Rape in the media

Does the perpetrator’s ethnicity or nationality make a difference?

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1 Introduction
Since the beginning of the migrant crisis, the Hungarian government have campaigned against refugees and migrants. Their main argument was structured around the perceived connection between migration and crime. In addition to terrorism, violence against women and sexual harassment are the types of crimes most often linked to migrants and refugees. In July 2015, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán in a public speech have mentioned that “western countries with large numbers of illegal immigrants experience dramatic increases in crime”\(^1\). His first example was Sweden as it is “second only to the southern African state of Lesotho in terms of figures for rape”\(^2\). A year later, a campaign by the government aimed to persuade voters to say “No” to the referendum question (“Do you want the European Union to be able to mandate the obligatory settlement of non-Hungarian citizens in Hungary without the approval of the National Assembly?”\(^3\)) of 2 October 2016. Posters and ads invaded the country with the following slogan: “Did you know that since the beginning of the migration crisis, harassment against women in Europe increased dramatically?”\(^4\) This was one of the six thematic posters during the governmental campaign in the summer of 2016. As a response to this slogan, State Secretary for Family and Youth Affairs, Katalin Novák, held a press conference and mentioned the cases of mass sexual harassment committed by migrants in German cities and declared: “We must put an end to illegal migration” because “Hungarian women and children cannot be subjected to this danger”\(^5\). Such references to violence against women as a major threat linked to migration became part of the official discourse of the government.

Because of this, one could have the impression that the thousands of refugees and migrants waiting for further departure on the borders of Hungary and in Budapest were threats to the population. Till the time of writing, in fact, two cases were reported in Hungary where the perpetrators had migrant background. More striking, both case took place in the beginning of 2017, meaning that the 2016 campaign was based on the fear of potential cases, rather than actual negative experiences with refugees in Hungary.

The sudden concern by the government for women is especially notable when considering the gender inequality in the country. Generally speaking, in Hungary gender equality is

\(^1\)Index, 25 July 2015
\(^2\)ibid
\(^3\)The Orange Files, 11 September 2016
\(^4\)Social Europe, 2 November 2016
\(^5\)The Budapest Beacon, 25 July 2016
weak; there is significant pay gap\textsuperscript{6}, there are only few women in high positions in politics\textsuperscript{7} (20 female of 199 MPs; 0 female minister), there is a stubborn vision on rhetorical level that women should stay at home and care about the family, however the economic system does not allow this. Speaker of the National Assembly of Hungary, László Kövér told in a speech in 2015 that the highest quality of self-fulfillment for women is giving birth.\textsuperscript{8} A few days later, nationally known pop-rock singer and songwriter, Ákos Kovács gave an interview where he stated that women are not about to earn the same amount of money as men but to belong to someone and give birth to his children.\textsuperscript{9} Hungary also has really worrisome statistics on violence against women and children, domestic violence and sexualized violence\textsuperscript{10}. Gender equality never seemed to be an attractive political topic and domestic violence and the prevalence of sexualized violence against women and children is often denied or ignored. In the mainstream political area, the global endeavor for gender equality or the principles of gender mainstreaming\textsuperscript{11} is misinterpreted and challenged. Gender mainstreaming in the understanding of the government “creates single people, and lobbies for homosexuals, thus worsening demography”\textsuperscript{12}. As such gender mainstreaming is attacked and replaced with a so called “family mainstreaming”\textsuperscript{13} program these family friendly policies of the government, in fact, goes against gender mainstreaming\textsuperscript{14}.

Seeing this contradiction, one could have the impression that violence against women actually was not a political issue while Hungarian men were the perpetrators, but if a refugee is a perpetrator, it suddenly became an important topic. Seemingly, the mainstream media was a good partner in this; reading news media superficially one could really believe that the volume of violence against European women increased significantly since the beginning of the refugee crisis, however statistically it is apparently not true. According to official Hungarian statistics, in 2016, 249 rape cases was reported, 13 with foreign\textsuperscript{15} offender. Four of 244 sexualized crimes was committed by foreign in 2015 and 10 of 163 in 2014.\textsuperscript{16} This inspired me to

\textsuperscript{6} Hungary is ranked as 119. country out of 145 on World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Index 2015.
\textsuperscript{7} Hungary is ranked as 139. country out of 145 on World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Index 2015.
\textsuperscript{8} HVG, 13 December 2015
\textsuperscript{9} Index, 14 December 2015
\textsuperscript{10} Wirth and Winkler (2015)
\textsuperscript{11} The strategy to achieve gender equality.
\textsuperscript{12} Juhász (2012)
\textsuperscript{13} ibid
\textsuperscript{14} Act CCXI. of 2011
\textsuperscript{15} It does not reveal from the statistics what foreign, in fact, mean; it can include tourists, expats, migrants and refugees, etc.
\textsuperscript{16} Index, 1 April 2017
research in this field to gain a deeper understanding of the mediated representation of rape cases with offenders with different background.

1.1 Research question

Analyzing the representation of crime, victims and offenders, Niels Christie’s (1986) canonical work on *ideal victims* serves as a starting point. He identifies six attributes to describe the circumstances of a crime where a legitimate victim status is likely to be granted. In rape cases, media often portray the victim and the offender very detailed, examining these characterization helps to apply Christie’s theory and as such discuss the first research question:

**RQ1:** Does ethnicity and nationality make any difference when characterizing and granting a victim status to someone who had a crime committed against them in the media?

Framing is an important tool in journalism which helps to make sense of the world. As such it influences to some extent how readers think about the issue being framed. Thus it is important to analyse how the selected cases are framed, thus the second research question is as follows:

**RQ2:** Does ethnicity and nationality make any difference when framing rape cases in Hungarian media?

To answer both research questions, I will conduct a content analysis where I examine how victims and offenders are characterized in Hungarian media and I will compare the findings with Christie’s theory. Then I will conduct a framing analysis where I will examine how the causes of the crimes are defined and what subjects are neglected.

2 Methodology

Qualitative content analysis is a fruitful way to examine the sampled articles and answer the research questions since it is a method that can involve diverse research approaches and is open for combined methods. This is necessary to be able to answer both research questions. First, an analysis of media representation is needed where I focus on description of victims and offenders. Second, with a qualitative framing analysis I will trace how arguments are formulated in media and what subjects are in the foreground and what are in the background when discussing rape.

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17 Christie (1986)
2.1 Tools for analysis

When conducting the analysis of representation, I will examine how victims and offenders are portrayed in the chosen cases then I will run an Ideal victim tests for each cases. To do so, I will look for words and phrases intended to describe the characteristics of victims and perpetrators. On the first place, I will look for adjectives which work as modifiers or attributes. In addition, looking for synonyms is a useful tool to receive image of the characters. Finally, any other language use or phrase which are intended to portray the victim and the perpetrator are of interest. When conducting the Ideal victim test, I examine whether the victim and the offender in each case fits the six attributes determined by Niels Christie. I will analyze the six attributes one by one and argue if the victims’ representation in each case qualifies ideal or not.

Secondly, I will apply qualitative framing analysis to examine how arguments are used in media when discussing rape. This makes an issue specific framing\textsuperscript{18} analysis necessary. According to Gitlin (1980), frames are “principles of selection”\textsuperscript{19} and they “organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports.”\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to frames as “interpretative packages” where “a central organizing idea, or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue”\textsuperscript{21}. Both resonates with Entman's (1993) definition which focus on the emphasis: “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text.”\textsuperscript{22} He defines “salience” as “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences”\textsuperscript{23}. Accordingly, framing analysis is a good way to show how an issue is problematized in media.

In the selected articles, I will look for different actors’ (including journalists) statements, acts, and changes (e.g. firings, amendments, new laws etc.) what each case caused. After collecting these information from the sample, I will group them according to Entman’s approach, which means I will analyze how is/are the problem/s defined in the various cases? How can be the causes diagnosed? What remedies are suggested?\textsuperscript{24} Following this method

\textsuperscript{18} Vreese (2005)
\textsuperscript{19} Gitlin (1980) p. 6-7.
\textsuperscript{20} ibid
\textsuperscript{21} Gamson and Modigliani (1989) p. 3.
\textsuperscript{22} Entman (1993) p. 52.
\textsuperscript{23} ibid
\textsuperscript{24} ibid
will show where is the blame put, which subjects are chosen and what has been left out. This provides an opportunity to examine where human rights framing potentially could be used and where is it neglected.

2.2 Proceeding of the case selection

To be able to answer the research question, I will analyze four concrete rape cases and the issue of perpetrators with migrant background. To test the hypothesis, the cases must be carefully selected as the research question requires a comparison. When selecting the cases, I focused on the incidences of the last ten years. To select the most discussed cases, I used the archives of the official Hungarian news agency (MTI). MTI uses tags in the headlines (e.g. Zsanett case: result of the DNA test is delayed) when a hot topic occurs. Considering news values in different stories, editors start to use tags to be able to search and identify the topic easily. Therefore, tagged stories are detailed discussed by MTI thus when selecting the cases, I have chosen cases with own tags. I used three expressions for rape/sexualized violence/to rape (szexuális erőszak, nemi erőszak, megerőszakolt) thus I found nine tagged rape cases. I excluded the László Kiss case which was discussed recently, but the crime was committed in 1961. The Bora Bora case, case of Roman Polanski and Dominique Strauss-Kahn received a lot of media attention but all are international cases therefore less interest for my research. A child abuse case in Szigetszentmiklós had also a lot of attention however the abused children and the offenders have known each other (were family members). Also, it is more about child abuse than rape, however, sexualized violence was also involved in the case. Therefore, I excluded these five cases so I will analyze the Zsanett case, the Freshmen camp rapist case, the Nóra Horák case, and the Kata Bándy case. This result leaves us with a selection of cases which together illuminate the research question: in two cases the perpetrators are white, Hungarian citizens while in Nóra Horák case it was though that the perpetrator/s is/are Roma people, in Kata Bándy case the perpetrator has Roma background. In addition to the concrete cases, I will analyze cases about offenders with migrant background. When doing so, I will construct a synthetized “case” which is made of articles from the selected media outlets on rape cases with migrant offender. Constructing such a “case” is needed to be able to answer whether nationality make a difference in the media representation of rape.

