

RHETORICAL  
AGGRESSION  
BULLYING  
INTERACTION  
PRIVACY  
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MALICIOUS  
MEDIA  
HACKING  
SOCIAL  
SHAMING  
OF  
TROLLING  
THREATS  
VIOLATION  
CYBER  
PUBLIC

# Online Harassment of Journalists in Hungary

Forms, Coping Mechanisms and Consequences  
for Press Freedom



International  
Press  
Institute

<https://ipi.media>

# Online Harassment of Journalists in Hungary

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for Press Freedom  
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OnTheLine is IPI's project to monitor systematically online harassment and digital attacks against journalists. Our mission is to build guidelines to counter online harassment and provide technical and legal response to victims of digital attacks.



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# Executive summary

This report presents the findings of a three-month study focused on mapping, observing and analysing online harassment of journalists in Hungary. The study aimed to identify the types of harassment journalists are subject to, which journalists are typically harassed, who the harassers are, and how journalists cope with harassment.

Two main data-gathering tools were used: interviews and focus group discussions. The focus groups included primarily online journalists, as the latter maintain daily and regular interaction with readers and users online. For these journalists, the platform for both professional practice and potential harassment is one and the same. In-depth telephone and in-person interviews were conducted with members of sub-groups of online journalists that are particularly exposed to harassment: women, journalists with great public exposure and of high interactivity, and video journalists.

Based on the study, this report identifies eight basic types of harassment present in Hungary: rhetorical aggression; trolling; bullying; threats; public shaming; violation of personal privacy; cyber attacks and site hacking; and malicious social media activity. The study found that the most common types of online harassment are trolling and rhetorical aggression, which are experienced by Hungarian online journalists on a daily basis through both public and private channels. Overall, comments made through private channels are more severe.

Facebook comments are generally the least aggressive in nature, followed by comment sections under individual articles. Abusive messages sent via private channels (email, Facebook messages) are the most aggressive and straightforward. Many journalists agreed that the most disturbing element of online harassment is not necessarily the harshness or explicit nature of comments but the frequency and overwhelming persistence of them.

Threats and serious threats are rare, but still occur. Women receive more threats of a sexual nature, which are often explicit. Public shaming is likewise a relatively rare form of online harassment in Hungary, as is malicious social media behaviour (stalking, befriending, misinformation). The least common type is cyber attack and site hacking, which was not experienced by any of the research participants, although cases have been reported in the past.

This report further examines journalists' reaction to, and attitudes toward online harassment through four categories: their personal, psychological and communication responses, and their overall opinion of the phenomenon itself. Attitudes towards handling incoming offensive communication vary greatly. Utter and complete rejection is one characteristic attitude towards harassment, which manifests in immediate deletion of unread messages if the sender is already known as a harasser, or in deletion of messages that appear to be offensive. When it comes to the decision of whether or not to enter into a conversation with a harasser, most journalists choose not to answer at all and adopt a position of radio silence.

There is also significant variation when it comes to psychological reactions. These include self-questioning, embarrassment, fear, feelings of humiliation and anger. The main factors that determine the type of the reaction are the journalists' level of seniority, the intensity of the harassment and the persistence of the harasser. According to this study, journalists suffer most from harassment in the early phase

of their careers. Later, bullying is still disturbing but journalists “become used to it” and it becomes less overwhelming. Most journalists state that coping with online harassment simply “comes with the job” and they do not care about it. Nevertheless, this study describes the difficult experiences of a number of journalists, including women, in dealing with harassment.

In almost all cases – whether rhetorical aggression, bullying, threats or other forms of online abuse – harassers prefer not to disclose their identities and tend to post, comment and message anonymously or under a pseudonym or fake account. Journalists therefore have little concrete information about harassers as a group, although they do have suspicions.

Interestingly, the extremely intense governmental campaign surrounding the EU migrant quota referendum in October 2016 did not have any visible effect on the behaviour of abuse users. As a possible explanation, interviewees suggested public fatigue with the refugee/migrant issue.

Based on the analysis of data, this report defines three main challenges for Hungarian online journalism due to the ubiquitous nature of online harassment.

The first is a soft chilling effect, i.e., a situation in which journalists or readers choose to wall themselves off as both parties feel overwhelmed by the volume of trolling. This kind of discouragement is harmful for free speech as it reduces the interactivity of online journalism and blocks conversation and the exchange of ideas and information both between journalists and readers and among readers themselves.

The second is a ‘desensitisation effect’. This phrase refers here to a psychological effect that renders journalists insensitive to offensive feedback. This might be interpreted as a beneficial means of self-defence, but in the context of the public sphere, it may lower the threshold of expectations regarding inappropriate communications, i.e., anything and everything becomes acceptable. This attitude is reflected often in journalists’ statements emphasising that online harassment “comes with the job” and that a journalist must get used to this kind of behaviour.

The third is the significant volume and intensity of harassment targeted at traditionally oppressed social groups, and in against women in particular. The situation of female journalists is worse compared to the overall subject group of male and female journalists. Female journalists receive more bullying, threats and offensive communication than male journalists. Moreover, a large proportion of this bullying is of a sexual nature, which poses an additional threat.

# Vezetői összefoglaló (Executive summary in Hungarian)

Az IPI On the Line project magyarországi szakaszának záró jelentése bemutatja a magyar online újságírók internetes zaklatásának feltárását, vizsgálatát és elemzését célzó három hónapos kutatás eredményeit. A projekt célja az volt, hogy felmérje, milyen típusú zaklatásnak vannak az újságírók kitéve, kiket és kik zaklatnak jellemzően, és az újságírók hogyan reagálnak az online verbális agresszióra. Húsz online újságíró alkotta a mintát, a fő adatgyűjtési módszerek az interjúk és fókuszcsoporthozos beszélgetések voltak.

A jelentés nyolc alapvető internetes agresszióformát különít el: a retorikai agressziót, trollkodást, bullyingot, fenyegetést, nyilvános megszégyenítést, cyber támadást vagy hackelést, privacy-sértést, végül a rosszindulatú közösségi média tevékenységeket. Mindezek közül a leggyakoribb, napi szinten tapasztalt zaklatásforma a retorikai agresszió és a bullying, privát és nyilvános csatornákon egyaránt. Jellemzően a privát csatornákon érkeznek a leginkább fenyegető, közönséges avagy támadó üzenetek, a nyilvános csatornákon kevésbé jellemzőek a nagyon erőszakos tartalmak. Az újságírók számára azonban nem feltétlenül a kommentek explicit, erőszakos volta, hanem inkább frekvenciája, gyakorisága a megterhelőbb.

