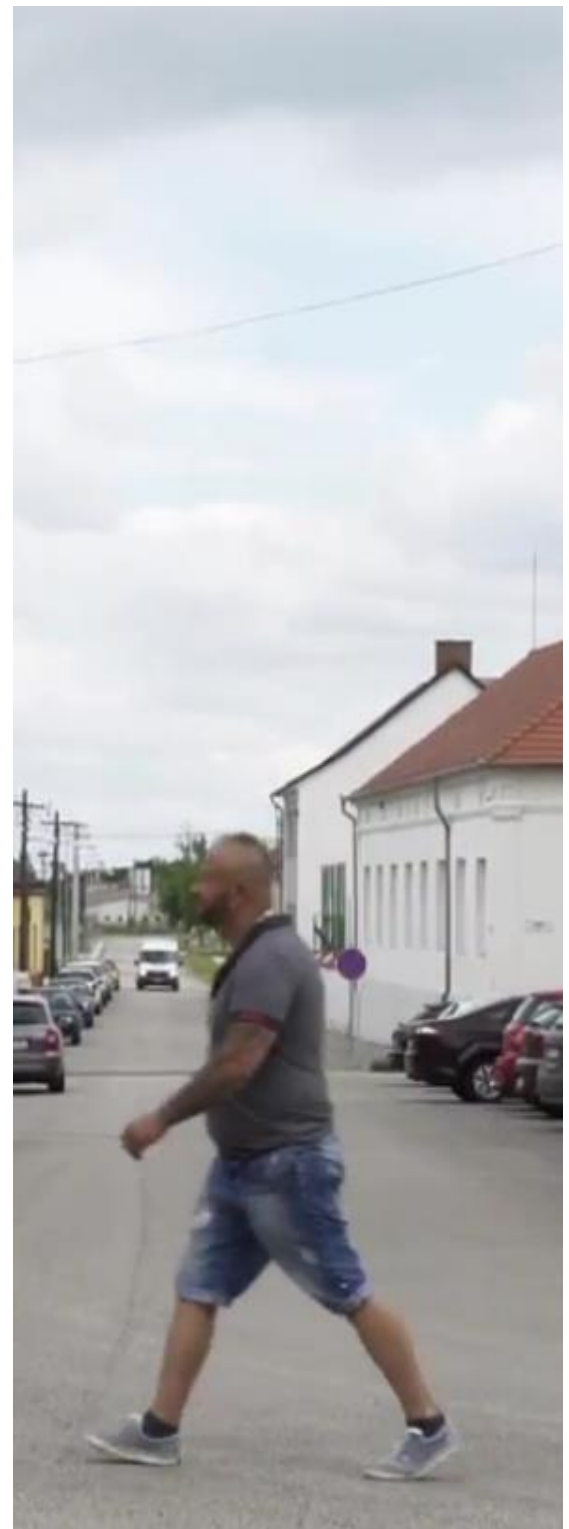


EXTREME DIALOGUE.ORG





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Union

Szabolcs' Story – Resource Pack

Find out more about Szabolcs' story using this multi-media educational resource that further explores the consequences and effects of discrimination and extremism today.

About Extreme Dialogue:

The Extreme Dialogue project aims to reduce the appeal of extremism among young people via a series of short films and educational resources that can be used in classrooms or community settings and are intended to build resilience to extremism through active discussion and enhanced critical thinking.

The project has brought together an international consortium of expertise including the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, the educational charity the Tim Parry Johnathan Ball Foundation for Peace and film-makers Duckrabbit.

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the European Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

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INDEX

- *INTRODUCTION* p.4
- *WHO ARE WE?* p.8
- *WHAT HAPPENED TO US?* p.15
- *TIME TO REPAIR* p.22
- *INFORMATION SHEETS* p.28

INTRODUCTION

WHO IS THE RESOURCE PACK FOR?

This resource pack is aimed primarily at young people aged 14-18 years. Whilst these may be the primary age groups, it could easily be used with audiences a little older or perhaps even a little younger depending on their maturity levels and levels of support. The resource or exercises within it could also be used with and by those tasked with working with young people as an opportunity to further explore issues surrounding extremism and radicalisation.

WHAT DOES IT AIM TO DO?

The resource pack aims to provide opportunities for exploration and further learning to accompany the films which feature people who have perpetrated or survived extremism, or who are experiencing transition and marginalisation.

It provides a series of exercises and activities to enable robust conversations to take place around what can be a difficult topic to explore.

We aim to develop young people's educational, psychological and social understanding through the resource by;

- Increasing young people's knowledge and understanding of violent extremism and its roots.
- Challenging myths and misconceptions held around individuals and groups.
- Increasing contact with individuals and their stories, building empathy and association.
- Evaluating why individuals become motivated to join extreme groups and commit violence.
- Analysing the consequences and effects of violent extremism.
- Developing the skills to think critically.
- Considering how young people can be involved in influencing and affecting change.

Exercises and activities are deliberately participatory to maximise participation and encourage learning from the wider group. Our approach is one of the facilitation of learning to encourage participation, openness and collective learning. For this reason we avoid providing single or limiting solutions and responses so as to encourage expression and engagement through participants' contributions and responses. We have found this approach to be particularly successful when working across mixed groups and on topics that can sometimes be difficult to engage with.

Within the resources, you will find the following:

- Questioning and explorations – to enhance participants' own emotional literacy and responses to content, to share different perspectives and viewpoints.
- Narrative exercises – setting the record straight.
- Problem solving – exercises to be delivered or carried out in a large or small groups. These are included to encourage participants to think about doing things differently, entertaining new possibilities and exploring alternatives.
- Moral reasoning – scenarios and situations to encourage critical thinking and the consideration of what makes up our own core values and shared beliefs.
- Choices and consequences – the impact of actions and decisions, including considering the impact on victims.
- 'Get Active' – what can you do? 'We need you to....' Exercises to explore the next steps for individuals and communities and consider practical steps to achieving that.

USING THIS RESOURCE

The resources have been designed to examine numerous themes and topics within the films. The Prezis and the accompanying session plans work through chronologically providing a series of additional films, images and audio quotes to complement the films.

We do, of course, advocate that all sessions are undertaken with groups in order to maximise the learning possibilities available. We do however recognise that people may not wish to do so, and as such, sections tend to be contained and concluded to enable safe navigation between them.

Each of the workshops are quite lengthy and run at between 3.5-4.5 hours on average. You could consider cutting these sessions down to be delivered in 1-1.5 hour chunks depending upon what you have time for in your session. Similarly, the timings given for each activity or exercise are intended as guidelines and some groups may wish to shorten or extend the open discussions depending on their time constraints.

PREPARING FOR THE SESSION

In preparing for the workshops, it is recommended that facilitators familiarise themselves with all content prior to using it. This includes viewing all of the short films and reviewing the exercises that are contained within.

Some of the exercises may require that lists or sheets are printed out in advance. Some of the exercises do not have instructions on the screen - this is deliberate so as to provide variety and flexibility within delivery. As such, the facilitator should familiarise themselves in advance.

In order to deliver the session effectively, facilitators may wish to ensure that there are flip chart pads and/or large pieces of paper available so that groups can record their responses collectively and share with the wider group in plenary.

DELIVERING THE SESSION

It is often a good idea to spend time establishing the group and what they are about to embark upon in terms of the learning journey. This can take the form of simply speaking to the group to explain what it is that they are about to view and discuss. It is however often useful to establish an agreement or set of rules and expectations around participation. For an established group, this may not be necessary as patterns for learning may already be well established and work well. For other groups, it can be helpful in promoting confidence and encouraging participation in discussions on a topic that some may find difficult. Statements such as 'really listening to others - even when difficult' may appear, as well as more usual requests such as 'mobile phones on silent to avoid distraction', etc.

Suggestions have been made about asking people to work individually, putting people into pairs or into small groups. It may be that, as a facilitator, you wish to change this a little and switch between these, either increasing or reducing the size of your groupings. You should feel free to exercise your own judgement depending on what you feel is appropriate for the group whilst ensuring that safety is paramount for participants.

There are some notes within the resource packs to give clarity over the learning points and provide notes for the educator. These are not however exhaustive and are designed to allow the facilitator to apply with a certain amount of freedom and flexibility. That said, there are clear safety considerations with these resources. These are not the types of topics that are always familiar to participants and could evoke emotional responses. It is important that the facilitator considers this in their construction and delivery of any session. Furthermore, due to the nature of the content it is important that the facilitator remains available during the session. This could mean visiting small groups or being on hand for a one-to-one chat during or after the session.

