, the number of likes and of reactions that the hate speech content reached also vary on a wide scale. In line with this, it would be incorrect to relate the number of likes and reactions to the different

types of topics we discussed above. Instead, it appears from the data that anti-Roma hate speech content with the highest number of people reached (400<) appeared on sites that fundamentally attract a huge number of users. Thus, for instance, were created by public figures, organizations' Facebook pages, or were comments under news article.

2 APPEARANCE

As already implied above, a great variety of content types serve as a sample, although all exclusively are written content, in a few (33) cases supplemented with pictorial material. In these instances, of visual materials that appealed to emotions and of neutral materials students found almost the same amount. In the latter instances, the image most probably appeared embedded in an article, or in other cases depicted a stolen object, thus the visual content did not directly attune to the creation of anti-Roma content. However, when it did appeal to emotions, images had an important role in depicting racialized bodies of Roma people, in settings serving deep-rooted racist stereotypes: visualizing dirt, poverty, crime and the propensity to childbirth.



Chart 3: Visual contents that appeal to the emotions associated with hateful content

3 CONTENT

a.) Forms of explicit and implicit online hate speech

Online racism and hate speech could be observed in multiple forms, both as part of open discourse and in coded forms. The table below presents the data summary of the forms of explicit hate speech. Racist slurs and crude epithets, dehumanizing utterances and violent insults all appear in the data. For instance: *“You rather should perish, you gipsy from Ózd”*, *„Down with the gypsies, nothing to give them for free, send them to work”* or *„Death for the stinky gipsy”*. However, our impression was that the occurrence of these forms of extremely harsh and undoubtedly open hate speech is less prominent than coded racist discourse.

FORMS OF EXPLICIT ONLINE HATE SPEECH	LEVELS OF HATE 1 NO HATE, 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)			EXAMPLES (THE MOST RELEVANT ONES)
Crude epithets	0	17	95	“What do we expect from a corpse-eating party.” “bad-looking drunk woman”
Racist slurs	0	26	109	“ghetto gipsies“
Dehumanising utterances	0	21	58	“Dirtmonsters” “parasitic worms and we should back them”
Saturated emotions (anger, indignation, hostility)	0	13	43	Why is there always a problem with these??? Canada deported them, is it a coincidence?
Mockery and sarcasm	0	17	138	Poor, disadvantaged little ‘Swedish’ child
Appeal to violence (including killing)	0	13	34	Who to kill?

Having a look at Chart 4 however, it seems that based on the students' evaluation, regardless of the place of the content, crude epithets and racist slurs are as prominent as more hidden forms of racist expressions relying on irony or slang for instance. However, here it is crucial to take into account that this data is shown through subjective filters, with impressions of issue-sensitive students involved. It is further evidenced by the fact that our overall impression throughout the project was that the use of undetectable slangs, proxy words; circumlocutions are exceptionally widespread. And although direct and open discourse also prevails, it was observable in these cases too, that content creators often aimed to “play by the rules”, perhaps to avoid being blocked or removed. Complicating matters further is the fact that even in an openly anti-Roma content, it is common to “hide” the subjects and not to name the Roma – however in our view racism is not yet hidden in many of these cases.

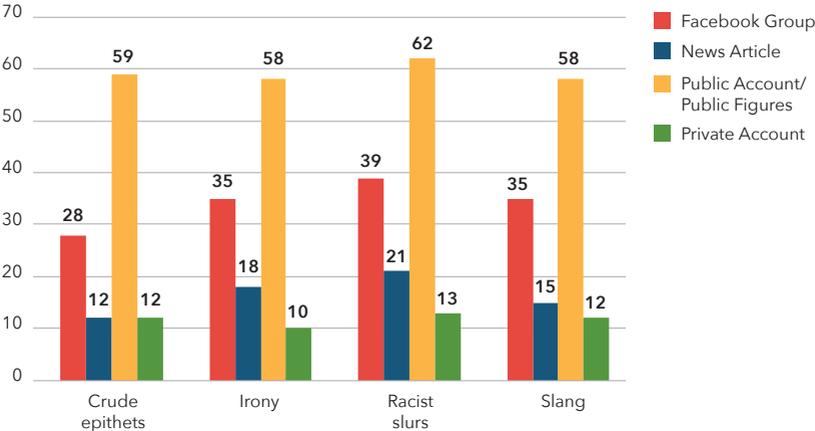


Chart 4: The most widespread forms of overt racism on different platforms

A telling example for openly anti-Roma hate speech where a certain level of codedness appears would be:

“Why is there always a problem with these ??? Canada deported them, is it a coincidence?”