Az explicit fenyegetések típusa ritkább a bullyingnál, de a nők gyakran szenvedő alanyai ennek, jellemzően szexuális tartalmú fenyegetések célpontjaként. A nyilvános megszégyenítés és a rosszindulatú közösségi media tevékenységek típusa viszonylag ritkán fordulnak elő, hackelésnek, cyber támadásnak pedig egy interjúalany sem volt áldozata.

Az újságírók reakcióinak négy fő csoportját különíti el a jelentés: egyfelől hogyan észlelik az alanyok – leggyakrabban anonim – zaklatást, másfelől hogyan reagálnak rá pszichológiai, kognitív-érzelmi, harmadrészt kommunikatív értelemben; végül hogy mi a véleményük az újságírók internetes zaklatásának a nyilvánosságra gyakorolt hatásáról. Minden téren nagy változatosságot mutatnak az attitűdök. A többség azonnal törli a zaklatónak látszó üzeneteket, de vannak, akik alkalmanként elolvassák őket és többen rendszeresen megteszik ezt. Hasonlóképp, a legtöbben egyáltalán nem válaszolnak az agresszoroknak, de előfordul olyan eset is, hogy az újságíró hosszan kommunikál velük. A zaklatásra adott legjellemzőbb érzelmi reakciók között az alany értékrendjük megkérdőjeleződése, bizonytalanság, félelem, megalázottság és düh szerepelnek, melyek a karrier korai fázisában jellemzően intenzívebbek és zavaróbbak, a több éves gyakorlattal rendelkezők már „a munkával járó” körülményként kezelik az online zaklatást.

Az összegyűjtött adatokra és azok elemzésére alapozva a jelentés három olyan fő bizonytalansági tényezőt határoz meg, amelyek az újságírók rendszeres internetes zaklatásából eredően veszélyt jelenthetnek a magyarországi újságírás és a nyilvánosság demokratikus működésére nézve.

Az első egyfajta enyhe dermesztő hatás (vagy akár öncenzúra), amely abban nyilvánul meg, hogy az olvasók és az újságírók is hajlamosak kerülni az egymással való interakciót, mivel mindkét oldalt túlterheli a trollok és online agresszorok tömege. Ez az elbizonytalanító hatás káros hatással van a szólásszabadságra és a nyilvánosságra, mivel csökkenti az online újságírás interaktivitását, lefojtja a párbeszédet és gondolatcserét az újságírók és olvasók, és akár még az olvasók és olvasók között is.

A második hatás az úgynevezett „érzéketlenítő hatás”. Ez alatt a kifejezés alatt a

jelentés egy olyan pszichológiai tendenciát ért, amelyben az újságírók fokozatosan érzéketlenné válnak az offenzív és agresszív üzenetekre. Ez bár értelmezhető volna pozitív, énvédő mechanizmusként is, de olyan negatív társadalmi mellékhatással jár, hogy az elfogadható és elfogadhatatlan közötti megszólalások közötti határvonal gyakorlatilag elmosódik, és egy újságíró mindenféle és bármilyen online verbális agressziónak következmények nélkül, rutinszerűen célpontja lehet. Ez az attitűd leggyakrabban az újságíróknak azon megjegyzéseiben jelenik meg, amelyekben azt hangsúlyozzák, hogy a zaklatás a „munka része”, és hogy az újságíróknak muszáj hozzászokniuk a jelenséghez.

A harmadik fő bizonytalansági tényező és veszélyforrás a hagyományosan és jellemzően eleve hátrányos helyzetű társadalmi csoportok ellen irányuló agresszió intenzitása – amely ebben az esetben a női újságírók elleni erőszakot jelenti. Az újságírónők helyzete ebből a szempontból még rosszabb, mint az újságírók teljes csoportjáé. Ők jellemzően több bullyingnak, fenyegetésnek és zaklatásnak célpontjai, mint a férfi újságírók, és a fenyegetések legnagyobb része explicit módon szexuális erőszakkal való fenyegetésben nyilvánul meg.

# 1. Introduction

This report presents the findings of a three-month study focused on mapping, observing and analysing online harassment of journalists in Hungary. The research aimed to identify the types of harassment (bullying, trolling, etc.) Hungarian journalists are subject to; which journalists are typically harassed (sub-groups); who the harassers are (hate mobs, paid trolls, individuals, etc.); and how journalists cope with harassment. Additionally, the study sought to determine how developments in public discourse surrounding the EU migrant quota referendum in October 2016 affected the nature of online harassment of journalists.

The sections that follow outline the means and scope of the study and present the most important data and findings.

## 2. Means and scope of research

During the three-month period of the study, two main data-gathering tools were used: interviews and focus group discussions. The focus groups included primarily online journalists, as the latter maintain daily and regular interaction with readers and users online. For these journalists, the platform for both professional practice and potential harassment is one and the same. In-depth telephone and in-person interviews were conducted with members of sub-groups of online journalists that are particularly exposed to harassment.

These (often overlapping) subgroups were:

- *women*, as female journalists are generally more vulnerable in a male-dominated online commenting ecosystem;
- *journalists with great public exposure*, i.e., those who write to a wide audience on topics of high public interest and politics generally (either left-wing or right-wing);
- *journalists with a high degree of interactivity*, i.e., those who are easily accessible and who are willing to engage in correspondence with any user; and
- *video journalists*, as these are more visible and appear in a more personal way for viewers.

The study ran between **Aug. 30 and Dec. 6, 2016**. In total, it gathered data from **20 journalists (14 male, six female)**. Data collection took the form of three in-depth interviews (lasting longer than 45 minutes), eight shorter interviews (lasting between 20 and 45 minutes) and three focus-group discussions (in which nine journalists participated).

The journalists included in the study were chosen so as to accurately reflect the diversity of Hungary's online media, in terms of both ideology and market position. In total, **journalists from nine media outlets** participated: **Index.hu** and **Origo.hu**, Hungary's two largest news sites; the investigative portal **Atlatszo**; **Reset**.



**hu**, a small independent site; **Nol.hu**, the online edition of the shuttered daily *Népszabadság*; the conservative-leaning news portals **Valasz.hu**, **Mandiner.hu** and **Mno.hu**; and the liberal-leaning news portals **444.hu** and **24.hu**. The government-financed news site 888.hu was approached to participate in the study, but declined. A table with additional information about the participating news sites can be found in the appendix to this study.

