



Slovak-Hungarian information space: Parallel reality on Facebook?



Executive summary

According to the most recent Slovak census from 2011, 450,122 people [declared](#) their affiliation to the Hungarian nationality, which represents more than 8% of Slovakia's population. This number also means that the group is the second largest Hungarian minority residing outside the borders of Hungary, and it is a strong and well-organized community.

Yet, since 2020, the Hungarian minority in Slovakia [has](#) no parliamentary representation, although its political presence at [regional](#) and [local](#) level is strong and very distinct. Despite this fact, there are only a few surveys and opinion polls that address specifically the topic of the Hungarian community in Slovakia. For example, the election polls [cannot](#) in most cases estimate the real support for the Hungarian parties while the small sample of ethnic Hungarians significantly distorts the results.

It is thus hardly surprising that there are no comprehensive studies and research projects focused on the Slovak-Hungarian information space. This can be considered an unexplored area, which is clearly separated from the Slovak information space by the language barrier. Yet, at the same time, due to social and cultural particularities, it cannot be considered part of the Hungarian information space either. It was this unexploredness that had motivated us to conduct this research.

In recent years, we have witnessed several attempts by the Hungarian government, led by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, at [virtual reunification](#) of the Hungarian nation. Not even the issue of the Treaty of Trianon is a closed chapter for these actors, and despite the fact that hundred years have passed in 2020 since the signing of the treaty, the Hungarian Prime Minister still [exploits](#) this topic in his speeches and describes it as injustice and injury against the Hungarians.

This is, however, not [motivated](#) solely by an emotional connection between the "kin" state and its minority. Every year, the Hungarian government supports Hungarian communities beyond the borders of Hungary with considerable sums of money (financial contributions). More than 140 million euros have been [transferred](#) from Budapest to Slovakia since 2011 through the Gabor Bethlen Foundation alone (BGA). The money went to cultural organizations, the church, to renovate schools and kindergartens, to the media, but also to Slovak football [club](#) FC DAC 1904 Dunajská Streda and its DAC Football Academy.

Organizations close to Slovak-Hungarian politicians also received a share, not to mention the possibility of acquiring Hungarian citizenship on the [basis](#) of an emotional attachment to Hungary, which also gives a person the right to vote in Hungarian parliamentary elections. According to experts, the objective behind this financial assistance and the "generous" approach is to create and strengthen the dependence of Hungarian communities in Slovakia, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Ukraine on Budapest, more precisely on the Hungarian government.

Although the financing of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is a relatively well-researched area, the question remains as to how such efforts to support this minority are reflected, for instance, in the Slovak-Hungarian information space.

The aim of our research, conducted with the support of the *International Republican Institute's The Beacon Project*, was to monitor which narratives spread among the Hungarian-speaking minority in Slovakia (more precisely on Facebook), their reach, and success. Similar research on this topic was conducted in Romania and Ukraine (countries with a significant Hungarian community). Our research design was discussed and consulted across these three different countries aiming to make the results comparable. A possible continuation of our research is to compare its results and search for patterns.

We consider this issue to be very important in relation to the relationship between the minority and the majority in the country, as some of the **narratives we have examined have the potential to polarize society but also to radicalize members of the minority community.**

According to our findings, we can conclude that the narratives which can potentially support nationalist or even irredentist ideas have their place in the Slovak-Hungarian information space. Some have stronger support and are more common than others, and many are supported by various politicians and media outlets. Although our research did not include a representative sample, this should be seen as a red flag.

This report has been prepared with support from IRI's Beacon Project.

The opinions expressed are solely those of the authors and do not reflect those of IRI.

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Historical Background

One of the key topics for the historical background of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is the **Trianon Treaty** (Trianon - for short). It is also one of the central issues in the history of the Hungarian nation as a whole. The treaty was part of the Paris Peace Conference following the First World War and signed in the Grand Trianon Palace in Versailles on 4 June 1920. Following the defeat of Austria-Hungary, the treaty delineated the borders of the Hungarian state as one of the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Kingdom of Hungary [lost](#) two-thirds of its territory because of the treaty, along with a half of its Hungarian-speaking population. Of Hungary's 20.8 million inhabitants, approximately only 7 million remained in Hungary. For Slovakia, Trianon [marked](#) the end of a two-year process of secession from Hungary and integration into the Czechoslovak Republic.

In addition to the symbolic significance, the belief about Trianon's "injustice" is evident and exploited to incite revisionist sentiments on the far-right scene to the present day. This emotionally loaded narrative has long been a theme accompanying the political development of Hungary, but also a lasting issue in the current Slovak-Hungarian relations.

Trianon equals national guilt

The Treaty of Trianon is still [interpreted](#) as one of the greatest national tragedies comparable only to the defeat at Mohács (1526). The terms "dictate of Trianon" or "Trianon trauma" are also used to refer to the treaty, suggesting the degree to which the signing of the treaty is perceived as a wrong against the Hungarian nation.

After the **Vienna Arbitration** (1938), part of the territory in the south of Slovakia fell to Hungary, which basically meant a step towards a revision of Trianon. As a result of this decision by Germany and Italy, Slovakia lost more than 20% of its territory, as well as a similar proportion of Subcarpathian Russia. This also meant a loss of more than 850,000 inhabitants of whom over 500,000 were of Hungarian nationality.

After the Second World War, nationalist aspirations to reunite the Hungarians became taboo but did not disappear. Revisionist voices retreated and reappeared only after 1989.

Revisionism and the Hungarian Far Right

The vast majority of Hungarians still [perceive](#) the subject of Trianon and the disintegration of Hungary as an injustice. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences [conducted](#) a survey in May 2020, according to which up to **94% of Hungarian citizens consider the Treaty of Trianon to be unfair** and 85% of respondents even consider it to be the greatest tragedy of the Hungarian nation. According to 77% of respondents, the country has not yet overcome the "Trianon trauma." It is thus one of the strongest narratives that persists in Hungary and contributes to the inciting of nationalist fervor.

The topic is also linked to Hungarian irredentism – an effort to revise the historical borders of Hungary on an ethnic basis.

Such sentiment is fueled by political and non-political entities, especially within the Hungarian far-right scene. The driving force is primarily the dissatisfaction with the current borders and the effort to restore the pre-Trianon order.

Events after 1946

After the Second World War, several key events took place exacerbating the sense of injustice. First was the eviction of part of the population of Hungarians from southern Slovakia, or rather a series of population exchanges between the two states in 1947-1948. These affected approximately 90,000 inhabitants, while the Hungarians in Slovakia lost all civil rights as a result of Beneš's decrees coming into force: *Decree on the Confiscation of the Property of Germans, Hungarians and Traitors*, and *Decree on the Loss of Czechoslovak National Citizenship of Persons of Hungarian and German Nationality*. A controversial [re-slovakizing](#) campaign followed.

At the turn of 1946-1947, there was also an effort to expel the Hungarians from Slovak territory to Bohemia, where they were to be gradually assimilated. During the largest deportation, 44,129 people of Hungarian nationality had to leave their homes.

After 1948, the *Act on the Return of Czechoslovak Citizenship* facilitated the return of the displaced population to Bohemia, and at the same time the exchange of population with Hungary was completed.

The Minority Today

The issue of identity related to the above-mentioned historical realities has become a sensitive topic. Even today, issues of cultural autonomy, changes in the administrative division of the country, issues of dual citizenship or ties of the ethnic Hungarians in southern Slovakia to **Hungary as a mother state, which generously [finances](#) the activities of its minority in Slovakia, are being re-opened.**

The aim is to strengthen the national identity of ethnic Hungarians by supporting cultural and sports events, funding institutions (churches, schools, and kindergartens) and clubs, or supporting the Hungarian language teaching and education.

Cultural Events and Institutions

Various cultural institutions – museums, theaters, clubs, interest groups and civic associations – are working towards preserving the identity of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

The Slovak National Museum – Museum of the Culture of Hungarians in Slovakia in Bratislava [specializes](#) in the history and development of the culture of the Hungarian ethnic group in Slovakia and holds expositions in Dolná Strehová and Sklabina. Theatre performances in Hungarian language are [offered](#) by the National Theater in Košice (Thália Theater), the professional drama theater in the Hungarian language in Komárno (Jókai Theater) and the Dance Theater in Bratislava (Ifjú Szívek).

The Hungarian minority in Slovakia [organizes](#) events aimed at improving and raising the level of their social life. Such events feature, for instance, performances by children's puppet and theater ensembles Podunajská jar, the Móra Jókai Theater Festival (part of the Jókai Days) and the Gombaszög Festival and Summer University.

Several organizations are also active in these areas, such as the Hungarian Social and Cultural Association in Slovakia, Csemadok, and the Forum Institute for Minority Research. Lately, a possibility came up for creating a [law](#) on the existence of the Csemadok, which would address the issues of financing its activities.

Education and the Use of Language

The Slovak Republic provides education in the Hungarian language which is enshrined as an equal part of the educational system.

An interesting issue related to the use of designation of municipalities in the languages of national minorities is the [Act](#) on the Use of Minority Languages and Regulation of the

Government of the Slovak Republic no. 221/1999 Coll., which has been in force since 1 July 2011. This act features a list of municipalities in which citizens of the Slovak Republic belonging to a national minority make up at least 20% of the population.

The conditions for the use of the language of a national minority in official communication and the possibility of informing the public in the language of national minorities are [regulated](#) by Act no. 184/1999 Coll. on the use of languages of national minorities. However, although the legal framework is given for several areas, it is not always observed in practice.

Slovak vs. Hungarian minority support

The current Hungarian government supports Hungarian communities in neighboring countries with significant financial assistance. Due to this, there is often a narrative that Hungary spends a higher amount in southern Slovakia to support its minority than the Slovak Republic. However, the fact is that comparing financial amounts provided by Slovakia and Hungary is not simple.

The Slovak Fund for the Support of the Culture of National Minorities can be [considered](#) the equivalent of the below-mentioned Gábor Bethlen Foundation (BGA). When comparing the sums of assistance provided in recent years, it is still not clear who supports the community more. The same as the Hungarian government has several financial frameworks to support the minority in Slovakia, Slovakia also has several sources for making investments.

The Relationship of the Minority to the "Mother" Country

Assistance from the Hungarian government for the Hungarian community in Slovakia is provided for several areas: culture, education, Hungarian minority media, football clubs, church, private companies. Every year, the Hungarian government supports several hundred projects in Slovakia. It uses various subsidy schemes. Therefore, the narrative that Hungary is seeking to make up for the lack of funding for minorities, which are allegedly neglected by the governments of the host countries, is significant in Slovak-Hungarian infospace.

Hungary has been financially supporting its communities abroad since the fall of the Iron Curtain. The Constitution [enshrines](#) the principle that the Hungarian state is responsible for promoting the culture of Hungarians living beyond the borders of Hungary.

However, the amount of financial assistance has increased significantly during the last years of Fidesz's rule. While in 2010 13.8 billion forints (approximately 38.1 million EUR) [went](#) to support foreign Hungarian communities, in 2018 this sum was almost ten times higher (138.6 billion forints, which is approximately 382,7 million EUR).

Channels for the Support Hungarian Minorities

In terms of specific channels used for Hungarian support, the largest donor from Hungary is the Gábor Bethlen Foundation (BGA), whose [declared](#) goal is to support Hungarians abroad. Other actors include Hungarian government institutions and state-owned enterprises, which have support schemes available to Hungarian organizations abroad.

However, there is no publicly available source providing the information on the total amount of funds transferred from the Hungarian budget to southern Slovakia in recent years. The BGA also [publishes](#) data on grants and payments in a rather non-transparent manner.

Citizenship for Foreign Hungarians: Another Benefit from the Hungarian Government?

Relations between Slovakia and Hungary have also been impacted by the issue of Hungarians gaining citizenship abroad. The question stems primarily from Orbán's amendment to the Citizenship Act of 2010. This raised concerns about the possible abuse of the voting right.

Thanks to this amendment, Hungarians living abroad can acquire Hungarian citizenship through a simplified procedure (valid from January 3, 2011). **The amendment made it [possible](#) for ethnic Hungarians to apply for citizenship without the condition of having a permanent residence in Hungary.** This applies to applicants of Hungarian origin, that do not have a criminal record, and have demonstrated knowledge of the Hungarian language. De facto, it is sufficient to express one's emotional attachment to Hungary.

The amendment itself was [proposed](#) by the government bloc, the Hungarian Civic Union-Fidesz and the Christian Democratic People's Party (Fidesz-KDNP). The Slovak government [responded](#) to this situation with a legal norm deeming it is necessary to lose the Slovak citizenship upon voluntary acquisition of citizenship of another country. Due to the norm, 3,836 people [lost](#) their Slovak passports between 17 July 2010 and 16 September 2021, of which only about 4% were people who had accepted Hungarian citizenship.

Acquisition of the Right to Vote

The simplification of the Hungarian citizenship process also entails obtaining the right to vote in Hungarian parliamentary elections. According to statistics, there is, generally, considerable support on the part of voters from abroad for the Fidesz party. Its election results based on the voting of foreign electorate have thus far always exceeded 90%.