FEEDBACK

If you valued using the resources, or have ideas on how they could be improved, please get in touch via info@extremedialogue.org.

<i>ACTIVITY</i>	<i>LEARNING OUTCOMES</i>	<i>TEACHING POINTS</i>
<p>Introduction to session</p> <p>Duration: 2 minutes, Prezi Frame: 1</p> <p>Tell the group that they are going to spend three sessions exploring and discussing relationships between different people in Hungary.</p> <p>Explain that the group will be asked to reflect and share opinions based on activities, pictures and a film.</p> <p>The story that follows comes mostly from one person, it is ‘one sided’ in that respect. This does not mean that this is the only important story, but that this is the one that is being followed.</p> <p>Some people may feel that other sides and views are missing, it is important throughout the process that we share whatever is on our mind, but that we do this in a useful and helpful manner.</p> <p>The intention throughout the sessions is not to convert people to another side or set of opinions, but spend some time engaging with the experiences and views of another person and community, so that they might add</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To inform the group about the process they are about to embark on. ▪ To give the participants a clear and honest understanding of what is to come. ▪ To communicate that those taking part will be encouraged to express and share thoughts and opinions as the process goes on. ▪ To acknowledge that in this resource only one story is shown, and that there are many more in Hungary. 	<p>It is important for the facilitator to communicate the strength of the content that will be covered but not to scare or stress the participants.</p> <p>Due to the potentially contentious nature of the material, there could be a range of responses and reactions.</p> <p>The facilitator should reassure those taking part that the aim of the work is not to change people’s minds to a specific set of opinions, nor is it to replace ideas with new ones. The main aim is to gently investigate some things we don’t often get the chance to explore.</p> <p>With this in mind, the facilitator must maintain a non-judgemental approach throughout.</p> <p>It is important to give voice to everybody who wants to speak, and not to allow one or two individuals to dominate the process. It is very important that there are no major surprises in the process.</p> <p>Throughout this process a series of questions may come up. The information sheets that are provided on page 28 are to</p>

<p>to their understanding.</p>		<p>provide assistance to some of the questions that may arise.</p> <p>During the sessions the information sheets may also be used if the facilitator feels it is appropriate.</p> <p>However it is advisable <u>not to be dependent</u> on this information as this process is intended to encourage questions and is not meant to teach the content of these factsheets.</p>
<p>Exercise: Groups of</p> <p>Duration: 20 minutes, Prezi Frames: 4-9</p> <p>Clear a space in the classroom with the tables and chairs at the side or just use an open space.</p> <p>Ask the group to move around the space, not in a pattern (for example not to walk in circles or next to the same person), and on their own, without speaking. The facilitator then tells the group that they must gather together in small groups based on the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Get into groups of people with the same eye colour 2. Get into groups of people with the same shoe size 3. Get into groups of people with the same favourite food 4. Get into groups of people with the same number of brother and sisters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To get the group moving around a little, and spending short periods of time with different participants. ▪ To establish that we can exist in many different groups at the same time. ▪ To enable the group to consider the dynamics that leads us to seek belonging and a common identity. ▪ To give the group an opportunity to identify the different groups of people in Hungary. 	<p>The groups suggested (shoe size, favourite food etc.) serve as examples. You may wish to include some of your own as a facilitator. At this stage in the work it is more useful to avoid groups based on religion or politics so as to avoid jumping directly into challenging and contentious issues.</p> <p>Other options could include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Same month of birth ▪ Same astrology sign ▪ Same size hands ▪ Same favourite football team. ▪ Same favourite type of music <p>This exercise helps the group warm up and sets the foundation for dialogue.</p> <p>The main aim here is to develop short exchanges about ‘belonging’ and identity’. It also begins to explore aspects of our identity which define us.</p>

Debrief:

Bring the group back together and ask the following questions:

- What behaviours did you see and hear?
- Did we see any of these? (Show the list of behaviours on the Prezi slide) How and where?
- How did it feel being part of a bigger/smaller group?
- Was anybody ever on their own?
- What attracts people to being in groups?
- How did people feel and behave when they were looking for their group?
- Did anything surprise anybody?
- What other categories could we have suggested?
- How does the activity relate to everyday life?

Thank the group for their participation and move on to next exercise.

Optional extra:

- What are the different groups of people in Hungary?
- How do they interact with one another?
- Do any of the behaviours we saw in the exercise play out between these groups? Why?

The facilitator may decide, judging by the reaction and time to only do two or three of the categories.

The important thing is to use the activity as an opportunity to talk about how we feel and behave when we are in different groups and finding out where to belong.

The Prezi provides an inventory of potential behaviours that may come up during the exercise. You can ask the group to identify what they experienced or saw and ask them to consider what causes this.

There are possibilities, if time allows, for you to explore this exercise and the content that comes out in more depth. The next stage would be to explore groups from Hungary and even compare some of the behaviours found in the exercise to these groups. This can however take a lot longer and should be considered in terms of time you have with your group.

<p>For this last question, the facilitator should write down the responses on a large piece of flipchart paper and map and capture the responses regarding behaviour.</p>		
<p>Exercise: Just Words?</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frames: 10-14</p> <p>Make sure that each participant has a sheet of paper.</p> <p>Tell the group that you will read out some words and ask the participants to write down any words or phrases that instantly spring to mind. They should not think too deeply – focus on gut reactions and responses.</p> <p>The words:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Horse 2. Teacher 3. Police Officer 4. Hungarian <p><u>Debrief Questions:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How quickly did you arrive at a response? ▪ Were there things you thought but did not write down? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To establish the fact that words and phrases that relate to identity can create quick and strong responses. ▪ To explore how we hold quite firm beliefs and attitudes about things and people. ▪ To explore and consider how we can sometimes hold some thoughts back, and that sometimes we may consider the impact of sharing things or making statements out loud. 	<p>It is important that a ‘warm up’ word is used to start the process.</p> <p>The words should get more challenging as the activity goes on.</p> <p>Some choices are shown in the activity instruction box, but this does not mean that all of the words need to be used.</p> <p>This is quite a quick activity; there is no need to discuss things in great detail (unless of course a participant demonstrates a need to).</p> <p>It is not necessary for all of the participants to openly share their initial responses. The facilitator should not be too concerned about hearing literal responses, but more to develop an understanding that we often hold strong opinions.</p> <p>Participants are asked not to look at each other’s sheets of paper and only to share things if they feel comfortable.</p> <p>The facilitator should not pressure any sharing of ideas or thoughts and should avoid making a judgment at this stage – this is about opening up dialogue, understanding motivations</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Were you conscious of what other people might think? ▪ Why do we put people into categories? ▪ What are the consequences of doing that? 		<p>and considering consequences.</p> <p>Should unpleasant/provocative responses occur the facilitator can positively frame the fact that the participant has had the bravery to share their thoughts, but that the process we are engaged in means that it may be useful to keep an open mind given the fact this programme is about learning and dialogue – they may find new information that challenges their ideas.</p>
<p>Exercise: Story of Zoltan and Patrik</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frame: 15</p> <p>The facilitator tells the group this story.</p> <p>This is a whole group activity.</p> <p><i>‘Patrik and Zoltan grew up together in the same town. They were never ‘best friends’ but knew each other well and enjoyed each other’s company.</i></p> <p><i>They would meet up with the same group of friends over the summer and play football, swim in the river and cook meat on a fire.</i></p> <p><i>As they grew up they would occasionally bump into each other, and chat and be on good terms.</i></p> <p><i>Sometimes they would be in the same bar drinking and watching football.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This activity is intended to provoke discussions about how groups can affect behaviour. ▪ The story tries to get the participants to identify with one element of the film before they see it. ▪ The activity asks the group to engage with a story and then consider the causes and impacts of a person’s actions on another. ▪ In some senses it is a rehearsal for some conversations and enquiry that will follow the showing of the film. 	<p>This activity is a parallel story to a sequence of events shown in the film where Szabolcs points out a person in the demonstration. The group should NOT be told this in advance.</p> <p>Patrik represents Szabolcs, Zoltan represents the man Szabolcs points to and Bálint represents the man whose house was attacked.</p> <p>It is important to bear in mind that the nature of the activity could remind some participants of personal experiences of bullying and betrayal/rejection.</p> <p>You also need to consider that some participants may be more vocal than others, it is important not to let a few people dominate the process.</p> <p><i>(If you feel that the whole group approach will be ineffective, you could do this in small groups)</i></p> <p>Recording and retaining the group’s responses on a flipchart</p>

On Wednesday Patrik saw Zoltan in a bar, nodded and said 'hi', Zoltan smiled and said "hi" back.