## 3. Findings

### 3.1. Harassment types

Based on the data collected, this report identifies eight different types of online harassment present in Hungary: rhetorical aggression; trolling; bullying; threats; public shaming; violation of personal privacy; cyber attacks and site hacking; and malicious social media activity. These types are briefly defined in this section.

Important for producing this list of categories was an initial interview with Attila Bátorfy, currently a freelance journalist and a fellow at the Center for Media, Data and Society and Central European University in Budapest. The conversation with Bátorfy, who has spent substantial time observing the nature of online propaganda, especially the web of Russian propaganda sites infiltrating the Hungarian internet<sup>1</sup>, served as background for an initial mapping of the situation.

According to Bátorfy, one of the most common forms of online harassment in Hungary is **rhetorical aggression**. Generally, this term refers to the act of repeatedly posting/pushing counterarguments to journalistic work that are not necessarily explicitly offensive or targeted at the journalists themselves, but that aim to overwhelm the discussion and make it impossible to maintain a fruitful conversation. An example of a typical instance of this behaviour would be repeatedly posting the same lengthy argument against, e.g., the European Union's migrant relocation quota by emphasising the alleged crimes that 'migrants' committed in other countries. This 'rhetorical aggression' can be carried out by (mainly anonymous) individuals, but interviewees also perceive it as one of the main methods of organised commenter/troll group behaviour in Hungary. Nearly all participants in the study reported regularly experiencing rhetorical aggression.

**Trolling** is also a highly common method of harassment. All 20 journalists in the study reported having suffered trolling through public channels and 85 percent (17 journalists) reported also having suffered trolling through private channels. For the purposes of this study, 'trolling' is defined as explicitly aggressive and offensive verbal behaviour that aims to block or destroy the conversation. It does not necessarily target the specific journalist in question, but rather the role of journalists more generally, in addition to fellow readers and comments. Typical examples are posts using offensive or insulting language, such as "all you journalists are liars", "fuck you", etc.

In its more severe form, i.e., when it specifically targets individual journalists with the aim of intimidating them (or other commentators), trolling is considered to be **bullying** (e.g., "you stupid bitch", "how can you be such an idiot"). It can be difficult to clearly define the boundaries of 'bullying'. In order to establish a meaningful categorisation, this report considers bullying as a more severe form of online harassment than trolling and, at the other end of the scale, a less severe form than

threats. Like trolling, bullying is frequently experienced by Hungarian journalists. 85 percent of those interviewed reported having experienced bullying through public channels and 75 percent through private channels.

40 percent of interviewees reported having received **threats**, including, in some cases, death threats. In contrast to bullying, threats are verbal acts that are addressed to journalists that convey an explicit intent to cause harm to them (e.g., “I know where you live, I’m going to break your backbone”, etc.).

This study also identified the following less frequently occurring forms of harassment in Hungary, noted below.

- **Public shaming**, i.e., posting semi-private information about a journalist, on a platform where the content is not just potentially but actually accessible to a larger audience, with the intention of intimidating him/her. Five study participants (25 percent) reported experiencing public shaming.
- **Violation of personal privacy**, e.g., the leaking of personal data (not experienced by any participant in this study).
- Various types of **malicious social media interaction**, including stalking, befriending/following with the intention of getting closer to the subject with unclear/suspicious motivations; and anonymously spreading misinformation or propaganda online.
- **Cyber attacks/site hacking**, i.e., breaking into the online editorial system by third parties (also not experienced by any participant in this study).

In the sections that follow, this report will present selected cases to illustrate how these types of harassment occur in practice and the effect they have on Hungarian journalists. It will look first at the most common types of harassment and then proceed to less commonly experienced types.

## 3.2. Harassment cases

### 3.2.1. Trolling, rhetorical aggression, bullying

As noted above, the most widespread and common forms of online harassment of journalists in Hungary are trolling, rhetorical aggression and bullying. Many journalists included in this study reported experiencing these forms on a daily basis, while others took measures to avoid them.

Attila Varga (Index.hu), a journalist who is exceptionally – and infamously – active in engaging in conversations with commenters and trolls, said he encounters a significant amount of online harassment each day. The harassment, he noted, can emerge from almost anything: even a slight quarrel or a simple typo – not uncommon in online journalism – might lead to a flame war or a verbal fight ending in serious threats.

Szabolcs Dull, an investigative journalist at Index.hu who focuses on politics, intentionally avoids social media channels and ignores offensive messages sent to him. For this reason, Dull, who previously worked for Hungarian public radio and the news site Origo.hu, told IPI he rarely faces online harassment, though he is unable to avoid it altogether.

According to Dull, the online abuse of journalists can arise from unexpected

quarters. As an example, he recalled an article he wrote in 2014 about a company that operated a narrow-gauge train service in a hilly area near Budapest that served as a popular children's attraction. Due to heavy rains that year in December, the area around the train was deemed to be hazardous. The company, however, decided to continue the train service but reversed course after Dull reported on it. In the days that followed he received a wave of online aggression and bullying from parents, who claimed he had "stolen Christmas from the children". The most serious instances of abuse were sent to him directly via email.

The fact that aggressive online behaviour can sometimes be found in unexpected places was echoed by other journalists. Bence Pintér, the editor of a science fiction subsite of Mandiner.hu, Mandiner Sci-Fi, described frequent 'flame wars' in the comment sections under the subsite's articles that include comments targeted at both the site's journalists and other readers. These altercations, he said, were in most cases "irrational".

Journalists interviewed by IPI suggested that the more visible one is, or how approachable one is perceived to be online, the more harassment one can expect.

"If you have your face broadcasted on the internet, even occasionally [images from one's] private life, that makes you an easier target for trolls," Dániel Ács, a video journalist with 444.hu, said.

The common sections on news sites Index.hu, 444.hu and Mandiner.hu are described as particularly "turbulent". Both Index.hu and 444.hu include a list of contributors along with the contributors' photos and email addresses. Journalists from these sites say this practice makes it easier for harassers to contact them. At Mandiner.hu, only the journalists' email addresses are disclosed.

Study participants reported that recurrent themes seen in trolling and bullying are opinions echoing pro-governmental propaganda, anti-Semitism and vulgar language. The amount of abusive behaviour is said to become overwhelming at times. 444.hu noted, for example, that it felt compelled to shut down its Ask.fm profile due to the level of harassment.

### 3.2.1.1. Trolling, rhetorical aggression, bullying

In some cases, the most disturbing aspect of harassment is not its harsh or explicit nature but the frequency and overwhelming persistence of the harassment. Journalists with Index.hu, one of Hungary's biggest and oldest news sites, reported being the target of several unwavering commenters who write offensive comments and emails to the site on a daily basis.

