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I. LITERATURE REVIEW

Executive summary

This review was made as a result of the needs analysis of the NEMO-Using the New media in Education to overcome Migrant discrimination Online project (furthermore: NEMO). The collected information will be used for creating a toolkit which can offer solutions for schools to support young teenagers (age 11-14) to be prepared to enter the online world with proper tools in order to a conscious and balanced use of online communication and information. The research was carried out using official, academic data and NGO reports. The focus of the report is the analysis of dominant representation of third country nationals and other relevant ethnic minorities in public discourse and of discrimination in Hungary.

Hungary has traditionally experienced low levels of immigration, mostly is considered as a transit country. According to Kovats and Suppán Hungary when being one of the first states to politically leave the Eastern Block, and to open its borders to the West, positioned itself as a transit country for migrants fleeing from states still part of the communist system, and for migrants coming from Asian and African countries. Until the refugee crisis of 2015 average Hungarian citizen was only liable to meet a few tens of Chinese immigrants and ethnic Hungarians as they were and still are the most sizable migrant populations. Thus the literature shows that the Hungarian society carries in itself a wide range of fears towards the different ethnic, cultural, religious groups. This fear may serve as good ‘breeding ground’ for stereotypes, prejudices, hate speech, growing level of xenophobia.

As the most recent Eurobarometer poll indicates while the number of foreign citizens living in Hungary has fallen in recent years, public opinion has remained negative towards immigrants. 65% of Hungarians consider immigration to be the most important issue facing the EU, ranking it higher than terrorism and the economy. In the same Eurobarometer survey 81% of Hungarians responded that they felt negatively towards immigration from outside the EU, and 94% answered that they would like additional measures for irregular migration.

The surveys conducted by Eurobarometer clearly shows too that it is not only Hungarians who reject migrants, but also the majority of citizens in all other eastern European countries. According to Boros there are at least four different reasons for this phenomenon. First, none of the eastern European countries were involved in the European colonisation between the 15th and the 20th century, and their nations did not therefore build their economies on labour and raw materials from Africa or Asia. Second, as these countries were parts of the Communist bloc after the Second World War, they followed a different strategy from the western European countries to deal with the demographic challenges of the 1950s. In the communist bloc (except the Soviet Union), no migrants from other continents were let in too solve the problem of labour shortage, but alternative policies were implemented, such as a ban on abortion, for example. Consequently, living and/or working together with people from different religions, with a different skin colour and a different culture, has been an unknown experience for most central and eastern Europeans. Third, as poverty is still a real challenge in this region, stability and security are more important values for most citizens than change and freedom. And fourth, most people in post-Communist countries believe that it is the task of the ‘rich western Europeans’ to help refugees, not theirs.

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2 Ibid.
Hungary in 2013 accepted the National Strategy on Migration 2014-2020 but the content appears to be overwritten by the Governments rhetoric since the 2015 refugee crisis. There were also many measures, steps taken to reduce the discrimination against national and ethnic minorities (especially Roma) and improve their situation, but there is still much to do in this area.

1 INTRODUCTION - THE CONTEXT

Since 2010, a rightwing coalition of Fidesz and the KDNP has been in power, and it has had a two-thirds majority in parliament. The Hungarian government, increasing government control over more and more segments of society has been complemented by strong government narratives. The most significant feature is the strong anti-EU rhetoric.\(^6\)

According to the analysis of Mérték\(^7\) the government has substantially restructured the media as well. The government exercises control over the media through a wide range of means:

- Regulation: a set of media laws was passed between 2010 and 2012. These have been heavily criticized both internally and externally for their potential to curb press freedom.
- The public service media have been turned into a government mouthpiece.
- Buy-outs and takeovers have changed the Hungarian media-ownership landscape, resulting in a situation whereby the mainstream media are (except for a few outlets) in the hands of government allies.
- The strategic placing of state advertising means that the pro-government media are flourishing, while media that are critical of the government struggle to survive.
- The Hungarian government has run national billboard, TV and radio campaigns on various topics using public resources. By these means, the Hungarian government has unique influence on public discourse: on agenda setting, content of the discourse, information flow and language.

The legislative and policy changes implemented during and since 2015 were all in line with the Hungarian government’s aims and intentions: to protect the country from the illegal migrants. Which according to human rights organisation is led to dismantle the country’s asylum system and deter people in need of international protection from seeking refuge in Hungary. According to Hungarian Helsinki Committee’s report the concerned four main areas are the following:

- Curtailing access to the territory of Hungary and to the asylum procedure;
- Replacing permanent reception facilities with temporary shelters;
- The deterioration of procedural safeguards and
- The state’s complete withdrawal from integration services provided to beneficiaries of international protection.\(^8\)

Feischmidt and Zakariás\(^9\) states that in 2015 The Hungarian Government has been standing at the forefront of European securitization policy since the beginning of the year. Disputes that criminalize refugees, which set migration as a phenomenon threatening Hungarian and European security, could not be offset-ever since- by Hungarian media and opposition discourses.\(^10\)

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1.1. Definition of migrants, ethnic minorities, refugees and asylum seekers

In this document the term **migrant** will be used to define third country nationals. The definitions of refugees and the field of international protection in official policies and legislation is in line with the definitions used by the Genevan Convention and the European Union.

The Hungarian Central Statistical Office is using the term **foreign national** (‘külföldi állampolgár’) to identify a foreign citizen having a residence or a settlement document who has been residing in Hungary on 1 January of the given year.

**National and ethnic minorities:** In this paper we will use this term as it is stated in the Act LXXVII on the rights of National and Ethnic Minorities:

Article 1. (1) This Act applies to all persons of Hungarian citizenship living in the Republic of Hungary who consider themselves members of any national or ethnic minority and to the communities of these people.

(2) For the purposes of the present Act a national or ethnic minority (hereinafter 'minority') is any ethnic group with a history of at least one century of living in the Republic of Hungary, which represents a numerical minority among the citizens of the state, the members of which are Hungarian citizens, and are distinguished from the rest of the citizens by their own language, culture and traditions, and at the same time demonstrate a sense of belonging together, which is aimed at the preservation of all these, and the expression and protection of the interests of their communities, which have been formed in the course of history.

Article 2. This Act does not apply to refugees, immigrants, foreign citizens settled in Hungary, or to persons of no fixed abode.

The Act specifies the following nationalities: Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene and Ukrainian.

**Ethnic Hungarians:** Hungarians who live in areas that were part of the Kingdom of Hungary before the Treaty of Trianon11 and are now parts of Hungary’s seven neighbouring countries, especially Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Austria. (Significant groups of people with Hungarian ancestry live in various other parts of the world, most of them in the United States, Canada, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Brazil, Australia, and Argentina.)

1.2. Statistical overview about the presence of migrants and ethnic minorities

**Migrants:**

According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office the total population of Hungary on 1 January 2018 was 9,778,371 person12 The number of foreign nationals staying in Hungary is decreasing since 2011. In 2011 the number was 209,202 person. On 1 January 2018 the number was: 161,549 person13, divided by continents of origin the numbers are the following: Europe 104,254 person; Asia 44,692, America 5,891, Africa 6,334, Australia and Oceania 638.14

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11 The Treaty of Trianon was the peace agreement of 1920 that formally ended World War I between most of the Allies of World War I and the Kingdom of Hungary, the latter being one of the successor states to Austria-Hungary. The treaty regulated the status of an independent Hungarian state and defined its borders.


14 Central Statistical Office, [http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i/wnvvn00ib.html](http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i/wnvvn00ib.html).
The number of asylum seekers arriving in Hungary decreased slightly after 2009, and the authorities were aware of about 2,000 people a year.\(^{15}\) In 2013 a sharp increase occurred, 18,900 asked for asylum, more than five times the total annual data for 2012. In 2015 the number of asylum seekers was 177,135.\(^{16}\) The Hungarian Government, in addition to the construction of border fences, has also enacted a series of legal amendments intended to reduce irregular migration through Hungary. Since their initial enactment in 2015, these measures have reduced asylum applications to Hungary, and decreased the number of irregular border crossings following their peak of 441,515 in 2015.\(^{16}\)

In 2016 it was followed by a sharp decrease and it is continuing (2016: 29,432, 2017: 3,397, 2018: 671).\(^{17}\) The number of the recognitions even in 2015 were only 508 (recognized refugee: 14, subsidiary protection: 356, tolerated stay ('befogadott'): 6) in 2018 367 (recognized refugee: 68, subsidiary protection: 281, tolerated stay ('befogadott'): 18).\(^{18}\) During the period 2000-2018 altogether the number of the asylum seekers were 320,969 and the number of the recognitions were 9,794 (recognized refugee: 2,638, subsidiary protection: 3,222, tolerated stay ('befogadott'): 3,934).\(^{19}\)

There has also been a shift over time in the demographic makeup of those applying for asylum in Hungary. In 2014, the most numerous asylum applications came from Kosovars (21,453), Afghans (8,796), and Syrians (6,857). However, in 2015 asylum applications from Syrian citizens and Afghan citizens surged (64,587 and 46,227 respectively), while the number of asylum applications from Kosovar citizens, remained fairly constant at 24,454. Notably, while not to the extent of inflated applications by Syrian and Afghan citizens, the number of asylum application from Pakistani citizens increased from 401 in 2014 to 15,157 in 2015, and Iraqi citizens’ applications grew from 497 in 2014 to 9,279 in 2015. In all cases, the decline in applications between 2015 and 2016 was drastic, and likely a result of the aforementioned border fences and legal amendments, as well as various international factors including the EU-Turkey Statement. Total applications fell from 177,135 in 2015 to 29,432 in 2016 with Syrian applications falling 92% to 4,979, Afghan applications falling 76% to 11,052, and Kosovar applications dwindling 99% to just 135. These numbers dropped even further in 2017: only 1,432 Afghans and 577 Syrians applied for asylum. In the first quarter of 2018 asylum applications remained low with only a total of 280 applicants: 115 Afghans, 100 Iraqis, 25 Syrians, 20 Iranians, 10 Pakistanis and 10 others.\(^{20}\)

Table 1. Asylum seekers in 2018 by nationality (Source: Immigration and Asylum Office, Statistical Yearbook 2018)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>2018. I-XII. month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afghan</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraqi</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even when looking at the flows of asylum seekers since 1989, when Hungary signed the Geneva convention, and especially from 1997 (when geographical limitations were lifted in accordance with


\(^{21}\)Migration Issues Hungary, [International Organisation for Migrants](http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary)

\(^{22}\)Central Statistical Office, [http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/1_wvnn003.html](http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/1_wvnn003.html)

\(^{23}\)Migration Issues Hungary, [International Organisation for Migrants](http://www.iom.hu/migration-issues-hungary)

the convention) until early 2015, the cyclical inflows were based on inflows of Hungarians (in the early years), Bosnians (1994-95) and Kosovars, while Afghans, Pakistanis, and Iraqis played a smaller role. What is more, until early 2016 only an extremely small percentage of asylum applicants obtained some kind of protection status, or remained in Hungary and completed the whole process of applying for asylum.  

Table 2. The number of third country national applicants for residence permit in 2018 according to major residence purposes regulated by the Act II of 2007 on the Admission and Right of Residence of Third-Country Nationals (Source: Immigration and Asylum Office, Statistical Yearbook 2018)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The purpose of stay</th>
<th>2018. I–XII. month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>60 931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainful activity</td>
<td>1 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>29 039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reunification</td>
<td>8 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other purpose</td>
<td>6 820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official purposes</td>
<td>2 799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further purposes</td>
<td>2 061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111 279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of foreigners living in Hungary are in Central Hungary, nearly 40% of them lives in the capital. 2/3 of those migrants who are not settled in Budapest are living in rural towns. According to country of origin the South East Asian immigrants are formulating the biggest group in Budapest. The number of immigrants from East Asia, North Africa and other African countries are also high, at least, almost the 50% of them are residing in Budapest, about a quarter of them lives in Eastern Hungary.  

ETHNIC HUNGARIANS

The defeat of Austria-Hungary in the First World War and the collapse of the Monarchy led to the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. As a result, Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory, and almost as much of its population. Trianon has been a source of national sorrow for Hungarians for more than half a century. Since 2010, the FIDESZ government has made great efforts to accomplish the goal of ‘reuniting Hungarians living in different countries’. Many researcher agrees that the number of ethnic Hungarians living mostly in the neighbouring countries is around 2 million.

In 2010 an amendment of the Hungarian Nationality Act was adopted. Which from 2011 allows non-residents of Hungarian ancestry to apply for Hungarian nationality. All applicants need is a basic command of the language and Hungarian ancestry. Applicants for Hungarian passports must prove that

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they have ancestors who were Hungarian or lived on the territory of ex-Hungary and can prove it by death or birth certificates. The is law enabling Hungarians who are citizens of other countries to claim dual citizenship, which entitles them to take part in the Hungarian general elections, as well as the European Union elections. The strategic goal primarily is for Hungarians living in neighbouring countries as indigenous people, to preserve their native language and culture, thus enriching the whole Hungarian community.

The 2011 census registered 143,000 foreign-born non-nationals in Hungary (1.4% of the population, compared to around 4.1 per cent in the EU). Around 70 per cent of these are ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring (EU and non-EU) states. Two-thirds have acquired Hungarian citizenship. According to Eurostat, the naturalisation rate in Hungary was 13 per cent in 2012, compared to only 3 per cent in the EU-27. In 2015, in the EU-28 and EFTA as a whole, 2.4 per cent of non-national citizens were granted citizenship on average but in Hungary in 2011-15 these were 7.8 per cent. However, most persons acquiring Hungarian citizenship through naturalisation do this through the preferential naturalisation procedure for co-ethnics. Within less than six years the number of preferentially naturalised persons reached 845,000 while another 155,000 applications were being processed in July 2017. Before this peak the total number of naturalised and re-naturalised persons in 1994-2010 was 134,887, and the non-preferential naturalisation amounted to less than 500 persons per year.  

In a more general sense, according to the available data, 9 per cent of applicants for naturalisation in 2011-2015 were registered as residents in Hungary while 647,000 newly naturalised persons living across the borders acquired dual citizenship. This means that a significant part of newly naturalised persons are not immigrants in Hungary and they possess another nationality: 95 percent of them have Romanian, Serbian, Slovakian or Ukrainian nationality. Moreover, the newly naturalised persons under the facilitated procedure only rarely move to Hungary: merely 54,000 have established residence (for a shorter or longer time) in Hungary after citizenship acquisition. In 2015 only 61,000 out of the 708,000 newly naturalised persons were living as registered as residents in Hungary.  

ROMA AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

The Act LXXVII on the rights of National and Ethnic Minorities was adopted in 1993, in terms of the powers of ‘say’ and ‘control’ that it gives to national and ethnic minorities over their educational, linguistic and cultural affairs. The aim of the act is to further enhance the protection of minorities in Hungary, by providing them with the legal framework within which to achieve the goal of cultural autonomy.

According to the census in 2011 the number of the Roma people in Hungary is 315 583. The Fundamental Law of Hungary recognises the national and ethnic minorities as constituent communities of the state. It ensures rights to foster their cultures, education in their native languages, the use of their native languages, the use of names in their native languages and their collective participation in public affairs. Pursuant to Act CLXXIX of 2011 on the Rights of National Minorities, the Bulgarian, Greek, Croatian, Polish, German, Armenian, Roma (‘Cigány’), Romanian, Ruthene, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, and Ukrainian languages are considered as languages used by national minorities. The 2011 census showed that 555,507 people of the Hungarian population belong to national minority. from which out of a total population Roma 3.2 per cent, Germans 1.9 per cent, Slovaks 0.4 per cent, Romanians 0.4 per cent, Croats 0.3 per cent as well as Serbs, Ukrainians, Poles, Bulgarians, Ruthenians, Armenians and Slovenes. The population of all Hungary’s nationalities, except Slovenes,  

27 Ibid.
28 http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/tablik nemzetisek
have risen considerably since the last census in 2001. Various estimates put the number of Roma who are dispersed throughout the country at significantly larger than the official figure: between 250,000 and 800,000 (amounting to 5 to 10 per cent of the entire population). Most of them reside in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County and in the neighbouring Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County in north-eastern Hungary. Germans are widely dispersed throughout the western part of the country and their declared numbers have more than doubled since the 2001 census. Romanians are concentrated mainly in the eastern part of the country. Slovaks live in the north of the country and near the Romanian border, whilst Croats and Serbs are mostly settled in the south.

RELIGION

The Fundamental Law is stressing out the importance of the protection of the Christian culture. Main religions: Roman Catholicism, Protestantism (Lutheran and Calvinist), Eastern Orthodox Christianity and Judaism. Hungary’s Jewish population, living mainly in Budapest, numbers according to some estimates between 35,000 and 120,000. According to the 2011 census, only 5,579 people consider themselves Muslim in the country.

1.3. Overview about Media Landscape

According to the medialandscapes.org website\textsuperscript{31} as a result of many foreign investors leaving Hungary and domestic oligarchs purchasing their outlets in recent years, media in Hungary have undergone a large-scale transformation, and the current supply and ownership structure are highly different from those before the 2008 financial and economic crisis and the 2010 neo-authoritarian turn.

The top 100 media holdings include 55 print and online, 16 television, 11 outdoor, 9 online only, 5 radio, and 4 cinema companies. In 2015, more than 200 new outlets were launched, including 126 newspapers, 98 online sites, 14 television channels and 4 radio stations..... According to Kantar Media agency, government advertisements constituted approximately 20 percent of the total advertising income in 2016. The state also is a major player in that it runs a giant public service organisation, including seven radio stations, seven television channels, and the national news agency. In 2015, the central state budget allocated 80.5bn forints (€260m) to the public service media organisation (as the subscription fee had been cancelled in 2002). Yet this amount proved insufficient, and in September of the same year, the government granted an additional 47.2bn forints (€152m) to the organisation so that it could pay its debts. In that year, the annual budget of the institution amounted to 0.3 percent of the gross domestic product.\textsuperscript{32}

Most daily and weekly print publications have online versions, usually accessible free of charge and funded through advertising.