25 Greer (2007)
26 I expected that the search will result the Roland Damu case as well but it was not among the tagged cases. It would be excluded anyway as the perpetrator and the victim known each other.
27 In spring 2016, it has been made public that László Kiss, a former swimmer and present head coach of the national team had been convicted for gang rape in 1961.
2.3 Selected media outlets

As MTI is the official news agency in Hungary, it is definitely worth to analyze as most of the news sites use it as a source and they often publish the articles without any changes. Index.hu is one of the most read news site in Hungary, the site exist for more than ten years thus all the cases are covered on the site, and they have significant resources comparing to other Hungarian news sites to cover stories beyond the news agency information. Finally, I have chosen the most read tabloid, Blikk Online for analysis. Blikk has also significant human resources and an extensive network to receive information on crimes. However, it would be fruitful to analyze more daily newspaper and other tabloids, it lies beyond the limits of this paper, but I believe due to the above arguments that analyzing these three media outlets shows us the mainstream discourse on the cases. In addition, these sites usually make press review which provides an opportunity to look into other medium’s story.

2.4 Sampling

When sampling articles for each cases, different search words were needed at different media outlets, since all have its own archive system. When sampling Zsanett case, I used ‘Museum boulevard’ AND ‘police’ (Múzeum körút; rendőr) in MTI, ‘Zsanett case’ (Zsanett ügy) in Index, and ‘police’ AND ‘Zsanett’ (rendőr; Zsanett) in Blikk. In the latter, I also applied the snowball method and sampled the articles found linked in the articles I found. For the freshmen camp rapist case I used ‘freshmen camp’ (gólyatábori) in MTI, ‘freshmen camp rape’ (gólyatábori erőszak) in Index.hu and ‘freshmen camp’ (gólyatábor) in Blikk.hu. When searching articles for Nóra Horák case, I used ‘murder in Kiskunlacháza’ (kiskunlacházi gyilkosság) phrase in every sampled media outlet. Then, I used ‘Bándy Kata’ in the MTI and Index.hu archive and ‘Bándy’ in Blikk.hu for Kata Bándy case. Finally, for the synthetized migrant case, I used ‘raped’ (megerőszakolt), ‘rape’ (nemi erőszak) and ‘sexualized violence’ (szexuális erőszak) as searching words in MTI and collected from the findings all articles with ‘illegal migration’ tag which is used by the editors for all articles concerning to migration. In Index.hu I used ‘migrant’ AND ‘sexualized violence’ (migráns; szexuális erőszak) ‘Syrian’ AND ‘sexualized violence’ (szír; szexuális erőszak) and ‘Afghan AND sexualized violence’ (afgán; szexuális erőszak). In Blikk.hu I used the same searching word combinations as in Index.hu supplemented with ‘migrant, rape’ (migráns, nemi erőszak). The sampling lasted till 17 March and resulted all together resulted 720 articles to examine. The detailed figures are shown below.
Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MTI</th>
<th>Index.hu</th>
<th>Blikk Online</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zsanett case</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshmen camp rapist</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóra Horák case</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kata Bándy case</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offenders with migrant background</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 Structure

First I will analyze how media represents the victims and the perpetrators of each case and I will run the *Ideal victim test* on each cases listed above. Then, I will compare the findings. Secondly, I will find the subject chosen by actors to discuss each case and I will deduce what kind of frames are used to interpret the issues. Then, again, I will compare the framing of the cases. Finally, based on the findings, I will discuss the research questions.

3 Theory

Crimes, victims and offenders are of interest in many research areas, e.g. sociology, social psychology, psychology, anthropology, legal studies, criminology and media studies since crime especially violent crimes often receive significant media attention. Nevertheless, our knowledge on victims and offenders is contingent and contested\(^{28}\). When exploring the attributes and identity of victims and offenders, a very useful approach to go is Niels Christie's (1986) stereotype of *ideal victim*. He defined *ideal victim* as someone who can more likely gain “the complete and legitimate victim status”\(^ {29}\) when hit by a crime. He determines six attributes which are needed to qualify ideal victim: 1.) the victim is weak 2.) the victim carries out respectable project 3.) she/he is not to be blamed for what has happened 4.) the offender is big and bad 5.) the offender and the victim do not have personal relationship 6.) the victim has power and sympathy to claim for victim status. Idealizing victims and demonizing offenders are problematic victimologically and criminologically\(^ {30}\), therefore, it is not only important to examine why and how crimes are committed but also how they are

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\(^{28}\) Dignan (2005)

\(^{29}\) Christie (1986)

\(^{30}\) ibid
represented. Since average people have little experience of crimes, especially violent crimes and criminal victimisation, the knowledge people have on this topic is mostly gained from secondary sources like news media, including newspapers, magazines, television news, radio or hearsay, storytelling, or even fictions. However, this is natural and obvious, it is also problematic since crimes are often mis-represented in media; some types of crimes are over-represented while others are under-represented. An illustrative example is the fact that crimes against property are the most common crimes, while white-collar crimes put major financial burden on society, nevertheless, both are under-represented in news media. In contrast, violent crimes which are rare and only affects very few people, are highly over-represented in news media. This phenomenon can be explained with newsworthiness. As mentioned above it is shaped by news values which are the criteria that influence the selection and prioritization of events set to the agenda (e.g. drama, violence, celebrities, sex). This is, however, not only problematic in the way people receive malformed knowledge and inaccurate and unreal portrayal on criminality but it also leads people to poorly measure the dangers which could cause on the one hand, panic and paranoia, on the other, carelessness. For example, elderly women are perceived as the most vulnerable demographic group (since they are old, slow, weak), but statistically they face the least risk. On the other hand, young men (especially with ethnic background) who seems according to the general judgment the less vulnerable social group (since they are young, fast, strong), are in fact, the most endangered. Media attention is also selective within violent crimes. Women are most commonly victimized by someone they have relationship with (husband, boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, other relatives, etc.), nevertheless these crimes usually do not receive much media attention since news media highlights “the criminal victimization of strangers rather than the dangerous intimacies of domestic or family conflict”. Also Christie emphasize this issue;

31 Lindgren and Lundström (2010)
32 Davies (2011)
33 Greer (2007)
34 ibid
35 ibid
36 Davies (2011)
37 Greer (2007)
38 ibid
39 Dignan (2005)
40 Greer (2007)
41 Ferrell (2005) p. 150.
one of the six attributes when claiming for victim status is the lack of personal relationship between the victim and the offender. In other words, violent crimes in media is often shown “as random, wanton and the intentional acts of evil folk”. Otherwise cases most likely come within the horizon of media visibility if other attributes of newsworthiness is present in the case, for example multiply offender or victim, a celebrity is involved, etc. In addition to the under-representation and over-representation, news media is also often criticized for representing victims and offenders very simplified. Greer notes that disproportionate focus leads to selective and unrepresentative portrayal of crimes, victims and offenders. Benedict and Meyers argue that media often polarize victims of sex crime cases into either virgins or whores. Davies is talking directly about caricatures and construction of myths; offenders and victims are sharply separated and are easily identifiable by a simple binary divide. This complex to simple approach not only denies access to representative and realistic information on crime but also “reproduce stereotypical and common sense wisdoms about crime and victimisation”. Such steeotypes can lead to unreported crimes based on fearing from not qualifying ideal victim or putting to the bottom of hierarchy of victimisation. The very existence of such concept as ideal victim is worrisome because many non-ideal or undeserving victim can easily be failed by media or society. The fact that media is producing undeserving victims can easily lead to secondary victimisation. It means the re-traumatization of the victim by the responds of her/his environment. Most common forms of

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42 Christie (1986)  
44 Greer (2007)  
45 ibid  
46 Benedict (1992)  
47 Meyers (1997)  
48 Greer (2007)  
49 Jewkes (2011)  
50 Davies (2011) p. 5.  
51 Christie (1986)  
52 Greer (2007)  
53 ibid  
54 ibid  
55 ibid
secondary victimization are victim blaming, questioning the victim’s credibility, minimizing
the severity of the attack, and inappropriate post-assault treatment. Denial of the possibility
that such crime can happen to us is a natural reaction from a social psychological point of
view. This kind of removal of the dissonant cognitive element from consciousness is also
justifiable with people's belief in the just-world. Nevertheless, victim blaming and other
forms of secondary victimization are dangerous for the victims and as such for criminology
generally (e.g. may lead to an increase in latency). Therefore, media should explain the
process, give information on secondary victimization, instead of strengthen it in the society.

Problematizing further, victim status is profoundly influenced by demographic factors including
class, race, ethnicity, gender, age and sexuality. The Bill of Human Rights (Universal
Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Interna-
tional Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights) and the Convention on the Rights
of the Child protect race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or
social origin, property, birth or other status. Some convention add to this list of protected
properties; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities adds age, ethnic and indige-
nous origin, International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers
and Members of Their Families adds conviction, ethnic origin, nationality, age, economic
position, marital status, and European Convention on Human Rights adds “association with a
national minority”. Finally, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimi-
nation ban any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent,
or national or ethnic origin, while International Convention for the Protection of All Persons
from Enforced Disappearance on sex, race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin, political opin-
ions or membership of a particular social group. To summarize, four of the factors listed by
Greer are human rights-protected: race, ethnicity, gender, age while class and sexuality are
controversial in this respect. For example, both could belong to other status category or could
be examined on other grounds but such analysis lies beyond the limits of this research. So
much, however, can be stated that most problematized factors are human rights-protected.

It is notable that the listed factors can also intersect and interact with other, also the influence
of demographics should be examined in context of the news production process, thus,

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56 Campbell and Raja (1999)
57 Festinger (2000)
58 Lerner (1980)
59 Greer (2007)
60 Art. 14 ECHR
again, *newsworthiness* should be considered. Nevertheless, human rights-protected properties should not influence news production but it is claimed based on research and analysis that it often does. For example, media is often criticized for representing people with ethnic background or from other race stereotypical. Also, when someone with minority background commit a crime, media often emphasize his or her background in connection to the crime. This easily leads to misinterpretation, namely ethnicity and race can be understood as connected with criminality and such misinterpretation also can lead to exclusion of minorities.

When examining ethnicity and nationality, anthropologists’ approaches to ethnification, essentialism and culturalization/cultural fundamentalism also need to be discussed.

“For the purpose of media and journalism studies, ethnification may be defined as a one-sided, dominant media focus on a person or group as an ethnic other, an emphasis on her difference (from a presumed ‘us’), based on her being (more or less) visibly different or on a tacitly presumed background that differs from the mainstream.”