They described the existence of approximately six to seven 'house trolls' who do not "let a day pass" without sending negative remarks. "You become a real Index journalist when you receive your first email from Imre Szűcs," Tímea Karip, photo editor at Index.hu, said, referring to one such house troll. Sooner or later, she noted, every person in the editorial staff has to deal with this aspect of bullying.

Even Index.hu's subsite specialising in automobiles, Totalcar.hu, has had its own in-house troll. Árpád Zirig, a former journalist for the subsite, recounted the unlikely story of "Ubul", an in-house troll who had persistently harassed the editorial staff at Totalcar.hu for nearly three years. Ubul began by leaving nasty comments, but later became more "dedicated", aggressively commenting on nearly every article publishing and writing private emails to journalists. The site finally banned him, but Ubul returned using different pseudonyms that were versions of the initial

username Ubul and continued the harassment.

“At that point, journalists started to become afraid of him,” Zirig recalled.

In an effort to stop the wave of aggression, the site’s journalists decided to fight back with desperate measures. They began to investigate Ubul’s online behaviour and collect whatever information they could find on him. Eventually, they published an article called “The troll doesn’t have a small penis”<sup>2</sup>, in which they recounted their experience and disclosed all of the details they had found on “Ubul”, except for his name and personal information.

Interestingly, Zirig told IPI, after the article was published, the harassment immediately stopped and “Ubul” disappeared forever.

### 3.2.2. Threats

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In general, in contrast to trolling and bullying, online threats are less common in the everyday lives of Hungarian online journalists: ‘just’ 40 percent of survey participants said they had experienced threats.

One of these participants was Varga, of Index.hu, who described having received a number of threats through various channels since beginning his journalistic work online, including death threats against his child and threats of sexual assault aimed at his wife

Here, it should be pointed out that the findings on threats are based on qualitative data that may be highly distorted by the perception and bias of the subjects. Although it would be useful to work with an essentialist definition of ‘threat’ (verbal offence with the explicit or implicit intention of causing harm to the recipient), the cultural and psychological context of each case makes it difficult to apply such a definition consistently. Study interviews showed that not all journalists treat threats in the same way or even necessarily perceive certain comments as threats. Their reactions depend largely on their personal traits and professional socialisation regarding, among other things, what they consider to be a ‘real’ treat, what sort of language they are accustomed to and what their personal emotional threshold is.

Indeed, journalists who do receive messages that contain phrases that for an outsider are clearly threatening may not perceive them as problematic.

“If an offensive message is sent from an address like youmotherfucker@fuck.com, then it is probably hiding someone who wouldn’t dare to take any action,” Bálint Kovács, a journalist at Index.hu, explained. Kovács estimated that around 90 percent of bullying comes from anonymous harassers.

Study participants also noted that serious threats tend to come via email, which they believe reflects the fact that using a private channel already presupposes some “grim determination”. By contrast, comments on Facebook posts are under articles are perceived to be less harsh.

It should be noted that, as in the case of bullying, female journalists receive more threats that are of a sexual nature. This issue is described in greater detail in Section 3.4.

### 3.2.3. Public shaming

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Public shaming is also a relatively rare type of online harassment in Hungary. 25 percent of study participants reported having been subject to it.

One example of public shaming is an article published in August 2016 by the government-backed news site 888.hu about a journalist with the conservative-learning news outlet Mno.hu, DávidLakner. The article featured several portraits of Lakner<sup>3</sup> showing that he was a fan of heavy metal music (the images showed him with long hair and wearing band t-shirts). The article's main purpose was to make fun of Lakner's appearance and imply that someone like him could not properly represent a conservative point of view.

"They simply compiled some old pictures taken from my now unused MySpace account and from Google picture search hits, and their work was done," Lakner told IPI. He added that while he did not regard the article as the most invasive type of attack on his dignity, it also did not hold much promise for online behaviour in general.

### 3.2.4. Malicious social media behaviour: suspicious 'befriending', misinformation, misrepresentation

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While this category of harassment was not found to be among the most common in Hungary, one significant example shows how campaigns of online misinformation and manipulation can be used against journalists.

On Oct. 8, 2016, Hungary's biggest opposition daily newspaper, Népszabadság, was suspended with immediate effect and all of the paper's online archives were deleted. The move was a surprise to the paper's staff, who were not given forewarning. Indeed, Népszabadság's journalists had been scheduled to move into new offices the next day. They had even planned for the occasion a small inauguration party with drinks and pizza. Instead, they received an urgent notification from the publisher, Mediaworks, informing them that their work would not be needed for an indefinite period of time.

Legally, the journalists remained employees of Mediaworks, and the brands Népszabadság and nol.hu still belonged to Mediaworks. As a result, the journalists were not allowed to publish in other media or use the paper's names. Both these complicated legal conditions and the initial shock of being suspended effectively immediately pushed Népszabadság's journalists to bring their newsroom activities to social media. As soon as the journalists realised on Oct. 8 that they no longer had access to their company emails or to the online edition, they moved quickly to post the closure announcement on nol.hu's Facebook page. On the following day, they created a new Facebook page called Népszabi szerkesztőség ("Népszabi newsroom", using a colloquial name for Népszabadság).

The new Facebook page gathered more than 50,000 fans in a heartbeat. "So many new fans joined us that Facebook had to suspend the invite function for a while," Népszabadság journalist Anita Kőműves said. But "Népszabi szerkesztőség" was not the only new Népszabadság page on Facebook to appear. The paper's staff noticed that a number of fake pages began to pop up – and began to communicate in Népszabadság's name.

Kőműves explained: “When we asked them to reveal their identities, they refused. And when we wanted to find out why they would speak as if they were representing the newsroom, they gave us vague answers, saying that freedom of speech allows all people to express their opinion and so they have the right to do so.”

Népszabadság journalists reported some of the pages to Facebook, which took them down. Some, however, still exist. At the time IPI first reported this story in November 2016, the page for “NépszabadságOnline.hu”, for instance, had almost two thousand followers, while “Népszabadság Besttop” had stagnated at around 700. The aim of these pages is not clear, though Kőműves said she suspects it is to “generate confusion, create division and spread misinformation”. Neither she nor her colleagues have been able to confirm the identity of those behind the pages.

At the same time, many of the paper’s journalists also turned to Facebook in order to publish stories that could no longer be published on the Népszabadság site.

The journalists’ sudden immersion into the world of Facebook-centred journalism came at a price, however: their personal accounts became widely exposed to the public eye. The level of harassment rose accordingly, though not necessarily in the form one might expect.