Here highly saturated emotions against Roma people are detectable; and even without the context it is apparent that the subject is the unnamed Roma. The comment is loaded with dehumanization by referring to them as “these”, and the racist idea that Roma people as a group is problematic, and better to be deported – however the creator did not express direct encouragement for deportation. In another instance, Dóra Dúró, the spokesperson of the radical-right political party, commonly formed racist narratives embedding them into her party’s political campaign, but through mainly emphasizing the harms of other parties’ Roma politics. In her official Facebook posts, it is not the Roma who are openly attacked, but rather those politics which emerged in the support of Roma people. Although she speaks of “childbearing for support” and “an ethnic group that needs to follow our norms”, her racist content is typically not blocked because, according to Facebook policies, these posts still fall into the category of free expression and not hate speech – her language is interwoven with racism in a way that does not constitute outright hatred, incitement, or violation of protected qualities. Probably due to the significant number of these instances in the evaluative categories open and coded discourses rather overlap than are clearly distinct.

A critical point of our observations is thus the use of slang, circumlocutions, ambiguous terms, and ways of expression, which allows commenters to convey their hatred against Roma through a set of various linguistic codes. The table below shows the aggregated data of coded online hate speech during the three periods. It is observable that slang, ambiguity, circumlocutions, and not the least white supremacy stands out from the types listed. The vast majority of cases involving white superiority (140) were found under the main topic of “Crime”.

FORMS OF CODED ONLINE HATE SPEECH	LEVELS OF HATE (1 NO HATE, 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)			EXAMPLES
Using slang	—	18	102	“Swedish exchange student” (2)
Circumlocutions	—	9	40	“Honest elderberry pickers are unduly harassed by the police. Sounds lifelike...”,
Irony	—	17	109	“Fair, honest, hard-working Hungarian citizens ... will certainly tell the truth!” (2)
Ambiguity	—	23	51	This is by no means a Hungarian village, I think it is rather inhabited by some Indians. (2)
Pseudo-scientific references (genetics)	—	11	21	70% of bike thieves are of ethnic minority
White supremacies	—	14	140	“today gypsies have no culture”
Whataboutery (“our own type”)	—	13	23	Dik, well, the bros were just having some fun
Narratives of elsewhere	—	0	15	What do we expect from a corpse-eating party?
Bogus statistics	—	0	15	“800 thousand (gypsies in all)? Only in Pest and the agglomeration.
Metonyms	—	7	13	“little Lakatos Dzsézönsztetem”

On chart 5 are the terms and coded ways used to name Roma people that occurred several times in the collected data. As is shown, commenters commonly use degrading markers which are not direct, or are the opposite of what is associated with Roma people according to racist stereotypes. In fact, certain forms of slangs are known and widespread: „Swedish” is predominantly popular, of which „Norwegian”, or „Finnish” are variants. This designation is filled with mockery: in accordance with the racist logic, Roma people are in fact the opposite of the common depiction of the Scandinavian people as white and living in prosperity. In contrast in terms like “Mexican” or “Brazilian” in a racist logic Roma are identified with groups who are associated with a darker skin tone, crime, drug use and underworld connections. In this sense, commenters point to negative behaviors that are identified with the Hungarian Roma. The terms appeared in strongly exclusionary, stigmatizing comments. What happens here is that Roma people are identified with members of other degraded nations. Another example for that the phrase “*Romanian Oláh gypsy*”. In the comments, these word combinations struck a very strong exclusionary tone.