Moreover, to obtain the right to vote, it suffices to pre-register via the Internet. According to the most recent data, 403,593 foreign voters are [registered](#). The elections in 2014 were the first to which the new electoral law applied. Approximately 200,000 Hungarians from abroad [registered](#) for them.

Hungarians abroad do not have the right to vote in single mandate constituencies, but they can cast their vote for national party candidates. They can thus affect the outcome of 2-3 mandates. In the Hungarian Parliament, which consists of 199 members, this may be a seemingly negligible number. However, a single parliamentary mandate can be crucial in gaining a constitutional majority.

The Conflicting Issue of Dual Citizenship

In 2010, **Slovakia banned dual citizenship** and made the acquisition of citizenship of another state [dependent](#) on the loss of the Slovak one. This could have been one of the reasons why

Hungarians in Slovakia did not apply for new citizenship en masse for fear of losing Slovak citizenship.

Dual citizenship is also prohibited by Ukraine, which may be the reason why the statistics of the Hungarian National Electoral Office do not show the exact number of Slovak and Ukrainian citizens with Hungarian voting rights.

Only the total number of applications for registration and registered voters from countries prohibiting dual citizenship is known; this number [exceeds](#) 23,000.

The Hungarian Government's Struggle Against Liberal Elites and the EU: Topics that Concern Foreign Hungarians, too?

In recent years, under the leadership of the Fidesz party - the Hungarian Civic Union and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, **Hungary has started to promote itself as the protector of the so-called "traditional values"**. Along with reinforcing this image, Prime Minister Orbán uses elements of populism and autocracy.

Taking a stance against the EU is very evident, especially in matters related to migration and minority rights. At the same time, the current regime has become known for its suppression of media freedom, problematic grasp of the rule of law, the ambivalent relationship between the state and civil society actors, as well as the overall decline in the quality of Hungarian democracy. Viktor Orbán considers these changes to be necessary for the protection of "traditional values" and the fight against harmful liberalism.

The Erosion of Democracy in Hungary

After Fidesz had come to power (2010), several legislative changes were [implemented](#), through which the party sought to consolidate its own power.

An important milestone in this context was the year 2013, when the Hungarian Parliament [approved](#) the adoption of constitutional changes, despite the Supreme Court's decision deeming them unconstitutional. The result of these changes was the transfer of much of the power to the government and the Fidesz party. The changes [concerned](#) the restriction of the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court, one of the amendments also addressed the preference for "traditional" family model.

At the same time, the decline of democracy in Hungary is linked to the deterioration of its relations with the EU, which [resulted](#) in the departure of Fidesz members from the Group of the European People's Party (EPP) which is a part of the European Parliament.

Another aspect contributing to the decline of Hungarian democracy is the situation related to the Covid-19 pandemic. The government [responded](#) to the spread of the virus with a bill on protection against the pandemic. The law was intended to prolong the state of emergency, which should have led to effective state intervention. The main problem with the proposal was that it would [extend](#) the state of emergency indefinitely. It would thus give additional powers to the government, such as the power to decide by decree without the consent of members of the parliament.

Suppression of Minority Rights, LGBTI

In the context of the decline of democracy, the Hungarian state has also intensified the suppression of minority rights, which is reflected in attacks on sexual minorities and the LGBTI community.

In 2020, the legal recognition of transgender people was [canceled](#) and the adoption of children by same-sex couples was [banned](#). The Hungarian parliament also supported the controversial amendment to the constitution, which [defines](#) "mother as a woman and father as a man".

The [adoption](#) of the "Child Protection Act" in June 2021 caused great controversy and conflict at EU level. It was a law aimed at tightening penalties for child abuse, but its amendments also prohibited "promoting homosexuality" to children under 18. At the same time, it prohibited the "display or showing" of products that "express homosexuality" or constitute a "deviation from gender-appropriate identity given to a child at birth".

Conservatism vs. Liberalism

The Hungarian preference for the so-called traditional values in practice means promoting conservative and far-right principles. This trend is reflected in resistance to liberal values and liberal elites (EU institutions).

Therefore, since 2014, the Hungarian Prime Minister has been [working](#) with the concept of illiberal democracy. It is supposed to be an ideal system of national cooperation, under which, however, lies the [destruction](#) of democratic principles and the unification of the powers of the various branches of power.

Under Orbán's leadership, Hungary has been [distancing](#) itself from the West, moving towards an "East" which is reflected in the preference for a strong state, weak opposition, and limited control of the branches of power. Since 2018, he has [described](#) his vision as "illiberal Christian democracy" which rejects multiculturalism and Muslim immigration.

The aim is to preserve the system of nation-states, which, according to Orbán, tends to disappear under the EU pressure. Hungary should fight against the values of the EU and the Western world, that are presented as unsustainable and in decline.

Results - Selected Topics in the Slovak-Hungarian Information Space

Narrative 1: The Trianon Issue in the Slovak-Hungarian Information Space

Over 100 years after signing the Treaty of Trianon¹ still permeates the public debate and conversations on social media. Posts discussing the treaty are also common among the Hungarian actors on the Slovak information scene. The issue of the Treaty of Trianon appeared in 13% of the examined posts.

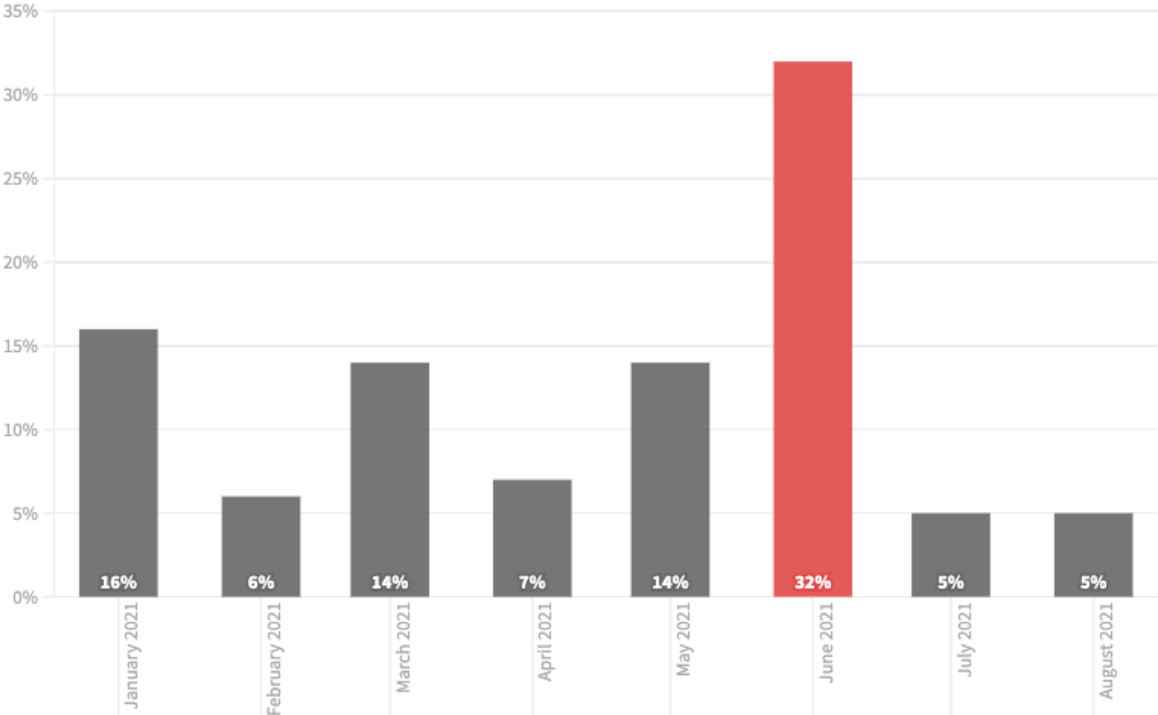
¹ The historical background of this topic is explained on pages IV-V.

Almost 10% of these posts contained a reference to some of the other narratives we examined. More specifically, in **76% of the posts (out of the 10% containing multiple narratives) it was a reference to the narrative that the Hungarian minority in the south of Slovakia is perceived as inferior.**

The vast majority of posts (almost 66%) supported this narrative, the remaining 34% were neutral. None of the examined posts expressed a negative attitude to this narrative.

When we look at the time distribution of the posts, the Trianon issue resonated mainly in June 2021, thus, during the anniversary of the signing of the treaty. About one third (32%) of the relevant contributions was posted in June. The second largest percentage (16%) of relevant posts dates to January.

Monthly distribution of the posts about the Trianon topic



Click here to enlarge: <https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/7585817/>.

The timeline of the posts related to the narrative 1.



Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

This topic appeared mainly in the posts of nationalist and radical groups and parties. They published most of the posts (64%) containing references to Trianon. Hungarian politicians and

political parties in Slovakia, too, discussed the issue, but only seldom (4% of the posts relevant to this topic).



Source: Facebook.

“The Russians and Turks are gone. Trianon, too, will not last forever!”

| Page Name | Content Body | Total Interactions | Overperformance |
|------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = "Ez a kis ország a sajátos nyelvével mint szendvics fekdét két birodalom: a Habsburg és a török, majd a német és az orosz között. És egyre jobban meglepett, hogy meg tudott maradni, meg tudta őrizni nemzeti identitását, nemzeti kultúráját és nyelvét. A túlélés nemcsak egy passzív állapot, küzdeni is kell érte." //Link_Text = Sir Bryan Cartledge: „Trianon, egy angol szemével” Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = Vajon hány nyugati történészt – nem magyar gyökerűt – tudnánk felsorolni, aki széles kutatásokon alapuló, tárgyilagos és hiteles tanulmányt ír a magyar történelem valamelyik fejezetéről? Nem sokat. Olyat végképp nem, aki két testes könyvet szán a magyarság két kulcskérd... //Image_Text = NA | 5659 | 134,74 |
| Körkép | //Message = Államférfiak mondták a trianoni béke-parancsról: Andrej Hlinka páter, Vladimir Iljics Lenin, André Tardieu, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, Artur Neville Chamberlain, Stanley Baldwin, Lloyd George és mások tanulságos szavai. //Link_Text = Ismerte ezeket a nyilatkozatokat Trianonról? - Körkép.sk //Link_Description = Államférfiak mondták a trianoni béke-parancsról: [...]Read More... //Image_Text = NA | 1879 | 29,36 |
| This is Felvidék | //Message = Itt élünk Szlovákiában, egy a fejünk felett létrehozott országban. Itt dolgozunk, itt fizetünk adót egy olyan államnak, ami másodrendű állampolgárokként kezel minket. Bár az útleveleinkről egy idegen címer néz vissza ránk, szívünk a piros-fehér-zöldért dobog. Tízévente számba vesznek minket, hogy ez alapján szabják meg hol és mennyit használhatjuk anyanyelvünket. Ez a népszámlálás ideje, amikor ki-ki megvallhatja hovatartozását. Március 31-én lejár az online népszámlálás határideje, így már nincs sok időnk hátra, hogy minden felvidéki magyar rászánja azt a 3-5 percet, ami meghatározza életünk következő 10 évét! Töltsétek ki az online népszámlálási ívet és biztassatok rá mindenkit a környezetetekben! Legyen ez a következő hét beszédtemája! Akinek idősebb rokonai, ismerősei vannak, az nyújtson segítséget számukra, hogy ők se maradjanak "láthatatlanok"! Húzzunk bele! Hajrá magyarok! Link: https://eso.scitanie.sk/hu/site/login := https://www.scitanie.sk/ //Link_Text = NA //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = NA | 878 | 17,92 |

Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

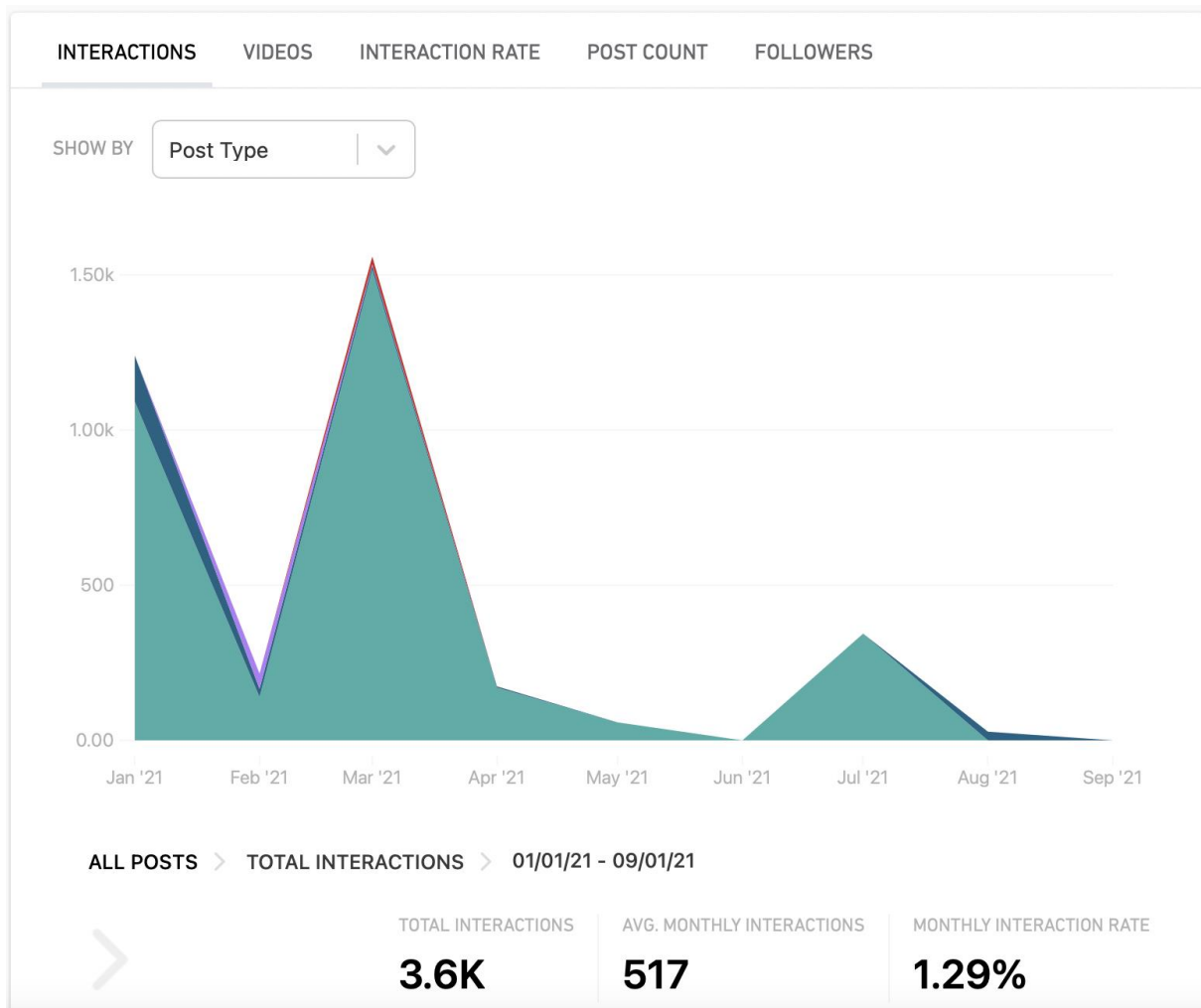
TOP 3 posts for narrative 1:

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partially funded by HU\)](#): Sir Bryan Cartledge: “Trianon through the eyes of an Englishman” “This small country with its peculiar language lied sandwiched between two empires: first the one of the Habsburgs and Turks and then the Germans and Russians. I was surprised that the country was able to survive, to preserve its national identity, culture, and language. Survival is not just a passive state, it must be fought for.” (neutral post)

[Körkép \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): “Do you know these statements about Trianon? - Statesmen on the Trianon Order” (neutral post)

[This is Felvidék \(unofficial page of the Slovak "division" of the 64-Counties Movement\)](#): "We live here in Slovakia, in a country shaped by people in higher echelons. We work here, we pay taxes to the state, which treats us as second-class citizens. Although we see a foreign coat of arms in the passport, our hearts beat for the red-white-green." (supporting post)

This is Felvidék page which has 4.6 thousand followers on Facebook. During the examined period it had 3.6 thousand interactions.



Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

Narrative 2: Orbán's Fight Against Liberal Elites and the EU

Although this topic may be considered more of a domestic policy issue, it is also discussed on Slovak-Hungarian Facebook.

The narrative that Hungary, or rather the Hungarian government, is the protector of traditional values **appeared in 15% of the relevant posts**. 83% of them contained solely this narrative. In the remaining posts, this narrative was most often (in 55% of cases) accompanied by the narrative about dwindling support for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

As much as 94% of the posts examined were supportive of this narrative. The topics that appeared in these posts included the mention of the Hungarian government's "struggle" with the European Union and the law on the "promotion of homosexuality", which resonated strongly during the summer.

The timeline of the posts related to the narrative 2.



Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

84% of the posts related to this narrative came from media outlets partly funded by Hungarian actors.



Felvidék.ma

23 July · 🌐



"Brüsszel szeretné, ha beengednék az LMBTQ-propagandistákat az iskolákba, az Európai Bizottság szerint az iskolában vannak olyan jogok, amelyek megelőzik a szülői jogokat.

Zsarolnak, fenyegetőznek, kötelezettségszegési eljárást indítanak, késleltetik a kifizetéseket, így miután a gyermekeink jövője a tét, nem engedhetünk"

<https://felvidek.ma/.../orban-brusszel-megtamadta.../>

See translation



FELVIDEK.MA

Orbán: Brüsszel megtámadta Magyarországot | Felvidék.ma

Brüsszel megtámadta Magyarországot, ezért van szükség a gyermekvédelmi nép...

Source: Facebook.

"Brussels is pressuring us to let the LGBTQ propagandists into our schools. According to the European Commission, some rights apply to the schools that take precedence over the rights of parents. They use blackmailing, threats, delay payments, and initiate infringement proceedings, but as far as the future of our children is concerned, we cannot allow this to happen..." Orbán: Brussels has attacked Hungary.

| Page Name | Content Body | Total Interactions | Overperformance |
|-------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = "Mindent megtettek azért, hogy ez a kontinens, a keresztény hit, a magyar állam talpon maradhasson. Rajtunk kívül erről senki nem tud. Az, hogy a déli harangszó azokért a hősökért is szól, akik az életüket áldozták Nándorfehérvárnál. Ez nem hiszem, hogy a mi hibánk. Nem hiszem, hogy a mi hibánk az, hogy Nyugat-Európa elfelejtette azokat a hősöket, akik értük áldozták az életüket. Azért, hogy a Nyugat népei ezután szabadon hódíthassák meg a világ különböző gyarmatait. Kelet-Európa népei belepusztultak és elvéreztek a törökök ellen vívott háborúkba" https://felvidék.ma/2021/08/nyugat-europa-elfelejtette-azokat-a-hosoket-akik-ertuk-aldoztak-az-életüket/ //Link_Text = „Nyugat-Európa elfelejtette azokat a hősöket, akik értük áldozták az életüket” Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = Harangszóval kezdődött Hunyadi János halálának 565. évfordulója alkalmából a törökverő Hunyadi ábrázoló mellszobor avatása Komáromban. A vasárnap délután négy órakor kezdődő eseményen a Hunyadi-sorozat írójaként közismert Bán János (írói nevén Bán Mór) mondott b... //Image_Text = NA | 3593 | 63,04 |
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = Günter Weissgerber kijelentette: Magyarország 2015-ben is megmentette Európát. Elég csak azokra a képekre gondolni, amiket hónapokon át közvetítettek az autópályákon menetelőről, Európa, sőt az Európai Unió rég széthullott volna, ha ezt a kontrollálatlan menekültáradatot Magyarország és mások, például Ausztria nem állította volna meg – közölte. Hozzátette: ebből a szempontból mindegy is, hogy Orbán Viktor vagy bárki más tette meg ezt, „bár kétségkívül ő volt az, aki megtette”. //Link_Text = Német politikus: a magyarok zavarják egyes nyugati politikusok köreit Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = A magyarok, akik két diktatúrát is átéltek, zavarják egyes nyugati politikusok köreit – fogalmazott Günter Weissgerber német politikus, aki – bár kilépett pártjából, szociáldemokratának tartja magát – a Kossuth rádió Vasárnapi újság című műsorában. Günter Weissgerber... //Image_Text = NA | 2483 | 59,12 |
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = Arra a kritikára, miszerint a kormány választási költségvetést készít, a miniszter úgy reagált, a szakértők és a baloldal között az a különbség, hogy előbbieket a tényekből indulnak ki, utóbbiakat viszont éppen csak a tények nem érdeklik, amikor véleményt mondanak valamiről. //Link_Text = Varga Mihály: ha akarná, sem tudná elgáncsolni Brüsszel a magyar gazdaságot Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = Ha akarná, sem tudná elgáncsolni Brüsszel a magyar gazdaságot – mondta a pénzügyminiszter az Origo című internetes lapban hétfőn megjelent interjújában. Varga Mihály szerint Brüsszelben újra politikai kérdéssé igyekeznek alakítani egy tisztán gazdasági ügyet. „Abban bízun... //Image_Text = NA | 1744 | 17,80 |

Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

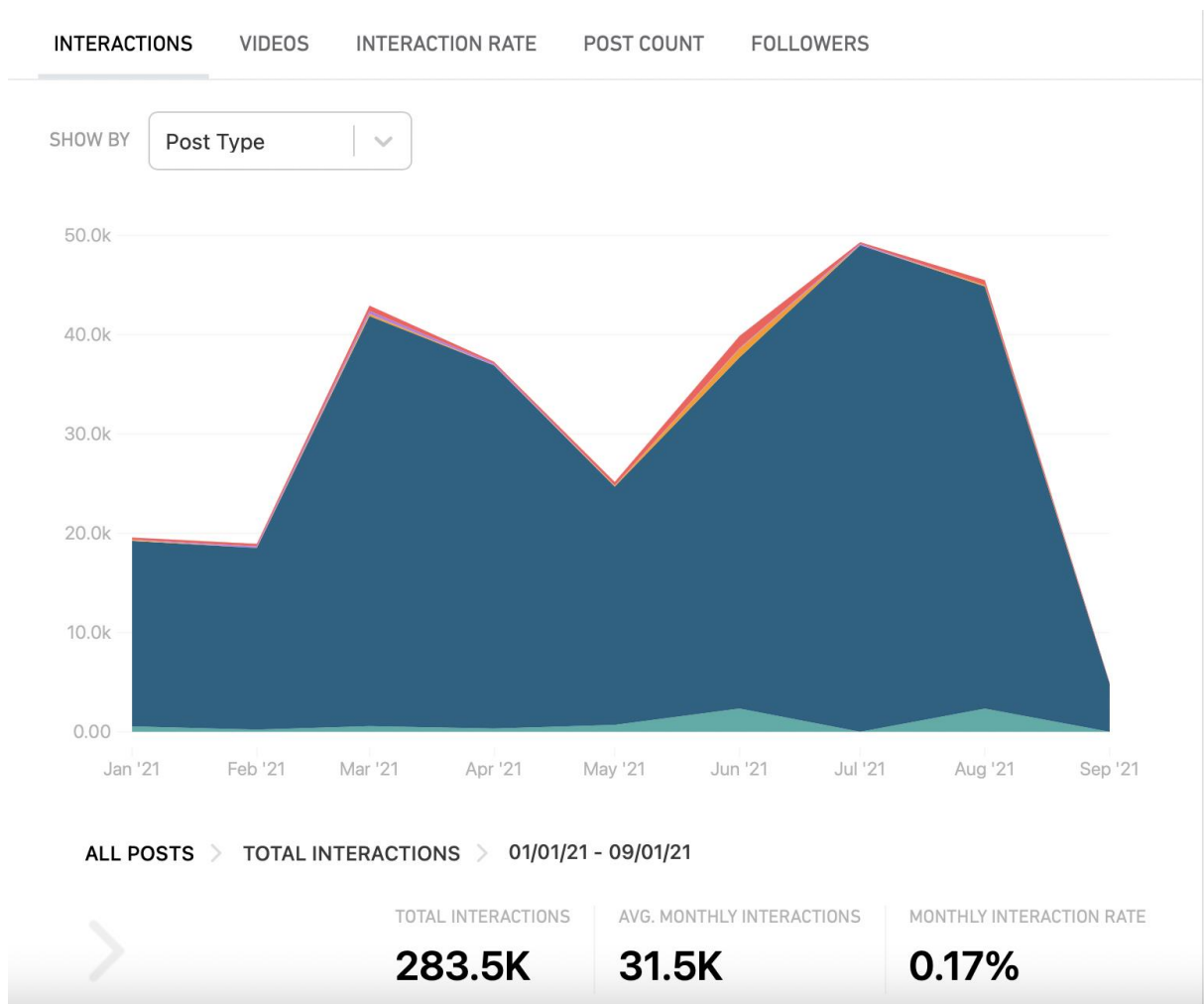
TOP 3 posts for narrative 2:

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): “They did everything to keep this continent, the Christian faith, the Hungarian state afloat. Nobody knows it but us. The fact that the noon bell tolls for the heroes who sacrificed their lives on Nándorfehérvár. I don't think it's our fault that Western Europe has forgotten the heroes who sacrificed their lives for them.” (supporting post)

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): Günter Weissgerber said: Hungary saved Europe in 2015. Just remember the photos from the highways; Europe, and even the European Union, would have long since disintegrated if this uncontrolled influx of refugees had not been stopped by Hungary and other countries, such as Austria. He added that in this respect, it does not matter whether it was Viktor Orbán or anyone else who managed it, "although undoubtedly it was him who managed it". (supporting post)

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): "Mihály Varga: even in the case it would want to, Brussels is not able to impair the Hungarian economy." (supporting post)

A closer attention should be paid to Felvidék.ma, as it has almost 54,000 followers on Facebook. During the examined period, it managed to gain 283 thousand interactions and published 4.6 thousand articles. The news it brings to its audience thus reach a relatively large number of Facebook users.