Roland Baksa, a Népszabadság journalist who was one of the first to publish a story on Facebook, on the alleged corrupt affairs of György Matolcsy, president of the Hungarian National Bank, recounted: “I often receive messages that at first seem to be supportive and friendly, but later in the conversation it feels as if the sender wanted to be taken into my confidence. After researching the sender’s profile, it turns out that the style and phrasing of the messages are not in tune with the profile.”

These details led Baksa to suspect that competitors or intelligence agents may be behind the fake profile friend requests and messages. Interestingly, he added that he had not received any verbal attacks or “regular” vulgar troll comments.

Other Népszabadság journalists painted a similar picture of their experience being increasingly exposed to the public eye via social media. Instead of battling rhetorical aggression, vulgar trolling and other more straightforward forms of online harassment and bullying, they encounter more “sophisticated” trolls.

Kőműves described the latter as “civilised perturbers”, explaining: “They write their comments with correct spelling and in a moderate tone, but tirelessly emphasise the same things, that we are divided and have multiple Facebook pages, and so on.”

The blurring of personal and professional identity on social media is likely to present a continued challenge for Népszabadság’s journalists as they navigate their uncertain future. But most say they are willing to put up with it. Csilla Urbán, front page editor for nol.hu, summed up her view accordingly: “I am proud of being part of this community. I don’t want to hide.”

### 3.2.5. Cyber attack and site hacking

None of the participants in this study reported suffering from a technical cyber attack or site hacking. However, one such case was recently publicly documented. In 2015, in a now infamous incident, a camerawoman from the far-right/nationalist N1TV online television channel, Petra László, intentionally tripped a Syrian refugee while filming his escape attempt. In addition to Laszlo’s receiving numerous death threats online, including a bounty on her head<sup>4</sup>, N1TV’s website was hacked.

### 3.2.6. Harassers

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In almost all cases – whether rhetorical aggression, bullying, threats or other forms of online abuse – the harassers prefer not to disclose their identities and tend to post, comment and message anonymously or under a pseudonym or fake account. Journalists therefore have little concrete information about harassers as a group, although they do have suspicions. Conversations with Hungarian journalists revealed two broad profiles of harassers.

The first is the “organised propagandist”, a profile usually seen in connection with acts of rhetorical aggression. Harassers that fall into this category are supposedly devoted supporters of a given political group and are willing to express their support despite hiding their identities and using prefabricated phrases.

“All the similarities and recurring themes and phrasings in their arguments suggest that they might be part of a bigger, organised propaganda effort,” Anita Kőműves of Népszabadság, said. “But, of course, we have no proof of that.”

Interestingly, on Dec. 10, 2016, Index.hu revealed<sup>5</sup> the existence of a guide allegedly published by a regional branch of Hungary’s ruling Fidesz party that included instructions for party followers on how to initiate a coordinated action on Facebook to support a Fidesz MP facing, among other things, accusations of fraud. For instance, the guide named a particular Facebook post from the MP and suggested that party supporters should like the post and insert a comment underneath it. While not aimed at journalists, the guide contained examples of phrases in defence of the MP that supporters could use, but added, in all caps, “Do not copy-paste these phrasings, but rephrase in your own words!”.

Fidesz made no official content after the guide was made public, but it also did not threaten legal action. Notably, comments that appeared to follow the guide’s instructions did, in fact, appear en masse under the intended post.

The second typical profile, according to interviewees, are individuals whose troll-like behaviour is a reflection of personality traits or personal situations in real life. Many journalists suspect, for example, that these persons in the offline world are either extremely lonely or struggling with mental health challenges, although these conjectures cannot be verified.

It is worth noting that sometimes identities that were thought to be fabricated turn out, after complicated twists and turns, to be real ones. One example is the individual Imre Szűcs, whose name was familiar to journalists at Index.hu as he was one of a number of ‘in-house trolls’ who frequently wrote offensive emails to every journalist in Index’s newsroom. For many years, Index’s staff believed Imre Szűcs (the name is quite common in Hungary) to be a pseudonym and that the person could not possibly be real. This assumption however, turned out to be wrong.

In 2015, during the first refugee or ‘migrant’ wave, Index.hu’s Gergely Nyilas travelled undercover with migrants and reported on the experience. Naturally, he immediately began receiving offensive messages from Imre Szűcs, claiming that Nyilas had broken the law and should be punished. After a short time, Nyilas received a court warrant. In a surprise, it turned out that the person who filed charges against him was none other than Imre Szűcs himself. Eventually, Nyilas was convicted in November 2016 of forgery and lying to a police officer and sentenced to pay a fine<sup>6</sup>.

## 3.3. Reactions to harassment

This section describes journalists' reaction to and attitudes toward online harassment. It is divided into four subtopics: the journalists' personal, psychological and communicational responses, and finally their overall opinion on the phenomenon as a whole.

The category of psychological reactions covers journalists' emotional and cognitive responses to harassment, while the communicational attitudes category describes how journalists handle communicative situations with online harassers.

In terms of numbers, 45 percent of the journalists who participated in the study occasionally read negative comments. 20 percent reported always reading them, while 35 percent said they never read such comments.

When it comes to communicating, 55 percent said they never engage with trolls, 40 percent do so occasionally and five percent – just one person out of 20 – always do so.

The overwhelming majority of the journalists interviewed – 70 percent – claim that they are not hurt by online harassment. A full 80 percent say that online harassment is not an issue for the profession.

### 3.3.1. Attitudes towards receiving and reading offensive comments and messages

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There is significant variation in terms of attitudes toward handling incoming offensive communication.

One characteristic attitude toward harassment is utter and complete rejection, which manifests in immediate deletion of unread messages if the sender is already known as a harasser, or in deletion of messages that appear to be offensive.

Some journalists do not maintain such strict filtering regimes and occasionally read harassers' messages and then either delete them or keep them for a while. Even if the filtering is consistently strong, from time to time unwanted messages sometimes slip through the cracks, with consequences.

"If I accidentally open a piece of hate mail or see something that I wanted to avoid, I get frustrated and hurt for about a half an hour," Karip, the photo editor at Index.hu, said.

In order to avoid 'house trolls', some of Index.hu's journalists use email filters, some automatically delete the emails and some respond to the emails. It is not necessarily easy to get used to the trolls' messages. "The first hurts a lot, you feel like you screwed up everything," Karip recounted.