According to the latest data available on Internet World Stats, Hungary’s Internet penetration was 79.7 per cent in June 2016 (in 2010, this rate was 61.8 percent), while the European Union’s average Internet penetration was 80.1 percent. A survey conducted in the summer of 2016 shows a different picture: according to Gemius and Digitális Közönségmérési Tanács (Digital Audience Measurement Council - DKT), there were 5.4 million active Internet users in Hungary at that time, and 76.6 percent surfed the web on a daily basis. Regarding the devices, 4.9 million people accessed the Internet via their personal computers, while 3.5 million used their mobile phones.

Hungarian Internet users spend an average of 209 minutes online daily, as opposed to 201 minutes in 2011. According to GfK Digital Connected Costumer, the top three activities online include the use of

\textsuperscript{30} The data in this section is mostly from 2016.
\textsuperscript{31} The website is analysing the situation of the media of over thirty countries.
social media, email services and news sites. According to data provided by DKT, in November 2016 the most visited sites after search engines and social media pages included: Origo.hu (a news site with 552,393 real users), Index.hu (a news site with 504,564 real users), Blog.hu (a blog-hosting site with 446,915 real users), 24.hu (a news site with 394,761 real uses) and Freemail.hu (an email service with 359,220 real users).

According to a survey by the specialised agency Kutatópont, 67 percent of Internet users have a social media profile. Of them, 74 percent read the news and—although most of them are passive news consumers, meaning they usually do not share content or comment—60 percent share a content at least once a month. In Hungary, Facebook is the most widely used social network, with 5.3 million users in March, 2016, according to a survey by MediaQ. It is followed by: YouTube (3.2 million users), Google+ (1.7 million users), Instagram (942,000 users), Pinterest (837,000 users), LinkedIn (711,000 users) and Twitter (631,000 users).

Bajomi is stating that by the middle of the 2010s, the Fidesz/Christian Democrats party alliance had transformed most outlets into tools of progovernment propaganda, including a large-scale anti-immigration campaign in 2016. Ideological hegemony had been established, while critical and oppositional voices had largely been marginalised. Overtly pro-government outlets currently include: fourteen “public service” broadcasters, a nationwide commercial television channel (TV2), a cable news channel (Hír TV), several local and networked radio stations (Karc FM, Radio 1), quality dailies (Magyar Nemzet, Magyar Hírlap), a tabloid outlet (Riposzt), most of the regional dailies, several weekly magazines (Demokrata, Figyelő, Lokál) and a number of online news sites (Origo.hu, 888.hu, Ripost.hu).

Most local commercial radio stations re-broadcast the news of the Hungarian Wireless Agency. As of today, apart from a few small-circulation political weeklies (such as Magyar Narancs, 168 Óra, HVG, and Élet és Irodalom) and one quality daily (Népszava) as well as a few independent news sites (Index.hu, 444.hu, Atlatszo.hu, Abcug.hu), the only nationwide outlet covering government policies in a highly critical way is the private commercial television channel RTL Klub. The status of media freedom has been downgraded by international press freedom watch organisations, and Freedom House now lists Hungary among the ‘partly free’ countries.

Table 3. Milestones of decline

By December 2018 98% of pro-government media, 476 newspapers, televisions, radios and internet portals were united in the Central European Press and Media Foundation.

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33 Ibid
34 Ibid
35 https://freedomhouse.org/blog/slippery-slope-press-freedom-crackdowns
Table 4. Ratio of digital television subscriptions

![Image of Table 4. Ratio of digital television subscriptions]

Source: NMHH36

Table 5. Daily listening - TOP 10 radio stations

![Image of Table 5. Daily listening - TOP 10 radio stations]

Source: NMHH37

1.3.1. Children and internet use38

According to the findings of a research conducted by the UNICEF Hungarian Committee ~1191 children aged between 10 and 18 completed the questionnaire, where 72% of the participants were between 11-14 age, 96% of the children owns a mobile phone. The majority of respondents (88%) also has a social media profile. This is a particularly interesting data for the children between 10-12 age, 78% of

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38 As part of the above mentioned needs analysis we also conducted a research among students (age 11-14), parents and teachers. The research among other topics also dealt with the Internet usage, online presence of children. For more information on findings please see the chapter II. Qualitative report.
them is using the social media, thought this would only be allowed for children over 13 years. Nearly half of the children (47%) feels that the Internet is rather not safer. One third of the children (32%) feels uncertain, only 21% feels the Internet safe.  

The Hungarian Youth Research 2016\textsuperscript{40} found that among the 15-29 year old ‘screen related activities’ (TV, computer, laptop) are playing a decisive role in spending their free time. Activities like ‘phone usage’ (‘telefonozás’) are also among the most common free time actions which has gained ground with the spread of smartphones, and Facebook. We may assume that this data is increased since than.

As it is stated in the Hintalovon Child Right’s Foundation’s Child Right Report 2018\textsuperscript{41} according the Digital Economy and Society Index 2017 Hungary has made progress in the area of interconnection and has increased significantly the number of internet users in the total population, but the level of digital skills are still remained below the European average. Several sociological publications have criticized the steps taken to trying to close the gap in access and use: social and educational inequalities in which the enhancement of digital competences and skills is a priority. Approx. 15% of 14-17 aged are following the online and offline news on a daily basis, 20% the television broadcasts, approx. 40% are reading longer web text (eg. blog post). 70%t of aged 10-13 and 60% of 14-17 are reading short public texts (eg. street advertisements, texts, posters and advertisements placed on the vehicles of public transportation) on a daily base.

Statistics and findings from Eurobarometer surveys commissioned by the Safer Internet Programme showing that the Internet penetration in 2008 was 52.5% this number within children was 88% (age 6-10 68%, age 11-14 95%, age15-17 95%) it is higher than the Internet penetration of the parents 80%.

2. DISCRIMINATION OF MIGRANTS

2.1. Main forms of discrimination of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees

Xenophobia has increased in Hungary since the early 2010s, and a rapidly growing new trend emerged in 2015 (Figure 1, blue line). At the same time, the proportion of ‘thinkers’ (pink line) has fallen below the level of the xenophobes; and the (always small) xenophile population has all but disappeared.

Table 6. The level of xenophobia in Hungary (%), 1992–2017

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure1.png}
\caption{The level of xenophobia in Hungary (%) 1992–2017}
\end{figure}

Source: Bogndr, É., Sik, E. and Surányi, R. 2018, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{39} UNICEF Hungarian Committee, Jogod van a jogaidhoz! Az UNICEF Magyar Bizottság gyermekjogi felmérése 2014 (You have the right for your rights. UNICEF Hungarian Committee’s Child Rights Assessment), Budapest, 2014.

\textsuperscript{40} The 2016 research just as the previous ones was conducted on a representative sample of 15-29 year old youngsters., Hungarian Youth Research 2016, \url{http://www.uniromzekedek.hu/sites/default/files/magyar_ifiusaq_2016_a4_web.pdf} (Accessed: 10 April 2019)

Xenophobes are those who would not allow asylum seekers to enter Hungary at all. The xenophiles would allow all asylum seekers to enter. The 'thinker' rejects both extremes and requests more information. Only 5% of Hungarians think that immigrants make the country stronger.\(^{42}\)

As the most recent Eurobarometer poll indicates while the number of foreign citizens living in Hungary has fallen in recent years, public opinion has remained negative towards immigrants. 65% of Hungarians consider immigration to be the most important issue facing the EU, ranking it higher than terrorism and the economy. In the same Eurobarometer survey 81% of Hungarians responded that they felt negatively towards immigration from outside the EU, and 94% answered that they would like additional measures for irregular migration (Standard Eurobarometer 86).\(^{43}\) According to the Hungarian Youth Research the 57% of the 15-29 year old Hungarians share the opinion that migration is a major problem in Hungary, and only 8% of them think it doesn’t causing any problem at all.\(^{44}\)

According to Boros\(^{45}\) the surveys conducted by Eurobarometer clearly shows that it is not only Hungarians who reject migrants, but also the majority of citizens in all other eastern European countries. There are at least four different reasons for this phenomenon. First, none of the eastern European countries were involved in the European colonisation between the 15th and the 20th century, and their nations did not therefore build their economies on labour and raw materials from Africa or Asia. Second, as these countries were parts of the Communist bloc after the Second World War, they followed a different strategy from the western European countries to deal with the demographic challenges of the 1950s. In the communist bloc (except the Soviet Union), no migrants from other continents were let in to solve the problem of labour shortage, but alternative policies were implemented, such as a ban on abortion, for example. Consequently, living and/or working together with people from different religions, with a different skin colour and a different culture, has been an unknown experience for most central and eastern Europeans. Third, as poverty is still a real challenge in this region, stability and security are more important values for most citizens than change and freedom. And fourth, most people in post-Communist countries believe that it is the task of the 'rich western Europeans' to help refugees, not theirs.

The discrimination towards migrants is fed by the harsh anti-refugee policy and communication. 'Criminalisation of illegal entry targeting asylum seekers since the 15 September 2015 ceased to be of relevance.'\(^{46}\) The reception conditions of asylum seekers are very poor. An ever-growing number of migrants continued to gather in the "pre-transit areas". These are areas on Hungarian territory that are sealed off from the actual transit zones by fences in the direction of Serbia. Although the pre-transit areas are physically partly located on Hungarian soil, the Hungarian authorities provided little to nothing to meet basic human needs or human rights. People in the pre-transit areas waited in makeshift tents made of the blankets distributed by the UNHCR. Since the winter of 2016, Serbian authorities try to provide shelter in Serbia for those waiting and asylum-seekers only travel to the pre-transit area when they are about to enter the transit zone. The main source of frustration for those waiting in the pre-transit areas was the unpredictable length of waiting and the arbitrary nature of the admission system, based on a highly non-transparent waiting list managed by selected "community leaders". The Hungarian asylum authority limited the number of asylum-seekers allowed to enter the transit zones in


\(^{44}\) The 2016 research just as the previous ones was conducted on a representative sample of 15-29 year old youngsters., Hungarian Youth Research 2016, http://www.uniromcedek.hu/sites/default/files/magyar_dffussas_2016_a4_web.pdf


2018 to 1-1- per zones per day. In consequence, only 10 asylum-seekers are admitted to the transit zones (and thus to the asylum procedure) on each working day, meaning 50 per week.

According to HHC the social inclusion of migrants lacking the state support to integrate and assist those receiving protection. The civil society organisations’ resources are limited. Their situations became more difficult since January 2018, when the Hungarian government withdrew the European Union’s Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund’s calls.

‘Amendments that entered into force on 1 June 2016 drastically curbed benefits provided to beneficiaries of international protection: the integration support scheme was terminated without replacing it with alternative measures; the maximum stay in open reception facilities following recognition was reduced from 60 to 30 days; and the eligibility period for free basic health care services was reduced from 1 year to 6 months. While civil society organisations tried to step up to fill the resulting gaps in social integration assistance, their resources were limited.... In January 2018, the Hungarian government withdrew the European Union’s Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund’s calls in 13 areas, many of them related to integration services, such as assistance to unaccompanied minors, psycho-social assistance, housing assistance, or trainings for professionals. Consequently, AMIF-funded crucial integration services provided to beneficiaries of international protection terminated in June 2018. Without any integration assistance beneficiaries of international protection face destitution and homelessness in Hungary.’

In August 2018 imposing a new surtax on any funds received by civil society organizations, the so-called “special tax on immigration”. The law requires organizations to pay an additional 25% tax on the funding of activities deemed to be “supporting immigration”, including “carrying out and participating in media campaigns”, “building and operating a network”, “educational activities” and “propaganda activity that portrays immigration in a positive light”.

The ENAR Shadow Report has found that although the process of racialising and criminalising Muslims has been instrumented for decades, the terrorist events in France and Belgium in 2015 and 2016 were precursors to an increase in aggressive Islamophobic and anti-migrant rhetoric and hate speech in 2015/201 among other countries in Hungary too. The above shadow report mentioning that the UNHCR and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee reported several physical assaults targeting Nigerians and other refugees. The phenomenon of creation of new vigilante groups linked to far-right ideology or an increased activity of those that already existed also was reported in Hungary. Hunyadi Border-Guard Unit in Hungary have started patrolling and apprehending migrants at the borders. A general lack of victim support structures for migrant victims of hate crime was also reported, just as the language barriers. The lack of available interpreters to facilitate access to (legal) information and procedures as well as a lack of interpretation during criminal proceedings. Ethnic profiling was reported in Budapest’s main train station ‘Keleti’ in August 2015, where police were observed allowing white people in while stopping people of colour from entering the station.

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48 Ibid
49 For more information visit the following website. http://abouthungary.hu/stop-soros/
50 Racism and discrimination in the context of migration in Europe, European Network Against Racism (ENAR) 2015-2016, Brusseles, 2017, p. 3.
51 Ibid, p. 41.
52 Ibid, p. 44.
53 Ibid, p. 46.
54 Ibid, p. 46.
Kiss and Magyar calls the attention to the fact that the highly fragmented refugee support system is one among the reasons of refugees’ homelessness. Further reasons are social services (e.g. social counselling, supported tenancy, education, labour market programmes, etc.) are organised and provided mainly by different institutions and are often project based. Third, the quality, reach and effectiveness of services is also worsened by the fact that the level of cooperation between relevant actors is far below the desired level and the insufficient flow of information between different service providers also results in gaps in individual cases. As the fourth reason their are referring to expert interviews: The expert interviews indicated that lack of access to adequate information on legal, social, housing provisions and a perspective of successful integration possibilities (and a model of a ‘well integrated refugee’) are crucial elements that motivate individuals to become part of a society.

As the high level of xenophobia migrants, even EU nationals may face discrimination while looking for a rental. When the housing problems are resulting already in homelessness or a very unsecure housing situation than this deep level of struggle in everyday life situations may result in the will and act of leaving the country and seeking better possibilities in other EU countries.

2.2. Areas of discrimination of ethnic minorities and the most vulnerable groups

ETHNIC MINORITIES

According to a number of sociological studies an increase can be detected in the prejudices against the Roma population in Hungary. In a 2011 research, 49% of the respondents claimed that they would not accept a Roma person as either a member of their family, or a neighbour, or a co-worker. An additional 14% claimed that they would only accept a Roma person as a co-worker, and only 19% replied that they would have no objections against accepting a Roma person into their family. In a 2013 research, the respondents were asked to what extent they identified with 6 statements out of which 3 were very negative and 3 positive about the Roma. 50% of the respondents identified with all the three negative statements, 57% identified with some of the negative statements, and only 13% of the respondents disagreed with all three. For instance, 60% of the respondents agreed with the following sentence: “Crime is in the blood of the Roma.” The research also showed that the ratio of those who agreed with all the negative statements had risen compared to 2008.

Zemandl states that Hungarian Roma from early childhood continue to be systematically excluded from the main infrastructures of social mobility available to the majority population, including the public education system. The author further asserts that despite guarantees to the equality of opportunities enshrined in the relevant laws and the desegregation discourse framing social inclusion policies in the frame of EU membership, successive Hungarian governments have both condoned and, more recently, actively justified the continued practice of school segregation of the Roma by reducing legal barriers to its curtailment.

A study by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office found that there are significant differences between the composition of the Roma and non-Roma populations, which determines the position of Roma in the

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57 Based on one of the researcher’s experience who worked more than 10 years as a social worker in counseling service providing support for refugees and migrants.
59 TÁRKI: Szolid átrendezés a lakosság idegenekkel szembeni véleményében
http://old.tarki.hu/hu/news/2013/kitekint/20130205_idegenelleneseseg.html
labour market. Among those who identify as Roma, the proportion of youth is significantly higher than in the non-Roma population, while those of middle age are similar in both groups, and the older age brackets are markedly smaller among the Roma. In 2015, nearly 16% of Roma aged 15-64 had not finished primary school, and another 63% of them only had basic education, compared to 1% and 19% respectively for the non-Roma population. The category of vocational or technical training showed the least difference between the two populations (15% for Roma and 25% for non-Roma in 2015), and this is also the highest level of training which is achieved by relatively large numbers of Roma. People who identified as Roma were seven times less likely to complete secondary school, and 16 times less likely to obtain a postsecondary diploma than their non-Roma counterparts. The disadvantages faced by Roma in the labour market are also linked to their geographical distribution. In 2015, 52% of the Roma population lived in Northern Hungary or the Northern Great Plain regions, where the employment situation is at its worst. They are also more likely to live in smaller villages where employment opportunities are much more limited than in large urban centres. The study also concluded that Roma are the most frequent.

HOMELESSNESS

As insecure housing, and the homelessness is affecting the migrant population too, we do feel that it is important to include in our report the latest changes in the criminalization homelessness in Hungary.

‘Harassment and discrimination of the homeless people has been ongoing for long....In summer 2018, the two third majority of the parliament banned homelessness in the whole country, making the lives of one of the most vulnerable social groups even harder. The Law on Petty Offences was modified along the seventh amendment to the Fundamental Law, which enters into force on 15th October 2018.’ (Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 2018-2) ‘According to the new regulation, if someone is caught for rough sleeping three times, the punitive machine begins to operate: police may act against a homeless person multiple times a day, one person may even be warned several times a day. If someone is warned three times in 90 days, on the fourth occasion, the police is obliged to initiate petty offence procedure. In such a case, the offender of a petty offence must be immediately brought to 72 hour detention. The custody lasts until the final decision, which may take up to several weeks. After three occurrences, the petty offence is punishable by community service or confinement (1-60 days). A person who has been convicted by a court twice in six months may only be sentenced to custody; community service or warning are not options anymore.’ (Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 2018-2)

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62 During the Communist era, private property was communized and therefore it was in the State’s hands and handled locally. Because of the socialist economy plan, Hungarian cities used to have huge factories set up by the State and, as there were not sufficient houses to accommodate workers, the State also set up workers shelters. With the political transition, at the beginning of the ‘90s, there was a huge economic crisis, most of these factories closed down and many workers lost their jobs and therefore their houses. At the same time, the privatization of public housing started, and it has never stopped since: people could buy the rented flats where they were living for a below market price and this is how many people became a homeowner in Hungary. Even today, 90% of the population lives in an own proprietary, 9% lives in market rentals and only 1% can live in a social rental. Back then, only the people not living in rental and those who couldn’t afford even the submarket flat price, didn’t buy a house. As the better-off tenants were living in better conditions, with the privatization, the segment of population which remained in municipality rentals were the people with bad financial conditions in the worse flats. There are only estimates available on the number of homeless people in Hungary. The Third of February Homeless Survey is not a census of all homeless people, nor is it a tool to estimate the number of homeless people. The survey only covers those people who are in touch with shelters or outreach teams who volunteer to take part at the time of the survey. In 2016 the research reached out for 10,206 homeless people. Source: https://www.feantsa.org/download/hungary-20177452549766529470928.pdf

3. REPRESENTATION OF MIGRANTS, ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES, ETHNIC MINORITIES

3.1 Media and public discourse representation of migrants asylum seekers and refugees, ethnic minorities

In 2011 the Hungarian Helsinki Committee carried out an 8 month long research on the media representation of migrants.64 It was found that during the research period more articles were strengthening anti-immigration views both in style and content. There were much fewer articles detailing the steps and measures taken in favour the migrants, or dealing with the causes of migration. Furthermore, only a few articles discussed the culture and everyday life of the foreigners living here; or were introducing life stories, or talking to the members of the migrants community.