Essentialism is a philosophical-metaphysical concept which claims that among someone's set of attributes some are essential, others are accidental. Essential attributes are necessary to the identity while accidental properties can lack. Accordingly, ethnic essentialism is the phenomenon where media suggest that ethnicity is an essential attribute, thus when identifying her/him taking the ethnic background into account is indispensable. Furthermore, political and media debates on migration suggest that culture are essential properties of people with migrant background. Moreover, these attributes are often represented as deeply rooted in the identity, almost unalterable, while migrant people and Muslims in general are represented as people who refuse to integrate. On the one hand, this is high degree of generalization considering the huge numbers of migrants living in Europe, on the other hand, it is important to examine what integration means. However many policies are known throughout Europe, Fekete points out that often the term integration, in fact, means assimilation, similarly

61 Eide (2010)
62 Cartwright (1968)
63 Fekete (2006)
64 Eide (2010)
65 Fekete (2006)
multiculturalism means culturalism. In the debate on migration, culture has become a concept which is “applied to interpret social differentiation and inequality, and thus contributes to conceal the underlying structural contradictions and hierarchies.” In case of Muslims there is a strong emphasis put on religion. According to Eide this may also be “considered as culturalization, a process which may be said to replace a more outright racial discrimination.” In other words, culture is the new race since racial justification is now replaced with cultural justification.

Recent research in the field of media studies have shown similar findings. The numerous and repetitive examinations found that news media is capable of reflexive learning. Greer (2007) have aptly phrased this learning process when stating the news media have learned how to “do race.” It is, however, also claimed that it perhaps have not yet learned how to “do class.” Meaning that, when it comes to race, awareness can be observed in news rooms recently but class is rather problematic. Media, however, should be conscious beyond race with other human rights-protected properties as well. Media, in fact, should work as a watchdog according to normative approaches, and serve as a platform for individuals and groups with various social, economic and cultural background to make their voice heard. In reality, however, news media is often criticised for leaving marginalized groups, like poor, low class, minority or migrant people voiceless. Marginalization often goes along human rights-protected properties, like class, gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity, age and nationality. Thereby, media often contribute to the reproduction of inequalities, instead of giving access to marginalized.

4 Analysis

4.1 Zsanett case

Zsanett E., the 21-year-old reported that she was raped by two police officers on 4th May, 2007. She claimed that she was stopped by five officers for roadside check in Budapest.
The officers took her in a dark alley and two of them raped her while the other three were watching. After the rape, she was escorted home and twenty thousand forint (about 70 Euro) was taken from her. She filed a complaint against unknown perpetrators. Soon, it revealed who was on duty in the particular area in the particular time, also Zsanett E. identified the five police officers. After the identification, the officers were suspended but in January 2008 they were reinstated. Finally, the prosecution dismissed the case in lack of crime. Zsanett brought the case to court anyway as a private prosecution. After a multiply trials the Court acquitted the officers from the accusation of sexual crime, violations of personal freedom, extortion and bribery. According to the Budapest-Capital Regional Court of Appeal, there was a lack of evidence to prove the claims of Zsanett E. or the claim of the police officers. Meanwhile, criminal proceedings were brought against Zsanett E. for false accusation. Her case later had been suspended and later dropped.

4.1.1 Characterization

Despite of the fact that this is the most discussed case of the four concrete cases, in the Zsanett case not many modifiers were used. Though, only few adjectives were applied, some characteristics of Zsanett was drawn quite clear; in fact, she was represented as a guilty, lying whore. The media has more tools to do so when representing the case; e.g. choice of topics, interpretation, formulation, who is interviewed etc.\(^\text{75}\) When looking into the media representation of the case, one can find the news agency is neutral, however, they mostly had interviewed the authorities which results a biased representation. This is, however, part of the genre of news agency news\(^\text{76}\), but it is still problematic, especially in this case, since the accused officers are representing the authorities. Thus articles alone seem to be objective, but as a group they rather representing the officers’ side. Index.hu mostly followed the news agency stories, but put a little bit more emphasis on the victim’s side than other news sites, doing it mostly through interviewing her lawyer and their experts. Index.hu also added a few opinion articles in favour of the victim, and drew attention to the mishandeling of the case. In contrast, Blikk.hu was not objective in its coverage when it represented the police as the ‘good guys’ and the victim as the ‘bad’.

Though, the audience received a lot of information on the victim’s incredible and unmoral character, her private and professional life was entirely unrealeved, it stayed

\(^{75}\) Fox (2013)

\(^{76}\) According to Horsti, news agency news are short and must be produced fast thus they “are based on information material or interviews of authorities and other organized sources. (Horsti, 2007)
unknown whether she had studied or worked. It is mentioned once that she “deals with”
dancing and cosmetics\textsuperscript{77}, but it never turned out what that actually means. Readers could only
assume that she used to be a shop assistant\textsuperscript{78}. During the examination of her background it
was mentioned that her father was unemployed, her mother was a psychologist and that they
lived in an apartment block in a very \textit{bad, ramshackle} condition\textsuperscript{79}. The parents were not once
interviewed by the press, only the grandmother of Zsanett was asked once, whilst the officers
and their families were more often in the focus of media attention.

Zsanett was often portrayed as guilty. The story, that she had stolen or \textit{embezzled}\textsuperscript{80}
from her former working place, had been run many times. Also, the story of her threatening a
witness is kept repeated. Blikk.hu also thought to know that the police kept calling this
witness in every hour to be sure she/he was safe\textsuperscript{81} and she was repeatedly accused with
calamity by the press. However, she was the victim, she was often referred as \textit{accused} or
\textit{suspect}. In contrast, the accused police officers were referred \textit{innocent} ten times altogether in
Blikk.hu.

During the months of the investigation, media have systematically dismantled
Zsanett’s credibility. Much has been done by authorities and journalists in order to represent
her as a liar. The first reaction of the police officer who filed the report was „that could not
happen, none of the police would do such thing”\textsuperscript{82}. Also a police chief said „I wish we had so
many patrols that five of them could sit in one car”\textsuperscript{83} and he added if Zsanett’s story was all
just fiction, there will be serious legal consequences. General Árpád Szabadfi, deputy national
police chief said that „it can turn out that what the victim states is not what actually has
happened”\textsuperscript{84}. In addition, Albert Takács justice minister candidate at the time said, he saw
„emotionally overheated police scandals, not facts”\textsuperscript{85}. Prime Minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány had
a huge U-turn; first he said he had sympathy for the victim of crimes committed by police
officers, but less than two months later he said: „now the [Zsanett] case is more complicated,

\textsuperscript{77} Blikk, 21 January 2009a
\textsuperscript{78} Blikk, 21 January 2009b
\textsuperscript{79} Blikk, 21 January 2009c
\textsuperscript{80} Blikk, 8 October 2012
\textsuperscript{81} Blikk, 21 January 2009b
\textsuperscript{82} Index, 5 June 2007
\textsuperscript{83} Index, 31 May 2007
\textsuperscript{84} Index, 21 May 2007
\textsuperscript{85} Index 31 May 2007

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The attorney general of Budapest stated in the media, that the girl earlier had an accusation against her ex-boyfriend.\(^{87}\) This fact could have been interpreted in different ways, for example, this would have been a great opportunity to give information on revictimisation\(^{88}\), but instead he suggested that Zsanett used to make rape accusation as a general revenge on men. None of the journalists gave any other explanation. One of the accused policemen told the press „I heard that she is the girlfriend of the pop-band called Hooligans, which is considered to be against the police. This is nonsense, she must hate the police for some reason”\(^{89}\). The officers’ girlfriends are interviewed a few times by Blikk.hu, one of them overtly says “Zsanett is lying”\(^{90}\). Headlines and sub-headings also questioning her credibility: “She likes to be in focus”\(^{91}\), “Not even her ex-boyfriend believes in Zsanett’s story”\(^{92}\) “Fantasy on the rape”\(^{93}\), “Controversial story of Zsanett”\(^{94}\). The tabloid, however, once ran with the following headline: „Zsanett is telling the truth yet”\(^{95}\) since the second psychologist expert claims she was telling the truth. Nevertheless, when interpreting the results of the main psychologist of the trial, the tabloid claimed that “the expert identified traits that may affect the credibility of Zsanett”\(^{96}\). Nationally celebrated media persons have commented the case; Henrik Havas claimed that „if this goes on, not one boss, teacher or grumpy grandfather will be safe, because crowds of women will begin to accuse rape.”\(^{97}\) While an other reporter claimed that the story is not realistic since he argued: „I would look behind to check who is fucking me from behind”\(^{98}\). These statements, however, were criticized by Index.hu, the opinions reflect how rape victims are going through secondary vicimization by questioning their credibility.

Also Zsanett’s moral was questioned again and again. Her sexual attitude was in stake from the very beginning since the lawyer of one of the officers said that „the lady [Zsanett] is...”\(^{86}\)

\(^{86}\) Index, 25 June 2007
\(^{87}\) MTI, 10 December 2007
\(^{88}\) Revictimisation means that victims of abuse or crime have statistically higher risk to become victims again.
\(^{89}\) Index, 17 November 2008
\(^{90}\) Blikk, 21 January 2009d
\(^{91}\) Blikk, 21 January 2009e
\(^{92}\) Blikk, 21 January 2009f
\(^{93}\) Blikk, 21 January 2009g
\(^{94}\) ibid
\(^{95}\) Blikk, 3 October 2009
\(^{96}\) Blikk, 21 January 2009e
\(^{97}\) Index, 25 June 2007
\(^{98}\) ibid
not famous for what the English ladies are.” In other words, she had an active sex life or it can even interpreted as she was a prostitute. This picture was strengthened when an expert have claimed in an article that rape cases committed by police officers are only known against prostitutes. Also, the lawyer suggested that the sex could be consensual since often „the alleged violence begins with consent” One of the first information about Zsanett was that she had personal relationship with a celebrity. Seemingly, this fact would strengthen her case as she apparently could have the power to claim for victim status. But, in fact, it was also used against her; it is interpreted as she is a groupie who had some sex, flirt and a short romance with the celebrity who did not really understand why the girl is so attached with him. In addition, the representation of the rape case is quite pornographic. Though, Zsanett was the one who told detailed that she was raped from behind while forced to oral sex with the other officer, media should have considered if it was ethical to write about this fact so in detail. Also, when discussing the evidence, the press dealt with the different bodily fluids on her thong. Such overtly discussion of the intimate details of the case, again, should have been considered since the dignity of the victim could be violated by them. In addition, she was victimized again by victim blaming.