### 3.3.2. Communicational attitudes

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When it comes to the decision of whether or not to enter into a conversation with trolls and harassers, most journalists interviewed said they choose not to answer



in most cases, preferring to maintain 'radio silence'. However, there are always exceptions. Attila Varga of Index.hu said he responds to even the most dedicated trolls with no hesitation. But he, too, has his limits. A few years ago, he launched a blog on the birth and parenting of his child, but he decided to shut it down after brutal comments aimed at his child became too much to bear. He said he cannot explain his propensity to engage with the attackers. "I don't know, I'm an idiot," he said ruefully, before adding: "I can't help it. I feel like I have to enter the conversation."

Although they work in the same news room, journalists from Mandiner.hu who spoke to IPI had very different attitudes toward harassment. Martin Bukovics and Brigitta Kiss consistently never read comments and will not engage in any conversation with trolls and bullies. Bence Pintér and editor-in-chief Gellért Rajcsányi, on the other hand, occasionally read comments and sometimes even respond to unpleasant partners.

### 3.3.3. Psychological reactions

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Typical psychological reactions vary greatly. These include self-questioning, embarrassment, fear, humiliation and anger. The main factors that determine the type of the reaction are, in addition to the journalist's personality, the level of seniority (i.e., whether the journalist is just starting out, has some experience or has many years of experience), the intensity of the harassment (if the comment is a serious threat or something less harsh) and the persistence of the harasser.

In the case of female and male journalists alike, according to the interviews, journalists suffer the most from any type of harassment when they are in their early career phase. Later, bullying is described as still disturbing, but more senior journalists have "gotten used to it", making the harassment less overwhelming "I wouldn't say I don't care but this is almost the case," Bálint Kovács of Index.hu said.

Widely known by the nickname Sixx, Attila Varga has been around since the advent of the Hungarian blogosphere and has a long track record of fighting trolls. "It was hard in the beginning," he said, adding that it took "a lot of time and nerves" to adjust to the "permanent" online harassment that came with the job.

"The first comment under my very first blog post went something like: 'You are not an expert in that field, so why would you write about it, bitch?'" he recalled. "I literally stared at the monitor for half an hour, rereading my post over and over again, examining, double-checking all the statements and claims I made in the post, trying to see what I possibly could have gotten wrong."

The fact that most online harassment comes from anonymous users might lead one to view it as more threatening or dangerous. Many of the journalists interviewed, however, emphasised that anonymity has the opposite effect: it makes harassment easier to cope with.

As Dániel Ács put it briefly: "Anonymous comments just leave me untouched." Other journalists indicated that, in their view, when individuals do not write an opinion using their real names it means that they either do not stand by that opinion and/or they will stay hidden and never act on what they write.

Serious threats, including death threats, are hard to cope with at any career phase. Fear is a common reaction to such threats. Self-questioning, anger and embarrassment are typical responses in the case of bullying, trolling and rhetorical aggression, though these responses are more intense for junior journalists and

less intense for more experienced reporters. Feeling humiliated is a typical and understandable reaction to harassment of a sexual nature.

Another relevant angle in terms of psychological consequences is whether or not the harassment can be seen by family members.

István Dévényi, an editor at *Heti Válasz*, noted that an important moment for him was when he realised that as his son grows older as starts to use the Internet as a news source, he might encounter nasty comments about his father. For this reason, Dévényi said he began to remove extremely harsh comments from under his articles.

"It could be puzzling if you see all over the Internet that your father is a 'scumbag', and no one explains it to you," Dévényi said.

Journalists sometimes handle serious threats with irony, which clearly makes coping easier, although it can also minimise the significance of such threats.

Dévényi recalled: "Once someone wrote me that he would come after me in the newsroom. I answered him immediately: 'Sure, come up, I am this 182 cm, 80 kg guy in the corner.' Of course, ultimately they didn't come, and the issue settled down."

All of the journalists interviewed for this study agreed that the main factor in terms of the damage caused is not the degree of harassment but rather the persistence of it. They stated that the most overwhelming and frustrating part is being exposed to continuous, unceasing bullying, regardless of how harsh the verbal attacks are.

### 3.3.4. Opinions

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Most of the journalists stated that coping with online harassment "comes with the territory" and that they do not care about it.

"It is something that is the part of the profession," Dávid Lakner of *Mno.hu* said.

Karip, of *Index.hu*, put it even more bluntly: "Honestly we don't give a shit."

Kovács added of the harassers, "I simply feel that I can't take them seriously."

A widespread opinion among the journalists interviewed is that the real, or at least more pressing problem for the profession is not online harassment but political and economic pressure. Still, there is some tension between the unperturbed attitude noted here and the everyday task of coping with bullying described elsewhere in this report.

For Kovács, the main issue is what he calls the "spiral of silence": readers who would like to comment in a meaningful way are scared off by aggressive users, something he views as harmful for the public sphere.

Separately, Kovács added: "If there is only one journalists who gives up the profession because of harassment, that is already damage done."

## 3.4. Female journalists and online harassment

The fact that female journalists in general are particularly exposed to online harassment has become increasingly clear. Recently, the Guardian newspaper found that, after analysing 70 million comments left on its site between 2006 and 2016, eight of the 10 most abused journalists were women<sup>7</sup>.

This three-month study on harassment patterns in Hungary offered a significant amount of qualitative data that appears to confirm a similar gender component in the local commenting sphere. On average, female journalists receive more negative comments, bullying and threats than their male counterparts. In addition, a higher percentage of the threats against female journalists are of a sexual nature.

Rebeka Kulcsár, a journalist with 444.hu, experienced a wave of attacks when she began to write for the site at the age of just 20. Female journalists are targeted “especially if they are young, or good looking or write about politics,” Kulcsár said.

Kulcsár described receiving various forms of harassment, ranging from simple bullying (“you stupid bitch”), to sexual threats (“I’m going to rape you”), disturbing comments (“If you were to kill yourself, how would you do it?”) and public shaming (on one occasion, a user made a photo montage using publicly accessible Facebook photos and posted it under an article; on another, a user posted Kulcsár’s Tinder profile picture, which she had deleted months earlier).

In the beginning, she told IPI, she tried to answer the harassers, but when that made things worse, she stopped reacting. Among other things, she switched off the anonymous ask function on her Tumblr account. After a while, she faced the dilemma of whether to carry on with writing or leave journalism for good.

“It was hard to arrive at a state of mind where it didn’t hurt so much and I could get back to work,” she recalled. “I know it can’t be true, but it feels like it doesn’t matter what I do, the only thing that matters is that I am a girl.”

Still, she said she did not understand the exact reasons why she had become a particular target and was left only to surmise whether it was the immediacy of the medium or perhaps the particular audience of 444.hu or maybe her personal style.