During and after the 2015 Refugee Crisis the above mentioned findings grew even more general. Hungary was one of the countries that reacted most quickly to the migration wave that shook Europe in Autumn 2015, and to the crisis at EU and global level that followed. This was also due to rapid decline of the popularity of the populist right governing parties in Autumn 2014.65 Kiss’ (2016) study66 illustrates that in February 2015 as a reaction to the refugee flow, the Hungarian government launched an extensive anti-immigration campaign. The leading part of this campaign was the “National Consultation on Immigration and Terrorism”, which was a printed letter containing a prologue and a questionnaire and a billboard campaign. The consultation however received a wide range of criticism primarily because it suggested that immigration and terrorism are inherently related issues - the prologue spoke consistently about “economic migrants,” who “cross our borders illegally” and just “present themselves as asylum seekers” but “in fact they are coming to enjoy our welfare systems and employment opportunities.” It also presents “illegal immigrants” and migration in general as a threat against which “Hungary should defend itself”. The government communicated the results through the media and through billboard advertisements. Walker and Györi67 hold the position that though ethnic intolerance is not new to Hungary, this particular form of public denunciation is the latest iteration of a carefully orchestrated, long-term, government-sponsored disinformation campaign to persuade the Hungarian electorate that migration “increases terrorism and crime,” “destroys national culture,” and threatens social order. The government message that millions of dangerous migrants are waiting to enter Hungary is reinforced on TV and thousands of billboards across the country.

In their research report Bognár, Sik and Surányi68 are stating that 'the most recent pressing of the moral panic button is an anti-EU ‘campaign’ in which the government ‘informs ’the Hungarian people that approval of the Sargentini report is a punishment for the Hungarian nation for building the fence against illegal immigration and fighting Merkel and Soros.'69 Barlai and Sik70 are assuming that the government is using the xenophobia widespread in Hungary to build a longer-term strategy of national unity. At the same time it is creating an enemy image as subject of the moral panic which is perceived as a threat to social values and national interests, thus to moral order.

Bernáth and Messing71 after analysing the media representation in Austria and Hungary of three major event occurred at the time of the 2015 Summer Refugee Crisis found that Hungarian narrative has

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64 Migrants in the Hungarian Media, immigration and forigners in 2011 throught the eyes of the press (Migránsok a magyar médiában, avagy a bevándorlás és a külföldiek 2011-ben a sajtó szemével), Hungarian Helsinki Comittee, Budapest, 2011.
65 Barlai, M., Sik, E., 'A Hungarian Trademark (a "Hungarikum"): the Moral Panic Button.', Research Gate, 2017
69 They are referring to the following article: https://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-foreign-affairs-and-trade/news/the-sargentini-report-is-revenge-against-hungary
70 Barlai, M., Sik, E., 'A Hungarian Trademark (a "Hungarikum"): the Moral Panic Button.', Research Gate, 2017.
clearly shown asylum as a security threat and has done so long before more refugees would have appeared in Hungary.

3.1.1. Misinformation, myths, fake news about migration in the media online and off line

Roma are usually the first to be blamed for in the offline and online media. Since 2015 the way the issue of migration is discussed created a ‘common enemy’ which took over the leading place from Roma. The migrants are those who are only coming to Europe to take advantage of the benefits, the migrants just like the Roma are not willing to work. Another strong voice in the media is that the migrants are also those who are taking the job opportunities from Hungarians. The European Union, the Hungarian NGOs and the Jewish George Soros are those who are in favour of illegal migration and supporting organizing and funding it. The phrase illegal migrant is spread in the media, to distress the negative effects of the phenomenon. In the right-wing media the migration is shown as migrants are a threat to the Hungarian nation and all the migrants are potential terrorists.72 Illegal migrants are those migrants who want to enter to the territory of Hungary without valid documents and visas (even asylum seekers, refugees).

The most common topics present in the media:

- Migrants will take us over
- Migrants are an economic burden for the country
- All migrants are men
- Safety is gone
- The European Union encourages migration
- Europe is still experiencing a migration crisis

4. RESPONSES TO THE PHENOMENON AND GOOD PRACTICE

In the following chapter we are introducing some of the remedies and good practices against discrimination and against misinformation on migration and fake news. In the conclusion of the national report we will give a more detailed description of some which we believe can give more inputs for the multicultural kit and the target of the project NEMO. In the last part of this chapter you may find list of websites containing further information sources on migration.

4.1. Remedies and good practices against discrimination, against misinformation on migration and fake news

**BAGázs Közhasznú Egyesület (‘BAGázs’ Public Benefit Association)**

is a public benefit association that has been working since 2011 to contribute to an inclusive and accepting society in which Roma people have a chance to achieve their goals.

https://bagazs.org/about-bagazs/?lang=en

**Equal Treatment Act**

Act CXXV of 2003 on equal treatment and on promotion of equal states in its Section 1 § that all persons in the territory of Hungary must be treated with the same respect. According to Section 8 § any difference in treatment based on, inter alia, race, colour, ethnicity or belonging to an ethnicity, language,

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72 Freedom House states that in the run-up to the April 8, 2018 parliamentary election in Hungary, the pro-government news site origo.hu ran a Facebook advertisement with a video of two dark skinned men attacking a white skinned woman in a church, with the tagline “Western Europe, 2017. Do you want this?” Hvg.hu later reported that the video was actually that of a 2015 robbing in a Nebraska city, and the sound of the video was tampered with to contain shouts praising Allah. Freedom House, Freedom on the Net 2018 - Hungary, 1 November 2018, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/5be16b1426.html (Accessed 1 May 2019). The mentioned HVG article is: Így hazudik az Origo: a 2017-es európai migránstámadás egy 2015-ös amerikai rablás”, [This is how Origo lies: the 2017 European migrant attack is a 2015 American robbery], hvg.hu, March 14, 2018, https://bit.ly/2IrFhzD

For further examples used in the qualitative research, please see the relevant part of the qualitative report.
social status or any other status, attribution or characteristic resulting in a less favourable treatment of these persons is to be considered direct discrimination and is prohibited by law.

**Equal Treatment Authority** (Egyenlő Bánásmód Hatóság, EBH)

The Authority is responsible for monitoring the implementation of the principle of equal treatment, and its jurisdiction extends across Hungary. The Authority's first and main responsibility is to investigate complaints and reports filed concerning cases involving alleged discrimination. The Authority conducts its investigations based on the rules governing public administration procedures, and its work is helped by a nationwide network of equal treatment consultants. [https://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/en](https://www.egyenlobanasmod.hu/en)

**Hungarian National Social Inclusion Strategy II**


**INSCHOOL project**

"Inclusive Schools: Making a Difference for Roma children" (INSCHOOL) is a joint project of the European Union and Council of Europe focusing on inclusive education for Roma children. The project was initiated in 2017 and works at policy and practice levels in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovak Republic and United Kingdom. [https://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/inclusive-education-for-roma-children/about-the-project](https://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/inclusive-education-for-roma-children/about-the-project)

**Network of ’Tanoda’**

Organizations in this network are providing a wide range of after-school, extra-curricular activities for Roma and other disadvantaged students. The activities serve to strengthen educational achievements and attainment levels amongst students, while engaging parents and communities in the educational process. ‘Tanoda’ is run by NGO's. The programme offers a complex service that otherwise cannot or can scarcely be accessed by marginalised children or young adults who are less successful at school. The Tanoda programmes have been operating since 2004. Until 2018 280 Tanoda schools are were established and operated from EU funds. After the EU tenders were closed the Hungarian government established a new tendering system.


is a European project which is combatting racism, intolerance and xenophobia towards Roma and to working to increase integration, though a programme of action across Europe. Roma MATRIX is a partnership of 20 organisations in 10 EU member states. It was co-funded by the European Union’s Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme. [http://www.jovokerek.hu/romamatrix/](http://www.jovokerek.hu/romamatrix/)

**Igazgyöngy Alapítvány (’Real Pearl Foundation’)**

The foundation has been working since 1999 for equal opportunities and social integration for the poor. The foundation works within the ten poorest regions Europe, in Hungary's Northern Great Plain region. They are offering a wide range of services, also operating a 'Tanoda school' too. [https://igazgyongyalapitvany.hu/en/home/](https://igazgyongyalapitvany.hu/en/home/)
European Fair Skills Project (2015-2016)

European Fair Skills (EFS) is a project that was implemented by the German NGO Cultures Interactive (CI) in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia in 2015/16. The key inspiration for EFS was to support the prevention of group hatred and right-wing extremism in Central and Eastern Europe. EFS rests on a close long-term cooperation with colleagues from the NGOs Ratolest and Eruditio Publica (CZ), Kontiki Szakképző and Foresee Institute (HU), as well as Research and Education Institute and Centre for Community Organizing (SK). http://europeanfairskills.eu/

Biztonsagosinternet.hu

The Hotline offers an online reporting facility for the public to report illegal, harmful or abusive online content including child sexual abuse material (and other harmful contents). The Hotline will ensure that the reports are investigated and if found to be illegal the information will be passed to the relevant Law Enforcement Agency and in many cases the Internet Service Provider hosting the content.

https://biztonsagosinternet.hu/en

BEAMS -Breaking down European Attitudes towards Migrant/Minority Stereotypes (2013-2014)

The brings together 15 partners from 11 different EU states to better understand the link between popular culture stereotypes of migrant and minority groups and discriminatory attitudes of the consumers/citizens, which still prevent such groups from obtaining full rights of citizenship in many respects. http://www.beams-project.eu/

Bullying and Cyberbullying Research Center

The aim of our research team is to assess the situation of bullying and cyberbullying in Hungary and to explore the psychological background of the phenomenon.

https://btk.pte.hu/szervezeti_egysegek/iskolai_zaklatas_es_cyber_bullying_kutatokozpont

Chat Story

Telenor Hungary launched “ChatStory” on 19 September 2018. Within 30 days of its launch, more than 7,300 people have conversed with the chatbot launched on Facebook's instant messaging platform, Messenger. Talking to this computer program, which is designed to simulate a conversation, users are able to engage in a story, the storyline of which can entirely be customized by the users. Taking the users on a dating journey, the youth can familiarize themselves with concepts such as digital footprints and the handling of personal data, just to mention a couple, while relationship psychology also plays an important part of the storyline. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDIgCwbBZis&feature=youtu.be

COLOURSCHOOL (2012-2013)

The aim of the project was to increase the knowledge of secondary school-aged pupils on immigration, to strengthen their social sensitivity, social awareness with a help of a complex sensory program based on film projections. The “ColourSchool” project was implemented by ODEON Video Publishing and Lending Company with the support of the European Integration Fund (EIA).

https://hu-hu.facebook.com/Colourschool

#ENDviolence online

UNICEF launched a communication campaign, providing workshops in schools for safer Internet usage.

https://unicef.hu/online-biztonsagban/
EUROPE'S MIGRATION MYTHS

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation’s joint publication with GLOBSEC provides an overview of the most common myths about migration in Europe. The manual checks the truth of the arguments and offers real pro and counter arguments based on real data and information.

https://www.globsec.org/publications/europes-migration-myths/

Faces of Migration ('A migráció arcai')

A website with an analysis of 10330 of images related to migration recovered from the online media for the period of September 24, 2014- Jun 11, 2016. Also contains the concrete images.

https://www.nyest.hu/facesofmigration/

FOR PUPILS ABOUT MIGRATION (2013)

The project’s aim was to increasing society’s awareness and sensitivity related to migration, as well as strengthening the openness of primary and secondary school-age children. Upper grade pupils from five primary schools and pupils from five secondary schools in Budapest (400 altogether) were participating in groups throughout two semesters in the workshops on intercultural topics and the different aspects of migration. https://menedek.hu/en/projects/pupils-about-migration

Immigropoly, Immigropoly 2.

An online-game on migration, which introduces immigrants in an interactive and entertaining way.

http://immigropoly.ittvagyunk.eu

MigHelp - Migrants’ Help Association of Hungary

The House of Cultures in Budapest run by MigHelp - Migrants’ Help Association of Hungary -presents art exhibitions, concerts, film screenings, workshops, training, language conversation clubs and literary events. The mission of the House of Cultures is to generate a dialogue between the host (Hungarian) and migrant communities and help integration or social inclusion of migrants through joint activities.

https://mighelp.hu/

Menekülj okosan! ('Escape wisely!') - theatrical board game

Joint production of the Mentőcsónak Egyéség (Lifeboat Unit), the Füge Production and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee. The goal of the creators of the interactive theatrical board game is to make the audience think through basic human rights dilemmas. These decision-making situations in the game are related to the fate of refugees, but they raise more general questions about the functioning of democracy or dictatorship, self-esteem or solidarity, tolerance and inclusion or even exclusion.

MiraDoor Hungary

MiraDoor is an intercultural community space for foreigners and nationals, with all kind of activities. It is offering the possibility to ‘get to know each other’ A joint initiative of Open Doors Hungary and the Mira! intercultural community team. https://www.facebook.com/MiraDoorHungary/

National Media and Infocommunications Authority (Nemzeti Média- és Hírközlési Hatóság, NMHH)

NMHH assembled infographics and relevant lesson plans about fake news, which are suitable for use at schools, and recommends sponsored online articles for adult audiences.

Also running an InternetHotline website with all kind of information on safer internet usage.

http://english.nmhh.hu/internethotline/
The **Bűvösvölgy (Magic Valley) media literacy education** is supporting children (9-16 age) in their conscious and safe media use in two cities, Budapest, Debrecen. Participation in their programmes is strictly school-based. They also offer lesson plans, infographics on fake news [http://magicvalley.hu/](http://magicvalley.hu/)

**National Strategy on Migration 2014-2020**

The Strategy lays down the action trail and the tools for achieving the goals in the field of admission, residence, integration, international protection and return policies and in a comprehensive manner. Moreover the Strategy makes it possible to use the benefits of migration for the national economy, demography and society by defining the concrete tasks and actions stemming from the positive and negative effect of migration for the years 2014 - 20.

**National and Ethnic Minority Rights Protection Bureau (Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségi Jogvédő Iroda, NEKI)**

NEKI, active for more than two decades in the area of discrimination by providing legal assistance to victims of discrimination, performing research and monitoring and holding trainings in this area for various groups in society. [http://dev.neki.hu/](http://dev.neki.hu/)

**Saferinternet.hu**

Saferinternet.hu supports above all children, young people, parents and teachers in the safe, competent and responsible use of digital media. It offers workshops, information materials and advice for all its target groups and tries to raise public awareness for the topic. Every year Safer Internet Day is organised. [http://saferinternet.hu/](http://saferinternet.hu/)

**SAME World Project**

The aim of raising awareness on the topics of Environmental Justice, Climate Change and Environmental Migrants, especially among European students, teachers and educators. Together with 8 European associates, mainly Universities, and our associates from Kenya, Myanmar, Mozambique and Tanzania, we are trying to spread information and awareness on these topics. Educational kit, theater plays and workshops at schools, training of teachers, inline game also were provided. [http://www.sameworld.eu/en/](http://www.sameworld.eu/en/)

**Televele Media Education Association**

The Association supports all children (4-14 age) parents and teachers in the safe, competent and responsible use of digital media. It offers workshops, information materials (on fake news too) and advice for all its target groups. On their website they are introducing relevant websites, games for children, parents and teachers as well. [http://televele.hu/english/](http://televele.hu/english/)

**They Live Among Us**

The aim of the project was to promote the integration of third country nationals and to tackle the stereotypes and discrimination against them. The project also included a communication campaign. [https://www.facebook.com/koztunkelnek/](https://www.facebook.com/koztunkelnek/)

**4.2. Information sources about migration**

- About Hungary, [http://abouthungary.hu/](http://abouthungary.hu/) Governmental website providing all kind of news in English.

• Ittvagyunk.eu, http://ittvagyunk.eu/ Various information, articles, reports on migration.

• Migrant Communities in Hungary, https://migrantcommunity.blog.hu/ This blog was started in 2017 by Subjective Values Foundation, a Budapest-based NGO, under the auspices of the project “Complex training and mentoring program to strengthen the political participation of migrants,” which was financed by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund of the European Union. It also collected success stories of third-country nationals who live, study and work in Hungary.

• Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), http://www.mipex.eu/hungary The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a unique tool which measures policies to integrate migrants in all EU Member States, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA.

• ReSOMA, http://www.resoma.eu/the-project ReSOMA, the Research Social Platform on Migration and Asylum, is the initiative mobilising for sustained, regular policy dialogue across Europe and facilitating policies based on evidence. In a unique partnership of European civil society and local authority organisations, think tanks and research networks, ReSOMA creates new opportunities for consultation and provides policy-relevant expertise. Started in 2018, ReSOMA is a two-year project supported by the EU’s Horizon 2020 research programme.

II. QUALITATIVE REPORT

1. Introduction

This research report is part of the needs analysis of the NEMO-Using the New media in Education to overcome Migrant discrimination Online project. The research was planned in the framework of action research which implies that research is combined with action: the collected research data, information will be used for creating a toolkit which can offer solutions for schools to support young teenagers (age 11-14) in a conscious use of online communication and information. The report main objective is to identify and analyze manifestations of third-country nationals’ discrimination on-line and off-line in Hungary through the gaze of pupils, parents and teachers. Our approach intends to show the target groups’ use of digital media and awareness of fake news, including misinformation on third country nationals, as well as their suggestions on how to overcome migrant discrimination.