We argue that the use of such coded words serve several purposes: Firstly, it allows commentators to freely practice hate speech because these comments are not detected by Facebook rules and algorithm as anti-Roma hate speech. Secondly, the usage of slang and proxywords gives space to people to formulate striking, funny, ironic and “creative” comments: in this way, they can stand out, garner the recognition of others, thus they can relate to an online subspace in which Anti-Roma hate speech is a symbolic glue of collectivity. Thirdly, as a result, these slangs allow for various forms of dehumanization and white supremacy: naming Roma by pejorative, degrading and sarcastic names further deprives them from human dignity.

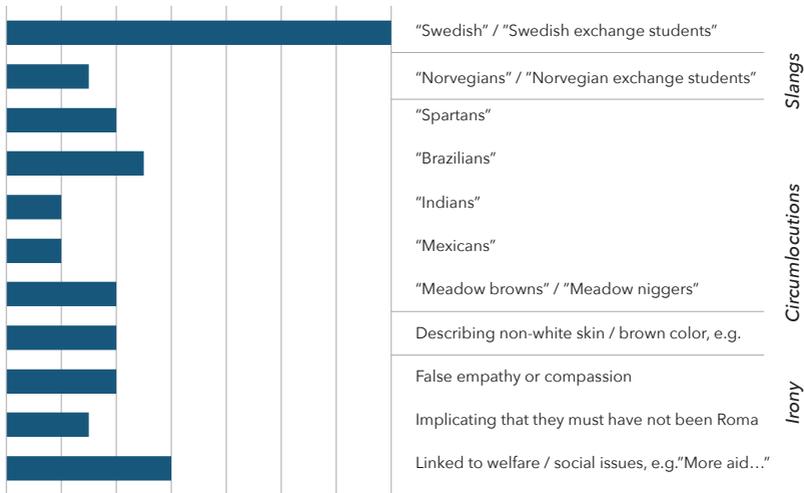


Chart 5: Recurred forms of coded racism

In most cases, the reports we made on racist contents did not become deleted by Facebook after all. Commonly we received automatic message/feedback that the reported content has been investigated, and the content does not exhaust the definition of hate speech used by Facebook. Only the most violent forms of hate speech and racism became deleted.

b.) Levels of aggressivity/ toxicity of hate speech

Interestingly, it is hard to draw conclusion in terms of the patterns in the toxicity of hate speech throughout the three investigated period. The data is diverse and has been evaluated by subjective measures, thus the level of toxicity is similarly varying, and is also influenced by external elements for instance the given political climate. What can be said is that the second period has the highest value for almost all categories, and it is in terms of every category higher than the third

period. It is possible that students found several contents here that convey a coarser message, for instance:

“It is very difficult to integrate those into our culture, if that what they do can be called a culture”

The quote shows that the commenter speaks of integration in a fundamentally polarized and hierarchized manner -Roma people should be integrated in our culture, however it is difficult. It strengthens the stereotype that Roma people are “hard to be integrated” and interiorization.

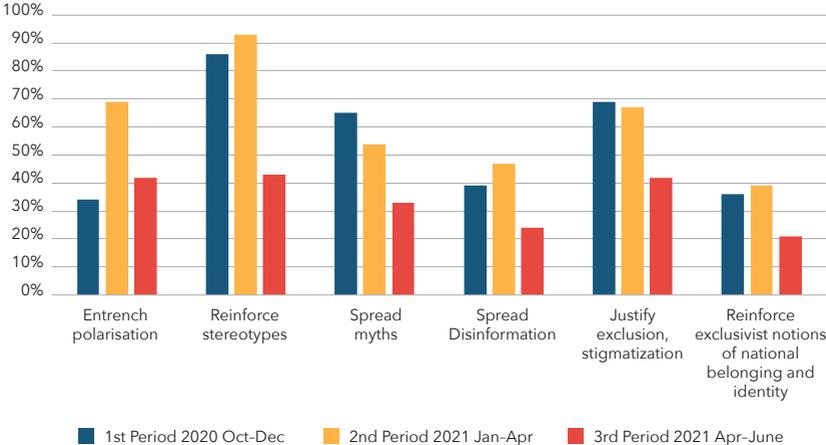


Chart 6: Levels of aggressivity/toxicity of hate speech

VI.