It remains a challenge for her to rationalise the unacceptable. “I keep trying to train myself for this,” she said hopefully.

Csilla Urbán, former front page editor for nol.hu, the online edition of Népszabadság, said she previously received numerous patronising and/or sexist comments on the site’s comment systems. Users frequently called her a “bitch” or “stupid girl”, or questioned her work due to her gender. Interestingly, Urbán noted that this type of vulgar harassment had largely disappeared since Népszabadság’s newsroom moved to Facebook.

Index.hu’s photo editor, Tímea Karip, recounted different, but equally disturbing experiences. According to Karip, the amount of harassment aimed at women is “probably” similar as that aimed at men. The difference, she said, is that online bullying aimed at women is frequently of a sexual nature. She recalled a time when she would receive hardcore porn images via email along with comments describing her forced participation in sexual intercourse. Karip said that the risk of being

sexually harassed online partly explained why some female journalists intentionally left their by-lines off particularly sensitive articles and disguised their Facebook identities. "Politics and being a woman are both risk factors" for harassment, she commented.

For female journalists, irony is also a powerful tool in efforts to cope with the harassment that gets through the filters. Brigitta Kiss, of Mandiner.hu, observed that calling female journalists a stupid bitch was an everyday practice online. She said she receives even harsher comments but "can't take them seriously".

One of the most influential female journalists in Hungary today, Krisztina D. Tóth, founder of Wmn.hu, sounded a similar note in a recently published op-ed on harassers called "You want to hurt me, but you can't be sure I'm hurt"<sup>8</sup>).

This same attitude, along with self-esteem and confidence in her thorough work, helps Niki Nagy, a science journalist at Origo.hu, cope with harassment, although Nagy characterised the attacks against her as less vulgar than those described above. Still, she said she frequently receives comments regarding the fact that she is "blonde and a girl" and that she often has to face prejudices regarding women in journalism.

### 3.5. 2016 'migrant quota' referendum

The theme of refugees or 'migrants' was significant in online discussions during the timeframe of this study, as the conflicting interpretations of the refugee crisis deeply affected Hungarian politics and media.

On Oct. 2, 2016, Hungary held a referendum on whether to accept the so-called 'EU migrant quota', i.e., the forced relocation of a fixed number of refugees to the country. The referendum was initiated by the government and preceded by an unprecedentedly expansive nationwide governmental communications campaign<sup>9</sup>. The main message of the governmental campaign was that the 'migrant quota' plan existed and that it should be opposed. The overwhelming majority of persons who went to the polls voted against the quota (more than 3.3 million people). However, as the turnout was too low, at 44 percent, the referendum result was deemed invalid.

Interestingly, Hungarian journalists said that the extremely intense governmental campaign around the quota referendum did not have any visible effect on the behaviour of online commenters/harassers.

Szabolcs Dull of the news site Index.hu recalled the period following the first wave of migrant arrivals to Hungary in 2015 as being marked by an unusually intense sequence of personal attacks. Back then, he noted, any article he published on the subject could trigger online abuse, regardless of whether the article was critical of the country's migrant policy or not. Károly Pálfi and Árpád Zirig (both of Origo.hu) had the very same impressions then.

In the fall of 2016, however, the overall mood of the public, as reflected in the lack of significant change in commenter behaviour, was different. On this point, most interview subjects suggested public fatigue with the migrant issue as a likely explanation. They highlighted changes in public news consumption habits, which showed that readers had become less interested in migrant-related content following the peak of the crisis in 2015. Even the government campaign, journalists commented, was not able to reverse this trend.

## 4. Conclusions

“If I took it seriously, it would kill it, make the whole thing pointless,” István Gázsó, a Reset.hu journalist who mainly covers football, said of online harassment. Gázsó, a sociologist by training, told IPI he thinks that although harassment can be disturbing to those who cannot dissociate themselves from it, the phenomenon itself is normal. “Show me a situation where the avenues for communication are open wide that much and this kind of behaviour doesn’t occur,” he commented.

Gellért Rajcsányi, editor-in-chief of Mandiner.hu, offered some insights on the general effects of online harassment in the Hungarian media sphere taken from Mandiner.hu’s especially vibrant comment sphere. “Mandiner.hu has been an extremely open commenting platform for quite a long while and, as such, I always regard it as an experimental field,” Rajcsányi said.

In Rajcsányi’s view, the comment section fulfils an important role in the public sphere – or at least a particular part thereof – by serving as a vent for people to let out accumulated emotions related to public life and politics.

He explained: “The net has been democratised, and the differences among political viewpoints in Hungary are sharp. Adding up these elements results in a huge, polarised and turbulent online comment sphere, which is in a sense a mirror of Hungarian society as a whole.” For Rajcsányi, being the target of online harassment is a necessary evil for journalists. “We form our opinions publicly, in front of an audience; we are public figures, it is completely natural.”

Nevertheless, this brief analysis allows for the definition of three main challenges for Hungarian online journalism due to the ubiquitous nature of online harassment.

The first is a *soft chilling effect*, i.e., a situation in which journalists or readers choose to wall themselves off as both parties feel overwhelmed by the volume or trolling. This kind of discouragement is harmful for free speech as it reduces the interactivity of online journalism and blocks conversation and the exchange of ideas and information both between journalists and readers and among readers themselves.

The second is a *desensitisation effect*. This phrase refers here to a psychological effect that renders journalists insensitive to offensive feedback. This might be interpreted as a beneficial means of self-defence, but in the context of the public sphere, it may lower the threshold of expectations regarding inappropriate communications, i.e., anything and everything becomes acceptable. This attitude is reflected often in journalists’ statements emphasising that online harassment “comes with the job” and that a journalist must get used to this kind of behaviour.

The third is the significant volume and intensity of *harassment targeted at traditionally and generally oppressed social groups*, and in against women in particular. The situation of female journalists is even worse compared to the overall subject group of male and female journalists. Female journalists receive more bullying, threats and offensive communication than male journalists. Moreover, a large proportion of this bullying is of a sexual nature, which poses an additional threat.

The collection of additional data would help to form a more complete picture of how Hungarian journalists cope with online harassment and what strategies they use to avoid it.