1.1. Methodology

Research methodology was based on a combined approach: consisting of in-depth interviews, complemented with images about migrants on the basis of the real discrimination patterns, and mixed surveys with open question. Survey questions helped us collecting information about online activities and skills and an open question oriented us regarding respondents’ opinion about schools’ potential against online discrimination and fake news. Considering the Hungarian political context (see below) and our hypothesis about the young target group’s online activities, we selected two online and one offline (a billboard) images of offensive propaganda.

The interview guidelines for the different target groups were designed along the principle of graduality: the easy to talk topics - e.g. how do you use Internet - were followed by more difficult questions - e.g. can you give an example of a migrant stereotype used by your friends/kids/students.

73 Survey questions helped us collecting information about online activities and skills and an open question oriented us regarding respondents’ opinion about schools’ potential against online discrimination and fake news.

74 Based on our presumption in the 11-14 years old students’ online activities, news and politics related contents are marginal. At the same time they have also been witnessing anti-migrant political propaganda –whether they want or not - offline, and on various media channels.

75 See chosen images in the Annex.

76 Interview guidelines were designed by NEMO’s project partner, University of Rome Tor Vergata.
The order of the questions also supported participants in getting in a more confident and relaxed mood to express deep thoughts and emotions related to the raised subjects.

Research took place in Budapest in the first three weeks of May. Interviews were conducted by two social scientists and surveys were filled with the help of a youth worker. Interviewers followed the interview guideline; creating space for interviewee’s to tell their stories. Based on interviewees shared experiences interviewers came up with more questions during the interview.

Out of the three target groups, students seemed to immerse the most in the interview situation. They showed real curiosity about the research questions, and enjoyed telling about themselves in relation to the raised topics, except of the migrant related questions. Regarding this issue their emotional feedback varied – even during the same interview – from ambivalence, boredom and anger to sympathy.

1.2. Context of research
The research took place in Hungary; in a country that has traditionally experienced low levels of immigration. Partly derived from this that its society carries aversion and fear towards the Other. The present – since 2010 – government has a harsh anti-refugee policy and communication. Among other democratic institutions the media have also got controlled by the government, by these means, it has unique influence on public discourse. The government has been running national billboard, TV and radio campaigns on anti-migrant topics since 2015, effectively mobilizing especially the less educated voters in the countryside. Public opinion polls confirmed the effectiveness of governmental propaganda: in 2018 Hungary became the first among the European countries rejecting migrants.

Based on the politicized public mood, where migration related topics got a negative connotation we were concerned about schools’ participation in the research.

1.3. The Interviewees
Because of the sensitivity about migrants-related topics in the Hungarian context our method of selecting interviewees was mainly through our personal networks. Considering the risk of getting a biased sample if our interviewees come from the same social group where we are, special attention was payed to keeping our sample heterogeneous. Our student sample became more heterogeneous when we could involve a local youth club whose clients are mainly Roma youngsters, and a bilingual school. Despite our efforts, there is an overrepresentation of Hungarian middle class families (parents with higher education) among our interviewees.

20 students’ distribution in the sample
- 10 female, 10 male;
- different age (older children are overrepresented among interviewees, whereas younger once among survey’s respondents);
- 13 nationals without any other ethnic background, 7 nationals with other ethnic background.

10 teachers’ distribution in the sample

77 The researcher’s
78 The analysis of 12 students’ interviews (plus 8 student surveys), 4 mothers’ interviews (plus 4 mother surveys) and 6 teachers’ interviews (plus 4 teacher surveys) reduced our worries about the seemingly homogeneous sample and showed us that our raw material is very rich indeed. Our interviewees did not only share the reflection of their own life (e.g. how they spend their online time), but also shared their perception on other students/ mother/ teachers’ online and offline practices. As a result we got a vibrant picture, with interwoven threads. It was striking to see how significant and many times deep marks were left on our target groups’ everyday life by the governmental anti-migrant propaganda.
79 Based on our experiences the older students of the target group could connect more to the main research topics. Average age of interviewees is 13.
80 Born from a mixed marriage (half Iraqi), a Chinese, and 5 Roma students.
- 1 male, 9 female;
- subjects/position: various subjects (English, Italian, German languages, economy, literature, media) with overrepresentation of media teachers; teacher assistant, social worker, head teacher, youth worker and head master;
- represented school/social institution: 3 out of 10 schools/social institutions provide services for mainly Roma, lower social status’ students;
- varied time length spent in profession (2 years to 40 years);
- interviewees are all nationals, and only one of them is from a mixed marriage

8 parents’ distribution in the sample
- 6 nationals, 2 nationals with other ethnic background,
- all parents were mothers
- all the mothers has a kid aged between 11-14

Hereby we would like to express our gratitude to all of our interviewees who shared their (online) experiences. Without their honest and enthusiastic contribution we would not be able to compile this research report.

2. STUDENTS’ EXPERIENCES ONLINE

As it was said earlier recruitment of students’ interviewees started through our personal network. The first three students’ interviews were the complementary interviews of the ones we conducted with their mothers. Although the method of interviewing the children of our friends and acquaintances was much easier than trying to explain our research goals to some unknown people, especially in the over politicized Hungarian context, our homogeneous sample of national (without any other ethnic background) middle class families/children had to be balanced. As mentioned above, our student sample became more heterogeneous when we could involve a local youth club whose clients are mainly Roma youngsters, and a bilingual school. Thus in our sample above the dominance of nationals, there are Roma students, one Chinese and a half Iraqi student from a mixed marriage.

2.1. Students’ access and use of Internet

Interviewed students’ primarily online device is smart phone. Some of them also possess laptop or PC but use them less often, and mainly for online games. Interviewees use Internet mostly at home, as wifi is available normally in all families. Students usually have a limited amount of mobile net on their phone, which permits them using Internet outside of their homes, but their monthly limit often runs out by the end of the first week. At some of the schools there is also wifi that allows them to go online during the breaks, in between classes.

The most often mentioned online activities of students are the followings: Messenger/Viber for communication, YouTube for videos (everyone follows vloggers in his/her interest) and for music,
playing online games (Xbox, Minecraft, Animal Jam, Fourth Knight), watching films (anime, series) and reading news (Google - especially about online games and celebrities).86

More than half of interviewees start the day with checking their Messenger/Viber or Instagram accounts, and some of the students even watch videos or play online before leaving to school.

“An average morning I am online for 10-15 minutes, it helps me to wake up. I usually check Instagram and Messenger.” (student2)

„When I wake up in the morning first I switch on my phone, not to have any problems with it later on. Then I go and brush my teeth, and then go back to my room, get changed, and use my phone, either play or watch videos.” (student11)

The 10-20 minutes morning’s online activities are followed with some online presence in between breaks in case of some students.87 Depending on after-school activities students all go online sometime in the afternoon, and in the evening.

„After my workout and art class I go online once I get home, because I get tired and it is really cool that I do nothing. I look around on Pinterest and play Animal Jam.” (student4)

„After school I go home and connect to Internet, usually I am on YouTube following my vloggers, and watching videos on cars.” (student6)

Based on interviews, after-school activities can reduce the length of students’ online presence.

„After school I am usually online until the evening, but now that I started to go to drawing classes I use the Internet less.” (student1)

There is a significant difference in between students with and without after-school activities regarding their online spent time. Students with after-school activities (sport, music, dance or drawing classes) spend no more than two hours on the Internet daily, whereas in case of students without extracurricular activities the length of screen-time can go up to four-five hours a day. If students are deprived – e.g. because of an injury – of these extracurricular activities their online spent time significantly grows.

“I wasn’t online much before I had the knee injury, I have lots of extracurricular activities, I go for volleyball and dance classes, and thus I don’t really have time for such things. But now that I can’t do sports I am more online. In reality I don’t want to but it happens.” (student8)

The weekends also illustrate the above mentioned phenomenons, as students tend to spend more time online during the weekend, unless there is a program with family or friends.

„At the weekend I have more time to be online, especially if the weather is bad, but if I can I rather go out for roller-skating with my friends.” (student7)

„Usually I have programs at the weekends, if not I am more on the Internet then during weekdays, and not only on my phone but also on computer.” (student10)

To look deeper in our sample there might be another dividing line in between students of the same age group regarding access and use of Internet. It is the social position of interviewees’ families, that apart interviewees from each other. As it was mentioned in the introduction phase of this report, one of our biggest methodological concerns was the homogeneous student sample which became more heterogeneous only later on, when we could involve, among other, a local youth club whose clients are mainly Roma youngsters. Based on the surveys they filled in it seems that their access and use of Internet significantly alters from the patterns shown by their non-Roma age group. We need to stress here that in our argument it is the socially disadvantaged background that makes the difference. What

86 Other platforms also mentioned by students: Pinterest, Steam (platform for online games), Snapchat, TikTok, Musically, Spotify, Discord.
87 Based on interviews’ experiences there are students who use their smart phones in secret during some classes too, when the class is boring.
is noticeable among the Roma students in our sample is the longer time spent online (average 1-2 hours longer daily screen time), and the larger numbers of online acquaintances of which half of them are unknown, they are not even knowing them from sight.

2.2. Students' activities and skills

Our young target group is divided into two smaller age groups regarding the usage of social networking sites. The younger group (11-12 years old) does not use social networking sites whereas students of the older age group all use them.

Instagram is the dominant social networking site of the asked 13-14 years old students. Some of them also have Facebook account but only because of a particular group, connected to their interest/hobby, that is on the platform of Facebook.88

“I like Instagram, because it is colorful and there are many vloggers there who could be followed, whereas on Facebook it would be strange to mark them as acquaintances. (...) To be honest based on my age I wouldn’t be allowed to have an account on Facebook either.” (student4)

Snapchat seems much less popular among our interviewees compared to Instagram. Those who have it refer to it as funny, and good against getting bored, but not so important.

Most of interviewed students don’t have a large circle of online connections on the social networking sites. Many actually put an emphasis on the fact that their Instagram account is private, thus they cannot be followed by unknown people. Their online acquaintances usually represent their real friends and family members with whom they are in everyday contact (about 40-50 people). This narrow circle is extended to some more people who they follow, and in some cases to acquaintances they know at least from sight. Numbers of online acquaintances usually do not exceed 100-150 contacts.

“It is my classmates and relatives who I am in contact with on these platforms. It’s about 40 people. Above them I follow famous people, for example, Ronaldo, Hamilton and car factories.” (student6)

Most of the students are active users on the social networking site (Instagram), many of them regularly share photos, and some of them make My Stories and post videos. Nearly all of the active users post visuals about their interest/hobbies – pictures about the dog, competition, cars; roller-skating, visited towns, own drawings – but seldom share any pictures about themselves or their family.

“I regularly post on Instagram. I also make My Stories, especially when I am somewhere else travelling. I like taking pictures, and I posting them, but I am usually not on the pictures.” (student2)

Based on what interviewees said, they don’t share content (e.g. articles, videos) created by someone else. At most, chosen content is sent to a person or a group directly through Messenger.

The majority of interviewees master nearly all online skills mentioned by the researcher.89 Not all of the listed platforms or apps are used by them, but they possess the online skills adherent to the platforms they use. Some of them have additional online skills above the asked ones, e.g. besides of making video they also know how to cut video. They also gave examples on safe Internet usage: e.g. recalled videos they have found by chance in this topic, or listed organizations that can help in risky online situations.

Breaking down the general, wider picture, there is an age related dividing line in between the 11 and 12-14 years old students. As the youngest in our sample do not use social networking sites, they do not

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88 E.g. group of roller-skaters, anime, game players and a fishing association
89 Based on the guideline students were asked about the following online skills: bookmark websites, block messages, find information on safe internet usage, produce videos, produce stories on Instagram, use WhatsApp/Telegram, post on Facebook, create a page on Facebook, use Snapchat, YouTube, Skype, make screenshot, use passwords for online devices.
have the online skills attached to them either. Their online activities are usually covered by YouTube and Viber which defines the online skills they possess (use YouTube and Viber, and in some cases produce video, and use Google).

Regarding the possessed online skills there is another group that shows alteration compared to the patterns showed by the majority. Among the socially disadvantaged group of Roma students more online platforms are used even at a young age compared to non-Romas in our sample. E.g. 11 years old students already use social networking sites (Instagram), TikTok and Messenger, above YouTube. But their more extensive use of the Internet does not necessarily mean possessing the required online skills even at an older age. For example not all of these respondents knew at the age of 14 how to block unwanted messages, or how to find information on the Internet.

2.3. Mediation by adults

Although most interviewed students say that there are no rules at home regarding Internet usage, usually it turns out soon that parents do set criterions. Parents’ criterions for using Internet are generally soft, e.g. online presence doesn’t result in neglecting school tasks and children have enough time to sleep. In a way students seem to be right when they think that there are no concrete parental rules regulating their time spent online. On the one hand because boundaries in between being online and studying are not so clear any more, and on the other hand because parents are unable to regulate screen time since children all have their smart phones. Regulations became more flexible and depended on the actual situation which is well illustrated in the following parental instructions, interpreted by the children.

“If they see that I still have something to study while I am busy on my phone, then they tell me to stop it.” (student2)

“Sometimes they tell me, ok it is enough now, move on.” (student4)

“I go to bed at around 10pm, and usually I use my phone for a while, but not for long. My mother always comes by and tells me that it was time to sleep.” (student1)

“If my father thinks I have played enough, then he tells me to finish it.” (student7)

There is only one exception in our sample regarding explicit parental control on children’s internet access in a Chinese family.

“There is no internet at home. I guess my parents believed it would be better if there wasn’t. Their shop is open till 8pm, there I can use wifi.” (student9)

Among interviewees there are only a few students who mention certain online activities – registering on Facebook, sharing own photo on social networking sites – that they are not allowed to do, because of parental restrictions.

Less than half of interviewed students can recall any episode related to their online activities when they asked for support from their parents. Parental mediations include among others opening Facebook account, differentiating between real and fake news, sharing opinion on politics, and discussing about the risks of online activities.

“When I got my first smart phone, my mother helped me opening my Facebook account.” (student1)

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90 Surveys were filled in by these youngsters at a local, social institution for youth.
91 We are not finding correlation here in between being a member of certain ethnic group and unfavorable practices. We are convinced that unfavorable practices, e.g. non-conscious online usage (extensive online presence without required skills) are rooted in the disadvantaged social background, but our sample does not contain socially disadvantaged non-Roma students, except of the Roma students.
"With my mother we always talk about the online news that might be interesting. We don’t use the Internet together but she recommends things for me.” (student3)

"I know most of my online friends also in person. I don’t mark anyone back without knowing who s/he is. (...) My father always tells me no to mark anyone, unless I know them. Sometimes we talk about the risks of being online.” (student11)

There might be more reasons behind the relative rare parental mediations. One explanation lies in students’ confidence in online activities. As it was seen earlier, their value own online skills at least as high as in their parents’ case. Another explanation is based on parents’ trust in relation to children’ conscious online media usage.

"This is something we don’t really talk about at home, because they know that it is a usual topic at school.” (student2)

“My mother trusts me, and I don’t go to sites which are not for me.” (student3)

All of asked students share the smart phone policy of their school in the interview, which is usually zero usage during lessons. Interviewees tell various episodes about regular or random checks on switched off phones and about phones taken by teachers.

Besides of full control on smart phones many schools provide lessons about safe Internet usage. Those students who take part in these lessons seem to know well what they shouldn’t do online.

“We have informative lessons connected to Internet usage with typical topics like don’t post any picture about you on Facebook.” (student12)

“I think that we were told so many times what we shouldn’t do, that it comes automatically, at least nearly for everybody. For example, that we shouldn’t send photos about ourselves to unknown people, and so on.” (student2)

But frontal teaching by an authority is not necessarily the best example to support students in acquiring skills on conscious online media usage.

„Last year a police woman came to the school, and held a presentation about the risks of Internet, and about dangerous stories that happened on the Internet. That was all.” (student7)

Regarding bullying or online bullying interviewed students seldom have own experience. There is only one example of an online bullying where a teacher got involved in solving the problem.

„At my class one of my classmates made a Viber group for hating XY. (...) They kept writing about him, and once they accidentally showed it to him, and he collapsed completely. The head teacher got involved and solved it finally.” (student4)

2.4. Subjective harm

Although online bullying is the most often mentioned subjective harm of being online among interviewed students, there are only a few cases when interviewees or classmates became victims of online bullying.

„A friend of mine put me in a Messenger group. We were at an event, where the lights were red, but they looked pink on the photo. (...) One of the children noticed it, and started to call me gay.” (student11)

„In my class some students made a Viber group against another classmate. It happened that they exchanged messages about him even at night.” (student3)
There are some other cases when e.g. an unknown person tried to communicate with them or asked for photo from the interviewees, but these situations are not taken as risky cases, because affected students (girls) seem to handle it with confidence.

“Once I got followed by an unknown guy, who asked me who the hell I was. I blocked him immediately.” (student4)

“A boy started to chat with me, and after a while he asked me to send a photo about me. I told him no, and because he insisted on it, I blocked him. (...) I don’t think it is very serious, it was easy to solve it.” (student2)

Momo phenomenon\(^2\) came up spontaneously in couple of times related to IT classes where risks of Internet usage were discussed.

Another risky online situation mentioned by few of the asked students when people pretend to be someone else and hide behind a fake profile. Interviewees have not encountered with it personally, except of one student who got marked by an unknown person with a fake profile.

Students’ stories show that there is a significant difference in how students perceive what goes on in the online space. For example, based on our sample, boys in this age group seem to act less sensitive regarding online offenses directed towards others, whereas girls look more empathetic.

“I saw on Animal Jam how they do it. For example, they jog the beginners. I try to help them, and used to tell, that you forget that you were also a beginner once. It hasn’t happened to me so far, but I know how it might be.” (student2)

Boys more often think, that online risks are exaggerated by their parents, and among them there are more students who have never experienced (including their friends) any harm on the Internet.