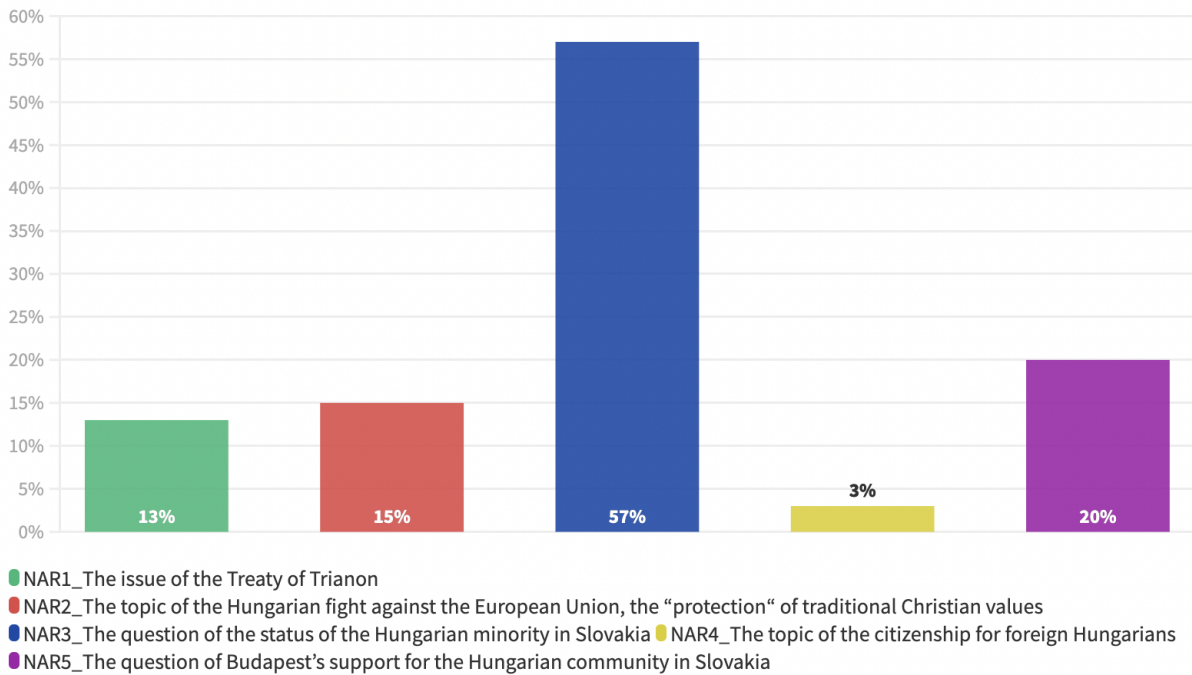
Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

Narrative 3: The Status of the Hungarian Minority in Slovakia

The issue of the second-class status of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is a theme that occurs most often in public debates, but also on social media, when this minority is addressed in general. This belongs to the agenda of all Hungarian political parties in Slovakia. It is therefore hardly surprising that it finds reflection in their communication on social media and the traditional media as well.

The Share of Posts on Individual Topics in the Examined Sample

The period spanning from January 2021 to the end of August 2021



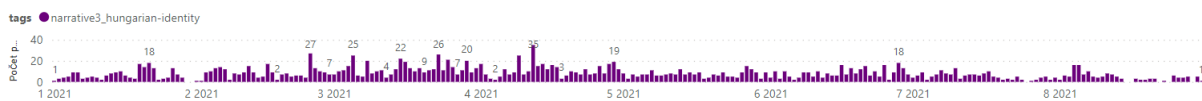
*Note: *Multiple narratives could have appeared in the individual posts



Click here to enlarge: <https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/7458155/>.

The narrative about the weak support of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia was featured in 57% of the relevant posts. It appeared as the main narrative in 54% of the relevant posts (the highest percentage among the examined narratives). This topic was in the majority of cases linked to the narrative promoting that the Hungarian government takes care of Hungarian communities abroad.

The timeline of the posts related to the narrative 3.



Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

Almost half (46%) of the contributions were neutral and **45% of the examined contributions supported this narrative.** The remaining 9% had, on the contrary, a negative character. Neutral contributions were mostly related to the issue of the political representation of the Hungarian minority, to the ongoing census, and to the current events related to the Hungarian minority.



Gyimesi György - NRSR

9 January · 🌐



🇸🇰 SaS LEGPRIMITÍVEBB NACIONALIZMUSA

Amikor megalakult ez a koalíció, attól tartottam, az ügyünk legnagyobb kerékkötője a SME RODINA lesz. Azt, hogy mennyire tévedtem, már a kormányprogram elfogadása előtti tárgyalások bizonyították, mert a zsoldos Korčok külügyminiszter úgy harcolt az állampolgársági törvény módosítása ellen mintha őt érintené. Kluszal a buta nacionalizmusuk folytatódott, amikor azon versenyeztek ki mond nagyobbat Magyarország és Lengyelország ellen vétőjük kapcsán. Később jött az SaS által vezetett iskolaügyi minisztérium próbája likvidálni a kisiskoláinkat. Viszont a koronát Klus akkor helyezte fel, amikor vétőzta a törvényjavaslatomat, amely értelmében április 12-e "Az igazságtalanul kitelepítettek és elhurcoltak" emléknapja lenne Szlovákiában. Botránys indoklásairól a következő bejegyzésben fogok foglalkozni, viszont azt, hogy az SaS-nek el kell hagynia a koalíciót már mindenkinek világos. Minél hamarabb történik meg, annál jobb. Nekünk magyaroknak egészen biztosan!

🇸🇰 NAJPRIMITÍVNEJŠÍ NACIONALIZMUS SaS

Keď sa zložila táto koalícia, myslel som si, že najväčším problémom ohľadom našej veci bude SME RODINA. Nakoľko som sa mylil, ukázali už rokovania o programovom vyhlásení vlády, kde sa žoldnier Korčok tak bil proti zmene zákona o štátnom občianstve, akoby sa tá týkala priamo jeho. Spoločne so štátnym tajomníkom Klusom ich hlúpy nacionalizmus pokračoval aj v prípade veta Maďarska a Poľska, vtedy sa doslova pretekali kto povie silnejšie slová. Potom prišiel pokus ministerstva školstva pod vedením SaS o likvidáciu národnostného školstva, ale korunu všetkemu nasadil Klus, keď vetoval môj návrh zákona, ktorým som chcel vyhlásiť 12 apríl za pamätný deň nespravodlivo vystáňovaných a odvláčených občanov. O trisťoch dôvodoch veta budem informovať v najbližšom poste, ale dnes je už každému jasné, že SaS musí opustiť túto koalíciu. Čím skôr to urobí, tým lepšie. Pre nás Maďarov určite!

Source: Facebook.

György Gyimesi, Member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, also addresses the issue of the position of the Hungarian minority.

The majority of posts referring to this narrative was published in March and April 2021 (20% and 18%) at the time of the census and the school enrollment in Slovakia.

| Page Name | Content Body | Total Interactions | Overperformance |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------|
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = "Rossz nyelvek azt rebesgetik, hogy van itt azért egy nyomósabb ok is, miszerint a százéves beneši reflexek azért még bőszen működnek az agytekervényeikben, és még mindig nem mernek túlságosan építkezni erre, mert még mindig nem érzik magukénak Szlovákiájuk ezen részeit." //Link_Text = Dél-Szlovákia ideiglenes visszacsatolása – kérvény Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = Tisztelt mindenkori szlovák kormány! Remélem levelém jó egészségben találja Önöket, az elmúlt 28 év kormányfőit, minisztereit, igen, köztük magyar nemzetiségűeket is. Friss csapásként nyílt a szívünkbe a hír, hogy a következő 20-30 évben egy körömpiszoknyi aszfaltot sem... //Image_Text = NA | 3447 | 82,07 |
| Népszámlálás 2021 • A magyarság érték | //Message = ADD TOVÁBB: Indul a plakátkampány! Gyakran bele sem gondolunk, de a Szlovákiában élő magyarság olyan komoly értékekkel rendelkezik, amelyekre joggal lehet büszke: ezek közé tartozik a két kultúra és két nyelv magas szintű ismerete. ♥ Ezért mondjuk, hogy magyarnak lenni Szlovákiában megtartandó érték és természetes dolog. Vállaljuk nemzetiségünket a népszámláláson is! //Link_Text = NA //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = arton 041-5621105 SZLOVÁKIAI MAGYARKÉNT KÉT NYELVET BESZÉLEK. MI A TE SZUPERERŐD? AKO MADAR NA SLOVENSKU OVLÁDAM DVA JAZYKY. AAKÁ JE TVOJA SUPERSILA? NEPSZAMLALAS.SK | 2091 | 22,24 |
| Forró Krisztián | //Message = !!Segítünk!! HuMátyusföldiként és Nagyszombat megye képviselőjeként, amikor meghallottam, hogy a COVID kórház Galántán lesz, többször érdeklődtem, a lélegeztetőgépekkel kapcsolatban a kórház igazgatójánál. Miután kiderült, hogy a helyzet egyre tarthatatlanabb, megkértem Magyarországot posztonagykövetet, segítsen közbenjárni, hogy a magyar kormány lélegeztetőgépeket ajándékozzon a Galántai Szt. Lukács Kórháznak. A tegnapi kormányrendelet értelmében ez a kérés meghallgatásra talált. 10 darab lélegeztetőgép (a legmodernebbek közül) kerül Galántára ajándékként! Ebben a helyzetben ez egy óriási segítség. Nagy köszönet illeti Magyarországot a segítségért! !!Pomáhame!! skPotom, ako som sa dozvedel, že v Galante bude COVID nemocnica, ako poslanec trnavskej župy som sa viackrát informoval u pani riaditeľky nemocnice o chladne prístrojov na pľúcnu ventiláciu. Po zistení, že situácia je alarmujúca, som poprosil veľvyslanca Maďarskej republiky, aby mi pomohol pri požiadaní maďarskej vlády o pomoc. Som rád, že táto žiadosť o pomoc bola vypočutá. Do Galanty príde 10 kusov z najmodernejších prístrojov na pľúcnu ventiláciu! V tejto situácii je to obrovská pomoc. Veľká vďaka Maďarskej vláde za pomoc! //Link_Text = NA //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = NA | 2079 | 11,30 |

Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

TOP 3 posts for narrative 3:

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): “Bad tongues suggest that Beneš's reflexes (comment: referring to Beneš' decrees) are still working. That is why they still do not dare to invest here (comment: to South Slovakia), because they still do not consider these parts of Slovakia to be theirs. Request for the temporary reconnection of southern Slovakia (comment: to Hungary).” (supporting post)²

[Népszámlálás 2021 \(campaign started prior to the census in the Slovak Republic\)](#): “The poster campaign is starting! We often overlook it, but Hungarians living in Slovakia have assets that they can be rightfully proud of: these include a very good knowledge of two cultures and two languages. ♥ That is why we say that being Hungarian in Slovakia is an asset and a it is a natural thing. In the census, let us declare our nationality!” (neutral post)

[Krisztián Forró \(Chairman of the SMK\)](#): “!! We are helping!! 🙏 After I learned that there would be a COVID hospital in Galanta, as a member of the Trnava county, I contacted the head of the hospital several times about the devices for lung ventilation. After finding out that the situation was alarming, I asked the Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to help me in asking the Hungarian Government for assistance. I am glad that this request has been heard. 10 top-quality devices for lung ventilation will arrive to Galanta! It is a huge help in this situation. Big thanks to the Hungarian government for its help!” (neutral post)

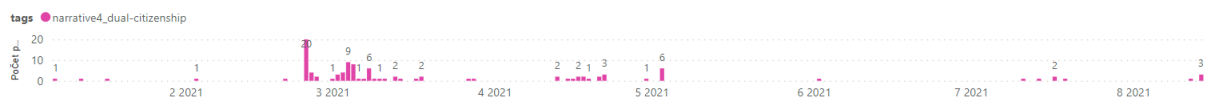
² The most logical translation of the original post.

Narrative 4: The Issue of Dual Citizenship as Discussed by the Slovak-Hungarian Information Scene

The issue of dual citizenship is also discussed on social media. However, there are only few dual citizenship related mentions in comparison to other narratives we have examined.

Posts discussing this topic can be found in the Hungarian part of the Slovak information scene, but in smaller numbers. **The issue of dual citizenship appeared in only 3% of the examined posts, despite the fact that a change in the Slovak law on citizenship took place in the monitored period.**

The timeline for the posts related to the narrative 4.



Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

Almost half of the posts combined this narrative with the narrative about the weak support for the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. **76% of the posts (working with this narrative) supported the narrative** that ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia should also be able to apply for a Hungarian citizenship, while 22% of the posts were of a negative nature.