In contrast, the portray of the police officers changed as follows; at the beginning they were represented as brutal officers, but when they and their fiancées started to talk to the press (mostly the tabloid) they suddenly became regular people who have been slandered. They are represented as model officers, exemplary fathers and fiancés who lived an ordinary life; the father used to watch football games with his son, three of them were planning their weddings, they went to church for preparation. They testified and claimed in the press that they were innocent; according to their confession when they stopped the girl, she was crying because her boyfriend just broke up with her. She did not have an ID card or

99 Index, 20 September 2007
100 Blikk, 21 January 2009h
101 Index, 1 June 2007
102 Blikk, 21 January 2009f
103 ibid
104 Index, 17 May 2007
105 Index, 28 November 2008
106 Blikk, 21 January 2009j
107 Index, 19 May 2007
108 Blikk, 21 January 2009j
109 Index, 19 May 2007
110 Blikk, 21 January 2009j
license with her so they took her home to be able to identify herself.\textsuperscript{111} They did not rape her and did not tell her to bribe them thus they are innocent. The five officers had been taken to pre-trial detention and were suspended. As a result their \textit{normal, harmonic family life} overturned, they became unemployed thus they must live in a \textit{lower standard of living, spend the money they saved for the wedding}\textsuperscript{112}, \textit{take the help of their families}\textsuperscript{113} etc.

Now I will run an \textit{Ideal victim test} where I will compare the portrayed characters with the attributes of Niels Christie’s \textit{ideal victim} and \textit{ideal perpetrator}. Running the \textit{Ideal victim test} is quite challenging in this case since the representation of the victim and the perpetrators have been changed over time. Nonetheless, the victim was definately weak comparing to the offenders (one female against five men). It is hard to judge whether she carried out a respectable project since we do not have much information on her private life. However, based on the information received from the media (stealing, lying, etc.) she did not. On the night of the attack she was on her way home in the middle of the night after bringing home his celebrity friend/lover, she was driving thus most likely sober as she was not accused with drinking and driving. This could be considered neutral. It is also challenging to decide whether the victim is not to be blamed for what has happened since we do not know exactly what has happened that night, according to a theory, she offered \textit{sex as a bribe}\textsuperscript{114}. The offenders were definitely big (again, five men against one woman) but they were not portrayed as bad, they even considered to be the positive actors. The offenders and the victim did not have personal relationship. Finally, the victim did not have the right combination of power and sympathy to claim for victim status, in fact, she had lost all the sympathy of media during the investigation and trials. In summary, she is not represented as an ideal victim.

4.1.2 Framing analysis

As already mentioned, the framing of the crime changed over time: at the beginning the main frame was the moral crisis at the police. Later the police officers were not believed guilty anymore thus a new frame was necessary. The moral crisis was based on former but recent police scandals: bribery, corruption, and police brutality in 2006 against protesters. In this public sentiment, the opposition had a strong ground to argue against the police as an institution. Fidesz also organized a protest at the police station where the officers worked against

\begin{footnotes}
\item \textsuperscript{111} Index, 3 March 2008 \\
\item \textsuperscript{112} Blikk, 21 January 2009i \\
\item \textsuperscript{113} Blikk, 21 January 2009j \\
\item \textsuperscript{114} Index, 1 June 2007
\end{footnotes}
the violence committed by the police. Though, authorities did not give credit to Zsanett’s accusation and denied that a police officer would rape someone – while bribery, corruption, police brutality was believable – the strong pressure of the opposition forced a reaction. Therefore, Prime Minister, Ferenc Gyurcsány fired some high-rank police officers and the Minister of Justice. Also, the accused officers were in custody. From this point, however, a change in the public and media discourse was discernible. As mentioned above, various representatives of the authorities started to claim against the victim’s credibility almost as a campaign. While Zsanett was represented as a lying, deviant troublemaker, the brutal police officers, as presented above, became likable, common people who spent the holidays by the sea, like to eat homemade stuffed chicken etc. In other words, they live just like ‘us’. And as ordinary people (like ‘us’) they would never had committed such crime which they were accused for. Thus this framing strategy can be called the one of us frame.

The case clearly had some human rights angles but it was not harnessed at all. Women’s rights, gender equality, violence against women was barely mentioned. As mentioned above, Zsanett’s revictimization and secondary victimization was not at all discussed, however, the case is a shining example of the phenomena. Some issues, however, were tangentially brought up; Index.hu once quoted from the Amnesty International annual report that a (female) judge declared that she who knows the system well would not file a report if she had been raped. „It is very difficult because of the procedures, attitudes and social conventions. The burden of proof lies on the vulnerable victim.” The most progressive expression was a potential amendment by one of the governing party (SZDSZ) concerning to changes of this procedure. Though, Fidesz as an opposite party that period supported the proposal, the amendment never passed. In addition, the Hungarian Helsinki Committee tried to address this issue but it is only to be read in Index.hu once. The Helsinki Committee also examined the investigation and the trials with other NGOs and legal experts, but their opinion (very critical with the legal procedure) was not addressed by the press. In conclusion, the media not

115 MTI, 22 May 2007
116 Index, 3 December 2007
117 ibid
118 ibid
119 Ihlen and Thorbjørnsrud (2014)
120 Index, 1 June 2007
121 Index, 15 May 2007
122 MTI, 17 April 2008
only did not address the violations against the victim, did not report about her revictimization and secondary victimization, they not even presented the analysis by the NGOs and legal experts.

4.2 Nőra Horák case

The Nőra Horák case was a sexually motivated infanticide. The corpse of Nőra Horák, the 14-years-old was found on 23 November 2008 in the woods near to the local community center of Kiskunlacháza. She was raped and then strangled. On 26 June 2009 the suspect of was taken into custody and he confessed the murder. He had been sentenced to life in prisonment. During the seven month of the investigation, the rumor had it that three juveniles - all three had Roma background - committed the crime. However, the police denied that they are the murderers, the rumor could not been stopped and the case had a significant role in the spread of the ‘Gypsy criminality’ as a phrase in the public discourse.

4.2.1 Characterization

Nőra Horák was contradictorily represented by the media; on the one hand she was portrayed as an innocent child, a little girl, on the other hand, a tempting young woman. Despite, she was often referred as the 14-years-old, the schoolgirl, the teenager, the girl, the little girl and the poor little girl, she was represented as someone who attracts men\textsuperscript{123}. It was claimed that she looked much older than her age\textsuperscript{124}; the perpetrator “was shocked when he figured out that she was only 14”\textsuperscript{125}. Also the tabloid attached pictures to the articles where she was posing and looked sexy. Index.hu has written that she was an excellent hip-hop dancer and “impressed men”\textsuperscript{126} (not schoolboys) as she was strikingly pretty, attractive, beautiful, friendly and popular. It revealed that despite her young age she had an ex-boyfriend for ten month and a recent love. More boys played around her, wanted to escort her home and someone kissed her at the party. She went out with her friends regularly and smoked, but apparently she was under control by her parents who told that they had harmonic, honest relationship\textsuperscript{127}.

In contrast, the perpetrator was represented as scruffy and smelly, he had a difficult childhood and a tragic life, lost his family. According to the tabloid this was the reason why

\textsuperscript{123} MTI, 6 March 2009
\textsuperscript{124} Index, 6 March 2009
\textsuperscript{125} Blikk, 4 August 2009
\textsuperscript{126} Index, 6 March 2009
\textsuperscript{127} Blikk, 22 April 2010
he was on the wrong track. He lived lonely, had only one short-term girlfriend in his entire life, never let anyone in his home which was in dilapidated condition, dirty, and full with trash. He had low self-esteem, he was also anxious and was afraid that he was found to be stupid, ugly or crazy. He was represented as an alcoholic who was always in a pub where he was known as a quiet, calm, decent, aloof, and tongue-tied young man. The media also quoted a psychologist who claimed that he had personality disorders and an unstable personality, but in total composure. He was said to live double life: he was calm and quiet in his real life but in his fantasy world he is violent. In addition, he had inferiority complex coupled with a desire for power. According to a criminal expert he might had some sexual aberration as he had a panties collection. Negative attributes as cruel, brutal, tragic, outrageous and bestial (used 26 times in total) were most often used to describe the murder but not the murderer himself. Surprisingly, he was called only once cruel and once satyr. The media – forefront with the tabloid – described him rather miserable than dangerous. But the media was not entirely straightforward with this as some phrases made him look perilous; an expert stated that he had pleasure when murdering, he was hunting, and he was prone to aggression. He was also called unashamed and a brigand once. He had a strong physique, being 180 centimeter tall and weighting 100 kilograms so representing a significant dominance comparing to the victim. Nonetheless, he was afraid of tough guys in prison.

As regards the Ideal victim test, Nóra Horák was definitely weak comparing to the offender (female and very young). It is hard to decide if she was carrying out a respectable project; in general, she is a high school student which considers to be positive, on the night of the attack, she was partying in a disco which can have negative connotations like drugs or alcohol especially in rape cases. However, the party she was participating at was rather represented as a place for teens to socialize, also the venue was the local community center which represents culture, not parties and their negative connotations. Is she blameless for what happened? Despite, it reveals that she should not have gone home alone, the media gives an excuse why she did; someone hurt her feelings in the party so she went out alone to calm down. The incident from here on is represented as she was in the wrong place at the wrong time. It was a series of coincidences that she was the first woman/girl the perpetrator had seen after he stated to his friends, he will have sex with the first woman he meets. The offender was definitely

128 Blikk, 19 April 2010
129 Bernhardsson and Bogren (2012)
130 MTI, 26 June 2009
big and bad; he was 100 kilogram, 180 centimeter and scruffy. According to a theory during the investigation, the victim and the offender had a personal relationship before but it was not proven. In this case, the family apparently had the power and sympathy to elicit the victim status. Also, children are on the top of the hierarchy of innocence\textsuperscript{131} before “pregnant women, teenage girls, elderly women, all other women, teenage boys, and all other men”\textsuperscript{132} which presumably made the case more interesting for the media. Not to mention that the case involved rape and murder and as such it considers a more severe crime than rape.

4.2.2 Framing analysis

Concerning to Nóra Horák case three main subjects was held up: the issue of public security, the quality of the investigation and ethnic conflicts. The largest opposition party, Fidesz, criticised the work of the police in general and the condition of the public security in the country as a respond to the rape and murder case. Viktor Orbán, the leader of the party and other high rank politicians of the party stated that „people are afraid of going out”\textsuperscript{133}, „public safety was practically ceased”\textsuperscript{134}, „violence spreads”\textsuperscript{135}; „minor offenses are not even investigated”\textsuperscript{136}. Also the independent mayor of the town identified the problem as a public security issue. He offered a building for a police station as the town lacks one, he installed CCTVs throughout in town, he proposed the government to expand the jurisdiction of citizen soldiers and to impose stricter penalties for criminals. On the other hand, most articles concerning to the case were about the exemplary investigation. Media reports on the meticulous work of the police which required a lot of creativity. A „puzzle with ten thousand pieces”\textsuperscript{137} was a metaphor used for the case which was intended to demonstrate how complex the case was. According to the news, the investigation was professional, police made an incredible work and a great effort with the most advanced technology and had spectacular results. The governing party have congratulated the police and the Minister of Justice and Law Enforcement stated that he was sure the police will find the offender since they investigated all 32 other homicide cases that year. Blikk.hu also praised the work of police; the journalists of the site „still remember the times when 10-12 homicides was in the region

\textsuperscript{131} Moeller (2002)
\textsuperscript{132} ibid p. 48.
\textsuperscript{133} MTI, 4 December 2008
\textsuperscript{134} MTI, 3 February 2009
\textsuperscript{135} ibid
\textsuperscript{136} ibid
\textsuperscript{137} MTI, 6 March 2009
and the police explored all of them.”  