CONCLUSIONS

In connection with the Anti-Roma hate speech, our observations show that due to its ubiquitous nature and actuality it is important to come up with up-to-date and complex solutions. We are witnessing an age in which online communication, which is global and accessible to all, has suddenly grown, making it difficult to keep pace with regulations to protect the dignity of human rights, both on international and national levels. Those who are cumulatively exposed to prejudice and exclusion, both at the institutional level and in everyday life, may become the primary object of hatred in cyberspace as well. Thus, online hate speech is a crucial issue, for various reasons: it influences public opinion, fuels tension, and paves the way for discrimination and hate crimes. Online media plays a special role in spreading and inciting hate speech. It reinforces stereotypes, uses offensive language, denies or downplays anti-Roma sentiment. Through social media, hate speech reaches millions of people and allows perpetrators to incite hatred and violence anonymously.

MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS IN ONLINE RACISM IN HUNGARY

Through the thorough investigation of online hate speech on Facebook, we could detect many of these harming factors, namely

- Based on our experience, anti-Roma hate speech can be triggered at any criminal content in the online space. The racist idea of identifying Roma people with crime seems to be deeply ingrained in our society. The criminalization of Roma is a burning issue as it evokes a wide range of acts of exclusion and hatred in verbal, physical, and online forms, from the mildest to the most severe. This is the topic in which the most serious forms of online hate speech emerged.
- Influential public and political actors have a dominant role in the spread of online hate speech. Extremist politicians contribute to the normalization and political justification of anti-Roma hate speech through regularly disseminating their racist thoughts in a political manner. In addition, their contents are not removed in several cases as they are probably familiar with the online platform's hate speech-related policies.
- Our most striking observation is that content creators often use codes for their hateful content. However, the only function of these codes is to avoid hate speech-related policies. The object of hatred is still recognizable for the reader, in fact, the wording is "striking" and mocking, attracting other users. Thus, by circumventing the official counteracts of admins online hate speech prevails further disseminated, and in fact, a new vocabulary emerged among the disseminators to which media giants has not yet reacted.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STEPS TOWARD CHANGE

Start the discussion among the various stakeholders involved

Social media companies, governmental figures, actors of technology, law, civil rights and representatives of vulnerable minority groups should start a discussion on how to develop more complex measures and policies in terms of online hate speech, taking into account the prevalent phenomena of coded racism and its impacts.

Reevaluate existing policies and create more complex, up-to-date measures

The field of online hate speech is not only vague because of the pervasive nature of the virtual field, but also because different actors of power (national governmental; international; EU-level; etc.) have different often conflicting policies and laws on hate speech. These stakeholders should stake step toward reevaluating and if possible harmonizing rules applied on online hate speech. Action plans are needed against anti-Roma hate speech with specified programs, financial resources, and the involvement of independent civil organizations.

Advocacy against online hate speech

An essential step toward change would be to disseminate the idea that online hate speech is prevalent and have a harmful impact, and to combat it, people's awareness, involvement, and everyday acts are crucial. Awareness raising campaigns, kicking of online discussions and guidelines on how to cope with online hatred would be important to show the relevance of acts against hate speech on local levels in accordance with local specificities and start eliminating online hate speech against Roma.

Political condemnation of hate speech

Leaders of all political parties should stand firm against all manifestations of anti-Roma hate speech and respond with much stronger anti-hate speech messages in case of incitement to hatred by other political actors.

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ANNEX

MONITORING TOOL FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH

MODEL (with examples and term glossary)

CREATED BY: Nevo Parudimos, Ileana Rotaru (30.09.2020)

I. General information

ONLINE PLATFORM	TYPE				OBSERVATIONS
	PERSONAL ACCOUNTS*	NEWS ARTICLES (OFFICIAL E-PAGE)	PUBLIC ACCOUNTS/ PUBLIC FIGURES	GROUPS	
Facebook					
Twitter					
Instagram					
Youtube					
Google					
Other (please, specify)					

* including fake accounts (trolls), please name it at the observations box.