The following Saturday there was a big argument which turned into a type of gang fight.

One of Patrik's closest friends (Bálint) got into an argument with someone who belongs to Zoltan's group.

A crowd of Zoltan's close friends gathered around Bálint's house and were shouting and screaming, and throwing stones and bricks.

Patrik went to help his friend, but when he got there, he saw Zoltan in the crowd, this surprised him, so he went over, but Zoltan ignored him and carried on shouting and throwing stones with the crowd. Patrik quickly went away".

Then ask the following questions:

- How do you think Patrik thought when he saw his old friend throwing stones at Bálint's house?
- Why do you think Zoltan ignored Patrik?
- Why did he not greet his old friend?
- How do you think Patrik feels?
- Is it possible for them to become friends again?
- If so, how could this happen?

As a facilitator, you should record the responses on a piece of paper, or on a flipchart, to be retained for an activity in a following session.

will be useful for subsequent sessions as it helps to reconnect the group to their own thoughts and ideas.

<p>Exercise: Closing</p> <p>Duration: 3 minutes, Prezi Frame: N/A</p> <p>Explain to the group that they are soon to end the session, and that they will continue the work next time.</p> <p>Tell them that they will watch a short film next time and that they will do some similar yet slightly more in depth activities to the ones done today.</p> <p>Suggest that the group make a note of any questions or thoughts that come up between now and the next session.</p> <p>Thank the group for their participation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To ensure that the group are ready to continue with their day without having any major unresolved issues or questions. ▪ To explicitly close this session, and become aware of any important issues. 	<p>The facilitator may need to be prepared for some questions that emerge from participants after the session has ended.</p> <p>Frequently people may wish to share thoughts and concerns after the process has concluded, but not in front of the whole group.</p>

WHAT HAPPENED TO US?

1 hour

ACTIVITY	LEARNING OUTCOMES	TEACHING POINTS
<p>Introduction: A recap and reminder of the previous session.</p> <p>Duration: 5 minutes, Prezi Frame: 18</p> <p>Welcome the group to the session and bring out the papers from the last session. Briefly recap the exercises and conversations from last time.</p> <p>With each piece of paper from the last session, remind the group of what they did.</p> <p>Tell the group that during this session they will watch a film.</p> <p>The film shows a story with the perspective of one person in mind. This does not mean that other stories and perspectives do not exist or that they are not important. This is one part of the picture and it is honestly held.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reconnect the participants with the previous session – helping make sense of what they did last time in relation to this session. ▪ To give the participants a clear understanding of what is to come. ▪ To remind those taking part that they are going to follow a story told by one person, and that this story is not meant to compete with or replace other stories, but it is to add to our understanding and awareness. 	<p>It could be useful at this point to comment on how the group participated last time and to indicate that the content may become a little more challenging for some.</p> <p>Avoid entering into a discussion at this point as there is little time to engage with this. The remainder of the session should provide ample opportunity.</p>
<p>Exercise: Who do you think this is?</p> <p>Duration: 10 minutes, Prezi Frames: 19-23</p> <p>Divide the group into small sub groups and ask them to</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The objective of this exercise is to prepare the students for the film showing during the next session. 	<p>This activity can provoke examples of prejudice and unpleasant language, and sometimes a group will collectively ‘bully’ the subject of the photo.</p>

sit together.

Give each group one sheet of paper and one pen.

A still image of Szabolcs is shown to the group on the Prezi.

They are then asked the following questions in this order:

- What could this person's name be?
- Does anyone know anybody like this?
- What would you like to ask this person?
- How do we arrive at opinions about people?

Debrief:

Once you have concluded, ask the whole group the following:

- What was that activity like?
- What did people do?
- Did anybody think something but not say it?
- Why did we respond as we did?
- Do you think people responded differently because they were in a group than how they would if on their own?

Each group (via a spokesperson) is invited to feed back some of their reflections.

The facilitator gathers up the papers and tells the group

- To help them get to know the main subject.
- Additionally, linking to the conversations developed from groups of and identity, this exercise gives an opportunity to see how we may make judgements based on very little information.

Run the debrief before you conclude on the final question about the process.

As with previous exercises, the facilitator should take a neutral line, challenging some of the behaviour but not the individuals who exhibit it.

It can be helpful to write down the questions on a board or flipchart so the groups can be reminded of the questions if they need.

For example: "would you say these things if they were here?" can be a useful phrase.

<p>that they will be referred to in a following session.</p> <p>Thank the group for their participation and move to the closing exercise.</p>		
<p>Exercise: Draw me a picture.</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frames: 24-28</p> <p>Ask for six or seven volunteers.</p> <p>Make sure that each volunteer has a blank sheet of paper to draw on and a pencil.</p> <p>Ask the volunteers to sit or stand in a line, facing away from the facilitator. They must have access to a hard surface to draw on, this could be the floor or an easily moved table.</p> <p>Ask the rest of the group to move away from the volunteers, but make sure they can still see them.</p> <p>Tell the group that for the activity to work they must follow the rules closely.</p> <p><i>The observers are not allowed to speak to or communicate in any way with the volunteers.</i></p> <p>The first volunteer in the line turns around, and is briefly shown the picture by the facilitator, they are then told to quickly draw it. The second volunteer is then asked to turn around and they can only look at the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To demonstrate that information when passed on within groups can lose detail and have detail added. ▪ To open up a conversation about how actual details (the truth) can change when information is passed on and we are not able to have direct contact with the source. ▪ To open up a general discussion about the transfer of understanding and knowledge through communities. 	<p>It is very important to stress that this activity is not an art activity, it is not about drawing perfect pictures.</p> <p>Nor is it a competition to see who can reproduce the image before them more accurately.</p> <p>The size of the group of volunteers is deliberate (if you have more time, you could do this with the whole group to enhance participation).</p> <p>The rest of the group watch on in silence.</p> <p>This activity is intended to catalyse a conversation about rumours and how details can be forgotten or exaggerated.</p> <p>It represents some processes of human and group communication.</p> <p>It is important not to let the conversation be distracted by detailed discussion about the pictures.</p> <p>The quicker the process the potentially more useful it is, as it forces people to move quickly and work as we often do – based on brief memory and intuition. In addition, this will allow more time for discussion.</p>

picture the first volunteer has drawn. And so this continues along the line.

Each reproduction is only shown to one person, who then draws their own version of it and shows it to the next person and so on until everybody in the line has drawn a picture.

The activity is not about copying the pictures, but about drawing from memory after seeing it for 10 seconds.

At the end the facilitator places the pictures in a line in the order they were drawn. The whole group is invited to look at the work and comment on the differences between pictures.

Debrief:

Questions should include:

- What changed about the image?
- When you were drawing your own version, what details did you remember the most?
- How does the original compare to your version?
- Now that you have seen the other pictures, would you change anything?
- What was it like looking at the original?

Discuss these THEN ask the group the final questions:

This format usefully explores how all communities can have versions of events and rumours which help form strong attitudes. Therefore, it is important for the facilitator to explore how this could be at play in all communities.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What did you learn from the exercise? ▪ How easy or difficult is it for information to become changed and misrepresented? ▪ What are the consequences of that? 		
<p>Exercise: Introduce and show the film.</p> <p>Duration: 10 minutes, Prezi Frames: 29-31</p> <p>The Prezi shows once again the still image of Szabolcs. Tell the group that the short film is about him.</p> <p>Remind the group that the film shares Szabolcs’ understanding and views about what happened, and that he was interviewed by film makers who have a lot of experience working with many different people from all backgrounds. Szabolcs’ story is one part of the picture and it is honestly held.</p> <p>Show the film.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This film is the central stimulus for the three sessions. ▪ Aspects of it are used directly in the work that comes before and after its showing. 	<p>It is important that the facilitator has watched the film a couple of times before they show it to a group.</p> <p>Make sure that everybody has a good view.</p> <p>Sometimes it is useful to keep an eye on the audience as they are watching, not all the time, but checking in occasionally as the film is played.</p> <p>Keeping an eye on the audience is a useful way of registering aspects and specific points that provoke response. If the facilitator elects to point some of these out it is important that they do not single out members of the audience, but rather share back observations in a general sense. “I saw some people do this or that” for example.</p>
<p>Exercise: Responses to the film.</p> <p>Duration: 10 minutes, Prezi Frame: 32</p> <p>This is essentially a debrief exercise.</p> <p>As a whole group ask them what they thought of the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This section of questions aims to get the responses of the participants and to make links with outside life and the activities done so far. ▪ It also gives an opportunity to 	<p>Some participants could react strongly to the film, either angry at what the central character does or angry at the actions of the ‘protestors’.</p> <p>It is important to give everybody the opportunity to speak if</p>