Reconstitute the contrast between critics and praise, the police chief counselor stated that the problem lied in the communication of the police and not in their work. Police work should have been more transparent to make people trust them.

After finding the body of Nóra Horák, it lasted 7 months to identify the perpetrator. In this time, the rumor had that three Roma juveniles committed the crime. Despite of the fact that the police denied this theory, it was widely believed that the offender had Roma background. The mayor of the town said on a torchlight marching organized against violence – which according to a Swiss newspaper was rather intended to provoke and intimidate Romas – where two far-right organization (Gój motorosok and Magyar Gárda) also participated: „There is no place for violence, there is no place for criminals in Kiskunlacháza, we must put an end to Gypsy violence! (...) We do not let them steal our possessions, beaten elderly people and desecrated the children anymore. Today, we are the majority yet.” The speech caused a huge debate on ethnic conflicts. It was criticised on the ground that it suggests that the murder was committed by Roma offender. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee took the case to the Equal Treatment Authority which condemned the mayor for harrasment concerning to equal treatment. The mayor appealed and the court ordered new examination but no articles were found about the result of the new investigation. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee and the media only pointed out the suggestion that the offender is Roma as problematic in the speech, however, the usage of the compounding ‘Gypsy violence’ and the argument „we are the majority yet” are also very solicitous and worrisome. ‘Gypsy violence’ (cigánybűnözés) in Hungarian is written in one word as such it plays out as a strong phrase. The word indicates, on the one hand, crimes committed by Roma people, on the other hand, the categories of offenses which are mainly committed by Romas. The term is discriminatory as it overtly emphasizes the ethnic content and suggests that criminality is typical behaviour of Roma people in general. It is also worrisome that the mayor suggested with his speech that the Roma population is not the part of the national body, in fact, quite the contrary where majority and minority opposed with each other. The speech even had a militant tone in this manner.

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138 Blikk, 21 January 2009
139 MTI, 10 June 2009
140 MTI, 27 January 2010
141 Act CXXV of 2003
142 Póczik (2003)
After the identity of the offender revealed and turned out he was not Roma, the mayor was unwilling to apologize. He even continued; he talked about ‘juvenile Gypsy criminality’ and blamed the parents; he stated that, ‘there is indeed ‘Gypsy criminality’ and it must put an end to it’; he also criticised the government for not dealing with the ‘tense conflicts between Roma and Hungarian people’ while ‘he had done a lot for peaceful coexistence, he had even negotiated with the Roma population.’ In fact, the mayor acted and talked publicly very discriminatory which was also able to intimidate the Roma population. According to the National Roma Self-Government (Országos Cigány Önkormányzat) the matter embittered the everyday life of Roma people in town, some families even moved away because of the issue. The mayor proposed that Romas should receive education and job opportunities to stop ‘Roma violence’ suggesting that Romas in general are undereducated and therefore unemployed. An opposition party (MDF) proposed that instead of family support, school-age children should receive free meals and textbooks and programs thus it would be important for Roma families to send their children to school. Suggesting that Roma children does not go to school in general but for free meals they would be obliged by parents. Here the blame was again put on Roma parents.

In conclusion, the rape and murder of a 14-years-old was framed as a public security issue only. The representation of the case showed that the problem was the weak security and the criminality of the Roma population. Both was caused by the lack of a police station and the weak jurisdiction of citizen soldiers and the criminal propensity of Roma people. However many solution proposal was arisen, according to the articles sampled only the CCTVs were realized and a vague program introduced by the government to help small towns and improve public safety. The framing of the case again lacked human rights, criminology and social angles. For example, gender equality, rights of women and children, violence against women and children and its social background could have been argued in connection to this case.

4.3 Kata Bándy case

25-year-old police psychologist, Kata Bándy was on her way home from a club when she disappeared in the city of Pécs. Her body was found after 3 days of countrywide search. Based on DNA samples found on the body the police identified a potential offender. Four days later, the suspect was captured while trying to escape the country. In a very short time

143 Index, 2 May 2009
144 Such distinction is problematic in itself as Roma people are in fact Hungarian citizens.
145 Index, 16 November 2010
after his capture, both his identity and his ethnic background (Roma) became public. László Péntek was taken into custody where he confessed the murder. According to the confession he was drunk and under the effects of synthetic drugs when he committed the murder. He confessed that he wanted to have sex with the victim but she refused and resisted. The attacker started strangling her and she rolled into a ditch during scuffle. According to his confession when he left the scene, he did not realize that the victim was dead. On first degree he was sentenced for life imprisonment but on second degree his punishment has been mitigated to 40 years.

4.3.1 Characterization

According to the press, Kata Bándy was very pretty, charming, good-looking, strikingly beautiful, likable, kind, smiling, happy, vivacious, young girl. Her personality was described as shy, solid, quiet but direct and definite. The Minister of Human Capacities, Zoltán Balog claims that she was a gentle humanist and God created her to help.\(^\text{146}\). She had a secure family background, only a few person were really close to her, she lived her life conservative, in her intimate relationships she was faithful, she did not live wild life, and was not a party animal\(^\text{147}\). She was also represented very smart, that is discribed in several ways: she was the reason and prudence herself\(^\text{148}\), she was fighting for her life by her inteligent, not by force\(^\text{149}\), she was exceptionally clever\(^\text{150}\), aimed to gain doctorate\(^\text{151}\), she was the smartes among everyone and solved all situation\(^\text{152}\). Index.hu justified the significant attention on the girl's disappearance with the fact that she used to work at the police station, she was member of the Facebook-generation (her family and friends started to look for her on Facebook) and she was one of us\(^\text{153}\). Her case, however, became really interesting when the identity of the offender and his Roma background revealed.\(^\text{154}\) All other adjectives and attributes collected from the articles concerned to her victim status; she was innocent, according to Blickk.hu she was naked, later they claimed she was naked but her upper body was covered with clothes, however, according to the news agency she was dressed up and also wore her sandals. This

\(^{146}\) Index, 23 July 2012a

\(^{147}\) Blick, 10 July 2012

\(^{148}\) ibid

\(^{149}\) Blick, 30 December 2012

\(^{150}\) Blick, 19 February 2013

\(^{151}\) Blick, 19 February 2013

\(^{152}\) Index, 10 July 2012

\(^{153}\) Index, 19 July 2012b

\(^{154}\) ibid
was not the only thing how the tabloid dramatized the case; they wrote about *blood covered body*, and *blood covered clothes*, *desecrated corpse, agony, brutal execution*. The tabloid also thought to know that the girl *begged for her life, tried to flee, battled, defended herself*. The tabloid wrote that a witness did not believe that the offender was alone since Kata Bándy was *sporty* and she could *run away from a drunk junkie*, other times she was represented rather lonely, vulnerable and fragile. Synonyms used are *girl, women, psychologist* and *victim*. Before the identity of the offender revealed, the rumor had that the police were looking for an international student. The adjectives and synonyms used were the same as after the identity revealed: *cruel, cold blooded, aberrant, sex offenders, satyr, „pleasure murderer”* (*kéjgyilkos*). Later he was also called *prisoner, rapist, 'Roma criminal’, womanizer* and *criminal*. Beyond these attributes and synonyms which refered to the crime he committed, his character was described very detailed. It was mentioned that he lived through *traumas in his childhood*, his father abandoned them, he grew up in a foster institution, he was also said to be *affectionless (but not neurotic)* all these, however, seemingly did not serve as an excuse to be on the wrong track, in contrast to the perpetrator in Nóra Horák case. In fact, he was said to be “*like this*” (bad, evil) from his childhood, someone else claimed that it began in fourth or fifth grade. He lived in poor conditions (as a squatter; the house was in *terrible state*) and this was represented as his fault, not as an excuse for what had happened. He was said to be unemployed, he only had occasional works as *an unskilled worker on constructions, lumberman, tattoo maker* and he *“collected metals”* (*vasazott*). Media stated that “he did not work a lot in his life” and not even completed primary school, moreover he was said to be “*proud not to work in his life*”. He also had stolen and robbed from people, “he had stolen from his own girlfriend” according to media. According to Index.hu he had “*alarmingly empty everydays*”, even when he killed Kata Bándy, he was *just lazing around*

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155 Blikk, 11 July 2012
156 Blikk, 12 July 2012
157 Blikk, 24 July 2012
158 Index, 19 July 2012a
159 ibid
160 A typical activity among very poor people (mostly Roma people) to collect iron and bring to by-product and waste recovery centers where they got paid for it.
161 Blikk, 4 August 2014
162 Index, 19 July 2012a
163 ibid
164 Index, 19 February 2013
aimlessly. According to the press he used drugs and drank a lot. He was represented as a totally useless member of the society; the judge in his trial overtly said this and called him an unscrupulous criminal; he was said to be someone who is incapable of normal, civilized coexistence; also someone from his town said that he had bad reputation thus the town is happy he is not going back. He was also said to be a womanizer, he had many partners and was proud of his sex life. He was represented as someone who cannot stop his instincts, has no moral brakes, and have outbursts.

On the one hand, he was said to be primitive who acquire by force what he wants, on the other hand, more intelligent than what can be inferred from his studies. Nevertheless, his emotional intelligence was zero. He did not finish primary school, also his ability to understand the Criminal Code was questioned, however, sometimes it was emphasized that he „had the opportunity to get to know law enforcement and justice system” since he spent years in prison earlier. He was portrait as born to be a criminal: the news agency used “eleven times convicted man” phrase as an epithet. Also, synonyms used are the man previously convicted, experienced criminal, prisoner and he was said to be the cool kid in jail. Media stated that he had experience in prison so he had known how to act there. The only information about his room was that there were many police summons and pornographic pictures. In addition, he was represented as someone determined to be in prison: while he was outside, he was in bad shape, was scruffy with musty smell but he bloomed in custody, he arrives to his trials relaxed, muscular, freshly shaved, with styled hair, wore pretty watch and branded shoes. In summary, he was repeatedly represented as a recidivist however he was never convicted for violent crimes. Nevertheless, he was described as an agressor too; the little boy who found Kata Bády’s dead body was said to be threatened by him. Also, it was cited from his Facebook that he is “the cool kid”. He was called in the media brutal, cruel, perverted killer, a monster of Kelebia (his town) who does not know mercy. He was portrayed not only aggressive but dangerous as well; an other prisoner refused to be witness because he was afraid of him, also he wanted to have sex with the victim but as he was rejected he lost his head, became a raging beast. As a matter of fact, his family was respresented as violent people too; her mother trivialized domestic violence when she said a couple of slaps are

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165 Index, 19 July 2012a
166 Blikk, 11 September 2012
167 Index, 18 February 2013
168 Blikk, 28 August 2013

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normal in every family when talking about him beating his ex-girlfriend. In addition, according to the media his cousin was also investigated and he was also represented as a violent person who threatened, beat and choked his ex-girlfriend. Representing the family violent could be interpreted as a part of his traumas but it is not explained at all and as such it rather suggests that violence is normal within Roma families.