This issue was, within the examined sample, discussed by media outlets (70%) and politicians and political parties (29%).



Source: Facebook.

"If the Slovak government is so vehemently against national minorities on the issue of citizenship, then there is nothing left but to opt for civil disobedience! Comment by Dénes Száraz."

Within the examined sample, this topic attracted the most attention in March 2021, thus at a time when, after approval by the government, the amendment to the Citizenship Act entered the parliament and was prepared for the second reading.

According to the [draft](#) of the new legislation, people would not have to lose their Slovak citizenship by accepting foreign citizenship, if they have had a legitimate and registered residence within the territory of their state of citizenship for at least five years (at the time of receiving a foreign citizenship).

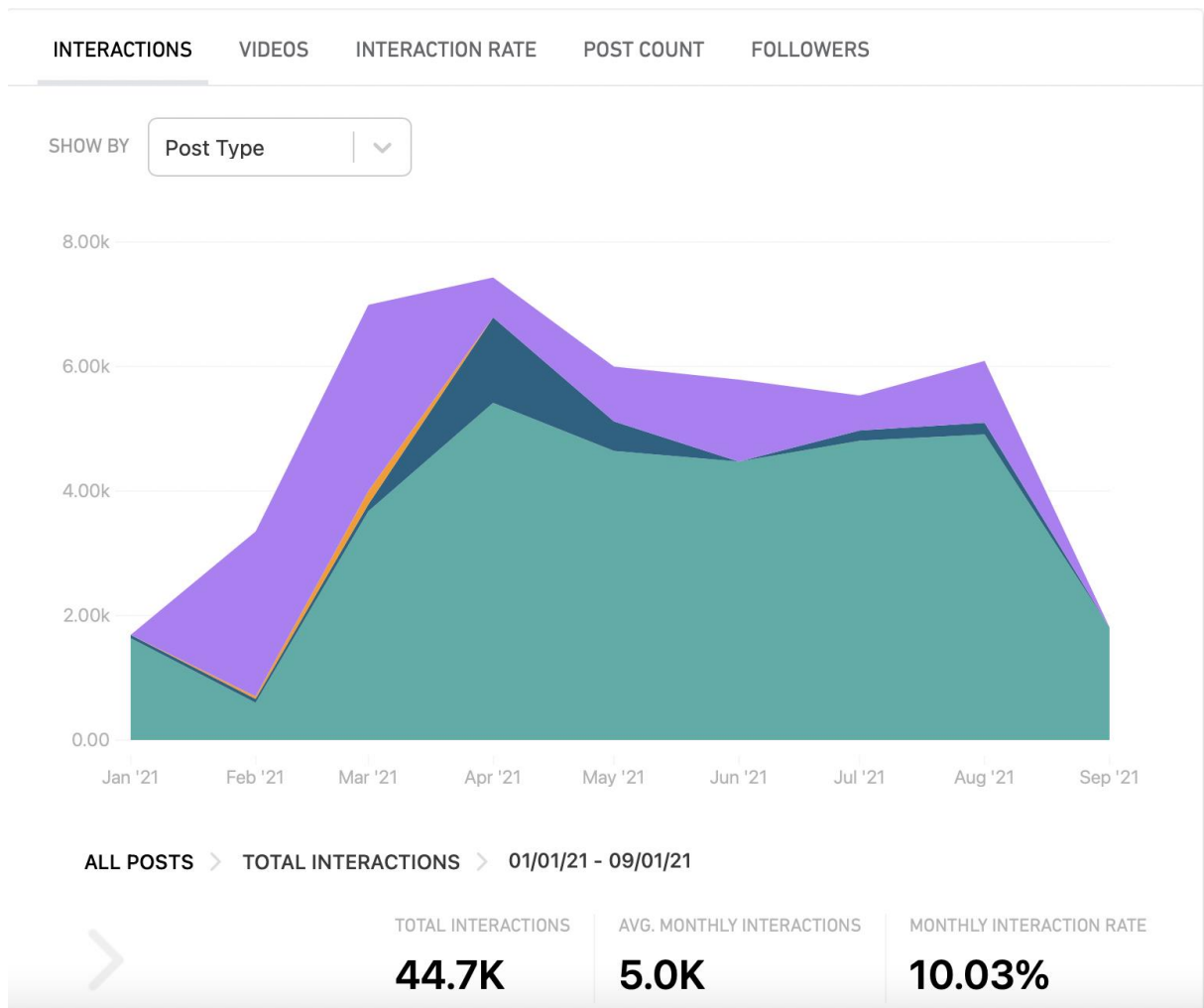
| Page Name | Content Body | Total Interactions | Overperformance |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| Gyimesi György - NRSR | //Message = hu EGY VÉLEMÉNY AZ ÁLLAMPOLGÁRSÁGI TÖRVÉNYRŐL MAGYAR SZEMSZÖGBŐL! sk NÁZOR NA ZÁKON O ŠTÁTNUM OBČIANSTVE Z POHLADU MAĎAROV //Link_Text = NA //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = NA | 1548 | 4,88 |
| Körkép | //Message = Martin Klus államtitkár úr nem bír elszakadni a magyar témától. Ezúttal többek között arról nyilatkozott, hogy szerinte a felvidéki magyaroknak nincs "reális kötődésük Magyarországhoz azon kívül, hogy magyarul beszélnek" //Link_Text = Klus szerint nincs „reális kötődésünk Magyarországoz”. Elárulta, miért akadályozzák a kettős állampolgárságot - Körkép.sk //Link_Description = Nyitóképek forrása: reprofotó/HNOnline.sk A magyarellenes megjegyzéseiről hírhedté vált liberális külügyi államtitkár, Martin Klus (SaS) a Hospodárske Noviny online tévécsatornáján beszélt a szlovák a magyar kapcsolatokról, és ismét megragadta az alkalmat, hogy radikális ma... //Image_Text = NA | 560 | 8,24 |
| Felvidék.ma | //Message = „Szlovákia szuverén állam, a magyar kisebbség tagjai pedig az állampolgáraink”. A nap folyamán a szlovák külügyminisztérium bekérte a magyar nagykövetet, hogy adjon magyarázatot Szijjártó Péter magyar külügyminiszternek a szlovák állampolgárságról szóló törvénymódosítás kapcsán tett szerdai szlovákiai látogatására. //Link_Text = A szlovák külügy bekérte a magyar nagykövetet Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = A nap folyamán a szlovák külügyminisztérium bekérte a magyar nagykövetet, hogy adjon magyarázatot Szijjártó Péter magyar külügyminiszternek a szlovák állampolgárságról szóló törvénymódosítás kapcsán tett szerdai szlovákiai látogatására. A TASR hírgyűnkösetet errő... //Image_Text = NA | 428 | 10,19 |

Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

TOP 3 posts for narrative 4:

[Gyimesi György \(Slovak government politician for the OĽaNO party\): OPINION ON THE LAW ON STATE CITIZENSHIP FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HUNGARIANS \(video\) \(supporting post\)](#)

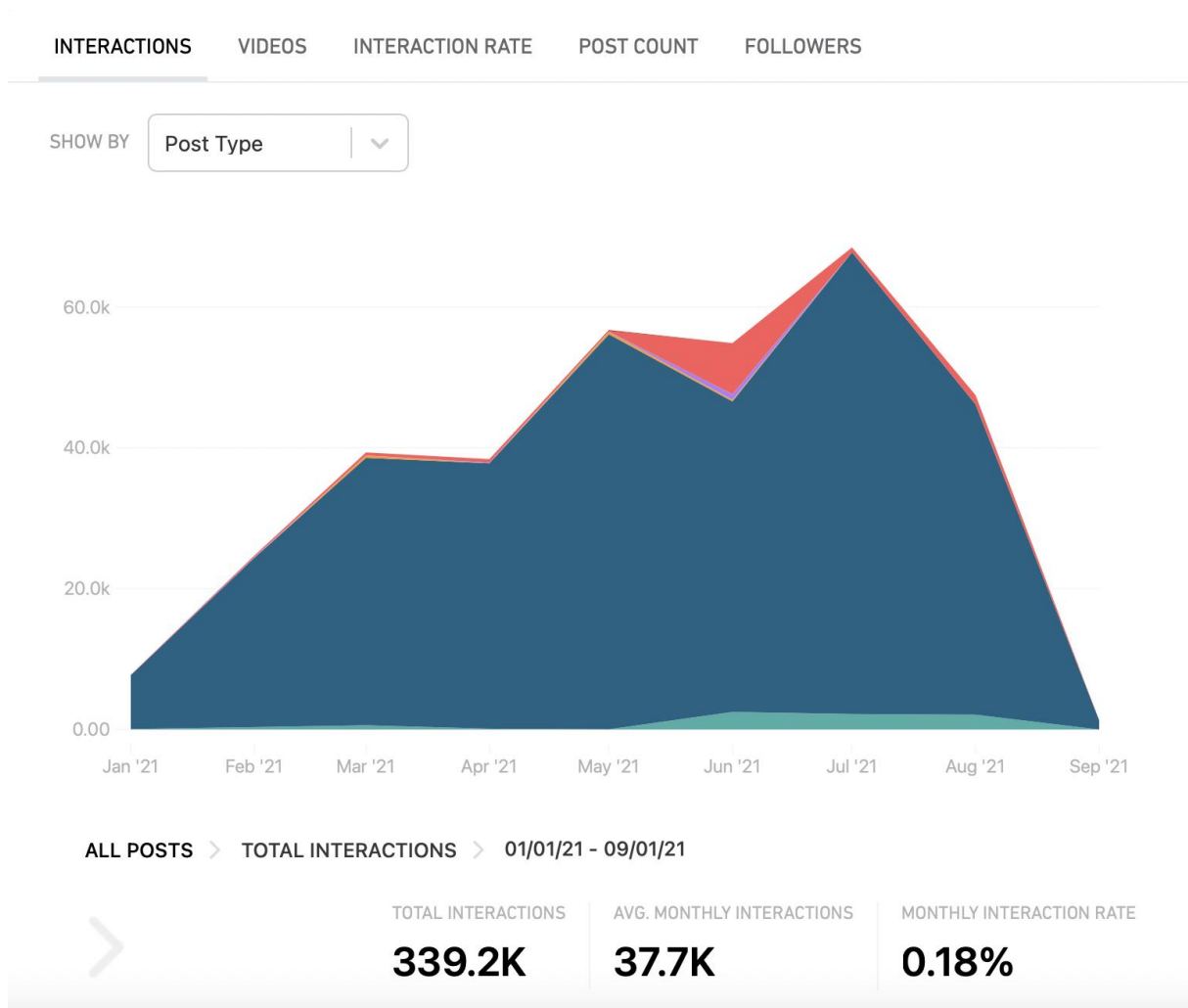
The MP for the ruling party OĽaNO has 6.8 thousand followers on Facebook. During the examined period, he had almost 45,000 interactions. He is currently one of the key politicians discussing in the parliament the issues important to the Hungarian minority. That is why his influence on social media can grow in the future.



Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

[Körkép \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): “Secretary of State, Martin Klus, cannot break away from the Hungarian question. This time, he stated, among other things, that he thinks that the Hungarians from Felvidek have 'no real connection to the Hungarian Empire other than the language they speak'. According to Klus, we have no 'real connection to Hungary'. He revealed how they are trying to prevent dual citizenship.” (supporting post)

Körkép has 33.4 thousand followers on Facebook, and during the examined period it had almost 340 thousand interactions. In this context, it should be noted that this is a relatively influential information source.



Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

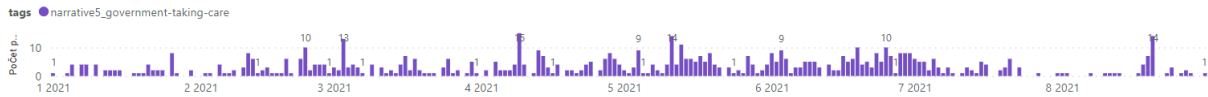
[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): "Slovakia is a sovereign state and members of the Hungarian minority are our citizens. Today, the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked the Hungarian Ambassador to explain Wednesday's visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Péter Szijjártó, related to the amendment to the Slovak Civil Code." (neutral post)

Narrative 5: The Question of Budapest 's Support for the Hungarian community in Slovakia as Discussed by the Hungarian-Slovak Facebook

Mentions about the Hungarian government's care for Hungarian communities outside Hungary appeared in 20% of the relevant posts (which is the second highest proportion among the narratives examined).

Yet, in 80% of them (out of the 20%) only one narrative appeared. In the majority of cases, it was linked to the narrative that the Hungarian minority in the south of Slovakia is considered inferior.

The timeline of the posts related to narrative 5.



Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

78% of the posts featuring the narrative were of a supportive nature. Another almost 21% were neutral. The donation of devices for lung ventilation for hospitals in the south of Slovakia and the subsidies that went to smaller companies were the most crucial topics.

Source: Facebook.