<p>film.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What do you think it is trying to say? ▪ Do you think it is honest? ▪ What has it made you think? ▪ What has it made you feel? ▪ Did anything upset you? ▪ Do you think any of the actions were justified? Whose and why? ▪ How does the film relate to activities we have done? ▪ How can relationships be made better? Or repaired? <p>Some additional questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Has your impression of Szabolcs changed? ▪ If you could say something to someone in the film, who would you talk to and what would you say? 	<p>explore how differences are handled in Hungary.</p>	<p>they wish.</p> <p>Additionally, the facilitator must ensure that one or two participants do not take over the process.</p> <p>The facilitator may wish if they know, to tell the group about the situation in the village now.</p> <p>NOTE: the updated report on the village now, contained on page 35 under the Information Sheets will be helpful at this stage if you wish to do so.</p>
<p>Exercise: Close</p> <p>Duration: 10 minutes, Prezi Frame: 32</p> <p>Divide the group up into four or five smaller sub groups, and asks them to consider (without writing anything down) the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How would you like to see the village and the people? ▪ What do you think would make all of the people in the village feel happier and safer? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To safely draw the session to a close. ▪ To ensure that the work is directed at considering everybody's needs. 	<p>As this session may well have been laden with emotion and tension over the content – closing the session may necessarily take longer than the timeslot allocated. It is helpful to try to leave at least 10 minutes for this but longer if possible to facilitate expression.</p>

<p>After a few minute the larger group is reformed and asked if anyone would like to share anything.</p> <p>The facilitator thanks the group for their participation and tells them that the next session will be the final one.</p>		
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TIME TO REPAIR

1 hour 20 minutes

ACTIVITY	LEARNING OUTCOMES	TEACHING POINTS
<p>Exercise: Recap the last session.</p> <p>Duration: 5 minutes, Prezi Frame: 34</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To maintain continuity and to enable the participants to refresh themselves with the elements of the session so far. 	<p>It might be useful to remind the participants of aspects they may have forgotten.</p> <p>This starting activity is to remind the group of the last session.</p>
<p>Exercise: What does this mean?</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frame: 35</p> <p>This is a reflection exercise designed to help the group consider the implications of the story in relation to present day Hungary.</p> <p>Instructions:</p> <p>Divide the group into smaller sub groups and ask them to talk about aspects of the last session which they have been reminded of during the time in between.</p> <p>Give each group a hand-out with the pre-printed questions on and a pen, and ask the groups to think about the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did you think about the film since we last met? Did you speak with anyone about the film? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This allows the participants to make connections with the course content and their daily lives. 	<p>If the session is held a week or so after the previous session, ask this in relation to issues explored last time.</p> <p>If, however it is shown immediately or shortly after the one before, simply ask the questions as if referring to life in general.</p> <p>The point is to connect the story to their lives and that of others in Hungary.</p> <p>It is important that the process here is not judgemental about people or groups, but might be critical of behaviour and actions.</p> <p>Furthermore, this sets a mood of contemplation ahead of this final session.</p> <p>If time allows, you should actively engage in what the group</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have you seen any of the things discussed and explored? ▪ Have you seen or heard about people trying to force others to do something, people being ignored, people being aggressive or not getting on? <p>Ask the groups to share the key points from their discussions. Try not to encourage a simple reading out of lists, get them to share aspects which caused interest and discussion.</p>		<p>share in terms of their own examples as this facilitates a connection between the session’s work and real life.</p>
<p>Exercise: Second showing of the film.</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frames: 36-38</p> <p>Tell the group that they will watch the short film again and then engage in a discussion.</p> <p>Explain that sometimes when you see something for the second time, it is possible to notice things you missed first time around. Remind the group of the picture drawing activity from the last session.</p> <p>Ask the following questions after watching the film:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Did you spot anything new this time? If so what? ▪ Has anything changed for you since you last viewed the film with regards to the things you’ve experienced over the past week? ▪ Has anything happened in the news which 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The idea behind showing the film again is to further cement the groups understanding of Szabolcs and his story. ▪ It gives an opportunity for the participants to discover new things in the film. 	<p>Some participants could react strongly to the film, either angry at what the central character does or angry at the actions of the ‘protestors’.</p> <p>It is important to give everybody the opportunity to speak if they wish.</p> <p>Additionally, the facilitator must ensure that one or two participants do not take over the process.</p> <p>If an aspect has caused confusion, or there is disagreement about a feature, various points can be replayed.</p> <p>You may wish to tell the group about the situation in the village now.</p> <p>NOTE: the updated report on the village now, contained on page 35 under the Information Sheets will be helpful at this</p>

<p>reminded you of Szabolcs' story?</p>		<p>stage if you wish to do so.</p>
<p>Exercise: Unfold my arms.</p> <p>Duration: 15 minutes, Prezi Frame: 39</p> <p>The facilitator stands in front of the group and folds their arms.</p> <p>They then tell the group that they must try to get the facilitator to unfold their arms. They can try a range of tactics, but that they are not allowed physical contact in any way.</p> <p>There may well follow a range of behaviours and strategies, the facilitator should resist these but will <u>open their arms when a participant holds their hand out to shake hands.</u></p> <p>You may decide to coach the group along to expedite things asking them questions like:</p> <p>‘How do you think you’re doing?’ ‘How successful are your tactics?’ ‘Is what you are trying working?’ ‘Do you think there are things you might not have tried?’ ‘Imagine you have never met me before’</p> <p>Once unfolding has been achieved, congratulate the group on success and explain that the <u>handshake offer</u> was the key.</p> <p>Ask the group the following questions:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The point behind this exercise is not so much to get at a solution, but more to understand the behaviours people use when they want to influence another person or group. ▪ Additionally, it can be used to explore how frustration may alter the way we decide to interact and solve problems. ▪ The activity creates a small degree of frustration and provides an opportunity for a creative solution to be applied to a problem. 	<p>This activity provides the facilitator with an opportunity to ‘coach’ the participants.</p> <p>The idea is to encourage the participants not to jump to conclusions, and to allow them to explore creativity when faced with a frustration. This may mean that the facilitator needs to gently prompt.</p> <p>They can encourage and steer towards a solution with some engaging open questions.</p> <p>The purpose of the exercise is to encourage creativity and exploration rather than to trick the group.</p> <p>It can be useful to paraphrase and describe the tactics as the activity continues.</p> <p>The facilitator can choose a ‘different key’, for example if a participant offers something to the facilitator.</p> <p>To expand the range of responses (so that participants can experience what it is like to have their arms folded) the facilitator can ask for some volunteers.</p>