He made confession but his credibility was questioned a numerous time since he changed it many times; he “stubbornly states his lies” – wrote the tabloid. Also, the representation of his behaviour on the trial was confusing since sometimes he was described as relaxed and phlegmatic, who does not care about the consequences but then later he was said to answer the questions a polite, moderate, helpful way. His behaviour concerning to his act was also controversial: it has been stated that he cries when talking about the murder, he was psychologically shattered since the murder, his lawyer said he had compunction but he did not talk about it. In contrast, he was criticized for being insensitive for using Facebook after the murder and for not apologizing. But finally, his last words on trial were apology to the family.

It is highly questionable whether media should make the ethnic background of perpetrators. Nevertheless, his ethnic background reveals in the same time he is captured since Blikk.hu (and presumably other newspapers and sites) used his Facebook photos to illustrate the articles about him. Since he had visible markings (e.g. colour of the skin and hair) which clarifies that he has Roma background, it did not lasted long that the hysteria begin: 'Gypsy criminality’ became a hot topic again. Also, his mother overtly called themselves Gypsies and he was called ‘Gipsy criminal’ by a (far-right) politician. He stated that the police told him that „You stinky Gypsy, Kata would have never talked to you”169.

The murder was described (mostly by the tabloid) as cruel, brutal, beastial, tragic, cold blooded horrid, horrible,170 inhuman, soulless and nefarious171. In contrast, an investigator said that this murder was a typical crime. Some details revealing were said to be bloodcurdling, creepy, astonishing.

In conclusion, the characters of the victim and offender were especially detailed and contrasted in this case. While Kata Bándy was represented as everything positive: beautiful, young, smart, ambitious; László Péntek was the opposite: he was represented as a neglected,  

169 Index, 18 February 2013  
170 These adjectives are used very often in the tabloid.  
171 MTI, 16 July 2012
uneductated lounger. László Péntek became the symbol of evil, one of the witnesses declared: „even to mention his name was hard for me”\textsuperscript{172} (like he was the incarnated evil himself). Also, his lawyer pointed out once this contrast: while the victim lived on the bright side of the life, the offender lived in poor conditions\textsuperscript{173}; also he was the symbol of evil in media\textsuperscript{174}, while Kata Bándy was the good. Notable that the only person saying something good about him was his mother but \textit{she was silenced by the judge}\textsuperscript{175}.

When running the ideal victim test, one could argue that Kata Bándy was represented as the most ideal victim: she was portrayed as weak, carrying out a respectable project in her life (she works for the police, God made her to help\textsuperscript{176}, etc.), on the night of the attack she was socializing with friends and only had a couple of beers since she never partied too hard\textsuperscript{177}. She is not to be blamed for what have happened, she was going home, she was at the wrong place at the wrong time. She did not give up, she tried to speak herself out of the trouble, \textit{fought with her brain, not with force}\textsuperscript{178}. The offender was definately bad, he was also bigger than the victim (man against woman) however once it was mentioned that Kata Bándy was sporty, she was rather described as vulnerable and fragile and sometimes it was overtly written that he obviously had dominance. Their potential relationship was discussed but evidences had shown that they have not known each other before. Finally, Kata Bándy’s family definitely had the power and sympathy: she was „one of us”, her story was widely known after her disapperence due to Facebook, she worked for the police. Kata Bándy, therefore, was portrayed as a ideal victim.

4.3.2 Framing analysis

There were two main problems addressed by actors concerning to this case: the public safety in Pécs and as part of this but very much emphasized the „Roma issues”. It have been argued that the subjective sense of security of people at Pécs changed: people especially youth were afraid that the same could happen to them or the killer was still there. Also, according to several representatives of the far-right party, Jobbik, \textit{gangs ruled the streets}\textsuperscript{179}. The police and laws are criticized in the media since the offender should have been in prison by the time he

\textsuperscript{172} Index, 19 February 2013  
\textsuperscript{173} Index, 5 April 2013  
\textsuperscript{174} Blikk, 28 August 2013  
\textsuperscript{175} Blikk, 18 February 2013  
\textsuperscript{176} Index, 23 July 2012a  
\textsuperscript{177} Blikk, 10 July 2012  
\textsuperscript{178} Blikk, 30 December 2012  
\textsuperscript{179} Index, 18 July 2012
committed the murder for not paying a misdemeanor fine, the police, however, could not take action against him since they had to wait 8 days to do so according to the law. This had been amended by the government as a respond to the case. In addition, at Pécs extra CCTVs were installed to „eliminate deviant elements”\textsuperscript{180} and squatters and people living in municipal residential apartments came under tighter control because – argued the council – „slums”\textsuperscript{181} like the place the offender squatted were full with „problematic residents”\textsuperscript{182}, thus these places need to be eliminated. The case, also, vivified the debate on capital punishment. For example, nationally renowned showman Péter Hajdú, said he would punish „this smelly, dirty worm with death by hanging”. Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán who is tend not to condemn death penalty\textsuperscript{183}, did not spoke about capital punishment but he spoke out for tightening the Hungarian Criminal Code because he believed it has deterrent effect\textsuperscript{184}. When it turned out that the perpetrator has Roma background, 'Gypsy criminality’ becomes a central topic. Demonstrations were organized on Facebook against deteriorating public security, 'Gypsy criminality’ and for death penalty. Jobbik called for zero tolerance against 'Gypsy criminality’. As part of this they wanted to have a Parliamentary Investigation Commission on „Roma-Hungarian cohabitation”, restore the gendarmerie system and capital punishment\textsuperscript{185}. Far-right organizations made a marching in Pécs, shouting „Gypsy criminality exist indeed”\textsuperscript{186} and other intimidating and threatening slogans. The government confirmed the view that Roma people collectively cause trouble when Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán set up a committee to evaluate the programs for the Roma people quarterly\textsuperscript{187}. When announcing the committee, he also said that Roma people can not live on welfare and crime anymore, they have to work\textsuperscript{188} suggesting that Roma people generally live such lifestyle. However, some voices (family of Kata Bándy, NGOs and Minister of Public Administration and Justice, Tibor Navracsis) speak out against blaming Roma people collectively for the crime, emotions run wild; Index.hu wrote that „the discourse does not focus on the victim and on the tragic case

\textsuperscript{180} MTI, 18 July 2012
\textsuperscript{181} Index, 5 March 2012
\textsuperscript{182} ibid
\textsuperscript{183} Index, 20 July 2012
\textsuperscript{184} Index, 23 July 2012b
\textsuperscript{185} MTI, 17 July 2012
\textsuperscript{186} Index, 23 July 2012c
\textsuperscript{187} ibid
\textsuperscript{188} ibid
anymore but only the Roma background of the offender.” Exemplary, Index.hu cited some comments (and suggest that there are more radical ones then the ones cited) which were inflammatory, hateful and were against an entire ethnic group:

„You should be minced to cutlets and your race should eat you.”

„Romas are all the same …. Not only they live and feed their lots of bastards they are calving of our money but also they take innocent lives.”

In conclusion, the main problem in this case was the deterioration of public security. Two causes were defined: the behaviour of Romas and permissive Hungarian laws. Many remedies were proposed; some only on rhetorical level like restore capital punishment, make Roma people work, while some were followed by acts like tightening the Criminal Code, and squatts, installing CCTVs, setting up committee to evaluate the programs for the Roma people. Most of this changes were easy to do, none of them required complex policy planning (except tightening Criminal Code but it did not involved much debate either) but citizens had the sense that something happened, nevertheless, it would worth a policy analysis how effective these acts are but it lies beyond this paper. Two topic determined the case: the public security frame and the ‘Gypsy criminality’ frame. The human rights angle is totally neglected: women’s rights, violence against women, non-discrimination on race or ethnicity, equality under the law, rights of inmates, freedom of speech versus prohibition of hate speech, incitement against Romas are potential topics which could have been covered by media concerning to this case but none were discussed or even mentioned.

4.4 Freshmen camp rapist case

In August 2014, a female freshman has been raped in a freshmen camp in Hungary. According to the victim she was looking for a friend when she run into the photographer of the camp then she had a blackout. Later when she regained consciousness, she had anoxia as a result of strangling, her eyes and jaw bruised. She reported the attack and the 40-year-old photographer was taken in custody. Later revealed that he took pictures of the attack with the aim

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189 Index, 19 July 2012b
190 ibid
191 ibid
192 Media report on the fear of the offender when imprisoning him in the most high-security prison which also considers to be the most dangerous for inmates.
of blackmailing the victim. According to prosecution he attacked, choked, punched, threatened and raped the first-year student. Also two additional offenses were held against the attacker as the photos of her were made without permission and with means of blackmailing. He was sentenced for nine years in prison. After this case became public, two other cases revealed from other freshmen camps.

4.4.1 Characterization

In this case the audience received surprisingly little information on the victim. She is referred as victim or student. She was afraid to die; she stated that during the attack she was thinking about where the perpetrator will bury her. Her credibility was not questioned by anybody except the perpetrator and one model who noted that women can misuse their femininity and prostitutes could learn from today’s teenagers. This is secondary victimization both by blaming the victim and questioning her credibility.

The perpetrator’s character was more detailed discussed but also not as much as in other examined cases. He was referred as the freshmen camp’s satyr, rapist, suspected photographer, perverted photographer, recidivist sex offender, a real sex predator. On the one hand, he was represented as an aberrant, sick person who has dark past; he was punished two times for rape and sexual assault, spent five years in prison where he behaved exemplarily. According to Blikk.hu he seemed to get back on the right track and started a new life but now he let space to his perverted desires again. On the other hand, he was represented as a popular, party face who was a good lover and had a very nice, cool and joyful personality. He was said to be a good actor, a manipulator who easily gained the people's trust and mesmerized his environment. That is how he engaged an old friend to testify next to him in 1996. He seemed to be obsessed with photography; he took pictures of the attack, he took intimate picture of another student while she was sleeping, he showed naked pictures to girls and tried to engage them to pose for him, it also revealed that he used to photograph underage children and offered portfolio making for free in his home (no complaints were received in this regard).