Post of SMK President Krisztián Forró on the donation of pulmonary ventilation devices by the Hungarian government.

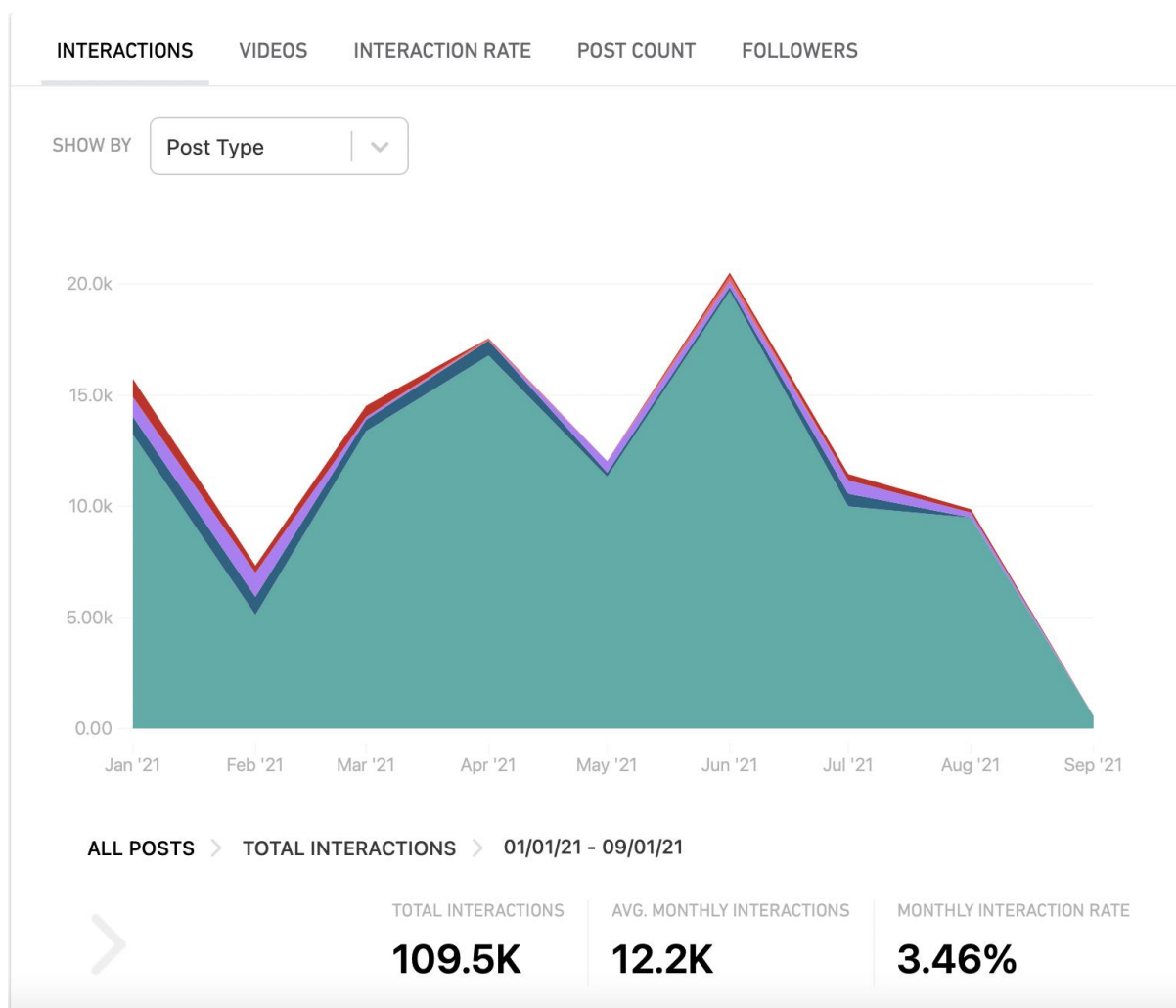
| Page Name | Content Body | Total Interactions | Overperformance |
|-----------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| Orosz Örs | <p>//Message = hu (sk text nižšie) 🇭🇺🇸🇰 "vezérlő fejedelem", II. Rákóczi Ferenc szülőháza történelmünk különleges, meghatározó szimbóluma. A borsói várkastélyt hosszú agonizálás után végre teljes pompájában csodálhattuk meg, amikor kollégáimmal meglátogattuk a befejezés előtt álló, lenyűgözően rekonstruált épületet. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Bár a 20. század 40-es éveiben a vármegyék adományaiból felújították és részben újjáépítették, a 45 utáni események nem váltak a híres kastély javára. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Történelmünk eme jelentős helyszíne most magyar - szlovák koprodukcióban, Magyarország Kormánya 8 000 000 €-s beruházásának köszönhetően teljesen megújult. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Az alaposan elvégzett szakértői munkának hála minden eddiginél részletesebb betekintést nyerhetünk a várkastély és egykori lakói életébe. Balogh Árpai barátunk 38 szelvényes ásatást végzett a területen, amelynek köszönhetően bizonyosságot nyert a komplexum déli szárnyának létezése, és szerencsére a felújítási munkák során ezeket a romokat is konzerválták, bemutatták. Bár az épület egyes részein még javában dolgoznak a kőművesek, a fő szárnyban, ahol a hagyomány szerint maga Rákóczi is született, már elkezdődött az állandó kiállítás berendezése. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 A régió és közösségünk hálával tartozik a Teleki László Alapítványnak a nagyszabású felújításért! Megosztani ér! 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Gábor Nászaly 🇭🇺🇸🇰 A kastély egyik belső falán található Rákóczi emléktábla és a Zólyomból ide helyezett Rákóczi-szobor történetét egy külön bejegyzésben fogom feldolgozni. sk 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Rodisko Ferenc II. Rákóczihoz, zámkor Borsói je včzncym, hodnotným symbolom našej histórie. Po dlhých rokoch chátrania konečne môžeme obdivovať objekt v celej svojej kráse. S kolegami sme mali možnosť tento impozantný kaštieľ ešte pred dokončením rekonštrukcie navštíviť. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Aj keď v 40. rokoch 20. storočia z príspevkov žúp stavbu čiastočne renovovali, nešťastné udalosti po roku 1945 osud zámku značne poznačili. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Teraz sa v maďarsko-slovenskej koprodukcii, vďaka 8 000 000 € investície maďarskej vlády toto významné miesto našich dejín obnovilo. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Vďaka dôkladnej práci vykonanej odborníkmi sme získali podrobnejší pohľad na minulosť zámku a život jeho bývalých obyvateľov ako kedýkoľvek predtým. Naš priateľ Arpai Balogh zrealizoval archeologický výskum s 38 sondami, vďaka čomu sa potvrdila existencia južného krídla komplexu a našťastie tieto zručeniny tiež prezentovali počas rekonštrukčných prác. Na niektorých častiach budovy ešte stále pracujú murári, ale v hlavnom krídle, kde sa podľa tradície narodil aj samotný Rákóczi, sa už začalo so zariadením stájej expozície. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Celá naša komunita a región je vďačný nadácii Teleki László Alapítványa za túto rozsiahlu renováciu! 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Gábor Nászaly 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Príbeh pamätnej tabule a sochy Rákócziho, ktorá bola sem premiestnená zo Zvolena, spracujem v samostatnom príspevku.</p> <p>//Link_Text = Photos from Orosz Örs's post //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = NA</p> | 4082 | 14,08 |
| Felvidék.ma | <p>//Message = "Rossz nyelvek azt rebesgetik, hogy van itt azért egy nyomósabb ok is, miszerint a százéves benei reflexek azért még bőszen működnek az agytekervényeikben, és még mindig nem mernek túlságosan építkezni errefelé, mert még mindig nem érzik magukénak Szlovákiájuk ezen részeit." //Link_Text = Dél-Szlovákia ideiglenes visszacsatolása – kérvény Felvidék.ma //Link_Description = Tisztelt mindenkori szlovák kormány! Remélem levelem jó egészségben találja Önöket, az elmúlt 28 év kormányfóit, minisztereit, igen, köztük magyar nemzetiségűeket is. Friss csapásként nyíllalt a szívünkbe a hír, hogy a következő 20-30 évben egy körömpiszkoznyi aszfaltot sem...</p> <p>//Image_Text = NA</p> | 3447 | 82,07 |
| Forró Krisztián | <p>//Message = !!Segítünk!! huMátyusföldiként és Nagyszombat megye képviselőjeként, amikor meghallottam, hogy a COVID kórház Galántán lesz, többször érdeklődtem, a lélegeztetőgépekkel kapcsolatban a kórház igazgatójánál. Miután kiderült, hogy a helyzet egyre tarthatatlanabb, megkértem Magyarországot poszsonyi nagykövetségét, segítsen közbenjárni, hogy a magyar kormány lélegeztetőgépeket ajándékozzon a Galántai Szt. Lukács Kórháznak. A tegnapi kormányrendelet értelmében ez a kérés meghallgatásra talált. [10] darab lélegeztetőgép (a legmodernebbek közül) kerül Galántára ajándékként! Ebben a helyzetben ez egy óriási segítség. Nagy köszönet illeti Magyarországot a segítségért!! Pomáhame!! skPotom, ako som sa dozvedel, že v Galante bude COVID nemocnica, ako poslanec trnavskej župy som sa viackrát informoval u pani riaditeľky nemocnice o vhodne prístrojov na pľúcnu ventiláciu. Po zistení, že situácia je alarmujúca, som poprosil veľvyslanca Maďarskej republiky, aby mi pomohol pri požiadaní maďarskej vlády o pomoc. Som rád, že táto žiadosť o pomoc bola vypočutá. Do Galanty pride [10] kusov z najmodernejších prístrojov na pľúcnu ventiláciu! V tejto situácii je to obrovská pomoc. Veľká vďaka Maďarskej vláde za pomoc!</p> <p>//Link_Text = NA //Link_Description = NA //Image_Text = NA</p> | 2079 | 11,30 |

Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

TOP 3 posts for narrative 5:

[Örs Orosz \(Vice-Chairman of the Solidarity\)](#): “🇭🇺🇸🇰 Birthplace of Ferenc II. Rákóczi, the castle in Borša is a rare, invaluable symbol of our history. After many years of decaying, we can finally admire the object in its full beauty. My colleagues and I had the opportunity to visit this impressive manor before the restoration was completed. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Although the building was partially renovated in the 1940s with the help of counties, the unfortunate events after 1945 left its mark on the chateau. 🇭🇺🇸🇰 Now, this crucial place of our history has been renewed thanks to the Hungarian-Slovak cooperation and thanks to the € 8,000,000 investment by the Hungarian government.” (supporting post)

Örs Orosz is also one of the most influential actors on Facebook. According to the CrowdTangle tool, he managed to get 109,000 interactions during the examined period.



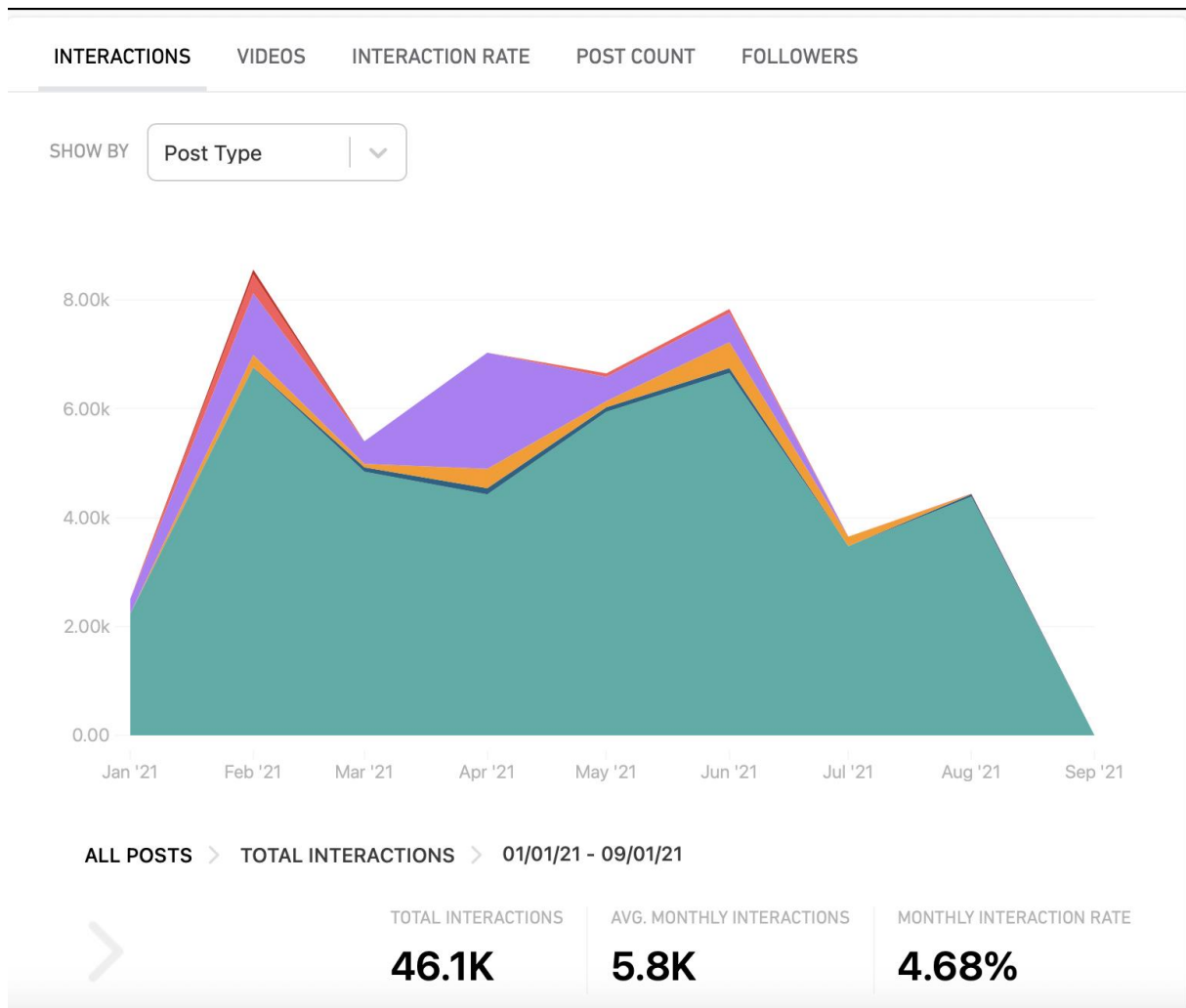
Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