# 5. Appendix

## 5.1. List of media outlets included in study

Name	Owner	Political orientation/critical attitude towards government	Platforms	Facebook page and number of followers (as of Sept. 6, 2016)
24.hu		Liberal/Critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/24ponthu/">https://www.facebook.com/24ponthu/</a> 508,672
444.hu	Magyar JetiZrt.	Liberal/Very critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/444.hu/">https://www.facebook.com/444.hu/</a> 219,122
hvg.hu	HVG KiadóZrt.	Liberal/Very critical	Online / weekly magazine	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/hvghu/">https://www.facebook.com/hvghu/</a> 449,064
index.hu	CEMP Zrt.	Liberal/Critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Indexhu/">https://www.facebook.com/Indexhu/</a> 406,278
mandiner.hu	MandinerKft.	Conservative/ Occasionally critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/mandiner.hu/">https://www.facebook.com/mandiner.hu/</a> 30,105
mno.hu	Nemzet Lap-	Conservative / Occasionally critical	Online / daily newspaper	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/mno.hu/">https://www.facebook.com/mno.hu/</a> 73,435
nol.hu (suspended on 9 October)	Mediaworks Zrt.	Liberal/very critical	Online / daily newspaper	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/nolhu/">https://www.facebook.com/nolhu/</a> 96,203
origo.hu	New Wave Media Kft.	Neutral/Not critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/OrigoHirek/">https://www.facebook.com/OrigoHirek/</a> 380,861
Valasz.hu	Heti Válasz Lap- és Könyvkiadó Szolgáltató Kft.	Conservative/ Occasionally critical	Online / weekly magazine	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/HetiValasz/">https://www.facebook.com/HetiValasz/</a> (as of Feb. 25, 2017) 36,375
Reset.hu	CGMD Kft.	Neutral/ Occasionally critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/resetnews/">https://www.facebook.com/resetnews/</a> (as of Feb. 25 2017) 30,471
Atlatszo.hu	Atlatszo.hu Közhasznú Nonprofit Kft.	Liberal/very critical	Online	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/atlatszo.hu/">https://www.facebook.com/atlatszo.hu/</a> (as of Feb. 25, 2017) 85,847

## 5.2. Significant social media platforms in Hungary

<b>Twitter</b>	Twitter is neither widespread nor popular in Hungary. Journalists rarely use this platform; those that do use it do not have significant numbers of followers.
<b>Facebook</b>	The biggest online social networking platform in Hungary, with four to five million users. Also a major source of news. Almost all media outlets have their own pages with hundreds of thousands of followers. Interaction and comment activity around these pages is vibrant. However, few journalists have their own public author profiles. In general, journalists have personal profiles that they keep private.
<b>Tumblr</b>	In some ways, Tumblr presents an opposite picture as compared to Facebook. Media companies do not use Tumblr for online content dissemination, but certain journalists do spend a significant time on this platform. (Some Tumblr accounts of journalists can be found in Table 3.)
<b>Instagram</b>	While some media and journalists do have accounts, this platform is not yet as significant as Facebook or Tumblr.
<b>Ask.fm</b>	Only the outlet 444.hu used this platform for a short time: <a href="http://ask.fm/negynegyegy">http://ask.fm/negynegyegy</a> .

## 5.3. Selected Tumblr accounts of individual journalists

URL	Journalist name	Media
<a href="http://gorillavideos.tumblr.com/">http://gorillavideos.tumblr.com/</a>	DánielÁcs	444.hu
<a href="http://martonbede.tumblr.com/">http://martonbede.tumblr.com/</a>	Márton Bede	444.hu
<a href="http://erdelyip.tumblr.com/">http://erdelyip.tumblr.com/</a>	PéterErdélyi	444.hu
<a href="http://szarazene.tumblr.com/">http://szarazene.tumblr.com/</a>	MárkHerczeg	444.hu
<a href="http://mivoltmaaneten.tumblr.com/">http://mivoltmaaneten.tumblr.com/</a>	BenceHorváth	444.hu
<a href="http://dedi.tumblr.com/">http://dedi.tumblr.com/</a>	PéterMagyari	444.hu
<a href="http://cvikli.tumblr.com/">http://cvikli.tumblr.com/</a>	PéterUj	444.hu
<a href="http://konzervativanarchista.tumblr.com/">http://konzervativanarchista.tumblr.com/</a>	GellértRajcsányi	Mandiner.hu
<a href="http://socialdance.tumblr.com/">http://socialdance.tumblr.com/</a>	Attila Bátorfy	Atlatzo.hu
<a href="http://gluekitrotor42.tumblr.com/">http://gluekitrotor42.tumblr.com/</a>	BencePintér	Mandiner.hu

## 6. Notes to text

- 1 <http://vs.hu/kozelet/osszes/bivalybasznadi-alhivallalkozok-es-oroszorszag-magyar-hangjai-0407#!s0>
- 2 [http://totalcar.hu/magazin/kozelet/2011/12/24/a\\_trollnak\\_nem\\_kicsi\\_a\\_farka/](http://totalcar.hu/magazin/kozelet/2011/12/24/a_trollnak_nem_kicsi_a_farka/)
- 3 <http://888.hu/article-lakner-david-a-konzervativ>
- 4 <http://nol.hu/belfold/verdiat-tuztek-ki-laszlo-petra-fejere-az-n1tv-kozlemenye-szerint-1562595>
- 5 [http://index.hu/belfold/2016/12/10/valaki\\_megmondja\\_hogyan\\_komenteljenek\\_a\\_bekes\\_megyei\\_fideszesek/#](http://index.hu/belfold/2016/12/10/valaki_megmondja_hogyan_komenteljenek_a_bekes_megyei_fideszesek/#)
- 6 <http://budapestbeacon.com/media-issues/index-reporter-convicted-posing-migrant/42109>
- 7 <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/apr/12/the-dark-side-of-guardian-comments>
- 8 <https://wmn.hu/elet/45886-d-toth-kriszta-te-bantani-akarsz-en-nem-biztos-hogy-megbantodom>
- 9 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian\\_migrant\\_quota\\_referendum,\\_2016](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_migrant_quota_referendum,_2016)



# About IPI

IPI: Protecting Press Freedom for More than 60 years

The Vienna-based IPI is a global network of editors, media executives and leading journalists dedicated to furthering and safeguarding press freedom, promoting the free flow of news and information, and improving the practices of journalism. Formed in 1950 at Columbia University by 34 leading editors from 15 countries on the belief that a free press would contribute to the creation of a better world, IPI today includes members in more than 100 countries and holds consultative status with the Council of Europe and the United Nations.

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**RHETORICAL  
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BULLYING**

INTERACTION

PRIVACY  
PERSONAL

MALICIOUS

MEDIA

HACKING

SOCIAL

SHAMING

**TROLLING**

OF

**THREATS**

VIOLATION

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