About the case media stated that it was a hideous crime, a monstrosity which is tragic, awful, unprecedented. Nevertheless it was also refered as an act (aktus) which is used for consensual sex in Hungarian and even jokes were made about the rape in a radio show and in a television cabaret, furthermore a porn DVD was released with the title „Freshmen camp at Blikk, 2 September 2014“.

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193 Blikk, 2 September 2014
ELTE” (the name of the university). Most of the adjectives and attributes which were intended to describe the case were in connection with drinking and partying. Media reported on *fatally degenerate party*, *tragic party*, *students uncontrollably paint the town red*, *unrestrained debauchery*. Also, a headline said: „An other dirty secret revealed about freshmen camps”. Freshmen camps were represented as an unmoral, dirty parties where students drink, sing obscene songs and play team building games which have sexual topics. As such freshmen camp was said to be a place which *paved the way for the rape*. The blame on other students was so strong that even a dean spoke out against the „malformed, unworthy and one-sided” representation of the students concerning to the case.

### 4.4.2 Framing analysis

When defining the problem and its causes, the most emphasis was on the responsibility of the organizers. They were said to be responsible for what have happened because the programs paved the way for the rape. The organizers were students themselves and usually members of the Student Unions. Most articles and also some actors put the blame on these organizations. For example, the nation-wide Student Union has introduced a code of ethics and proposed a detailed examination of the former camps, they also called Unions affected to resign. Also, former State Secretary for Education, Rózsa Hoffmann put the blame Student Unions when propose an inspection of the Unions focusing on rights they can misuse. Students involved have resigned, had disciplinary hearings, some of them were excluded from the university, some were suspended for one or two semesters, one student was reprimanded. Also, two students were fired from their jobs. As mentioned above students were represented in these articles as unrestrained party animals who behave unacceptably. It is also

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194 Blikk, 17 November 2014
195 Blikk, 1 September 2014
196 Blikk, 5 September 2014
197 ibid
198 ibid
199 Blikk, 1 October 2014
200 After the rape case revealed two other former freshmen testified for Index.hu that they were also raped and sexually assaulted in a camp. Also, as a connected case, it received publicity that in some camps organizers taught obscene songs to freshmen.
201 Blikk, 8 January 2015
202 Some of them questioned their own responsibility.
203 In two rape cases and in the case of the obscene songs.
204 One of them worked for the Ministry, the other worked with kids (also public office and diploma is required). When Index.hu questioned the employers why they work for them, they were fired as a response.
argued that if freshmen felt shame for what they did because of the mass psychosis, they did not dare to complain.

Media also argued that university managements did know about the scandalous camp games but turned a blind eye on it. As a response to the critics, some new rules have been introduced at the university involved (ELTE); freshmen camps can be only held with the permission of the rector, all program in the camps must be controlled by university administration, two freshmen camps were cancelled in the next year. Also, according to a proposal, camps should be held in dormitories. The university, also, organized sensitization trainings for organizers and employed psychologists in camps. The university started to research students’ attitudes on rape, prepared a protocol about how to behave at university and on its events and developed a rape prevention concept with help of relevant experts. Event management has been reviewed, and responsibilities have been clarified. Commissioner for educational rights was requested by Minister of Human Capacities, Zoltán Balog to conduct a survey about assaults in camps. Commissioner, Lajos Aáry-Tamás received worrisome results thus he proposed to create some unified rules for freshmen camps. Minister, Zoltán Balog also proposed an amendment of the Criminal Code; he suggested to tighten punishment (from 1-5 to 2-8 years) of rape if it happens in educational institutions or on their events. Another amendment was proposed by a dean since the university could not launch disciplinary proceedings against the perpetrator\(^{205}\) because of the prescription clause which determine 5 months. Therefore, the organizers were punished while the perpetrator is still a student of the university. Also, a dean proposed that state-issued certificate of good conduct should be required during the recruitment process since universities do not have any information on students’ antecedents. Finally, the case drew attention to the need for an amendment of the Higher Education Act; it does not apply to freshmen before enrollment.

In the media discourse, the blame and responsibility were put on organizers and other partying students so hard that the responsibility of the offender fades. In fact, he himself had the opportunity to talk to the press more times. He stated what media had written about him and the case was a lie, he also believed that what he did was not rape\(^ {206}\). Moreover, he noted that it was high time for revise the event management and the responsibilities at universities and also what happened in the camp is nothing comparing to other dirty things that never re-

\(^{205}\) Not the offender of the main case but the one was revealed after it.

\(^{206}\) None of the sites explain what he thinks was rape and what the law says.
vealed. He never told what exactly he was referring to, what could be rougher than beat and rape a girl?

On the other hand this is the only case where wider social background of the case was covered; it was repeatedly argued by Index.hu that the entire university system and academic world is man-centered where women are oppressed. This is reflected in Student Unions and in their management and as such in the organizers of the camps. Consequently, macho thinking appears during the planning of the programs and games in these camps and again these games often involve drinking and sexual topics. Raising this issue is very relevant in accordance to the case, however, the final conclusion, namely this paves the way for rape might be a bit farfetched. The fact, however, that after this case, two other victim told their stories on Index.hu could confirm the conclusion.

4.5 Cases of people with migrant background

In Hungary, there was only two reported rape case so far where the perpetrator had migrant background. Nonetheless, stories about rape cases with migrant offender are common in Hungarian news media as the media reports often about international cases, mostly focusing on German assault and rape cases. Hungarian media, however, barely pays attention to international cases concerning to violence against women in general, only if the perpetrator has migrant background.

4.5.1 Characterization

This last case is a little different than the previous ones since this case was put together from many cases where the offender had migrant background. This was necessary as only two cases happened in Hungary; both case was worth only one or two short pieces of news, accordingly not enough for a deeper analysis. Therefore I decided to collect other cases which have connections to Hungary (e.g. Hungarian victim) or just interesting for the Hungarian media for some reason. Accordingly, as expected, none of the character of the offenders or victims were worked out detailed, in fact, usually only the age and the nationality of both revealed. This is, however, not surprising since when a case become a hot topic, news rooms try to find out new details everyday but here not a concrete case but an issue or a phenomenon (namely the presumed connection between migration and sexualized violence) was in the focus thus news rooms rather reported on many different cases. Consequently, most articles classified in news genre which aims to answer the five basic questions: what, who, when,
where and why in a shortest possible way. Nevertheless, I used the same methodology in this case as well and collected adjectives, synonyms and phrases concerning to the perpetrators, the victims and the crimes.

The victims in the sampled articles were usually young (students, teenagers or sometimes even underage) or very old, in vulnerable position (e.g. a victim is in wheelchair). Their innocence was emphasized as well as their defenseless. Some attributes referred to the victim status, for example brutally beaten, bloody, left in her panty and a towel, having physical and mental injury, shocked, depressed, broken, intimidated, crying. Their background was barely discussed: one child victim lived in poor conditions and used to be under state care, one woman worked as a cleaner, one young girl was a volunteer working with refugees, lived in a Christian dormitory and her father was a lawyer at European Commission, another victim was a worker of the Red Cross, one mother of three was victimized too, one Hungarian victim worked in Malta, another victim was on her way home from work. In contrast, migrants and refugees were portrayed as unemployed loungers who are „sitting around bored and tamping their phones”.

In some cases, victims were portrayed drunk e.g. in Cologne on New Year’s Eve but it lead the authorities only once to question the victims’ credibility and that one case was followed by social indignation. In some cases, victims claimed that they were drugged.

In the case of perpetrators the most common attributes were age and nationality as well. Nevertheless, it seems irrelevant where they were actually from, more important is that they are aliens, outsiders; they were often described as Muslim-looking or North African-looking, Blikk.hu wrote „hell knows where they came from“.

Also, the offenders in Cologne usually said to be from North Africa but another time they were referred as Iraqis, Syrians and Afghans. Readers did not receive more information than age and nationality on the background of the offenders, except an offender from Cameroon whose description and photo was available as he was on the wanted list, and in the case of Amir who was an Iraqi taxi driver, and came to Europe through the Balkan-way. He was referred as Amir, the migrant. There were surprisingly high number of juvenile offenders but the media have never pointed this out. The danger of fleeing and travelling through countries unaccompanied was not even once discussed. Very often used adjective was illegal concerning to their stay in Europe,

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207 Horsti (2007)
208 MTI, 23 September 2016
209 Blikk, 13 February 2017
Hungarian Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán also referred to them as illegal migrants. Most adjectives and attributes referred to danger caused by migrants: they were said to be rough, violent, disrespectful with police, they look angry and dangerous, they form furious, unrestrained, aggressive crowds and violent, unbridled hordes, once even policemen were forced to flee. Also the places they were staying at were considered to be suspicious neighborhoods. Offenders with migrant background were often portrayed as drunk whose sexual instincts is out of control. This image was strengthened by the news agency when citing a confession where the offender said that he committed the rape because he did not have sex for 4 months and could not wait any longer. He also said he was possessed by Satan. Synonyms used are foreign, alien, offender, and monsters.

About the cases media stated that they are shocking, astonishing, severe, disgusting, reprehensible, brutal, shameful, chaotic, particularly cruel, scandalous, horrid, disgraceful, terrible, horrible, indescribable and indignation generating. Blikk.hu dramatized further the incidents; they wrote about migrant trouble, suspended civilization, rape lasting for hours, Austrian panic, statistics which were so formidable as if it were in a war zone. According to Blikk.hu the fear in Malta was justifiable after the rape of a Hungarian woman which is a worrying sign: from now on Maltese must calculate with such cases and prepare the changes in the holiday paradise, they can now see the dark side of migration. Also, an ironic headline in Blikk.hu said: „Migration background: another sexual assault on a public festival” suggesting that all what people should know about migrants is that they are rapists.