<p>Debrief:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What happened during the exercise? ▪ What tactics were used? And why? ▪ What assumptions did people make about how to solve the problem? ▪ When did change occur? ▪ What do you think stopped people (or helped people) to try something different? ▪ How does this exercise relate to what we saw in the film? ▪ Where do we see people getting frustrated for not getting what they want? <p>Conclude by thanking the group for their participation.</p>		
<p>Exercise: Letter from an old friend...</p> <p>Duration: 20 minutes, Prezi Frames: 40-42</p> <p>Remind the group that in the film Szabolcs points to a man with his back to the camera during the demonstration.</p> <p>Tell the participants that they are going to do an activity which imagines they can get in contact with this person.</p> <p>Ask the participants to write a letter, email or social media message to this person.</p> <p>Consider the following:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This exercise is intended to encourage the participants to identify with someone who might be on the receiving end of hate, and to find a way of communicating this in a way that does not make the situation worse. ▪ It gives the participants the opportunity to reflect and consider how they could be someone in that position. Also, to consider alternatives to confrontation and provocation. 	<p>It is important that enough time is allowed for this activity.</p> <p>The facilitator could make themselves available to the participants in order to help them, offer ideas in order to help stimulate the process.</p> <p>Not all participants may wish to read out their letter or even parts of it.</p> <p>It needs to be made clear that the story read out in the previous session is based on the account mentioned in the film, but they are not exactly the same.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ It needs to be written from the perspective of someone who used to be a friend. ▪ The aim of the communication is to find a way to re-engage and not to make matters worse. ▪ Share how you felt to see the stone throwing, and what worries you have about the future. ▪ Ask questions if you feel it relevant and/ or useful. ▪ How could we find out what is making another person or group to be so angry? ▪ How could we usefully do something about this? <p>Remind the participants of the activity they have just done (unfold my arms). How can they engage with the person in the crowd?</p> <p><u>Debrief:</u></p> <p>Questions when they have finished:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Was it easy or hard to put yourself into another person's shoes? ▪ Do you think your letter would be helpful/useful? <p>Then, (if this seems appropriate) ask the participants to pass the letters around to each other.</p> <p>The group sit in a circle, and the letters are passed around, and read and shared. If a participant does not</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The exercise also helps the participants to identify with the other side whilst not confronting them. 	<p>There is no specific length for the letter - it could simply be a couple of questions or sentences.</p> <p>One main feature of this exercise is to acknowledge that there is always another side to a story.</p> <p>One additional option to close this activity is for the facilitator to collect them up from the group and place them in one place. They can then recap some of the ideas and phrases from the texts.</p>
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<p>wish theirs to be shared, they can hold on to it.</p> <p>As the activity draws to a close, ensure that each letter, or text is returned to the person who wrote it.</p> <p>The facilitator can ask about some of the useful phrases and ideas, and whether they could be of use in real life between individuals and groups who have grown apart.</p>		
<p>Exercise: Closing.</p> <p>Duration: 10 minutes, Prezi Frame: 43</p> <p>Ask the group to stand in a circle.</p> <p>Thank the participants for their contribution.</p> <p>Tell the group that this is one final opportunity to say something about the past three sessions. They can deliver sentences, or just one word to reflect how the process has impacted them, or something they will do as a result of the sessions. It could be a big thing or a small thing, but must be something that is useful to themselves and others.</p> <p>Everyone else listens in silence, including the facilitator.</p> <p>Once everyone has had the chance to speak or state their word, thank the group for their participation and encourage them, where appropriate, to stick to their positive resolutions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The aim of this closing is to responsibly conclude the process. ▪ This gives the group one final opportunity to collectively acknowledge the process they have been through and express the impact. 	<p>Whilst everyone should be encouraged to say something, it is not essential. The facilitator should provide their own reflections as and where they feel useful as this passes around the circle.</p> <p>If you detect that the group may not be ready for this, you may choose simply to thank them and share your reflections. You could also invite those who wish to speak simply to do so. Therefore, it does not fall silent consistently, if some choose not to partake.</p> <p>Do however remember to bear silence. It usually breaks.</p>

INFORMATION SHEETS

The history of the Roma people

DEMOGRAPHICS

10 to 12 million Roma in Europe: there are an estimated 10-12 million Roma and Travellers in Europe, living in almost all Council of Europe member states, and particularly in Bulgaria (10.33% of the total population), “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” (9.59%), Slovakia (9.17 %), Romania (8.32%), Serbia (excluding Kosovo) (8.18%), Hungary (7.05%), Turkey (3.83%), Albania (3.18%), Greece (2.47%) and Spain (1.52%).

HISTORY

Ever since they **left India** between the 11th and 14th centuries, the Roma have suffered from persecution, prompting massive waves of migration. At the time of the Byzantine Empire, Roma groups migrated from India to Europe via Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor. The eastern branches of the Roma are still to be found in the Caucasus, Turkey and the Middle East, where they are known as “Lom” or “Dom”.

Arrival in Europe and first experiences of discrimination: from the 15th to the 17th century, the Roma who had settled in Europe came across their first experiences of discrimination in the Ottoman Empire and central Europe, in particular serfdom and slavery in Wallachia and Moldavia.

The “Samudaripen” or Roma Holocaust: Discrimination reached its peak during the Second World War, with a genocide orchestrated by the Nazis. It is estimated that between 400,000 and 500,000 Roma and Sinti were massacred by the Third Reich. During the Nuremberg Trials, no mention was made of this genocide and no assistance or compensation was given to the Roma who had survived the concentration camps. The Roma term is “Samudaripen”, or “Pharrajmosx (or “Porajmos”).

IDENTITY

Romani, the **language** spoken by the Roma, derives from a language spoken in northern India, close to Sanskrit. There are numerous variants with vocabulary borrowed from the languages with which Romani came into contact: Persian, Armenian and Greek prior to the 14th century and then German, Romanian, the languages of the south-eastern Balkans and Turkish. Romani is mostly spoken in the Balkans. It is included in the list of languages protected by the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Religion: There are various religions practiced by the Roma, tending to follow the dominant religion in the areas in which they have settled. For example, in Italy and Ireland, most Roma would say they are Catholic, while in Bulgaria they would be Orthodox or Muslim.

Culture and Art: The Roma are best known for their music, and many Roma artists enjoy major international careers. The two most well-known combinations are Manouche jazz and flamenco andaluz.

POWERFUL SYMBOLS

The colours of the flag: blue symbolizes the sky, freedom, spirituality, what is eternal; green symbolises nature, the earth, fertility and the tangible aspects of life. The red 16-spoke wheel symbolises not only the horse-drawn caravan, travelling, growth and progress, but also refers to the Indian origin of the Roma, their “motherland” whence they migrated, since the wheel is inspired by the chakra, found on the Indian flag, which has 24 spokes.

Anthem “Gelem, Gelem” is the Roma anthem.

8 April, International Roma Day: as the Congress was held on 8 April, it was logical that this date should be declared International Roma Day.

2 August, International Day to commemorate the Roma and Sinti Victims of the Holocaust (Samudaripen) The Roma commemorate the Samudaripen on 2 August, the date that 3,000 Roma were killed in Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1945.

SOURCES:

The Council of Europe: Protecting the rights of the Roma, 2011. Available at: <https://goo.gl/fcNqcK>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Roma in Hungary, 2004. Available at: <https://goo.gl/C1y3H6>

Data of unequal opportunities of the Roma in Hungary

EDUCATION

Preschool education	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Literacy	Special Schools	Segregated schools
There is no gap for Roma overall, but for Romani females is 2% compared to others	19% fewer Roma than others finish primary school. For Romani females the gap is 23%	50% fewer Roma than others finish secondary school. For Romani females the gap is 53%	17% fewer Roma than others finish tertiary education. For Romani females the gap is the same	3% fewer Roma are literate than others. For Romani females the gap is the same	Romani children represent 15% of the children in special schools, according to the only available data	20% of Roma receive education in segregated schools
T – 69% R- 70% RF – 67%	T – 96% R – 77% RF – 73%	T – 69% R – 19% RF – 16%	T – 18% R – 1% RF – 1%	T – 98% R – 95% RF – 94%	N/D	T – N/A R – 20% RF – N/D

EMPLOYMENT

Employment	Informal work	Unemployment	Long-term unemployment	Last employment experience	No employment experience	Youth neat rate
22% fewer Roma are employed than others	11% more Roma are represented in informal work than others. For Romani females the gap is 3%	23% more Roma are unemployed than others	12% more Roma are long-term unemployed than others	No gap for Roma overall, but Romani females on average have 1,4 months longer unemployment experience than others	There is no gap between Roma or Romani females and others	7% more young Roma are not in education than others. For Romani females the gap is 16%
T – 54% R – 32% RF – N/D	T – 11% R – 22% RF – 14%	T – 7% R – 30% RF – N/D	T – 42% R – 54% RF – N/D	T – 4.0 R – 3.9 RF – 5.4	T – 14% R – 14% RF – 14%	T – 18% R – 25% RF – 34%

HOUSING

No drinking water at home	No electricity at home	Holding property documents	Segregated housing	Overcrowding
16% fewer Roma have drinking water at home than others	1% more Roma have no electricity at home than others	7% fewer Roma hold property documents for their homes than others	72% of Roma live in segregated neighborhoods according to the only available data	Households of Roma are overcrowded by 1.09 more persons per room compared to others
T – 2% R – 18% RF – N/D	T – 0% R – 1% RF N/D	T – 85% R – 78% RF N/D	T – N/D R – N/D RF N/D	T – 1.0 R – 2.1 RF – N/D

HEALTH

Access to health insurance	Infant mortality	Life expectancy
3% less Roma (and Romani females) have health insurance than others	1.6 times more is the infant mortality for Roma compared to others	Roma have 6 years less life expectancy than others
T- 97% R – 94% RF – 94%	T – 5.9 R – 9.5 RF – N/D	T – 70.7 R – 64.8 RF – N/D

CROSS-CUTTING

At-risk of poverty	Average income	Absolute poverty	Discrimination experience
46% more Roma are at risk of poverty than others	Roma live on 43% less income than others	44% more Roma live in absolute poverty than others	64% of Roma experience discrimination
T – 13% R – 59% RF – N/D	T – EUR 5.073 R – EUR 2.893 RF – N/D	T – 24% R – 67% RF – N/D	T – N/A R – 64% RF – N/D