“I never encounter any risk on the sites I am on, and I don’t experience harms related to Internet usage neither among friends nor family.” (student12)

Being exposed to disturbing pictures or upsetting content by chance was also mentioned by some of the interviewees as harmful online situation.

“For example, on Instagram you scroll down and easily can come up something you don’t want to see, and then you can continue scrolling down or something.” (student1)

“A friend of mine sent me a fake link, and once I happened to go there, and saw it. This site would not only upset my age group but I guess everybody. They upload videos about killing a person and animal cruelty there.” (student11)

Online harm can also mean material damage, as it was told by a few interviewees. Like in the case of a student whose account was stolen at an online game.

Based on students’ stories, those who were affected by harmful online situations seemed to react fast and in an effective way. This was the case of the girls who blocked immediately the unknown boys they didn’t want to continue talking to, and also in the case of a boy who was bullied in a Messenger group, because of pink lights on his posted photo.

“First I blocked him, and then asked some friends of mine to report this guy on Facebook. By next day this guy was blocked on Facebook too.” (student11)

In the shared examples students could solve the occurred problems on their own, without adult’s mediation. As we saw in the previous chapter, students’ confidence in online activities might be a reason behind the relative rare parental mediations for Internet usage.

\(^2\) The so called Momo challenge is a viral hoax of the devilish bird-lady who encourages young children into violence or even suicide, on messaging services like WhatsApp. This hoax is fueled by media reports and parents’ fears about their kids’ online activity. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/feb/28/viral-momo-challenge-is-a-malicious-hoax-say-charities
2.5 Students and stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination on third country nationals

The majority of interviewed students needed help and examples to comprehend the questions regarding stereotypes and prejudice. The two concepts are understood as synonyms by them.\(^93\)

Although students usually refer to their classes as good communities they can recall stereotypical or prejudice based incidents from school. It is rare that interviewees became subjects of these episodes, but there are a few cases. For example, one of the girls was thought to be a mall kitty\(^94\) by her friends because her mother earns good money; or a boy was bullied in an online group because of pink light on his picture.\(^95\) Another recalled an episode when two classes differentiated one another purely on the bases of belonging to A or B, identifying good qualities to own group and bad ones to the others.\(^96\)

“Earlier there were many prejudices on our year in between two classes. Our class thought that the other class is strange or not normal (...) and they thought about us that we are freaks. It hasn't changed much, but I spend more time with the other class than earlier, as my best friend is from there. This helps me to get to know them better.” (student2)

The number of discriminative cases slightly grows when interviewees refer to the experiences of other classmates.\(^97\) For example, when a hearing impaired student is avoided by some classmates, or the various cases of online bullying of random classmates.\(^98\)

Most of students go to classes where cultural diversity is not an everyday experience. The majority of the interviewees only have a few migrant and/or Roma classmates, and there are students who have not got any Roma or migrant children in their class. The only exception is one of the bilingual schools in our sample, where national and foreign students are equally represented in the classes. In case of Roma participants of the research we have not enough information about discriminative experiences,\(^99\) but we know from some of the teachers’ interviewees that there is discrimination against Roma students in mixed classes of Roma and non-Roma students, and interviewees of segregated schools assume that their students have stigmatized identity based on being Roma.

In our sample there is only one example of perceiving Roma classmates as others while asking interviewee about cultural diversity in her class. Based on this otherness interviewed student can imagine her Roma classmates as being subjects of online discrimination.

“There are Roma children in the class. They are not so different, but you can see it a bit, and their habits are also a bit like that, but it is not so obvious that they are Romas. (...) But they are nice, normal, compared to that, I mean compared to their position in class (...) but otherwise they don’t resemble us. It can easily happen, that there is online rejection against them, and they are picked there too, because nobody sees it there, it is only between them, and if it doesn’t come to light, then anything can be told them.” (student4)

Third country national students also came up couple of times spontaneously in relation to cultural diversity in the class, even before asking them about migrants’ stereotypes used by their classmates.\(^100\) Interviewees express sympathy towards them, and their nationalities and the level of

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\(^93\) We did not press them to make a difference in between these concepts, as they are used also interchangeable in the everyday adult discourse.

\(^94\) Pejorative expression used for girls who only focus on their outlook.

\(^95\) The example was already mentioned earlier, under the Subjective harm subchapter.

\(^96\) Similar cases were also shared about on the bases of gender within class.

\(^97\) Several interviewees emphasize that in their class there are not any discriminative cases, and they are very good community also because of emphatic and young head teacher they have.

\(^98\) Some of them were already mentioned earlier, in the Subjective harm subchapter. None of the recalled cases had ethnic content; the subjects of online bullying were “just like us” – as it was commented by one of our interviewees. Another referee of such cases describes victims as “annoying or something like that, and then others don’t pay attention to him/her and start bullying him/her.” (student10)

\(^99\) As Roma students took part only in the quantitative phase which did not cover themes other than online practices and skills.

\(^100\) This is something we have to stress, as the concept of migrant became extremely negative in the Hungarian everyday discourse.
Hungarian language knowledge is mentioned. In our sample there is also one example of a non-national student’s perceived otherness that can create cause for discrimination.

“There is a Mongolian girl at school who is fluent in Hungarian, because she was born here, and so on. They usually don’t pick on her, because she speaks like the others, the same, and she is integrated. (...) but sometimes when they whip up, that she is not like us, not exactly, but she is not differentiated that much.” (student4)

Although foreign students of our sample have not reported any discriminatory school experiences, we have to acknowledge that there are favorable factors behind their acceptance: both of them were born in Hungary, speak fluent Hungarian and have accepting, good class communities. One of them is the only foreign student in the class where she is very much liked and considered as the opinion leader of the class. The Muslim girl attracted classmates at an early age when she regularly shared the food – conformed to religious standards – with her classmates, prepared by her parents. The other foreign interviewee goes to a bilingual school where half of the class has also other ethnic background. In spite of a diverse class, in the latter case, the interviewee cannot be considered integrated into the class. This example shows the strong influence of online activities on students’ integration: using a particular chat platform connected to own cultural group can lead to segregation.

“Earlier I had less Chinese friends than Hungarians but now more Chinese. I don’t use Messenger, Facebook, thus I can keep in touch only with the Chinese. My best friends are also Chinese.” (student9)

Although our Chinese interviewee did not report any incidents of becoming victims of prejudice, other national interviewee from the same class shared episodes of a classmate who uses the word migrant in a pejorative way.

“I have a classmate who is shouting all the time ’migrant’, and I think he is a bit racist. He is a person full of prejudice, and believes whatever he sees on TV, doesn’t look up things, but goes immediately ’migrant’. (...) Migrant students in the class either don’t understand it, or they keep cool, but surely don’t make friends with him.” (student10)

As we referred to it in advance, asking students about stereotypes used by their classmates in relation to migrants, opened a new chapter of our research. Although many of the interviewees said first that it is not a topic that normally comes up in their age group, later it turned out that most of them could connect to the raised question.

Although there are hardly any migrant students in the classes represented by the interviewees, nearly half of them shared to have one or more classmates who use migrant consciously or unconsciously as a pejorative word. Some of the 13-14 years old interviewees seem to be well informed about the sources of anti-migrants sentiments. Based on their opinion (which is probably the opinion of their parents) anti-migrants attitudes can come from the parents, and can also be rooted in the fear from migrants, based on propaganda’s images.

“I have some classmates who are very prejudiced (...) there might be more reason for that, it depends partly on what the child hears from the parents, and partly if they read such stereotypical articles.” (student2)

“Whether a child believes the content of the billboards or not, depends on who they parents voted for, and what s/he believes in. Those who believe the propaganda are really afraid of migrants. (...) Probably they are scared that if they come here they will also put a bomb somewhere.” (student6)

As interviewees explained in many cases there is no racist meaning attached to the word ‘migrant’, when these classmates use it, but it is a bad word that can be used to get attention.101

101 The word ‘migrant’ can take up different meanings depending on the context it is used. We know it from teachers’ interviews that it is also used in segregated schools among Roma students mostly as a joke. It has a completely different meaning compared to the case of a Roma student who is called ‘migrant’ by his classmates at a school where he has just moved recently. Just to remind ourselves how far this can go
"I am at seven grades right now, and obviously there are students who swear. Like for example, that someone is gay, and I am sure they don’t think so, but they want to hurt the other. Or I have a classmate who keeps yelling all the time ‘migrant’ (…) but nothing happens, nobody reacts to him, as if he was swearing.” (student10)

Although teachers usually don’t bring this issue up, and try to discipline students who use this word by saying politics is not for school, there are cases when teachers’ anti-migrant sentiments are shared with students. Like when a geography teacher frightened his students – one of our interviewee was among them – that if a migrant student joined the class, they wouldn’t be safe anymore because of migrants’ violent behavior.

“My geography teacher has met a migrant, who told him that it would not be good if a migrant child came to the class, because if you had a problem with him, 3-4 of them would catch you on the street with a knife.” (student7)

In this above mentioned case en entire class (without any migrant or Roma students) of students became afraid of migrants because of the influence of a reliable – in the students’ eyes – adult. A student also told us that a teacher warned her students about the migrants who moved next to their school.

“When migrants moved into the Children’s Village102, our teacher told us not to get about alone. (…) He also believed that these people would harm us.” (student8)

The interviewee did not become vulnerable to the threat raised by the teacher, because in her family the anti-migrant propaganda is regularly laughed at. Actual, as a reaction to the teacher’s warning speech they discussed it with friends, and agreed that it wasn’t a real threat to them.

„Migrant issue is not really a topic for us, but there was this occasion when we really talked it over with my friends, and they had similar ideas, I mean they also thought that it is stupid to be against migrants“ (student8)

2.5. Sources of information and fake news

As it was shown earlier these age group is very active in informing themselves in the topics/hobbies they are interested in. They all follow vloggers, watch videos, look for other content, and communicate to others related to these interests. For many of our interviewee news automatically means new information about the topics they are interested in.

“I usually don’t read the type of news that is on TV. I rather read about that a series has finished, or critics about films.” (student10)

„I don’t read political news I read about innovations related to cars and car tests.” (student6)

Besides of the particular websites of their given interest (e.g. play game sites for news about online games) most of them read news on their smart phone, on Google. They scroll down and select from the titles thrown up by Google.

“I always check the news thrown up by Google, and if I find some interesting news, for example, an American gamer was banned from Peking, and then I read it.” (student11)

Political news is generally marginal for this age group, and the majority does not focus on politics related news, rather gets it as background noise.

regarding consequences of our over politicized everyday life, this twelve years old Roma student has just became private student recently as the only solution to escape bullying of being migrant (the case was shared by a social worker colleague from a countryside town).

102. There is a child centre in the settlement which accepts unaccompanied migrants.

103. „We always laugh when the one minute news are on, because my father always says one minute migrant news.” (student8)
“I am not really interested. Sometimes I hear about it, that’s all. If it is on the TV, then I hear it, but I am not really interested” (student7)

“I listen to the radio a lot, music channels like Petőfi, Rock FM, Music FM or what. I hear the news there all the time. I am not really listening, it is a background noise.” (student8)

There are only some interviewees – mostly 13-14 years old boys – who follow politics. Their information channel is dominantly the Internet.\footnote{104} Besides of the news thrown up by Google, they also find political content on the social networking sites (Instagram and Facebook).

“I look for political articles on Google, and I see some on Instagram, some pro governmental and lots of opposition news and memes.” (student12)

It is very rare among them to go to specific online news sites or watch the news on TV.

Based on the interviews, there is often a driver – motivating person or other driving force – behind political interest at this young age.

“One have a friend who is the leader of one of the parties, and I read the news about him. (...) My mother tells me the news worth reading.” (student3)

“I am interested in politics, and read the ones with interesting title. I don’t read them regularly, and don’t watch the news on TV, but as my grandmother is very much into politics, I always get the news from her.” (student12)

“I watch the news, because then I can take part in the conversations that go on around me. I like to be a bit clever sometimes, and explain things to people.” (student11)

The 12-14 years old students all have heard about fake news. In case of an online content related to their area of interest they seem confident filtering fake news out.

“I am experienced in roller-skating, and e.g. they tell something about a part of a roller-s skate, then I know what it is about, and I can also look for additional information to check if it is true.” (student7)

“I like to read about testing of cars. I find these sources reliable.” (student6)

Putting the same question in a wider context makes interviewees feel less confident about the reliability of online sources. Most of respondents think that fake news is obviously fake, thus it is highly visible, because of its content and spelling, or based on its penetration.

“In my opinion if something is fake news, then one can see that it is fake news. If someone writes about Zuckerberg, or something like that, and one can see on the spelling to.” (student1)

“I think one can recognize it, if it is a fake news, e.g. if it is exaggerated or it is about someone who wouldn’t do what they write about him or her.” (student6)

“I can usually decide if it is real or fake news. If it can be read only in a few places, then it is spam many times, but if you see it everywhere on the land also on TV then it is real news.” (student4)\footnote{105}

Less than half of students thought that it is not so easy to decide whether an online content true or fake, but they all agreed about the method of checking various sources to ascertain about given article’s credibility. Various sources include different news sites (online and offline too) and reliable adults too.

\footnote{104} The Chinese student reads exclusively news about the World and China on WeChat app’s news site. „I don’t read Hungarian news, unless it is put on WeChat’s news, e.g. when a famous person comes to visit.”(student9)

\footnote{105} This quotation matches with the following opinion: „The celebrity news isn’t necessarily real, but the worldwide news is real (...) It is reliable where I see them, because many people use it. (...) Everybody uses WeChat, and WeChat has a news channel that you can use.” (student9)
“If I want to check if it is real, then I usually go to other news sites and also read the news there. For example, I see somewhere that Petőfi Sándor106 is still alive. I find it unbelievable, but I will go and see who says what.” (student10)

“It depends, because if I see various posts about it, then I think that it is real news. But if I search the concrete news and I see that there are alterations in the content, or I can’t find it at all, then it is most likely fake news. (...) And if my grandmother reassures it, than it is fake news for sure.” (student12)

“If I read news on Index, and I also hear it on the news, on TV, then it is surely real.” (student11)

As it was mentioned earlier students at this age do not make public posts about contents that are not related to their life or hobbies directly. The age group primary social networking site (Instagram) is also rather for sharing instant experiences of their personal life. Sharing written content happens in personal channels, on Messenger or Viber.

Based on the interviews students see difference between political and non-political fake news’ goal. According to their opinion while non-political fake news, e.g. celebrities’ news is for amusement and excitement, political fake news have bad intentions. Politics itself has such a negative connotation for many of the asked students, that political news in general means fake news to them.

“Fake news about celebs are made against getting bored, they are for enjoyment, excitement for people to talk about. (...) but political news is made to put down the other party, and to convince people to believe the party who is behind the given news.” (student3)

2.5.1. Students and migrants’ images of the propaganda

As it was introduced in the methodological part of the report, we used a combined method of qualitative and quantitative elements complemented with images about migrants on the basis of the real discrimination patterns. The selected two online and one offline (a billboard) images107 were also shown to the students at the end of the interviews.

Before showing some of the interviewees’ reaction towards these images we also have to draw attention to the fact that our students sample was most likely biased against anti-migrant propaganda. Earlier we have also shared our concerns about our student’s sample regarding the overrepresentation of national, middle class families/children in it,108 but have not mentioned its homogeneity in attitudes. As we said in the methodological part, because of the over politicized context, for recruiting interviewees we used primarily our personal networks. Recruiting children – as interviewees – of social and intercultural sensitive parents, likely resulted in a sample with similar attitudes regarding anti-migrant propaganda. In fact the sample did not even alter after involving students of other educational and social institutions, as it turned out later. Students with anti-migrant sentiments did not happen to be in the sample. We can only hear about how they are perceived, in the stories told by our interviewees.

Although the majority of this age group is not interested in political news, and as they said they are not reading this type of content, the shown images were familiar to them. It has to be noted that this section generally changed the atmosphere of the interviews. Interviewees often became rejecting and angry, expressing ambivalent feelings.

“I have seen billboards like this (...) It is too much how it is pushed everywhere. (...) I try not to focus on it, because I don’t think it is good. It doesn’t really come up online, but if it does, I don’t pay attention to it.” (student2)

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106 Hungarian poet from the 19th century.
107 See them in the Annex
108 It was put in balance with the inclusion of a bilingual school’s foreign student and a local youth centre whose clients are mainly Roma youth.
“I can’t stand politicians. It is propaganda; wherever you look you can see politics on the street and also on the motorway. It makes me a bit nervous.” (student4)

“I see these things all the time. I wouldn’t say that it keeps me cool, because I am interested somewhat, but this subject is not for my age group, but for a bit older. (...) If Google throws up this kind of pictures I never stop, keep scrolling down, but I do have negative thoughts about it, a bit.” (student10)

It is evident from the quotations that students feel overwhelmed by this political content and no matter how much they try cannot ignore it. Although these images are present in various media channels online and offline, they have no credibility in students’ eyes.109

„The city is full of billboards of this type, but I don’t think billboards’ statements are true. It is fake news. I don’t see any migrants, and I don’t think Soros wants to bring anyone to Hungary. It is the government intention to make people believe that Soros wants to send migrants, in order to gain their votes by preventing this to happen.” (student6)

Governmental propaganda must be disturbing for students at this young age, as it portrays unknown people with bad intentions, acting on instinctive fear. Although most of our interviewees can see through these images110 there are students who express ambivalent feelings and uncertainties.

“I don’t know I wouldn’t like to let any unknown people in my house, so I don’t like this migrant issue, but they also have to be understood. (...) but I wouldn’t believe all of them were bad. (...) She is a Muslim lady, who hasn’t done anything bad, in my view; her picture was just put on the Internet. How bad that can be, when someone sees herself on a propaganda picture, that she is a bad example, and it is not sure if she did something at all.” (student4)

Based on the interviews, students likely to become more vulnerable to political fake news if their parents support the party who is behind the propaganda, and in case they are really afraid of migrants. Even in our pro-migrant biased sample we came across a few episodes where students showed fear of migrants because they were told something at school by a reliable adult (teacher). For example, a student, who can filter the shown images as fake news

“I guess that it is fake news, you can see the effect, that it was made by someone who is against migrants. So it is fake or something like that. The real goal of these pictures is to make people vote for the ones who made the picture.” (student7) — still can be afraid of migrants because someone frightened him.111

Although as we said most of the students at this age group don’t follow political news, they are aware of the actual political fake news. Based on the interviews the best way they can deal with them is through memes which are often seen on the Internet (e.g. Instagram) and shared with one another.