NAME OF THE SITE/ ACCOUNT/ PUBLICATION/ CHANNEL: (e.g. Right Wing Alternative):

DATE OF PUBLICATION:

AUTHOR OF THE POST:

Individual/ personal	
Administrator/ Moderator of the account	
Author of the news article/ channel (name/ surname, publication)	

II. GENERAL TOPIC

MAIN TOPIC	RELATED TOPIC (SUBTHEMES)	EXAMPLES ("...")
Crimes committed by Roma		
Social aspects (housing, welfare, poverty, immigration etc.)		
Education aspects (drop-out, schooling conditions, scholarships etc.)		
Health/ sanitary aspects (pandemia, access to hospitals, abortion etc.)		
Social movements (protests, civil rights, representation) and NGOs		
Politics (representations, political parties, elections)		
Roma leaders (including women)		
Roma cultural events		
Other facts/ events about Roma		

General frame of the topic (identified in section II 1)*

TOPIC/ SUBTHEME	POSITIVE +	NEGATIVE -	NEUTRAL 0

* Please, multiply the rows as many times as needed for each of the topic/ sub-theme.

Popularity and influence (number)

LIKES	FAVOURITES	SHARES	COMMENTS	OBSERVATIONS

HEADLINE ANALYSIS	POSITIVE +	NEGATIVE -	NEUTRAL 0
Objective information (reports, news etc.)			
Invitation (cultural events, webinars etc.)			
News			
Points of view (editorial type)			
Others			

III. CONTENT

1. Please, make a short resume of the post/ article/ channel (2-3 phrases) or copy the entire post if it is shorter than 2- 3 phrases:

Indicate the link:

2.

PLACE OF THE POST/ARTICLE / CHANNEL	YES/ NO (DESCRIPTION, IF NEEDED)
Title page/ front page	
Internal page (e.g. story page, temporary post)	
Special page/post (e.g. reaction towards/ against a trigger event)	
Column for messages (within other topics not related specifically to Roma)	
Other situations	

3.

DOES THE POST/ ARTICLE/ INCLUDES VISUALS?	
YES	NO

4.

IF YES, ARE THE VISUALS RELEVANT TO THE CONTENT OF THE POST?	
YES	NO

5.

PLEASE, INDICATE THE NON-TEXTUAL FORMS USED (AND THEIR NUMBER, IF MORE THAN ONE)*	
Photos	
Memes/ Gifs	
Caricatures	
Multimedia materials	
Hashtags	
Tagging	
Others	

** Peep the same classification if there is only a non-textual form used for part IV.*

6.

DOES THE POST/ ARTICLE/ VIDEO MATCH WITH THE TITLE AND/OR VISUALS?	
YES	NO

7.

DO THE NON-TEXTUAL FORMS (IMAGE/PHOTOS) CONTAIN EMOTIONAL APPEAL?	
YES	NO

If yes, please describe in what extent (2 sentences).

On a scale from 1 to 3 (where *1 represents the lowest level and 3 the highest level*), please mark how much the non-textual form affects you emotionally.

1(very little), 2 (in some extent) , 3(very much, extremely)

IV. ONLINE HATE SPEECH - INTENSITY AND LEVELS OF HATE

FORMS OF EXPLICIT ONLINE HATE SPEECH	LEVELS OF HATE (1 NO HATE, 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)		
Crude epithets	“flower coloured dress”	“big black hat”	“dirty gypsy”
Racist slurs	Roma families	“poor Roma”	“Gypsy thieves”, “Gypsy baggers”
Dehumanising utterances		Roma as they/ others	Roma are not human, “other species”
Ad-hominem attacks		They are too many, having too many children, women are procreating	They should be “eliminated”/ gazed
Saturated emotions (anger, indignation, hostility)	Beautiful, free type of living	They should not be our neighbours	They must leave, beaten etc.
Mockery and sarcasm		There are no good gypsies	The resemblance with birds (crows), stealing, iron (see S. Halep winning Roland Garos)
Appeal to violence (including killing)		Just leave, not bothering the rest of the community	Let’s get them out of here, eliminate...
Other			