Key:

T = TOTAL POPULATION; R = ROMA POPULATION; RF = ROMANI FEMALE POPULATION; N/D = NO DATA; N/A = NO ANSWER

SOURCE: Roma Inclusion Index 2015, Decade of Roma Inclusion Secretariat Foundation, September 2015. Available at: <https://goo.gl/bjThZV>

The history of the Roma people in Hungary

- The Roma first appeared in Hungary in the 14th and 15th centuries fleeing the conquering Turks in the Balkans. A significant number migrated further to West European countries.
- Between the 15th and 17th centuries during the wars fought against the Turkish conquerors Roma played a considerable role in Hungarian society. Constant military preparation and the lack of craftsmen provided opportunity to work. Fortification and construction works, metalwork, weapons' production and maintenance, horse trading, postal services, wood carving and blacksmithing at a rate cheaper than that of the guilds' craftsmen enabled them to make a living and were important activities for the country.
- Some Roma groups were even granted privileges, first under King Sigismund (1387-1437) and King Matthias (1458-1490), right up to the beginning of the 18th century when attitudes towards the Roma population started mirroring European minority politics of the time that posed a threat to self-determination and minority culture.
- The primary aim was to assimilate the nomadic Roma population as tax-paying serfs working in agriculture. In the mid-18th century Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790) dealt with the Roma question by the contradictory methods of enlightened absolutism. Maria Theresa enacted a decree prohibiting the use of the name 'Gypsy' and requiring the terms 'new peasant' and 'new Hungarian' to be used instead, while also disabling the mobility of the population. She later placed restrictions on Roma marriages, and ordered children to be taken away from Roma parents, so that they could be raised in peasant families.
- By the beginning of the 20th century, there were three distinct groups within the Hungarian Roma population. First, the largest group of the population arrived earlier and has assimilated to a greater degree. The second group arrived from Romanian land in the second half of the 19th century. They speak the Romani language, and are called 'Vlach Gypsies' by virtue of their origin. There is also a third, smaller group, the 'Beas' Gypsies, who mainly settled in South-West Hungary and speak archaic Romanian-language dialects.
- A low level of Roma immigration continued right up to the outbreak of the Second World War. Prior to the German occupation of March 19, 1944, decrees on policing and epidemics that were used to repress the Roma population of some 200,000, were primarily directed against itinerant groups. From spring 1944 however, 'resolving the Gypsy question' lead to genocide. At least 5,000 people were killed in the Roma Holocaust, but there are estimates of as many as 30,000 victims.
- The democratic era between 1945 and 1948 brought about positive changes in the relationship between the Roma population and the rest of society. However, in economic terms the position of the Roma population deteriorated as a result of the reallocation of large estates, which effectively involved a loss

of employment opportunities on the part of the Roma population. The majority were left out of the land reform programme, although many had previously made a living from agricultural work.

- Employment levels improved during the reconstruction after the Second World War and later in the course of forced industrialisation but the vast majority were able to find only unskilled jobs.
- During the communist era, the 'Roma question' was considered to be a social and not an ethnic issue; focus was placed on assimilation. During this era the Roma population's position in the job market and education improved significantly, however segregation was commonplace both in educational institutions and housing; pejorative stereotypes were present both in society and in the media.
- During the regime change in 1990, crises in the job market has caused massive unemployment among the Roma population, a factor that, together with the discrimination and stereotypes, led to the drastic reversal of the progress made.
- After the social and political changes, the first democratically elected Parliament and government faced up to the requirement for immediate action concerning the issue of ethnic minorities including the unsolved problems of the Roma which had been squeezed into the background for decades. The constitution and laws proclaimed full equal rights but difficulties arose in practical enforcement. The Roma were the biggest losers in the accelerated modernisation of the 1990s and the new economic environment. Solidarity diminished while intolerance and indifference towards other people's problems gained ground.

Increased political participation

- 2002 produced major changes in the political role of the Roma. The Roma question appeared in the parliamentary election campaign of spring 2002, and politicians who publicly identified as Roma were included on the party lists both on the left and right wings of the political spectrum. Four such politicians acquired seats in the parliament.
- In autumn 2002 local Roma minority self-governing bodies were elected in 998 settlements, and some 4,000 Roma are actively involved in the work of these bodies.
- In the local authority elections 545 Roma local government representatives and 4 Roma mayors were elected to serve settlement local governments.
- Nevertheless, the function of local minority governments, established in 1993 to increase political participation and enhance representation, was limited to organising cultural and social events.¹
- Today, the Roma population faces widespread discrimination at all levels of society, including educational and economic segregation and marginalisation, and Roma communities are frequent subjects to harassment and violence. Tension between the far-right and the Roma population gradually increased from

¹ <http://transform.hu/index.php/elemzesek/elemzesek-egyeb-belfold/421-a-magyarorszagi-romak-helyzete>

during the early years of the 2000s. A manifestation of this tension emerged in 2007 in the form of the newly established Magyar Gárda paramilitary organisation. The group organised marches and demonstrations aiming to intimidate and terrorise the Roma communities. While they were banned a few years later, their subsequent branches and offshoots persisted.

- During the years of 2008 and 2009, multiple cases of murder were widely mediatised.²
- The demonstration in Devecser in 2012, detailed on the following page, is also an example of increasing tension and aggression in communities where there had been no ethnic conflicts previously.
- With regard to education, segregation dominates. In 2014, the parliament accepted the amendment to a piece of legislation that enabled Minister of Human Capacities Zoltán Balog to make individual decisions regarding the separation of Roma students from the rest of the students in schools using decrees. The larger NGOs launched a campaign against the amendment and wrote letters to all of the representatives, ultimately to no avail.³

SOURCES:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Roma in Hungary, 2004. Available at <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/NR/rdonlyres/98C7D84E-C51D-4D7C-82D9-981F197FB6AF/0/Roma.pdf>

The Council of Europe: Protecting the rights of the Roma, 2011. Available at <https://edoc.coe.int/en/roma-and-travellers/5976-pdf-the-council-of-europe-protecting-the-rights-of-roma-.html>

² <http://transform.hu/index.php/elemzesek/elemzesek-egyeb-belfold/421-a-magyarorszagi-romak-helyzete>

³ http://kettosmerce.blog.hu/2014/12/31/top10_a_magyarorszagi_ciganysag_2014-e

Information on the far-right demonstration in Devecser

- Following a conflict between a Roma and a non-Roma family in Devecser that resulted in physical violence and injuries on both sides, and the media attention the conflict attracted, right-wing party Jobbik organised a demonstration against the Roma community in Devecser on the 5th of August, 2012, under the banner of ‘rightful Hungarian self-defence’.
- The demonstration was attended by the members of various extremist organisations, such as ‘Betyársereg’ (Outlaw’s Army), ‘Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom’ (Sixty-four Countries Youth Movement), and ‘Magyar Nemzeti Gárda’ (Hungarian National Guard).
- Following the speeches directed against the Roma people, demanding their prosecution and advocating their removal from the country by forcible means, the crowd of several hundred proceeded by marching through the streets predominantly inhabited by the Roma community.
- The crowd threw stones at the houses and yards, while continuing to shout racist slogans and remarks. Two individuals suffered physical injuries: a representative of Jobbik, Gábor Ferenczi, was accidentally hit in the back of his head with a rock thrown by a participant in the demonstration, and a Roma woman standing in the yard of one of the families whose house was targeted.
- While police forces were present, they chose not to intervene in a drastic manner, as, according to their evaluation, such an action would have resulted in a violent confrontation between the demonstrators and the police, endangering not only both sides, but the population as well.
- The lawsuits following the demonstrations in Devecser resulted in the prosecution of one demonstrator.

Roma in the media in Hungary

- At the end of the 20th century, the representation of the Roma people in the media remained an under-researched topic both in a Hungarian and in a European context, rendering the production of an objective report that presents accurate empirical data difficult. This is an issue considering that public media plays an important role in shaping discourses on ethnicities, and therefore may reinforce or contest stereotypes.
- This fact is rendered all the more important by the general presence of segregation, for instance in education, and the subsequent lack of personal experience and contact with Roma communities that would highlight the questionable applicability of stereotypes.