[Felvidék.ma \(media outlet partly funded by HU\)](#): “Bad tongues suggest that Beneš's reflexes (comment: referring to Beneš' decrees) are still working. That is why they still do not dare to invest here (comment: to South Slovakia), because they still do not consider these parts of Slovakia to be theirs. Request for the temporary reconnection of southern Slovakia (comment: to Hungary).” (supporting post)³

[Krisztián Forró \(Chairman of the SMK\)](#): “!! We are helping!! 🙏 After I learned that there would be a COVID hospital in Galanta, as a member of the Trnava county, I contacted the head of the hospital several times about the devices for lung ventilation. After finding out that the situation was alarming, I asked the Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to help me in asking the Hungarian Government for assistance. I am glad that this request has been heard. 10 top-quality devices for lung ventilation will arrive to Galanta! It is a huge help in this situation. Big thanks to the Hungarian government for its help!” (supporting)

Forró has 5,000 followers on Facebook and from January 2021 to September 2021 he had more than 46,000 interactions.

³ The most logical translation of the original post.



Data from [CrowdTangle](#), a public insights tool owned and operated by Facebook.

Conclusions

Our research can be seen as the first step to understand exactly what is happening in the Slovak-Hungarian information space. The aim of the research was to determine what narratives appear in this space and whether some of them can be considered problematic. Of course, the findings cannot be generalized, as the research did not examine all content within this section of Facebook.

However, we can conclude that the examined narratives have their place in the Slovak-Hungarian information space. Some have stronger support and are more common than others, and many are supported by various politicians and media outlets. In the case of the narrative about the poor position of the Hungarian minority, 45% of the posts were of a supportive nature; the narrative about the support of the Hungarian community was supported by up to 78% of relevant posts containing this narrative; the narrative that ethnic Hungarians should be able to accept Hungarian citizenship was supported by 76% of the posts featuring this narrative; in the case of the protection of traditional values, up to 94% of posts related to this narrative were supportive; and for the narrative linked to Trianon, we have found 66% supportive posts.

In our analysis, we can observe that 4 out of 5 narratives had majority support. Although our research did not include a representative sample, this should be seen as a red flag. The spread of nationalist narratives may increase polarization of society, especially given the fact that the Hungarian minority does not currently have its own political representation in the parliament. The absence of actors speaking about these topics and representatives at the political level may lead to dissemination of problematic content related to the themes our research has focused on. In the south of Slovakia, it can thus create a community for which the main sources of information will be the actors who spread, for example, anti-Western ideas, fight against liberalism, and fuel the beliefs about insufficient support from the Slovak government.

However, it must not be forgotten that the relationship between the Hungarian minority and the Hungarian state has existed for a long time and will continue to exist (based, for instance, on the obligations imposed by the Hungarian constitution on the Hungarian government). To some extent, there is an organic connection between the Hungarian government and communities abroad. Therefore, it is not surprising that topics related to Hungary, the Hungarian community in Slovakia, and the shared history will appear, for example, in the Slovak-Hungarian media space. However, noticeably, some platforms discuss topics and issues that are of a domestic political nature and are not related to the life of the Hungarian minority. Another factor is that communities in the south of Slovakia have a ready access to Hungarian state television and radio, that have, in recent years, been the mouthpiece of the government led by Viktor Orbán. All of these factors can consequently affect the public opinion of this minority.

Recommendations

- 1. Open communication with the Hungarian minority. The state must explain to the community the projects that are being implemented to improve their lives and ensure the same rights as apply for the majority of the population.**
- 2. Strategic communication focused on values and foreign policy orientation. While these topics are communicated mainly in the Slovak language, the Hungarian minority in the south of Slovakia can interpret the information in its own way, which may not be in the interests of the state.**
- 3. The state should also work on the area of education. It is important to focus on potentially problematic issues of Slovak-Hungarian history.**

Research Design

The research combines methods of quantitative and qualitative approaches. The first step was to select the platform on which the research should take place. To decide on this, we relied on the [findings](#) of the Reuters Institute, from which it was clear that Facebook is the preferred social media in Slovakia.

Then, we created a list of actors that can be considered important in relation to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. **In total, we selected 96 Facebook entities.** The complete list was to reflect various aspects of community life, so, in addition to political entities, politicians, and the media, it also included several cultural organizations, people publishing opinion-forming content ("influencers") and even the representatives of radical groups. Several Facebook groups dedicated to discussing social issues were also included to the analysis.

We examined the content of these profiles using the CrowdTangle tool, through which we managed to **identify several narratives that can be considered worthy of observation due to their potentially polarizing effect.**

More precisely, **these were the 5 narratives:** (1) "The territory of Slovakia should change (in favor of Hungary)", (2) "Hungary, or the Hungarian government, is the guardian of traditional values (from liberal elites, the liberal EU, migration, etc.)", (3) the Hungarian minority/identity in the south of Slovakia is threatened", (4) "Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia should apply for Hungarian citizenship" - the topic of dual citizenship, and (5) "The Hungarian state cares for Hungarian communities abroad".

In the final stage of the research, the public profiles of almost 30 representatives of the Hungarian minority (politicians, political parties, media, various interest groups but also radical groups - the whole list in Annex 1) were selected based on their impact and social meaning.

In the research, **we monitored the period spanning from the start of January 2021 to the end of August 2021.** During this time, several important events took place that resonated in the Slovak-Hungarian information space: the change of the Slovak citizenship law, the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Slovakia without any prior notice to Slovak diplomacy, and the 101st anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Trianon.

To make the filtering of the Facebook content as accurate as possible, **we have created a set of keywords for each narrative.** A complete list of these key words can be found in the attachment to this final report (see Annex 2). **After deciding on the key words, we used the CrowdTangle tool to filter the content posted on the selected Facebook profiles** based on these key words. For the examined period, spanning from January 2021 to the end of August 2021, we have managed to find 8,201 relevant posts.

The selected posts were then imported into the Pulsar tool, in which another round of manual filtering and encoding of posts took place. At this stage, six categories were established - five narratives and the "irrelevant" category. The sentiment towards a given narrative was also accounted for during the coding and three categories were created: "supporting", "conflicting" and "neutral". It is important to add that in some posts several narratives may have been present at the same time - this fact was also reflected in the coding, i.e., one post could be assigned to more than one narrative.

| | N1 | N2 | N3 | N4 | N5 |
|---|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|
| narrative1_territory | 430 | 3 | 34 | 1 | 7 |
| narrative2_protector-traditional-values | 3 | 523 | 51 | 1 | 38 |
| narrative3_hungarian-identity | 34 | 51 | 1956 | 49 | 94 |
| narrative4_dual-citizenship | 1 | 1 | 50 | 108 | 5 |
| narrative5_government-taking-care | 7 | 38 | 94 | 5 | 698 |

Overlap of Narratives. Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

Of the total number of posts (8,201), 42% (3,434) were relevant to the narratives examined. To be considered as relevant, a post must contain at least one of the above-stated narratives. While processing the detailed results, we worked only with relevant posts.

Picture 1: Posts by timeline.

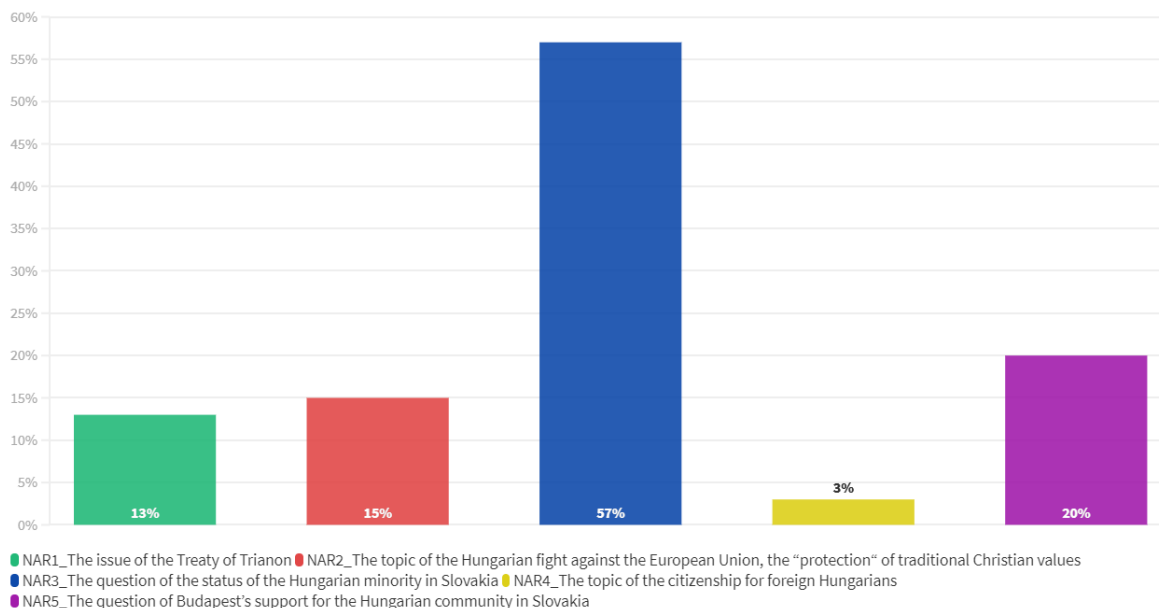


Visualisation of data CrowdTangle in Microsoft Microsoft Power BI, processed in Pulsar. Done in collaboration with IRI Beacon Project.

The design of our research was consulted with partners from Romania and Ukraine (countries with a significant Hungarian community). Our aim is to get a better picture of the Hungarian minority and Hungarian policies, which requires comparable data. A possible continuation of our research is to compare its results and search for patterns.

The Share of Posts on Individual Topics in the Examined Sample

The period spanning from January 2021 to the end of August 2021



*Note: *Multiple narratives could have appeared in the individual posts



Click here to enlarge: <https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/7458155/>.