“I like memes, see them on Instagram, and we send them to each other if we see some funny ones.” (student8)

3. THE GAZE OF TEACHERS AND PARENTS ON STUDENTS

In the following section students’ online experiences and their awareness of discrimination of third country nationals and fake news will be analyzed through the lenses of teachers and parents.

109 There is only one exception in our sample, and it proves to be a bit surreal, as this student is one of the few migrant’s students in our sample. „I see it also on billboards, but I don’t know what it is about. Just by looking it, this cannot be fake news, it might be true, because it is put everywhere. (...) I don’t see it online, because I don’t use those platforms, only on billboard. My parents never talk about Hungarian politics.” (student9)

110 These pictures are made with accuracy; darker skinned people are put in dark background, as they were satanic evil. (...) Everything is suggesting that this is an absolutely terrible thing. But we also see the name of Fidesz, and we know that it is not true.” (student12)

111 We have already quoted the episode when a geography teacher frightened his students that if a migrant student joined the class, they wouldn’t be safe anymore because of migrants’ violent behavior.
3.1. Teachers' perceptions and views on students' experiences online

Especially media teachers have a thorough knowledge about students' online experiences. Based on their awareness, this age group is on Instagram, as Facebook is for the oldies. Besides of Instagram, they also use Snapchat and YouTube, which is replacing TV and radio for them. As Instagram is much more visual (photos and commercials) they are not exposed to as much written content as Facebook users.

“...In Instagram they are less interested in static content, and more in My Story. They are interested always in the moment, this is what grabs them. (...) They are interested in the things happened to their friends, that can be flipped trough in My Story.” (teacher2)

Based on media teachers'/media trainers' experiences in this age group nearly everyone has a smart device, which is often a tablet in fifth grade, and by sixth-seventh grade all students have their smartphone. The own smart device is a big jump, because the control goes to the child regarding online content and online spent time. Although social networking sites are popular among them it is primarily communication that they use their smart device for.

“...Younger children are active on Viber, and in Viber groups; and older children use Messenger as an online extension of their friends’ circle. (teacher4)

In the eyes of classroom teachers their students' online experiences are accompanied by the following phenomenons:
- phone addiction;
- expert in smart phone usage but have no need for real sources of information;
- boys are involved in shooting-strategic games and football sites;
- confirmation, „likes” are important to them;
- extensive usage of YouTube.

3.2. Teachers and mediation

Generally the usage of smart phones is prohibited at school. In some schools phones are collected in the morning, while in others they have to be switched off during lessons. At some of interviewees' schools there are exceptions in case of one or two subjects where students are allowed to use their phones.

There are also segregated schools in our sample, where rules are not consistently followed, and restrictions on using smart phones are flexible.

“...Based on our school's profile teachers cannot achieve anything with authoritarian attitudes. We try to accept our students as they are, because these children have been excluded at an early age. Instead of punishment for using their phones, we are rather concentrating on making classes interesting for them.” (teacher1)

Although students are not supposed to use their smart phones at school, their online activities run parallel in different online groups and platforms, where many times head teachers are also included. Mediation or supervision is necessary in these groups as many of the teachers say.

“I am sure there is conflict in between them online, because I can hear from time to time that they block each other. When the online home work group was made, there were students who were afraid joining it, and they only agreed joining it if I will be in the group too.” (teacher9)
Based on interviewed teachers’ experiences there are differences in between schools regarding opportunities learning about conscious media usage,112 and many times it is entirely up to dedicated teachers.

“I regularly speak about the threats of Internet, about what they shouldn't post, for example, shouldn’t share their school, their home address and family members in public." (teacher5)

At one of the represented segregated schools a social worker runs a girls’ group on weekly bases where issues of safe internet usage is also raised.

“In the girls’ group we talked about it twice so far, once the topic was that you send an intimate photo of yourself and after breaking up this photo goes public on the Internet. We had a conversation about the consequences, and about online bullying.” (teacher6)

3.3. Teachers’ view on what is harmful for students

Media teachers see online bullying the biggest threat regarding 11-14 years old, as they are solely interested in their peer group.

“They are most exposed to their peer group's reactions. What will happen to the photo you have posted, or what they say about you? (...) It is also easier to tell off someone faceless.” (teacher2)

“For example, they make a Viber group named we hate X, and they invite everyone except of X. And the sexting issues, that I send a picture of myself to someone, who later shares it with our entire group of friends. (...) Recently I see scary signs how much schools cannot handle students' aggression, and cannot create a good class community.” (teacher4)

Other teachers, depending on their experiences, see different issues harmful for students. Unlimited online spent time is mentioned by teachers as the cause of e.g. Internet addiction, sleep deprivation, superficiality and attention deficit, disciplinary problems. Another mentioned issue is personal data protection, as parents often don’t prepare children when they start using their first smart device. At one of the segregated schools teachers are concerned about prostitution.

“We have especially dealt with prostitution because some of our students can be exposed to its harm. Prostitution is also connected to Internet, because some unknown person finds them, asks for pictures and misguides them. These children are extremely vulnerable to this kind of threat, because they have not experienced real love from their families.” (teacher1)

3.4. Teachers' perceptions of students' experience and awareness of discrimination of third country nationals and fake news

Interviewed teachers think that students, based on their online activities, are not really interested in news and politics. At the same time nearly everyone experienced buzzwords taken from the governmental anti-migrant propaganda used by them at school. Teachers believe that students heard and saw slogans in the over politicized everyday life, and orientation comes from the family.

“Because our public life is rich in propaganda, they are also reached by its content. (...) They can laugh at jokes about politics and have opinion along political parties, but nearly exclusively identical to their parents’ opinion. Parents are the source for being afraid of migration and also for not being afraid of migration.” (teacher2)

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112 In Hungary media education was ceased in 2012, and it became incorporated – at least in the curriculum – in other subjects. Unfortunately teacher trainings still have not followed the decision.
As the majority of interviewees have a political opposition attitude towards present government, many of them regret that students cannot turn to their parents for sound orientation and explanation.

"Children cannot recognize fake news. They follow the mass if parents are not aware of political demagogy. It is like exposing children to commercials." (teacher3)

As students of this young age group usually don’t consume political content, their main influencer is the family regarding politics. In case of Roma students, political orientation might determine if they believe anti-migrant fake news or not. Because of the anti-Roma attitudes of present government most Roma students cannot be deceived by governmental fake news (regarding migrants), as it was reported by the social worker interviewee at one of the segregated schools in Budapest.

Media teachers draw attention to the fact that fake news is already present in children's experiences, and making them aware of misinformation and fake news could prevent them from being deceived later by propaganda.

Nearly all teachers recall the word migrant used between students at school as a bad word, as an offence. According to interviewed teachers’ intentions these occasions were turned into opportunities of speaking about something that otherwise wouldn’t have been possible because of its actual political content.

"It happened when they called one another migrant. Then I asked them if they knew what migrant means. (...) We traced back that once we were all migrants, and they (Roma) were migrants not even a long time ago. We also agreed that it is not good to use this expression as a bad word." (teacher6)

"At English class we watched the Oscar Gala. The main actor of the Queen movie had a speech about how satisfied he is being a first generation migrant... The first reaction of the students was very negative, how he can propagate it... Than we had a discussion about how in the USA everybody is a migrant, and that I was also one of them." (teacher9)

At most of represented schools there are only a few migrant students and there were no incidents of discriminating them by non-migrant students – based on teachers' view, whereas Roma students’ inclusion has to be supported by teachers. Based on dedicated teachers’ experiences children’s excluding attitudes - many times rooted in parents’ stereotypes – can be challenged in real situation where they can get to know rejected group members in person.

"Since last year I have a class, where there are more Roma than non-Roma students. Most of students didn't take part in freshman camp. Among those who came, mainly non-Romas you could hear racist comments. It turned out that they have already made Messenger groups where chats had a hostile tone. In the first months of the new school year my aim was to make them let to really get to know one another. (...) I can see open-mindedness in these students, even the racist children made very good friends with Roma students." (teacher2)

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113 As it was mentioned earlier interviewees were mainly reached through our personal network, thus our sample’s political homogeneity comes partly from this. Another correlation might be the overrepresentation of media teachers, and intercultural/cultural sensitive teachers among our interviewees. Possessing these skills seems to armor them against stereotypical and discriminative discourse.

114 There are no news sites made for this age group. Children might see political content solely on the meme sites, where slogans are drained from.

115 Migrant many times replaced Roma, as a bad word.

116 Among represented schools the only exception is a bilingual school.
3.5. Parents’ perceptions and views on students’ experiences online

There are significant differences in between mothers and children’s online activities, based on interviewed mothers’ opinion. All of them think children communicate more on different online apps (e.g. in Messenger and Viber groups) than they do.

“As I see they are more active on these communication sites then I am. I only use them if I want to ask somebody about something, I would not chat around. For example, I don’t use Messenger much; on the contrary they live their life there, in various Messenger groups.” (mother2)

“For kids smart phone means communicating on social networking sites. There is an attitude difference between us.” (mother3)

Although opinions vary regarding how purposeful children’s online activities are, most of them agree that higher online activities of students on communication sites many times include doing homework with a class mate, preparing for a presentation or getting information about the next workout.

“My older daughter lives an active community life, she spends many hours online, but many times she chats with one of her classmates, and they prepare homework or for a presentation. It is not just chatting around, I would say they work.” (mother2)

3.6. Parents and mediation

Most interviewed mothers are not concerned about children’s online activities either because the rules were set in the beginning, or because children seem to use it well.

“I don’t follow her. When she joined Facebook, I told her not to post any picture of herself. Still does not really have any, maybe only one picture on her. Don’t mark anyone as friend who we don’t know. Show me who he/she is, and that she should tell me if anything happens to her.” (mother1)

“As far as I see they handle these things quite well: there were no problems of for example, making public something they shouldn’t do. (...) They usually post pictures they are not on them. It is up to them, but they don’t want their private picture go public. So far there are no restrictions regarding Internet usage, because I haven’t experienced anything in their online activities I disliked.” (mother2)

Mothers’ opinion varies whether children’s online activities can be consciously influenced by parents. There are cases of children following parental attitudes and cases when parents hope to be informed by the child if it is needed.

“We influence them, and our opinion is taken into account by them. For example, we think Instagram is nonsense, and then they take this attitude. When some of their classmates tell them how many thousand followers they have, then they are aware of how they got all these followers. Because these children follow unknown people without thinking, and based on online courtesy, you will be followed if you got to follow someone.” (mother3)

“We have a very strong relationship; they always tell me what they saw on the Internet.” (mother4)

In most cases there are no time constrains of online activities during the day, because there is no reason for that as children do not neglect their responsibilities.

“It is up to her how much time spends online, because she does not neglect her studies. When she goes home I am not there, she finishes home work, studies. You can see her results. In the evening she has time for playing for a few hours.” (mother1)

But there are cases of using screen time app on children’s IPhone for conscious online usage.

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117 Beyond obvious differences, like children are playing more and watching more videos online than mothers.
“This is partly control, partly partnership, and helps us to supervise the situation. Not like in other families where parents lose control and their solution is to take smart phones from kids from time to time.” (mother3)

And there is also example of taking phones from the children for a while.

“If I take their phone for one day, the next day morning, before leaving for school, I have to give them back as they will be out of house and anything can happen to them. At least this is how they argue. (…) Children can take any kind of punishment, except of depriving them of the Internet.” (mother4)

Interviewed parents have different views on whether kids’ online activities have to be stopped: on one side of the scale 8pm is the limit, followed by 10pm, and on the other side of the scale there is no limit at all.

3.7. Parents’ view on what is harmful for students

Mothers somehow agree that any harm that might come from others can be reduced if children are made aware of them, and can tell what happened to them.

“It is dangerous, if they cannot handle it, or if they use it without any purpose.” (mother4)

“If there is no consciousness, the children have not got any internal brakes, because parents didn’t put an effort working on it with the children.” (mother1)

“The biggest threat is, if there is a problem and s/he does not dare telling about it.” (mother2)

Mothers’ list of the external threats consists of the followings: online bullying, fake-profiles, stealing children’s profile. These online threats are well known by the children, as they have been made aware of them by the parents – based on mothers’ opinion.

In spite of all these – making children aware of the possible harm in the online space, having a close and trustful relationship with the children – interviewed mothers still seem to have one more concern, which is the effect of children’s peer group, friends.

“It can happen that she gets influenced by a group of friends in a way I don’t agree with it.” (mother1)

“We cannot always be there, and know with whom they communicate, or how are they influenced by their friends,”¹¹⁸ (mother4)

“My youngest child’s friend used to say, that it would be good to take a picture of myself, because it has already been 2 weeks that I gave a life signal on Insta. The little girl is hardly 12 years old, and she makes selfie to give a life signal about herself. This is it, but my children don’t do it so far.” (mother3)

3.8. Parents’ perceptions of students’ experience and awareness of discrimination of third country nationals and fake news

Although it is only the upper part of this age group (11-14), that starts to be interested in news and politics, in Hungary children at this young age tend to know the buzzwords of governmental anti-migrant propaganda because of the over politicized atmosphere as interviewed mothers have explained.

In this over politicized climate there is only one exception when asking about fake news perceived by children, fake news are not spontaneously identified as the anti-migrant propaganda by one of the mothers.

¹¹⁸ The mother is referring to a concrete story of his son, who has been receiving videos for not his age from one of his friends. The son tells it at home, describing how difficult it is for him, because if he asks his friend not to send this type of videos, his friends would tell him, that he is stupid.
They have already come across fake news; both of them get such fake news that if they don’t use Viber and Messenger enough, they will be blocked from these sites. But they are prepared for this, they don’t believe in this kind of fake news.” (mother3)

The majority of mothers have an actual political perspective of the raised question. They think that children talk about these issues at school with the classmates and usually represent their parents’ attitude.

“Children talk about it and they have different opinions. They bring the attitude from home and present it as theirs. It is mostly the governmental propaganda that can be detected in children’s manifestations, and I get shocked when my children tell it to me at home.” (mother3)

Most of interviewees think they have to take an active role in order to prepare children against political fake news.

“She would be exposed to fake news if I hadn’t been talking to her regularly about this. But she can also see it on me, it is not only the words, but more what we do.” (mother1)

“They listen to our reaction of what was said by their classmates, this is how we try to influence them in order to have arguments, if they have to argue, because they have different opinion. We try to help them not to be afraid to tell their opinion, even if it differs from the official opinion.” (mother3)

Mothers with other ethnic background, and intercultural sensitive mothers (e.g. one of them works for a migrant-specific NGO) seem to take a more active role to prepare children against fake news than mothers without these characteristics.

“Some actual political information reaches her, and she shares her opinion with me about it. I listen to her, but don’t want to influence her neither way. I let her opinion to be formed later.” (mother2)

Interviewed mothers think that children primarily saw anti-migrant content on the street, on billboards.

“She is fed up with the billboards. I was surprised when we were coming and going, she said: “Look mommy there is another Soros billboard.” (mother1)

“We don’t watch TV, at home they don’t see anti-migrant content, but on the street it cannot be avoided. My son was angry about theses billboards, as we don’t hate anyone.” (mother3)

“My older son always asked me what the problem with refugees or migrants is. Are they really that bad?” (mother4)

Most mothers think that their children have an accepting school, and some of them experience diversity in his/her class,119 that also helps in adapting the desirable accepting attitude. In spite of acceptance at school perceived by the majority of mothers, the mother with recognizable ethnic background reported difficulties regarding her children’s acceptance at school:120

“There were always conflicts that they are not Hungarian, and nobody wanted to make friends with them, except of the Roma students. The non-Roma students were not accepting at all. It is possible that the Roma students also felt excluded, and this is why they got on well.” (mother4)

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119 In the referred schools there are students with other ethnic background (foreign and Roma students), but not more than a few students per class.
120 Experiencing difficulties of integrating into a new class recently brought the family to the decision of moving to Switzerland, where the father of the children works, and where there are more foreigners. “My son told me about the difference he is experiencing: now that Ramadan is on, the teacher asked them who is keeping it, and in case of not feeling well, he can go out, to have fresh air. This never happened in Hungary.” (mother2)
Teachers’ experiences online

Teachers were also recruited mainly from our personal network and most of them are intercultural sensitive either because they have lived in a foreign country earlier, or because they have acquired skills through trainings and intercultural projects. Political opposition to present government and social sensitivity is also overrepresented among them. Pro governmental teachers are not represented in our sample, but there is a politically passive minority who does not believe in political propaganda but is either bored or afraid to talk about it to colleagues and students. In the absence of teachers loyal to government’s line we could still include information about their perceived attitude towards migrants and migrants’ representation from the episodes which other teachers and students told us.

Teacher’s interviews were complemented with some other professionals – social worker, youth worker, and conscious media-consumption trainer – as we experienced lack of information related to many aspects of our research. The aim was to learn more about the practices online and awareness of discrimination and fake news of our target group.

3.9. Teachers’ access and use of Internet

Interviewed teachers use smart phones and laptops for going online. Both devices are used for work as well as for personal goals (entertainment, communication, information). Although many of them try to divide work and personal issues, most of them admit its difficulty as the same platforms and sites are used for both. Older generations and teachers in higher administrative and regulative position (e.g. head master) seem to be more consistent in separating the online aspect of work and personal life.

“When I leave school then Internet is not used for work related issues anymore.” (teacher1)

“At school I do not deal with my private issues, unless it is urgent. I do that at home or sometimes in the car if my husband is driving.” (teacher3)

Younger teachers and other professionals who work with students in a less formalized way are more permissive about blurring online boundaries between work and personal life. Professional dedication and admitting its necessity also play a role.