FORMS OF CODED ONLINE HATE SPEECH	LEVELS OF HATE (1 NO HATE, 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)		
Using slung			
Circumlocutions			
Irony			
Ambiguity			
Pseudo-scientific references (genetics)			
White supremacies			
Whataboutery (“our own type”)			
Narratives of elsewhere			
Bogus statistics			
Metonyms			
Other			

USING SLUNG = using Roma language/ words to amplify the community membership

CIRCUMLOCUTIONS = talking around (“lots of misery in our area”, “so dark in this block of flats”)

IRONY = see also sarcasm and mockery (“they cannot go to heaven are too heavy to fly” ...for how many jewellery they stolen)

AMBIGUITY = using some punctuation marks in order to make rhetoric remarks (“should they be sent to concentration camps, or not?!”)

PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC REFERENCES (GENETICS)/ BOGUS STATISTICS = using statistical data that are not official, some obscure scientific sites or researches; 80% of Roma do not want to work

WHATABOUTERY = “what about our own”, the referring to us and them, the dialectical common gasp between us and they

METONYMS = “religion of cheating”, expressions that are used to replace the direct referring to Roma (not specifying the word as it is)

Does the content convey the next messages? In what extent?

FROZEN VS. MOTILE ONLINE HATE SPEECH (LENTIN 2016)	LEVELS OF HATE TOXICITY (1 NO HATE , 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)		
Entrench polarisation			
Reinforce stereotypes			
Spread myths			
Spread disinformation (fake news)			
Justify exclusion, stigmatisation and inferiorisation			
Reinforce exclusivist notions of national be- longing and identity			
Other			

** If not the case, please mention in any blanks!!!*

ENTRENCH POLARISATION = us vs. they

REINFORCE STEREOTYPES = especially the negative ones (lazy, dirty, not educated etc.)

SPREAD MYTHS = supernatural powers, sorcery etc.

FAKE NEWS = they spread the COVID 19 by their travelling

Please give some details about comments of the analysed post/article/ image (if there are any).

COMMENTS ANALYSIS	FREQUENCY	EXAMPLES (IF THE CASE)
Number of comments		
Type of language (aggressive vs. peaceful)		
Fake accounts (trolls, hidden identities)		
Intensity of the comments (no hate – 0, mockery – 1, aggressive – 2, threats to killing – 3)		
Persistence (insists in commenting with one or more persons, goes to opponent page and makes comments there or make reviews on the page)		
Sharing		
Types of popularity and influence (likes/ favourite/ shares)		

V. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

(5 – 6 sentences including examples from the text/ post/ image)

When fill in the blank with your own observation, please try to refer to the next sub points:

- Negative findings of real problems
- Objectively presented problem/ conflict;
- Reflection of a positive fact;
- Explanation of the problems/ conflict (are the reasons explained; is it indicated who is responsible for the problems/ conflict; is there a tendency for the blame to be transferred entirely to the Roma);
- Whose views are expressed? Are there presented other points of view?
- What are the sources of information;
- What recommendations are made, to whom, how is the decision made; Is the entire Roma ethnic group blamed?
- What was the “trigger event”? The way the media presented the event had an impact on the type of comments/ shares?



Make a list with expressions/ sentences you find within the text/ video/ image. Give a rank of the level of hate you appreciate on the intensity.

EXPRESSION	LEVELS OF HATE (1 NO HATE , 2 WEAK, 3 EXTREMELY STRONG)			NUMBERS OF UNITS

Pls. attach a print screen of the post!!!!

Country:	
Name of the organization:	
Data collected by (name):	
email address:	
Date of the analyse made:	
Date of the report submitted:	