- In the Hungarian context, research has found that while the public media portrayal of the Roma communities generally tended to conform to the stereotypes most prevalent in society, ethnic labelling was found to be common, and the media has often failed to ask for the perspective of the people directly involved in the considered cases. More often than not, the Roma people in the media were portrayed as embodying a social problem, rather than as integral actors in Hungarian society.
- Articles, especially those considering crime or crime reporting have rarely given a voice to the Roma people directly affected. This contributes to the negative representation of the Roma population as a homogenous community, often focusing on and producing the distance between groups, emphasising the position of the Roma individual(s) considered as passive members of an ethnicity and not active members of Hungarian society.⁴
- The situation was similarly dire in 2011 and 2012. One-third of the reports linked the Roma community with crime, and anything subtler than outright racist messages failed to attract negative attention, showing that far-right rhetoric has successfully infiltrated the mainstream discourse which uses direct quotes from politicians who make often prejudicial statements.
- Only 23% of the articles discussed the topic of discrimination. The association of the Roma population with crime, poverty, and families in need of support still dominate the media reports. These associations remain largely unquestioned, contributing immensely to the negative public attitudes toward Roma communities.⁵

The coverage of the demonstration in Hungarian online media

- The media coverage of the demonstration in Devecser can be categorized in the following manner. First, a number of media organisations connected to the far-right, or integral to the far-right subculture in Hungary, covered the events. Such articles generally cover the events of the day, downplaying the violent actions on the side of the demonstrators, emphasising that the demonstration was organised to be peaceful, and failing to mention the racist verbal abuse of the Roma community in Devecser and the Roma population in Hungary.
- According to the articles published by far-right websites the most violent part of the demonstration, the throwing of stones and plastic bottles, was started by a Roma individual who shouted ‘We will kill you all’ and proceeded to throw a stone from the yard that injured Gábor Ferenczi, a Jobbik representative and

⁴ Bernáth és Messing (1998), “Vágóképként, csak némában” – Romák a magyarországi médiában?. Nemzeti és Etnikai Kisebbségi Hivatal, Accessible through: <http://mek.niif.hu/00100/00144/00144.pdf> (Last accessed 28 September 2016)

⁵ Bernáth and Messing (2012), ‘Szélre Tolva’, *Médiakutató*, (2012, tavasz). Accessible through: http://www.mediakutato.hu/cikk/2012_01_tavasz/05_roma_mediakep (Last accessed 28 September 2016)

Member of the Parliament (MP), starting the confrontation.⁶ Jobbik published an official news item on its website that conformed to this position and confirmed the claims of the far-right websites.⁷ One of the websites, Kuruc.info, later acknowledged that the stone was thrown by a demonstrator who accidentally hit the MP.⁸ The news channel that provided the footage with evidence, ATV, highlighted that when the MP was hit, he stated to those around him that “Boys! It was one of ours! What good is this?”. One hour later, he stated in the ambulance that he did not know who threw the stone. The final version was that the stone was thrown from inside the yard of a house. This example shows that by sticking to a different version of the story, the far-right accounts of the events painted a very different picture.

- Second, several news websites that are not connected to the far-right addressed the issue as well. Most of these articles tended to be factual and adopted a similar perspective on the issue as they criticised the inaction of the police, highlighted the racist remarks made by demonstrators, contested the ‘peaceful nature’ of the demonstration, and discussed the response of the Hungarian court system that supported the non-action of the police forces present (a topic that is largely absent in the accounts of far-right websites).⁹
- Most of the articles adopted the position of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee that firmly condemned the entire demonstration and took the case to the court where one man was convicted; an issue that most of the articles highlighted, given that hundreds participated in the demonstration and the convicted individual was not the only one participating in the violent events.¹⁰

⁶ <http://betyarsereg.hu/devecseri-tuntetes-a-zsido-tett-es-vedelem-csatat-vesztett-videok/>; <https://kuruc.info/r/2/99630/>;
http://alfahir.hu/fejbe_dobtak_ferenczi_gabort_a_devecseri_tuntetesen-20120805

⁷ https://jobbik.hu/rovatok/alapszervezeti_h%C3%ADrek/fejbe_dobtak_ferenczi_gabort_a_devecseri_tuntetesen

⁸ <http://betyarsereg.hu/devecseri-tuntetes-a-zsido-tett-es-vedelem-csatat-vesztett-videok/>; <https://kuruc.info/r/2/99630/>

⁹ <http://444.hu/2013/10/02/megis-lesz-vademeles-a-devecseri-kodobalas-utan-csak-nem-az-uszitas-miatt/>

¹⁰ http://hvg.hu/itthon/20150603_Eliteltek_a_devecseri_romaellenes_tuntete; <http://444.hu/2013/10/01/a-rendorseg-szerint-nem-uszitas-a-kiirtasra-uszitas/>;
http://index.hu/belfold/2015/09/23/a_kuria_szerint_jol_tette_a_rendorseg_hogy_hagyta_a_ciganydobalast/; <http://magyarnarancs.hu/belpol/nem-veszelyes-a-romak-dobalasa-a-belugyminiszterium-szerint-81503>

Right-wing extremism facts

Demand for right-wing extremism has been on the rise for the last decade, both in Western and Eastern Europe. Both the support for and availability of parties and organisations with authoritarian, ultranationalist and anti-establishment – the markers most common characteristics of the far-right - ideologies and rhetoric, advocating ‘traditional’ and conservative values associated with the far-right, has been steadily growing. While right-wing extremism is connected to anti-immigrant policies in the West, far-right organisations and parties in Eastern Europe link prejudice and hate predominantly towards the Roma population to anti-establishment sentiments. This is demonstrated by the “guard phenomenon”, far-right paramilitary groups that openly question the authority of the establishment and threaten the safety of Roma communities.¹¹

In the Hungarian context, the demand for right-wing extremism has surged during the period of 2002 and 2009, an issue showcased by the fact that by 2009, 21% of the population over 15 was receptive to far-right ideologies. Prejudice was one of the most remarkably strong tendencies present in Hungarian society, with intolerance towards racial and sexual minorities rampant. By 2013, the surge has dissipated and the support and demand for extremist far-right ideologies consolidated and slowly declined in some of its aspects.¹² Nevertheless, with relation to the Roma population, far-right political parties and politicians have stepped up their anti-Roma rhetoric and actions. In Hungary, the Magyar Gárda (banned in 2009), Szebb Jövőért Polgárőr Egyesület, Betyársereg and related organisations engaging in paramilitary activities with an explicitly anti-Roma agenda continue to operate openly. In Gyöngyöspata the groups patrolled a Romani neighbourhood for 16 days in March 2011, intimidating and harassing Romani residents. Shortly afterwards, the group was disbanded.

In many cases, the Hungarian state fails to investigate, prosecute, and punish those responsible for hate attacks. Although Hungary has not kept reliable hate crime statistics, often it is the Roma who are targeted for racist violence. In a rare study of hate crime motivations by the Athena Institute, 48% of verified hate crime cases were found to be motivated by racism, 44% by anti-Semitism, 4% by homophobia, and 4 % by both racism and anti-Semitism.

In 2008-2009 extremists killed six Roma Hungarians, including a 4-year-old boy, and wounded 55 people, almost all of them Roma.

According to a 2012 study by the TÁRKI Social Research Institute, 60% of the population in Hungary believed that criminality was in the “gypsy” blood, and 82% declared that the Roma population’s problems would end “when they started working.” An additional 42% of Hungarians thought it would be right for clubs or pubs to forbid Roma access, and two- thirds of Hungarians said they would not allow their children to become friends with a Roma child.

¹¹ Political Capital, ‘Back by Popular Demand – Demand for Right-wing Extremism (DEREX) Index’, 11 June 2010

¹² Juhász et al. ‘A Szélsőjobboldal Iránti Társadalmi Kereslet Változása Magyarországon’, *Socio.hu*, (2014/4)

Demand for right-wing extremism

DATA TABLE	Prejudices and welfare chauvinism	Anti-establishment attitudes	Right-wing value orientation	Fear, distrust, pessimism	DEREX	Fieldwork
2002-2003 (ESS1)	37%	12%	28%	19%	10%	2002.10.29 2002.11.26
2004-2005 (ESS2)	46%	22%	29%	19%	12%	2005.04.02 2005.05.31
2006-2007 (ESS3)	55%	33%	29%	21%	17%	2006.11.21 2007.01.28
2008-2009 (ESS4)	52%	46%	27%	27%	21%	2009.02.20 2009.04.20
2010-2011 (ESS5)	49%	21%	33%	20%	11%	2010.10.19 2010.12.10
2012-2013 (ESS6)	45%	25%	21%	19%	12%	2012.11.10 2013.02.17
2014-2015 (ESS7)	54%	22%	22%	15%	10%	2015.04.24 2015.06.26

SOURCE: Derex Index, Political Capital. Accessible at: <https://goo.gl/8vk5VP>

Hungarian hate speech regulation

Section 332: Incitement against a community

Any person who - before the public at large - incites hatred against:

- a) The Hungarian nation;
 - b) Any national, ethnic, racial or religious group; or
 - c) Certain societal groups, in particular on the grounds of disability, gender identity or sexual orientation;
- is guilty of a felony punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three years.