“In my case, work and personal life interwove with each other. I cannot divide them.” (teacher4)

“Students chat with me on Facebook, and even if it is 11 o’clock at night I would answer them if I see it is urgent. (...) Many times it is the only contact we have with the family, if the child does not come to school, or the parents cannot be reached.” (teacher6)

All interviewees can connect to the Internet at home and at school, and also have mobile net for going online on the street. There is only a minority who does not use this later option habitually.

There is a great variety concerning the length of daily online activities among the asked teachers. Most of them use it more than 3-4 hours a day (including work and personal usage). There is a tendency in interviewed teachers’ to use the Internet in a more conscious way than before. The motivation to spend less time online can come from having a weekend with relatives without smart phone, from trying to provide a good example to own kids, or from the awareness of how online time consumes offline time.

“After 9pm it is evening time in my home, I keep that for my family, I usually switch off Internet” (teacher5)

“Normally I am online about 4 hours a day at my workplace, but if my work requires 8 hours to use the Internet, then I would not use the Internet for personal reason that day.” (teacher6)

Based on the digital diary older teachers tend to get up early to answer work related emails, while the rest of them, is usually involved in personal online activities (information, communication, listening to music) in the morning, while getting ready or on the way to school. Class room teachers use e-diary for school related administration daily (about 30 minutes) and many of them are online with smart
phone at school too, for communicating with colleagues, students and parents. In the afternoon another 1-2 hours are spent with preparing next day classes and personal issues. The evening’s online aspect is usually spent with personal issues (entertainment, communicating with friends, movies, music).

3.10. Teachers’ activities and skills

Most of interviewees use Messenger and Viber, and some of them WhatsApp and/or Skype for communication. These online applications are used both for work and personal goals, and teachers are involved in many groups. Facebook is the dominant social networking site for the teachers interviewed, who are members of different – professional and private – Facebook groups¹²¹, including groups for communicating with students and parents, groups for teachers of the same school, and groups for wider professional/expert audience. E-mails are usually mentioned in relation to official issues, and used less with parents and students.

Among other social networking sites younger teachers also use Instagram, and teachers who have teenager children are merely familiar with it. Teachers also frequently use YouTube but do not recognize it as social networking site. Based on our findings the younger the teacher is the more online sites has s/he in common with students; the smaller age gap is likely to result in similar online activities (e.g. using Instagram, watching series and videos online).

The following sites are also used as sources of information by a few of them: Pinterest, Google, Kahoot (creating quiz), Spotify, Index (Hungarian news site), Shazam (identifying music).

The majority of interviewees mastered nearly all online skills in question.¹²² We already mentioned some generational preferences towards social networking sites. Another correlation can be detected between the length of online spent time and the acquired online skills. Teachers who spend much less time online, compared to their colleagues, seem to have lower level of online skills. This later finding is especially important in relation to teacher’s role in teaching about conscious Internet usage.

"Because I do not know enough about these things, I have not been raised the topic of online skills to my students." (teacher9)

Most teachers believe that their students are better than them in some online skills, e.g. produce videos, exploiting smart phones’ capacities fully, but they also agree that students have their deficiencies too: e.g. researching/find valuable online sources.

“I am not ashamed of asking for technical help from my students. Many of them are expert on making power point presentations, but they need help in starting the research.” (teacher3)

3.11. Teachers’ level of awareness and view on sources of information and fake news

As it was mentioned earlier, media teachers and teachers/professionals with intercultural and social sensitivity were overrepresented in our sample. These skills seemed to go along with a political opposition attitude towards present government among the majority of our interviewees.

The guideline question of what do you think about fake news, spontaneously invoked the actual governmental propaganda that has been going in the last few years. Most of respondents talked about it as deliberately deceptive, harmful and frightening.

¹²¹ There is one exception in our sample: at the bilingual school the interviewee communicates with the Chinese students and parents on WeChat, as they do not use Facebook.

¹²² Based on the guideline teachers were asked about the following online skills: bookmark websites, block messages, find information on safe internet usage, produce videos, produce Stories on Instagram, use WhatsApp/Telegram, post on Facebook, create a page on Facebook, use Snapchat, YouTube, Skype, make screenshot, use passwords for online devices.
"The Hungarian governmental propaganda is about migration issues. (…) It is demagogy superlative and distraction from the real problems. (…) it builds on existing sentiments, and results in hate and fear." (teacher3)

"They take our jobs, and our women, and conquer our land – such fake news will always exist. There will always be people who will use this to reach their goal.” (teacher5)

As school has been excluded as a place for politics, and teachers are not supposed to talk about politics to students, many interviewees are frustrated, because they see students vulnerable in relation to fake news. None of them brings up directly the issue of migrant related fake news at school and only a few of them steps out of the expected neutral position if it is brought up by the students.

"Because of bloody politics it is more and more difficult to argue and disprove what students hear everywhere. Soon it will be a scandal. A parent goes to KLIK123 to tell them about my opposition activity, that I stand by migrants.” (teacher3)

"Migrant topic is very sensitive. The government encourages parents to report teachers to KLIK if they notice inappropriate contents are shared with the children. This is why many teachers are afraid.” (teacher1)

Conscious media-consumption trainer thinks that in the changing media environment fake news play a more and more important role in Hungary. They design training materials for teachers, parents and students about fake news, propaganda and stereotypes, and at the same time they also have to meet expectations of not including actual political content in the educational material.

"We teach in an environment, where we have to be very careful with these sensitive topics. We try to include conscious citizen’s attitude and fake news, but we have to be very cautious of not mentioning any actual politics. But it is very hard finding anything related to stereotypes and propaganda which is understandable for them and has no actual politics in it.” (teacher4)

Based on our findings although teachers are aware of fake news, only in exceptional circumstances – open-minded school (head master, colleagues) – they talk about them with their students. „In this school most of the teachers do not mind if politics is brought up by students. They think that we have to work with what comes up. But even here there are teachers who cannot deal with these situations, either they are afraid or have no skills to tackle them.” (teacher2)

3.12. Teachers’ level of awareness on stereotype/discrimination/media and representation of migration

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter interviewees are all aware of fake news. Because public life in Hungary has been dominated by governmental anti-migrant propaganda in the last few years, this is the only content what respondents spontaneously recall when asked about fake news. They also agree that migrants’ representation is stereotypical and discriminative in the governmental discourse and they all disapprove it.

„Such representation of migrants is very problematic (…) I do not understand how can it coexist with the Christian faith.” (teacher3)

„Based on governmental propaganda the migrant is coming with a closed bag and he carries a knife, and is full of bad intentions (…) He cannot have a degree, he is what is described above." (teacher5)

Stigmatized migrant’s representations not only appeared in relation to the governmental propaganda in teacher’s interviewees but student interviewees also shared some examples of teachers who tuned into the official anti-migrant discourse.

123 Klebelsberg Intézményfenntartó Központ (Klebelsberg Center): the administrative unit was established in 2012 to serve as an intermediary between the schools and the ministry, for supervising schools.
“My geography teacher has met a migrant, who told him that it would not be good if a migrant child came to the class, because if you had a problem with him, 3-4 of them would catch you on the street with a knife.” (student7)

“When migrants moved into the Children’s Village, our teacher told us not to get about alone. (…) He also believed it, that these people would harm us.” (student8)

But probably teacher’s behavior towards migrant stigmatized representation – what students experience most often – is silence and expressing objection to political content.

“It is a very sensitive issue because of its political connotations. At school it is not allowed to talk about politics. As an ethics teacher, we went through all the world religions with my class, but without resolution.” (teacher8)

Discrimination of migrant students is not on the agenda, since the schools involved in the project have hardly any migrant pupils. Yet, there are Roma students. Although teachers in general think Roma students are not discriminated at school, as pointed in the previous paragraph non-Roma students often perceive them as Other. Teachers who work at segregated schools and social institutions think that Roma students tend to be discriminated by non-Roma classmates.

4. PARENTS’ EXPERIENCES ONLINE

As it was said earlier mothers were recruited through our personal network. The eight mothers’ sample comprises of six nationals and two nationals with other ethnic background (a Jordanian woman who had a refugee status on arrival to Hungary, and became Hungarian citizen later, and an ethnic Hungarian woman from Serbia). Among interviewed mothers there are some differences regarding educational attainment, but the majority has a university or college degree. They are all middle class mothers in their forties. Three mothers’ interviews are also complemented with interviews conducted with their children.

4.1. Parents’ access and use of Internet

Interviewed mothers use smart phones and laptops/PCs for online activities. In their case smart phone is mainly used for personal goals and laptop/PC for work and personal issues (communication, information, entertainment). Length of time spent online mostly depends on labor market position: as half of the interviewees work full time in an office, that means a minimum of eight hours are spent online at the workplace. The other half of interviewed mothers have more flexible working hours, and are not obliged to sit in front of a computer. Working full time online or not, it seems that mothers spend at least a few hours daily (above the work related activities) on the Internet communicating with children, family/friends and school; searching for information, arranging things online (e.g. bank, shopping), and watching movies. Mothers’ daily length of online time also seems to depend on whether they are single mothers or live in a relationship. Singles show a more marked use of Internet than those who are in a relationship. All of them have unlimited Internet connection, but those who work from home do not use it on the street habitually.

Based on our findings the online aspect of weekends differs from weekdays: mothers tend to organize offline activities with their children.

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124 There is a child centre in the settlement which accepts unaccompanied migrants.
125 In our sample the only exception is the bilingual school where half of the students are foreign born.
126 In case of discrimination in class, competent and responsible teachers can take a lead for creating accepting atmosphere, at least this is how our affected interviewees see and experience it.
127 E.g. private English teacher, entrepreneur, free-lancer
128 Often on a TV screen
“If we decide to do something with my daughter, then I do not go online. In that case I also tell her not to use her phone either. Then we go and enjoy the program.” (mother1)

In case the family stays at home at the weekend, it only happens occasionally that individual online activities turn into family activities. Watching a movie together online might stand as one (and only) example.

Nearly all interviewees have online activities in the morning. Those who follow a stricter agenda even get up an hour earlier to start the day with answering work related emails – like some of the teachers do –, while the majority’s online morning activities comprise of reading news, interesting contents, surfing on Facebook, exchanging messages with friends for a half an hour. In most cases there is a 1-2 hours period of the evening online activities with similar components.

4.2. Parents’ activities and skills

Most of interviewees use Messenger for communication, and some of them Viber. Facebook is the dominant social networking site of the asked mothers. Among mothers professional Facebook groups are less often mentioned then among teachers, mothers seem to use Facebook more for private connections and friends. Nearly all interviewees also have Instagram account, but they are passive users. As our findings showed Instagram is the main social networking site of the young target group (age 11-14) and parents of this generation happen to be on the site mainly for this reason.

Interviewed mothers do not regularly post on Facebook, they seem to communicate more in smaller Facebook groups and observe/like what others post. This type of online behavior makes them somewhat similar to the generation of their children who rather “follow” others.

“I am regularly on Facebook, look through what Facebook friends posted, follow birthdays which are displayed by Facebook, but I hardly ever post anything.” (mother3)

The majority of interviewees master nearly all online skills in question. We already mentioned some generational preferences towards social networking sites. Based on that, none of them have Snapchat or can produce Stories on Instagram. Although YouTube is used by them, producing videos is not an online skill everyone has. Mothers seem to be quite confident Internet users and they think that the differences in digital skills of parents and children come from the different online sites used by each of them. This opinion is connected to the fact that there are rarely any online activities that parents and children of this 11-14 age group share.

“We tried with something, but we like different things, and I don’t have time for staying with her for hours.” (mother1)

“It is rare that I watch movies online with them. Mostly they tell us what they want to see, and we check it if it is available, and they watch it on their own. (…) I guess online activity is a solitary activity.” (mother3)

4.3. Parents’ level of awareness and view on sources of information and fake news

Although mothers were also selected through our informal network, they do not seem to be as homogeneous as a group as teachers, especially regarding awareness of information sources and fake news.

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129 Based on the guideline mothers were asked about the following online skills: bookmark websites, block messages, find information on safe internet usage, produce videos, produce Stories on Instagram, use WhatsApp/Telegram, post on Facebook, Create a page on Facebook, Use Snapchat, Youtube, Skype.
Mothers can be divided into two groups: one group is apolitical and does not follow the news; the others are interested in politics and news. The motivations of apolitical mothers are not well known; what is known is that their information bubble contains very few elements of news, politics, and of social issues. There are cases when it is a process of withdrawing, and a reaction to the over politicized atmosphere.

“I got to the point not to read any news anymore. Earlier I used to read them, news from one side and from the other side, but I heard only shouting, incitement from both sides. I didn't want to deal with this. I detached myself entirely from the Hungarian political life.” (mother2)

Not negligible those in the other mother's group are the interviewees with other ethnic background and mothers working/worked for migrant-specific NGOs. This group can be described with a bigger information bubble containing political and social elements. Related to these elements interviewees also experience irritation and tiredness but as they feel affected, continue to inform themselves.

“I am interested in politics, and also in wider social problems, but I don't like that there are so many fake news.” (mother1)

Similarly to teachers' perception, interviewed mothers also associate fake news with anti-migrant governmental propaganda. They shared some of their reality checks' practices regarding migrant related news, such as searching for the source of a deceptive photo (e.g. ship loaded with thousands of refugees), or asking reliable people, and trying to make sure with their own eyes.

“I know someone who worked at the reception centre in Békéscsaba, and asked him about the situation, and how true it was, because the media was loud about migrants, about migrants' masses that time. They had two invaders, and both of them were Romanian.” (mother1)

„Whenever I travelled through the affected borders, to Croatia or Serbia, I have never seen masses of people who would have wanted to cross the border, and come to Hungary.” (mother2)

Some of them only read anti-governmental sources for reliable information, while others differentiate between fake news' sites and questionable news' sites. Most of them agree that fake news serve as distraction from the important issues and country level problems and are used to justify and maximize governmental power.

“If people are afraid, then they accept their opportunities might be limited. (...) As long as these are the news, the whole country is munching on them, talking about them, and then there is no attention payed to things otherwise would be important to them.” (mother2)

### 4.4. Parents’ level of awareness on stereotype/discrimination/media and representation of migration

Interviewed mothers\(^\text{130}\) are irritated and shocked by the representation of migrants in governmental propaganda. They found it unacceptable, discriminative and stereotypical. As they mentioned, even their children know that “it isn’t the color that makes the people”, and “we don't hate anyone”.

Mothers' own experiences seem to shape their awareness and perception regarding stigmatized migrants' representation. The ethnic Hungarian mother expresses anger about other ethnic Hungarian parents who are loyal to present government and accept anti-migrant propaganda transferring it to their own children.

“‘How can his classmate be against migrants whose mother and father have resettled from Transylvania, when his own parents are also migrants?’” (mother3)

The mother with recognizable ethnic background experiences the anti-migrant propaganda's negative effect on her everyday life.

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\(^{130}\) This group consists of mothers with other ethnic background and mothers working/worked for migrant-specific NGOs.
“Migrants are depicted here as very bad people. When I moved recently, the neighbors were afraid of us first, just because they talked bad about us on TV that it is not safe, and migrants don't behave well. (...) One of the neighbors told to the others, that migrants came, who knows from where, but they came. We couldn't convince her that we are just like her. The others became friendly when they saw that we are completely different compared to what was shown on TV.” (mother4)

5. COMPARISON

5.1. Similarities and differences between the groups

The three groups show to be generally frequent users of the Internet. Adult usually try to regulate the length of their and their children’s online spent time but students are less often focus on limits. It is visible that mothers’ conscious online activities most likely results in less excessive online presence of the children. Socially disadvantaged position (Roma students in the sample) seems to have an unfavorable effect on students’ online activities. Adults’ online presence is equally divided in between laptops/PCs and smart phones, whereas students’ dominant digital device is the smart phone. Smart phones are the symbol of independent time spent online for students, but from the adults’ perspective it is something that is hard to control.

Adults’ main social networking site is Facebook, whereas students use Instagram. This platforms’ profile determines the dominant online activities one can perform: Facebook’s visual and written content is not only the source of friends’ personal life but also the source of information regarding news. Instagram is dominantly visual and focuses on personal life. In the adults’ perspective students use Messenger/Viber much more for communicating with friends then adults do. Online games and watching videos, following vloggers are also online activities dominantly connected to students compared to adults. Posting and sharing written content belongs to adults’ online activities, whereas students use visuals about hobbies/everyday life, and hardly ever share any written content public. All three groups agree that the biggest online harm is bullying for students, as peer group has a significant influence on them. Concepts of stereotypes and prejudice are often interchangeable expressions for students, and discrimination is identified as online bullying. All of the target groups agree that migrant students are not in the focus of discrimination, primarily because many of the students do not have any migrant classmates at all. But it has to be mentioned that there are not many migrant interviewees to confess personal experiences. In contrast adults think that Roma students are discriminated at school.

Fake news is not considered among the biggest online hazards, as children’s personal safety is usually not depending on them. Fake news means many times automatically anti-migrant propaganda for adults, whereas it is not connected spontaneously to politics in students’ mind. The interviewed students seem to be confident filtering out fake news related to their field of interest/hobbies. But they are less certain in the realm of politics. Anti-migrant propaganda is a heavy topic for adults and students alike, but adults can deal with it better; among their strategies there is resistance, ignorance and indignation. Teachers are often frustrated as they cannot express their views because of their public role. Compared to adults students are much more vulnerable, as politics in not their realm, and usually do not have enough information and knowledge to understand the situation. Based on the research students’ mood changed the most when images of anti-migrant propaganda were shown to them. They many times expressed ambivalent feelings of fear, shame, sadness, compassion, anger and impatience.

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131 Longer screen time, presence on more online platforms, more risky online behavior and less online skills possessed.

132 We should not forget the example of the Jordan-Palestine family who finally left Hungary primarily because of classmates did not accepted the children at school.
III. CONCLUSION: TOWARDS THE MULTICULTURAL KIT

The analysis of official, academic data and NGO reports is showing that the majority of the Hungarian population does not have a direct relationship with foreigners living in the country, they receive their information from the media, from the online and offline media and pass it on. Thus, the role of the media in shaping the opinion of the Hungarian population on migration and its image of foreigners cannot be emphasized enough. Mistakes, inaccuracies, fake news in the media become part of public thinking at the same time.