Annex 1 – The Final List of Monitored Actors

<https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/7406630/>

Annex 2 – Key Words for the Individual Narratives

1. „The Territory of Slovakia Should Be Reshaped (in Favor of Hungary)“

(trianon OR trianontól OR trianonnak OR trianont OR trianonnal, trianonról OR trianonon OR trianonhoz OR trianonból OR trianoné OR triannonál OR trianonba OR trianonig OR triannonal OR trianoni OR trianonitól OR trianonit OR trianoniról OR trianoniból OR trianoniként OR trianoninál OR trianoniba OR trianoniig OR trianonival OR békediktátum OR békediktátumtól OR békediktátumot OR békediktátumnak OR békediktátumról OR békediktátummal OR békediktátumon OR békediktátumhoz OR békediktátumból OR békediktátumként OR békediktátumé OR békediktátumig OR nagy-magyarország OR nagy-magyarországtól OR nagy-magyarországnak OR nagy-magyarországot OR nagy-magyarországgal OR nagy-magyarországról OR nagy-magyarországon OR nagy-magyarországhoz OR nagy-magyarországból OR nagy-magyarországgént OR nagy-magyarországé OR nagy-magyarországnál OR nagy-magyarországban OR nagy-magyarországi) AND (anyaország OR anyaországtól OR anyaországnak OR anyaországot OR anyaországgal OR anyaországról OR anyaországon, anyaországhoz OR anyaországból OR anyaországgént OR anyaországé OR anyaországban OR anyaorszáig OR anyaországi OR határ OR határok OR határokat OR határokról OR határokig OR „elszakított területek” OR „elszakított területeknek” OR “elszakított területeket” OR “elszakított területekkel” OR “elszakított területekről” OR “elszakított területeken” OR “elszakított területeinken” OR “elszakított területekhez” OR “elszakított területekként” OR “elszakított területeknél” OR “elszakított terület” OR “elszakított területen” OR “elszakított területen” OR “elszakított területnek” OR “elszakított területet” OR “elszakított területről” OR “elszakított területhez” OR “elszakított területként” OR “elszakított területnél” OR “elszakított területig” „szlovák területek” OR „szlovák területeknek” OR “szlovák területeket” OR “szlovák területekkel” OR “szlovák területekről” OR “szlovák területeken” OR “szlovák területeinken” OR “szlovák területekhez” OR “szlovák területekként” OR “szlovák területeknél” OR “szlovák terület” OR “szlovák területen” OR “szlovák területen” OR “szlovák területnek” OR “szlovák területet” OR “szlovák területről” OR “szlovák területhez” OR “szlovák területként” OR “szlovák területnél” OR “szlovák területig” OR visszacsatolás OR visszacsatolástól OR visszacsatolásnak OR visszacsatolást OR visszacsatolással OR visszacsatolásról OR visszacsatoláshoz OR visszacsatolásig OR visszacsatolási)

2. „Hungary, or Rather the Hungarian Government is the Protector of the Traditional Values (Against Liberal Elites, Liberal EU, Migration etc.)“

(magyarország OR magyarországtól OR magyarországnak OR magyarországot OR magyarországgal OR magyarországról OR magyarországon OR magyarországhoz OR magyarországból OR magyarországgént OR magyarországé OR magyarországnál OR magyarországban OR magyarországi OR magyar OR magyarok OR magyarokat OR magyarokról OR magyarokból OR magyarokként OR orbán OR orbántól OR orbánnak OR

orbánt OR orbánnal OR orbánról OR orbánon OR orbánhoz OR orbáné OR orbánnál OR fidesz OR fidesztől OR fidesznek OR fideszt OR fideszszel OR fideszről OR fideszhez OR fideszből OR fideszé OR fidesznél OR fideszben OR “magyar kormány” OR “magyar kormánynak” OR “magyar kormánytól” OR “magyar kormányt” OR “magyar kormánnyal” OR “magyar kormányról” OR “magyar kormányhoz” OR “magyar kormányé” OR “magyar kormányban”) AND (értékek OR értékektől OR értékeknek OR értékeket OR értékekkel OR értékekről OR értékeken OR értékekhez OR értékekből OR értékeként OR értékeké OR értékekben OR “keresztény értékek” OR “keresztény értékektől” OR “keresztény értékeknek” OR “keresztény értékeket” OR “keresztény értékekkel” OR “keresztény értékekről” OR “keresztény értékeken” OR “keresztény értékekhez” OR “keresztény értékeként” OR “keresztény értékeké” OR “keresztény értékekben” OR hagyomány OR hagyományok OR hagyományt OR hagyományokat OR hagyományról OR hagyományokról OR hagyományból OR hagyományokból OR hagyományon OR hagyományokon OR hagyományunk OR hagyományaink OR hagyományunkat OR hagyományainkat OR örökség OR örökségről OR örökséget OR örökségünk OR örökségeink OR örökségünkről OR örökségünket OR liberális OR liberálisnak OR liberalist OR liberálisról OR liberálison OR liberálishoz OR liberálisból OR liberálisokként OR liberálisok OR liberálisoktól OR liberálisoknak OR liberálisokat OR liberálisokkal OR liberálisokról OR liberálisokon OR liberálisokhoz OR liberálisokból OR liberálisokként OR liberálisoké OR liberálisoknál OR libsi OR libsinek OR libsit OR libsivel OR libsiként OR libsik OR libsiktől OR libsiknek OR libsiket OR libsikkel OR libsikről OR libsikhez OR libsiknél OR “brüsszeli diktátum” OR “brüsszeli diktátumtól” OR “brüsszeli diktátumnak” OR “brüsszeli diktátumot” OR “brüsszeli diktátumról” OR “brüsszeli diktátummal” OR “brüsszeli diktátumhoz” OR “brüsszeli diktátumból” OR “brüsszeli diktátumként” OR soros OR sorostól OR sorosnak OR sorost OR sorosról OR sorossal OR soroshoz OR sorosé OR sorosnál OR migráns OR migránsnak OR migránst OR migránsból OR migránsok OR migránsoktól OR migránsoknak OR migránsokat OR migránsokkal OR migránsokról OR migránsokon OR migránsokhoz OR migránsokból OR migránsoké OR migránsoknál OR iszlám OR iszlámról OR iszlámból)

3. „The Hungarian Minority/Identity in the South of Slovakia is Threatened“

(felvidék OR felvidéktől OR felvidéknek OR felvidéket OR felvidékről OR felvidéken OR felvidékhez OR felvidékből OR felvidékként OR felvidéké OR felvidéki OR “dél-Szlovákia” OR “dél-szlovákiáról” OR “dél-szlovákiában” OR “dél-szlovákián” OR “dél-szlovákiának” OR “dél-szlovákiának” OR “dél-szlovákiai” OR “dél-szlovákiából” OR “dél-szlovákiához” OR “déli járások” OR “déli járasoktól” OR “déli járásoknak” OR “déli járasokat” OR “déli járasokkal” OR “déli járasokról” OR “déli járasokon” OR “déli járasokhoz” OR “déli járasokból” OR “déli járasoké” OR “déli járasoknál” OR “déli járasokban” OR “déli régió” OR “déli régiótól” OR “déli régióknak” OR “déli régiót” OR “déli régióval” OR “déli régióról” OR “déli régióhoz” OR “déli régióból” OR “déli régióként” OR “déli régióé” OR “déli régióban” OR “déli régiók” OR “déli régióktól” OR “déli régióknak” OR “déli régiókat” OR “déli régiókkal” OR “déli régiókról” OR “déli régiókon” OR “déli régiókhöz” OR “déli régiókból” OR “déli régióké” OR “déli régióknál” OR “déli régiókban” OR “északi járások” OR “északi járasoktól” OR “északi járásoknak” OR “északi járasokat” OR “északi járasokon” OR “északi járasokhoz” OR “északi járasokból” OR

“északi járásoké” OR “északi járásoknál” OR “északi járásokban”) AND (autonómia OR autonómiától OR autonómiának OR autonómiát OR autonómiával OR autonómiáról OR autonómián OR autonómiahoz OR autonómiából OR autonómiaként OR autonómiaé OR autonómiában OR beneš dekrétumok OR beneš dekrétumoktól OR beneš dekrétumoknak OR beneš dekrétumokat OR beneš dekrétumokkal OR beneš dekrétumokról OR beneš dekrétumokon OR beneš dekrétumokhoz OR beneš dekrétumokból OR beneš dekrétumoknál OR beneš dekrétumokban OR “másodrendű polgárok” OR “másodrendű polgároktól” OR “másodrendű polgároknak” OR “másodrendű polgárokat” OR “másodrendű polgárokkal” OR “másodrendű polgárokról” OR “másodrendű polgárokon” OR “másodrendű polgárokhoz” OR “másodrendű polgárokként” OR “másodrendű polgároké” OR “másodrendű polgároknál” OR “másodrendű polgárookban” OR “másodrendű polgár” OR “másodrendű polgártól” OR “másodrendű polgárnak” OR “másodrendű polgárt” OR “másodrendű polgárral” OR “másodrendű polgárról” OR “másodrendű polgárhoz” OR “másodrendű polgárból” OR “másodrendű polgárként” OR “másodrendű polgáré” OR “másodrendű polgárnál) AND (hungarofóbia OR hungarofóbiának OR hungarofóbiát OR hungarofóbiával OR hungarofóbiáról OR hungarofóbián OR hungarofóbiához OR hungarofóbiából OR magyarellenes OR *magyarellenesnek* OR *magyarellenesen* OR magyarellenesként OR magyarellenesé OR *magyarellenesek* OR *magyarellenesektől* OR *magyarelleneseknek* OR *magyarellenesekkel* OR *magyarellenesekről* OR *magyarellenesekhez* OR *magyarelleneseké* OR *magyarelleneseknél* OR *magyarellenesekbe* OR kétnyelvűség OR kétnyelvűségtől OR kétnyelvűségnek OR kétnyelvűséget OR kétnyelvűséggel OR kétnyelvűségről OR kétnyelvűségen OR kétnyelvűséghez OR kétnyelvű OR kétnyelvűen OR OR asszimiláció OR asszimilációtól OR asszimilációnak OR asszimilációt OR asszimilációval, asszimilációról OR asszimiláción OR asszimilációhoz OR asszimilációig OR asszimilált OR beolvadás OR beolvadástól OR beolvadásnak OR beolvadást OR beolvadással OR beolvadásról OR beolvadáshoz) AND (“magyar kultúra” OR “magyar kultúrától” OR “magyar kultúrának” OR “magyar kultúrát” OR “magyar kultúrával” OR “magyar kultúráról” OR “magyar kultúrához” OR “magyar kultúrából” OR “magyar kultúráé” OR “magyar közösség” OR “magyar közösségtől” OR “magyar közösségnek” OR “magyar közösséget” OR “magyar közösséggel” OR “magyar közösségről” OR “magyar közösséghez” OR “magyar közösségből” OR “magyar közösségé” OR “magyar kisebbség ” OR “magyar kisebbségtől” OR “magyar kisebbségnek” OR “magyar kisebbséget” OR “magyar kisebbséggel” OR “magyar kisebbségről” OR “magyar kisebbséghez” OR “magyar kisebbségről” OR “magyar kisebbségé”)

4. „Ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia Should Apply for Hungarian Citizenship“ – the topic of dual-citizenship

(állampolgárság OR állampolgárságot OR állampolgárságnak OR állampolgársággal OR állampolgárságról OR állampolgárságon OR állampolgársághoz OR állampolgársági OR állampolgárságnál OR állampolgárságig OR kettősállampolgárság OR kettősállampolgárságtól OR kettősállampolgárságot OR kettősállampolgárságnak OR kettősállampolgársággal OR kettősállampolgárságról OR kettősállampolgárságon OR kettősállampolgársághoz OR kettősállampolgárságból OR kettősállampolgársági OR kettősállampolgárságnál OR honosítás

OR honosításnak OR honosítást OR honosítással OR honosításról OR honosításon OR honosítási OR honosításnál)

5. „The Hungarian State Takes Care About Hungarian Communities Abroad“

(“magyarországi támogatások” OR “magyarországi támogatásoknak” OR “magyarországi támogatásokat” OR “magyarországi támogatásokkal” OR “magyarországi támogatásokról” OR “magyarországi támogatásokon” OR “magyarországi támogatásokhoz” OR “magyarországi támogatásokból” OR “magyarországi támogatásoknál” OR “magyarországi támogatásokban” OR “magyarországi támogatás” OR “magyarországi támogatásnak” OR “magyarországi támogatást” OR “magyarországi támogatással” OR “magyarországi támogatásról” OR “magyarországi támogatáson” OR “magyarországi támogatásból” OR “magyarországi támogatásként” OR “magyarországi támogatásnál” OR alulfinanszírozás OR alulfinanszírozott OR alulfinanszírozásnak OR alulfinanszírozást OR alulfinanszírozásról OR bga OR bga-tól OR bga-t OR bga-nak OR bga-val OR bga-ról OR bga-n OR bga-hoz OR bga-ból OR bga-nál OR bga-ban OR baross OR barosztól OR barosst OR barosznak OR barossal OR barosról OR barosshoz OR barosból OR potápi OR potápitól OR potápit OR potápié OR potápinál) AND (magyarország OR magyarországtól OR magyarországnak OR magyarországot OR magyarországgal OR magyarországról OR magyarországon OR magyarországhoz OR magyarországból OR magyarországgént OR magyarországé OR magyarországnál OR magyarországban OR magyarországi OR orbán OR orbántól OR orbánnak OR orbánt OR orbánnal OR orbánról OR orbánon OR orbánhoz OR orbáné OR orbánnál OR fidesz OR fidesztől OR fidesznek OR fideszt OR fideszrel OR fideszről OR fideszhez OR fideszből OR fideszé OR fidesznél OR fideszben OR “magyar kormány” OR “magyar kormánynak” OR “magyar kormánytól” OR “magyar kormányt” OR “magyar kormánnyal” OR “magyar kormányról” OR “magyar kormányhoz” OR “magyar kormányé” OR “magyar kormányban” OR anyaország OR anyaországtól OR anyaországnak OR anyaországot OR anyaországgal OR anyaországról OR anyaországon, anyaországhoz OR anyaországból OR anyaországgént OR anyaországé OR anyaországban OR anyaországig OR anyaországi OR “magyarság megmaradása” OR “magyarság megmaradásának” OR “magyarság megmaradását” OR “magyarság megmaradásáról” OR “magyarság megmaradásán” OR “magyarság megmaradásához” OR “magyarság megmaradásából”)



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