Section 333: Open denial of Nazi crimes and Communist crimes

Any person who – before the public at large – denies the crime of genocide and other crimes committed against humanity by Nazi and Communist regimes, or expresses any doubt or implies that it is significant, or attempts to justify them is guilty of felony punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three years.

Section 334: Blasphemy of national symbol

Any person who – before the public at large – uses an expression to dishonour or degrade the national anthem, the flag or the coat of arms, or the Holy Crown of Hungary, or commits any other similarly slanderous act is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment not exceeding one year, insofar as the act did not result in a more serious criminal offence.

Section 335: Use of Symbols of Totalitarianism

Any person who:

- a) Distributes;
- b) Uses before the public at large, or
- c) Publicly exhibits,
the Swastika, the insignia of the SS, the arrow cross, the sickle and hammer, the five-pointed red star or any symbol depicting the above so as to breach public peace – specifically in a way to offend the dignity of victims of totalitarian regimes and their right to sanctity – is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by custodial arrest, insofar as they did not result in a more serious criminal offence.

Section 216: Violence against a member of the community

- (1) Any person who displays an apparently anti-social behaviour against others for being part, whether in fact or under presumption, of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, or of a certain societal group, in particular on the grounds of disability, gender identity or sexual orientation, of aiming to cause panic or to frighten others, is guilty of a felony punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three years.
- (2) Any person who assaults another person for being part, whether in fact or under presumption, of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, or of a certain societal group, in particular on the grounds of disability, gender identity or sexual orientation, or compels him by force or by threat of force to do, not to do, or to endure something, is punishable by imprisonment between one to five years.
- (3) The penalty shall be imprisonment between two to eight years if violence against a member of the community is committed:
 - a) By displaying a deadly weapon;
 - b) By carrying a deadly weapon;
 - c) By causing a significant injury of interest;
 - d) By tormenting the aggrieved party;
 - e) In a gang; or
 - f) In criminal association with accomplices.
- (4) Any person who engages in the preparation for the use of force against any member of the community is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

SOURCE: Hungarian legislation Act C of 2012 on the Criminal Code. Accessible at: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4c358dd22.pdf>

List of stereotypes held of the Roma community

1. “Gypsy criminality”

Truth: One of the most damaging and dangerous stereotypes attached to the Roma population is that ‘crime is in their blood’.

A nationwide survey, conducted by TÁRKI in 2012, indicated that 60% of the Hungarian population subscribed to this stereotype. This is in no small part due to the incendiary rhetoric employed by the extreme far-right, as exemplified by the speeches the several representatives of the far-right held at the Devecser demonstration¹³. As stated in the previous section on the representation of the Roma people in Hungarian media, both online and print, this stereotype is pervasively embedded and constantly reinforced in society. Empirical research, however, does not support this particular stereotype.

First, nevertheless, it has to be emphasised that conducting research on this particular topic is difficult, as according to Act LXIII of 1992 “personal data related to race, and national or ethnic identity” must be classified as special personal data that law enforcement authorities cannot record¹⁴. However, there is hard evidence that the stereotype is not grounded in reality. The concept of ‘gypsy criminality’ was first contested and successfully disproven by criminologist István Tauber, who showed that there is no statistically significant difference between the rate of crime committed by Roma and non-Roma population from a similar economic and educational background. Tauber’s research was crucial for disproving the connection between ethnicity and crime, and showed that poverty, economic situation, housing, and income were the significant determining factors behind the crime rates¹⁵. Similarly, conducting research in 513 settlements where more than a hundred individuals identified as Roma during the 2011 census, Klára Kerezsi, Márton Gosztanyi and Attila Polák evaluated how levels of crime changed in said settlements over the course of 10 years. Their research showed a lack of evidence for the presence of elevated crime rates that were due to the presence of the Roma population. In fact, the areas with the highest rate of criminal activity within the country are the areas where the size of the Roma population is below the national average. This does not mean that members of the Roma communities do not engage in criminal activity, however, it does undermine the idea of a specific type of crime being attached to a particular ethnicity. For instance, Szilvia Antal, László Tibor Nagy and Ágnes Solt found in 2009, that only 17% of those spending time in jail identified as Roma, and 73% identified as Hungarian, and only 24% of those spending life sentences identified as Roma.¹⁶ Arguing

¹³ <https://kuruc.info/r/35/99671/>

¹⁴ <http://444.hu/2014/11/07/eloszor-kutattak-a-ciganybunozest-es-kiderult-hogy-nincs-olyan/>

¹⁵ Írások Tauber István Emlékére ELTE ÁJTK. Magyar Kriminológiai Társaság, Rendőrtiszti Főiskola, Bp. 2009.

¹⁶ Antal et al. (2009), ‘Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata’, *Kriminológiai Tanulmányok*, (46), Edited by dr. György Virág (Budapest: Országos Kriminológiai Intézet) Available from: http://www.okri.hu/images/stories/KT/kt46_2009_sec.pdf [Last accessed 29 September 2016]

that the Roma population is particularly prone to engaging in criminal activity is a political tool of hiding socio-economic and structural problems within a given society;¹⁷ it is an effective way of avoiding having to engage in answering and debating complex social, cultural and economic issues and assumptions.

2. *“Gypsies and Travellers are work shy”*

Truth: Labour formed the bed rock of the agricultural economy until mechanisation. Gypsies and travellers often start work young, passing traditional skills down to the next generation.

There is a strong work ethic, based on the need to survive. Many Gypsies also sacrificed their lives for this country in the First and Second World Wars. This stereotype has been strongly reinforced by the crisis in the job market that followed the regime change during the 1990s; an estimated 1.5 million jobs were lost in a brief period following 1991, and the Roma population was among the first to lose their jobs (see the brief history section above).

3. *“Misconception of the Roma’s unwillingness to integrate”*

Truth: Research has consistently demonstrated that, given the choice, Roma prefer to integrate, rather than live in a segregated parallel society.

Roma today are struggling for equal and just participation in mainstream society, while wishing to preserve their unique culture. Research shows that majority populations are not ready to work with the Roma or to consider them as equals, and are unprepared to give up their conviction that the “majority” is entitled to priority in the workplace and the exclusive right to make decisions in its ‘own’ country.

4. *“Gypsies are mentally handicapped and do not like school”*

Truth: Do you know of any research that has proved that Gypsies would do better in school if they were given a more welcoming educational environment?

¹⁷ http://www.ideaintezet.hu/sites/default/files/Az_etnikai_adatok_nyilvantartasaval_kapcsolatos_megfontolasok_Solt_IDEA.pdf

Most Roma grow up isolated in very poor families and study in schools with low educational standards and expectations. Even today, parents of Non-Roma children prefer schools without Gypsy students. This, too, contributes to their poor educational achievement. Around 50% of the Non-Roma agree that Roma children should learn Romani in school compared to 65% of the Roma respondents.

Around 47% of the Non-Roma agree with reserved places for Roma in high schools, compared to 77% of the Roma.

Around 33% of the Non Roma agree that Non-Roma pupils should learn about Roma history and culture in schools compared to 67% of the Roma.

The more educated Roma respondents accept more often close relationships with the Non-Roma. On the contrary, the more educated Non-Roma accept less often close relationships with the Roma.

18% of Non-Roma would accept Roma family members, while among the Roma 54% would accept Romani family members and 29% would accept non-Roma family members. Only 10% of Non-Roma have Roma relatives, while 40% of the Roma have Romani relatives.

42% of Non-Roma respondents would accept a Roma as a friend. Among the Roma 89% would accept a Non-Roma as a friend.¹⁸

66% of respondents thought that the Roma should live isolated from other inhabitants, i.e. in separate settlements.¹⁹

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Personal information on Szabolcs

Szabolcs lives in Devecser with his family. He has 3 sons and has been making a living from waste collecting and trading for 20 years. He and his sons are passionate football players. Their kitchen is proudly decorated with the many cups they have won in different tournaments. His friendships with non-Roma locals were negatively affected after the demonstration. They celebrated birthdays together, played football, and had a good relationship before. This has radically changed after the far-right demonstration.