Based on our findings students at this young age (11-14) are more exposed to (political) fake news than older generations, because it is not a field they feel comfortable in. The anti-migrant governmental propaganda has been so powerful that even children could not be left out of its effects. It is no matter on which side their parents (determining if parents are anti- or pro-migrants) are, for students to be forced to see and think about this adult content would result in tension and emotional uncertainties.

As it was revealed in the interviews reliable adult mediation on this issue is missing. Teachers have a very limited ‘legal’ role in supporting students: since migrant issue became a highly over politicized question, they are officially not allowed to bring up the topic (and better not to talk about the work done by those teachers who are in line with present government).

Some students are yelling ‘migrants’ in classes where there are not any migrants, and in classes where there are a few; and in the Hungarian countryside a 12 year old Roma student chooses to continue education as a private student to escape classmates who have been calling him ‘migrant’.

We do think that NEMO and similar projects/methodologies are strongly needed to learn about the actual situation of the age group and to give support to reduce harm.

In the following we will summarize some of our main findings of the needs analysis.

1.1 Good practices against misinformation on migration and fake news

BEAMS -Breaking down European Attitudes towards Migrant/Minority Stereotypes (2013-2014)

The project brings together 15 partners from 11 different EU states to better understand the link between popular culture stereotypes of migrant and minority groups and discriminatory attitudes of the consumers/citizens, which still prevent such groups from obtaining full rights of citizenship in many respects.

http://www.beams-project.eu/partnership/menedek/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makers</th>
<th>Menedék Hungarian Association for Migrants prepared a methodological guide based on the experiences of their community program, and a media camp for youth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>Organisations and experts who are working with children and youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>To raise social awareness of inclusion and rejection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>The guide is sharing the experiences of the community program, a media camp for youth also based on the associations expertise. The guide is providing a detailed descriptions of the agenda and the activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>The guide is only available in Hungarian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Chat Story

Telenor Hungary launched "Chat Story" is a chatbot launched on Facebook’s instant messaging platform, Messenger. Talking to this computer program, which is designed to simulate a conversation, users are
able to engage in a story, the storyline of which can entirely be customized by the users. Taking the users on a dating journey, the youth can familiarize themselves with concepts such as digital footprints and the handling of personal data, just to mention a couple, while relationship psychology also plays an important part of the storyline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makers</th>
<th>Telenor Hungary</th>
<th><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDIgCwbBZis&amp;feature=youtu.be">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDIgCwbBZis&amp;feature=youtu.be</a></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>Teenagers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>To promote the conscious use of Internet.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>The youth can familiarize themselves with concepts such as digital footprints and the handling of personal data, just to mention a couple, while relationship psychology also plays an important part of the storyline.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>Messenger (only in Hungarian)</td>
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**COLOURSCHOOL 2 (2012-2013)**

The aim of the project was to increase the knowledge of secondary school-aged pupils on immigration, to strengthen their social sensitivity, social awareness with a help of a complex sensory program based on film projections. The “ColourSchool” project was implemented by ODEON Video Publishing and Lending Company with the support of the European Integration Fund (EIA).

[https://hu-hu.facebook.com/Colourschool](https://hu-hu.facebook.com/Colourschool)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makers</th>
<th>ODEON Video Publishing and Lending Company</th>
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<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>14-18 age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>To raise social awareness of inclusion and rejection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>A program based on the methods of psychodrama and movie analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>In presence</td>
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**FOR PUPILS ABOUT MIGRATION (2013)**

The project’s aim was to increasing society’s awareness and sensitivity related to migration, as well as strengthening the openness of primary and secondary school-age children. Upper grade pupils from five primary schools and pupils from five secondary schools in Budapest (400 altogether) were participating in groups throughout two semesters in the workshops on intercultural topics and the different aspects of migration.


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<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>main target is 11-14 age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>To increase society’s awareness and sensitivity related to migration, as well as strengthen the openness of primary and secondary school-age children</td>
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<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
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<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>In presence</td>
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</table>
Menekülj okosan! (‘Escape wisely!’) - theatrical board game

Joint production of the Mentőcsónak Egység (Lifeboat Unit), the Füge Production and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee. The goal of the creators of the interactive theatrical board game is to make the audience think through basic human rights dilemmas. These decision-making situations in the game are related to the fate of refugees, but they raise more general questions about the functioning of democracy or dictatorship, self-esteem or solidarity, tolerance and inclusion or even exclusion.

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<tr>
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<th>Joint production of the Mentőcsónak Egység (Lifeboat Unit), the Füge Production and the Hungarian Helsinki Committee. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LF9YtVbqpsE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LF9YtVbqpsE</a></th>
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<tr>
<td>Target</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>In presence (based on Amnesty International’s boardgame)</td>
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Bűvösvölgy (Magic Valley)

Media literacy education supporting children (9-16 age) in their conscious and safe media use in two cities, Budapest, Debrecen. Participation in their programmes is strictly school-based. They also offer lesson plans, infographics on fake news.

[http://magicvalley.hu/](http://magicvalley.hu/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makers</th>
<th>National Media and Infocommunications Authority (Nemzeti Média- és Hírközlési Hatóság, NMHH) <a href="http://magicvalley.hu/">http://magicvalley.hu/</a></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>9-16 age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>Media literacy education supporting children in their conscious and safe media use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>Media literacy education supporting children in their conscious and safe media use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility (Media device/ in presence)</td>
<td>In presence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAME World Project

The aim of raising awareness on the topics of Environmental Justice, Climate Change and Environmental Migrants, especially among European students, teachers and educators. Together with 8 European associates, mainly Universities, and our associates from Kenya, Myanmar, Mozambique and Tanzania, we are trying to spread information and awareness on these topics. Educational kit, theater plays and workshops at schools, training of teachers, inline game also were provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makers</th>
<th>The Hungarian partner of the project was Artemisszió Foundation <a href="http://edu-kit.sameworld.eu/">http://edu-kit.sameworld.eu/</a> <a href="https://issuu.com/artemisszio98/docs/sameworld_edu-kit_hun_2">https://issuu.com/artemisszio98/docs/sameworld_edu-kit_hun_2</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Target</td>
<td>Teachers, youth workers, trainers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>To increase awareness and sensitivity related to migration, as well as strengthen the openness of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short description</td>
<td>Toolkit with background papers and school assignments which are linked to three major global themes (migration, climate change, environmental justice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>Online</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Suggestions of interviewees

1.2.1 Teachers' suggestions

In Hungary the National core curriculum and the Digital Strategy creates the opportunity for students to learn about conscious media usage at school. In 2012 independent media teaching was stopped and its content became incorporated to other subjects, at least based on the curriculum. As media teachers stated this opportunity mostly stays theoretical, because of the lack of teacher trainings. In reality it is very rare that teachers can include conscious media usage content in their subjects, as they are not prepared for it. We also need to mention The Digital Thematic Week. The main aim is to promote and disseminate the methodology of digital pedagogy in public education. An important endeavor of the program is to extend digital competence development beyond the IT class to other subjects. Participating teachers and students can develop their skills in technology-supported learning within the framework of diverse and creative school projects.

Interviewed teachers agreed that schools should be the place for sensitizing students and work for acceptance, and inclusion, but usually there is little time left for it. Although 11-14 years old students have weekly ethics lessons, actual political contents, e.g. migrant issues – how to deal with discrimination - are not introduced. Whether students get to work with contents related to NEMO’s objectives (fake news, stereotypes, discrimination against third country students, intercultural differences) highly depends on the actual school/teacher. Based on the teachers’ interviews it seems that it is entirely up to dedicated schools and teachers whether above mentioned issues are raised at all. Most of our interviewed teachers shared some episodes which could be taken as good practices for NEMO project.

Most of them agree that teachers should let students talk about the issues they want to bring up. Besides of available time and space for discussion, avoiding judgmental attitude from teachers is a must. Among the mentioned good examples we can find the girls’ group at a segregated school which is an after school activity where sensitive topics can also be brought up.

“It happened when they called one another migrant. Then I asked them if they knew what migrant means. (...) We traced back that once we were all migrants, and they (Roma) were migrants not even a long time ago. We also agreed that it is not good to use this expression as a bad word.” (teacher6)

According to interviewed teachers spontaneous occasions can also be turned into opportunities of speaking about something that otherwise wouldn’t have been possible because of its actual political content.

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153 The first thematic week was held in the schoolyear 2015/2016 as an initiative of the Ministry of Human Capacities.
154 As we said earlier there was an overrepresentation of intercultural sensitive and/or media teachers in our sample, therefore dedication to work with issues of discrimination against migrants was most possibly higher among them, compared to average.
„At English class we watched the Oscar Gala. The main actor of the Queen movie had a speech about how satisfied he is being a first generation migrant... The first reaction of the students was very negative, how he can propagate it... Than we had a discussion about how in the USA everybody is a migrant, and that I was also one of them.” (teacher9)

Media teachers in our sample have a high awareness on how to address these issues while preparing an activity for this age group. According to their experiences it is more effective if:

- students draw the conclusions rather than being told the appropriate answer (behavior/attitude);
- instead of telling them about the topic, involving them in an activity;

"It does not work if you tell them not to be afraid of them, because it will lead to resistance, because they bring something entirely different from home. (...) We didn’t talk about it directly, but through examples, e.g. during our project week at school, related to my project about fake news I wasn’t afraid bringing these topics in the discourse. They had to write titles to certain photos or go after contents of articles.” (teacher2)

Activities proved to be also more effective in this age group if:

- used methods are rooted in their (teenagers) field of interest (online, video, music, online skills);
- used contents are rooted in their field of interest (teenagers’ everyday life, hobbies, famous people).

“I took them to Verzio Documentary Film Festival’s students’ screening to watch Easy Lessons (...) they were absolutely open towards the film. I guess it is not only my merit, and it might also played a role, that the Roma girls in my class felt close to the Somalian protagonist girl. I think that these experiences can help, as we don’t have migrant students in school.” (teacher2)

“Fact-checking can be taught them (...). They are also full of fake news, and misinformation, but their world experience is not the field of politics yet. If we start to teach them rooted in their world experience, then they will become more sensitive when later on propaganda hits on them. (...) E.g. I held an introductory class about fake news, and students found it cool that they had to find out based on a Facebook post, picture and text, if Schwarzenegger really slept outside of a hotel because he was locked out.” (teacher4)

When we asked teachers about suggestions for the multicultural kit, the following ideas were shared: using videos/short films/stories, playing situational games, using less formal language, showing practicalities on how to filter fake news out, adapting content to students’ interests.

“It has to have actuality for them, something that is close to them, regarding music, or colors, something that is welcomed among this teenager circle, informal and cool.” (teacher5)

“Situational games or other games where they have to be active usually work. Or showing them what else can be done with smart phones above playing on them.” (teacher6)

In teachers’ opinion personality and tone of the trainer is one of the most determining thing. It is especially true if we want to work among Roma students as it was said by teachers representing segregated schools in our sample.

“Patience, kindness, sociability are all very important. As a teacher you can’t be distant. I share a lot about myself when I have a conversation with Roma students, in order to show them that I also have problems, and this is when they accept me and start to come closer.” (teacher1)
“Their attention could be drawn if one takes personal stories. Situational games or stories usually help them. (…) Taking an extract of a film can be effective too. But personal stories affect them most. They will ask you anyway if anything like that has happened to you already.” (teacher6)

Teachers biggest concerns was the time constrain of the future training, because of the curriculum imposed on them and of the overload of students.

1.2.2. Parents’ suggestions

Based on the mothers’ interviews schools vary regarding the availability of sensitizing activities. Most mothers could connect the topic to ethics lessons, but they also agreed that there are not enough discussions about discrimination and acceptance at school. Especially the non-national mother pays attention to the lacking opportunities.

“Ethics lessons could be the place to discuss about inclusion. But there is no focus on it at school, because there are only a few foreign children. It depends on the teacher’s personality, how open s/he is, and to what extent does s/he pays attention to these issues.” (mother4)

There is only one school where there are lots of activities connected to NEMO’s objective, as they are part of international projects focusing on reducing discrimination.

Mothers prefer interactive activities, and think that children’s own experience’s based learning is more effective than frontal presentations. As good examples Káva Theater of the Participant137, psychodrama method, and “Blue eyes/Brown eyes” social experiment addressing racism by Jane Eliott138 were mentioned.

“I always tell to my child to imagine herself in the place of the other. (…) I think there is nothing stronger than experiencing on my own skin what it is like when I am the subject of differentiating. (…) I find this Blue eyes/Brown eyes experiment a bit radical, but very effective. And it is not only migrant students, because there aren’t many of them, but e.g. Roma students. Children should have the experience of what it is like to be in their place.” (mother1)

“In my younger child’s class there was an interactive theater performance that tematized bullying. Káva is taking participatory theater to schools. Children were included, they played two situations, and students had to finish them. This is possibly more effective than frontal teaching.” (mother3)

Mothers, similarly to teachers, are aware that this teenager group’s characteristics have to be taken account while designing activities for them. They think that applying digital technology in the toolkit would enhance motivation of the target group.

“I think that it has to be at least partly digital activity. (…) children can dive into it; they can post it and share it.” (mother1)

1.2.3. Students’ suggestions

Based on students’ interviews schools do not offer sensitizing activities, there is only one exception in our sample. The existing good practice comprises of a regular 10 days long “anti-discrimination summer camp” in Hungary and in Germany where different activities are organized in order to reduce discriminatory attitudes of students.

“Last year the method was playing theater, and this year we made short movies. Nearly all the class was there and I think that this activity was effective even in case of prejudiced children. (…) we used stop motion

137 https://kavaszinhaz.hu/en/
method, and we shared our own experiences connected to discrimination. (…) there were concrete stories, like for Example one of them was about a gay boy, who is excluded. Then comes another gay student and they stand up for themselves.” (student2)

Thinking about activities that would help reducing anti-migrant, discriminatory attitudes in the young target group, students mention real time encounters with refugees/migrants, movies/presentations from professionals (NGOs) about other cultures, and of other ways of life.

"First teachers should present us other cultures. Impartially tell what is their culture about, and not to judge them on the first place. (…) we could watch movies, or go to places where we could meet them\textsuperscript{139}, in order to feel more connected.” (student12)

"They should also be listened to, about why they leaved their country, and what is going on back home, and such things.” (student7)

Some of the students think that it would be good to have a direct and open conversation in class including the class teacher about anti-migrant attitudes, to make it clear for students that hate speech is not acceptable.

There are a few students who suggest designing an app for experiencing of what it is like being discriminated by others.

1.2. Our suggestions for the multicultural kit

- Based on the young target group's online activities we think that the multicultural kit should also comprise similarities of the age group regardless of the cultural background. As it was revealed most of the students are active users on the social networking sites (Instagram), many of them regularly share photos, and some of them make My Stories and post videos. Nearly all of the active users post visuals about their interest/hobbies – pictures about the dog, competition, cars; roller-skating, visited towns, own drawings – but seldom share any pictures about themselves or their family. Making national students aware of the fact that non national students have the same interests/hobbies like them would draw them closer and would feel more similar to one another.

- Another specificity of the kit could be built on the solidarity among the age group. Showing examples of non-national students having similar problems to national students would also result in reducing distance in between these groups.

- Regarding the possessed online skills there is another group that shows alteration compared to the patterns showed by the majority. Among the socially disadvantaged group of Roma students\textsuperscript{140} more online platforms are used even at a young age compared to non-Romas\textsuperscript{141} in our sample. E.g. 11 years old students already use social networking sites (Instagram), TikTok and Messenger, above YouTube. But their more extensive use of the Internet does not necessarily mean possessing the required online skills even at an older age. For example not all of these respondents knew at the age of 14 how to block unwanted messages, or how to find information on the Internet. And those students who take part in lessons about safe Internet usage seem to know well what they shouldn’t do online. Measuring the actual knowledge of children and teaching them the missing skills in a manner what children would enjoy more than a frontal instructions would also be an important part of the multicultural toolkit.

\textsuperscript{139} people from other cultures

\textsuperscript{140} Surveys were filled in by these youngsters at a local, social institution for youth.

\textsuperscript{141} We are not finding correlation here in between being a member of certain ethnic group and unfavorable practices. We are convinced that unfavorable practices, e.g. non-conscious online usage (extensive online presence without required skills) are rooted in the disadvantaged social background, but our sample does not contain socially disadvantaged non-Roma students, except of the Roma students.
• Comics, memes could also be included in the kit creating unity among national and non-national students through laughter. During the interviews more teacher highlighted the importance of the humor.

• Based on our research and the data collected for the literature review we need to assume that most Hungarians, including children haven't yet met or had a longer interaction with a migrant person. Taken into account the importance of the own experience based learning we would recommend that the toolkit should have such an element too.

• Discussions with trainers and other experts working with children also showed us the relevance of using the methods and approaches of more pedagogical trends, like global education, design pedagogy\(^\text{142}\).

IV. ANNEX

1.1. Examples used in the qualitative research

EXAMPLE 1.

Translation of the text of the post:
Brussels is working with full steam on organizing the migration
We do not ask from that!
Even before the May EP elections, they want to grave the support for migration in stone.

Screenshot of a post from a Facebook page called ELÉG! (enough)
The page’s short description on Facebook:

Névjegy
ELÉG a baloldal hazugságaiból!
Csatlakozz, és hívj meg másokat!

About
ENOUGH of the lies of the left side!

\(^{142}\) Global education: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global\_education,
Design pedagogy: http://newlearningonline.com/learning-by-design/pedagogy
EXAMPLE 2.

Translation of the text:
If you are coming to Hungary, you cannot take the jobs from the Hungarians!

National consultation on immigration and terrorism

Governmental billboard campaign. The consultation took place in 2016 as the first among the national consultations initiated by the government on similar topics.

EXAMPLE 3.

Translation of the title:
The pressure of migration is increasing in Europe

Screenshot of an article from www.origo.hu website. Origo is one of the most visited news sites in Hungary. It represents the same position as the Hungarian Government on migration issues.
1.2. Bibliography


https://kisebbsegkutato.tk.mta.hu/uploads/files/archive/Bevandorlas_e%CC%81s_integracio_minden.pdf
(Accessed: 20 March 2019)