210 Index, 25 July 2015
211 Blikk, 7 January 2016
212 Blikk, 7 January 2016
213 Blikk, 26 January 2016
214 MTI, 2 September 2016
215 Blikk, 4 September 2016
216 MTI, 13 December 2016
217 MTI, 27 January 2016
218 Blikk, 7 January 2016
219 Blikk, 8 January 2016
220 Blikk, 5 May 2016
221 Blikk, 5 February 2016
222 Blikk, 9 February 2016
223 ibid
224 Blikk, 4 September 2016
Running the ideal victim test is also exceptional in this case. I will treat the many small cases as one big so I will take in account the common attributes in the different cases. The victim was weak; usually female versus man or men, often very young (even child) or very old. Even when the victim was male, usually vulnerable for example child or juvenile. The projects carried out by victims were not always clear, but they usually work, had a decent life which consider to be rather positive projects. The attacks, however, usually have happened in a festivals or carnivals which could have negative connotations (alcohol, drugs) but this aspect was not emphasized in case of victims, except one case where the credibility of the victim was questioned by the police, as she drank alcohol. Thus the victims carried out rather positive or at least neutral projects. In most cases the victims were not to be blamed for what have happened but the credibility of the victim is questioned once and sometimes the consent is debated. The offender was usually big and bad, man or men against woman, vulnerable person or child. The dominance of the offender(s) was always clear; for example in one case a teenage boy was the victim but he have been attacked by five other teenagers. The victims and offenders usually had no relationship, in one case a possible relationship was investigated but it was not at all proven. Victims seemingly had power and sympathy to claim for victim status when the offender has migrant background because of the overall negative attitude towards migrants as a group. German police also mentioned in one article that victims are most likely report crimes when the perpetrator is migrant. Also, German police stated that women became more sensitive for assault therefore they report less severe insults as well after the Cologne incident.

4.5.2 Framing analysis

The core problem seemed to be the presence of masses from different culture. The very presence of migrants as a problem repeatedly occurred in the articles examined. For example, one of the governing party in Hungary, Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) stated that „where migrants appear, no one is safe”. They argued that „abuse can happen to anyone, at any time since Europe is full of migrants”. A rape victim in England said she „does not understand why migrants were placed where she lives”. Also, in a German school mini-skirt ban had been introduced and PE class had been moved because refugees arrived to

\[\text{MTI, 5 February 2017}\]
\[\text{MTI, 23 September 2016}\]
\[\text{ibid}\]
\[\text{Blikk, 6 November 2015}\]
the neighboring asylum. Another problem that mass of people are presence. First, the phenomenon of migration was called *migrant crisis, deepened migration crisis, migrant flood, migration wave, refugee wave*. Also, it is often stated that they appeared in mass, and *significant number of migrants was immigrated*. The cultural differences were overtly emphasized in many articles. An article mentioned that they do not speak other languages then Arabic and have their own culture and habits. The most concerning difference according to the media was that *migrants* judge women in a different way. For example, some migrants had conflicts with the female prison guards. Though migrants were barely interviewed (in the sample, there are only two stories where migrants are asked), one man from Eritrea demonstrated the cultural differences as it follows: „In Eritrea men are weak and they cannot restrain themselves. If you fancy a woman, you can just take her, police won’t punish for it.” Here, Eritrean men collectively were represented as savages or cavemen. Another interviewee stated that everything is different food, clothing and they need time to adopt. Another interviewee in the same article told that in his culture bikini is the same as women were naked and it is a call for men. Migrants were banned from German swimming pools after few severe incidents. Also, migrants were banned from clubs in Germany and Denmark since „the number of incidents increased since the beginning of the migrant wave”\(^229\), however not any severe incident is known by the police\(^230\) or the media. Hungarian news agency also thought to know that the ban pushes the problem to the streets since groups of unsatisfied men usually become aggressive\(^231\).

In addition, migrants were often linked to criminality, most commonly to terrorism and sexualized violence. As such migrants not only have different cultural background, but media also suggested that their propensity of crime is higher than Europeans’. Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán in a speech stated that migration is a danger, not an opportunity and linked migration to terrorism, sexualized violence and unemployment\(^232\). According to him, *Europe’s future is at stake, it can change dramatically if we let migrants in Europe*. Also, it was claimed that „violent attacks follow each other”\(^233\), „Cologne railway station has become a nest for crime”\(^234\), „a new type of crime popped up”\(^235\). Blikk.hu have further dramatized the

\(^{229}\) Index, 24 January 2016  
^{230}\) ibid  
^{231}\) MTI, 24 January 2016  
^{232}\) Index, 25 July 2015  
^{233}\) MTI, 23 September 2016  
^{234}\) Blikk, 6 January 2016  
^{235}\) MTI, 9 May 2016
situation when stating that there is a new case almost every day. Also, according to the tabloid every third women was a victim of rape in the European Union, this means 62 million women altogether. In connection to these statistics the site noted that the Austrians are outraged, police observe the daily incidents which usually are committed by migrants. Editing the article this way opened the space for misinterpretation since the data obviously referred to all reported rapes which were mostly committed by close relatives or friends not foreigners. Blikk.hu’s article could be easily understood as in the 62 million rape case the offenders are mostly migrants. The headline for this article was as follows: „Panic in Austria: more and more women are raped by migrants”236. Not only Blikk.hu misinterpreted statistics: an expert was asked by the news agency who compares recent data to 1975 statistics. Using data from 1975 when it comes to sexualized violence is highly questionable since the judgement of rape changed a lot overtime.237 Also, she has generalized and insulted migrant men and European women when justifying radicalization of migrants with the fact that mostly young men are arriving and women are looking for wealthy husbands thus migrants stay single so they radicalize. Another solicitous headline based on misinterpretation of statistics in Blikk.hu was the article „According to German police there is migrant criminality”238. The German police namely did not have any data to come to this result, however, they have public statistics on the national background of the offenders so this must be the reason for the equivocal headline. „Migrant criminality” using as a phrase is problematic for the same reason as ‘Gypsy criminality’ discussed above. Migrant people, as linked to criminality, were represented as jeopardy so fear them is grounded. For example, in Germany „they already speak about fear zones”239, „group abuse is now a severe danger”240, „people are afraid since mass of migrants appeared”241, again „where migrants appear, no one is safe”242. Also, German extreme rights started to cause panic since they said „women, especially blond women have to fear migrants”243. Liberals argued that „North Rhine-Westphalia became a paradise for thieves and the El Dorado for Salafists”244

236 Blikk, 5 May 2016
237 Donat and D’Emilio (1992)
238 Blikk, 21 February 2016
239 Blikk, 10 September 2016
240 Blikk, 6 January 2016
241 MTI, 2 September 2016
242 MTI, 23 September 2016
243 Index, 8 January 2016
244 MTI, 14 January 2016
therefore German people started arming themselves\textsuperscript{245} buying pepper spray and small arms. Even US presidential candidate, Donald Trump dramatized the European and especially the German situation when stating that \textit{there was a huge riot in Germany since millions of migrants are arriving to the country.}

Causes of this complex problem lies in bad migration policies according to the media. In Hungarian context the immigration quota system was criticized the most. Since the very presence of migrants in Hungary or in Europe was problematic according to the Hungarian mainstream communication, the Hungarian government saw the appropriate solution in closing the borders, refuse all the asylum claims. The government did so physically by building a fence on Hungary’s south borders and lawfully as well\textsuperscript{246}. As Hungary was not willing to provide asylum to asylum seekers, the immigration quota was against the government’s will. Therefore, a campaign have started against Brussels and the quota system. A government MP, for example, argued that \textit{if Brussels proposal had been applied, safety would disappear from Hungary}\textsuperscript{247}. The news agency and the tabloid argued against the quota as well when writing about a rape case in Mühlhausen where a significant number of asylum seekers were settled. Index.hu, however, explained why the quota is necessary by interviewing the Swedish Minister for Justice and Migration, Morgan Johansson. Also, German policies were criticized because they were perceived permissive. Extreme rights claimed that \textit{“after Cologne another city become the synonym of Merkel’s terrible policies”}\textsuperscript{248}. As a response, two main amendments were introduced in Germany: sexual assault became broader and more accurate and expulsion rules had been tightened. German police were also found inaccurate being not prepared enough during the Cologne incident and for keeping this fact as a secret. It was clear that it was a mistake not to tell about the crimes however releasing the national or ethnic background of perpetrators is a huge debate also on theoretical level. After Cologne, police were in higher numbers present, especially in festivals, new CCTVs were installed, and it was emphasized that they are prepared. Once, however, a carnival was cancelled based on safety precautions. Similar solutions were the ban of mini-skirts in a school and moved PE classes, or warning women not to wear skirts, perfume and hold distance from men in crowd. Also,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{245} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{246} Hungary among other amendments criminalized illegal border crossing (contrary to Article 31 of Convention on the Status of Refugees). In addition, declared Serbia a safe state and misinterpreted the Convention contrary to its object and purpose and send back asylum seekers to Serbia without a prudent case-by-case examination.
\item \textsuperscript{247} MTI, 23 September 2016
\item \textsuperscript{248} MTI, 7 December 2016
\end{itemize}
German asylum proceedings was criticized, one have to wait 14,3 months just to claim for asylum. Finally, bad integration policies caused problems. Accordingly, migrants did not understand the legal system and European values. They mix liberty and libertinism\(^{249}\) and as a consequence, they think everything is allowed here\(^{250}\). To summarize, the problem was again the cultural differences. As response to this problem, beyond avoiding refugees and migrants presence, education was the proposed solution, leaflets on festivals was mentioned once but intercultural courses were often represented as good practice. Nevertheless, in one case the perpetrator participated in a course about cultural differences and gender issues. Also, the help of intercultural mediators was mentioned. These tools helped the faster and better integration. In summary, the picture about refugees were much generalized. However, in some articles it was argued that the background of migrants is very diverse, and Islam is as well. An interviewed professor stated that migrant often have *distorted image of the West but the West have also very little knowledge on Islam*\(^{251}\). For example, *assault against women was not part of the religion, on the contrary, it is a sin in Islam too*\(^{252}\). *Criminals and migrants must be separated*\(^ {253}\), *most of the migrants want to have a peaceful life*\(^ {254}\). It was also argued in one article that *rape committed by migrants is not an everyday crime at all, and sexual assault is not a new or alien phenomena in Europe*. Nevertheless, human rights and humanitarian aspects were again neglected: women’s rights and children’s rights were not even mentioned in any of the articles, despite there are many underage and juvenile victim and offenders as well. Juveniles fleeing unaccompanied was not problematized at all, also, the fact that women when fleeing are in very vulnerable position, consequently, they become very often victims of rape, prostitution and human trafficking. The conditions of the detention centers usually raise human rights issues but this topic was not even mentioned, except one article which responses to Hungarian Helsinki Committee’s critics, where authorities stated that everything was done according to the law. Violence was common in detention centers thus supply difficulties should be discussed in media as well. As mentioned above, Hungarian asylum proceedings are also problematic, they does not comply with international law and asylum seekers’ right to fair trial and an effective remedy is often violated.

\(^{249}\) Index, 15 January 2016
\(^{250}\) Index, 25 January 2016
\(^{251}\) Index, 15 January 2016
\(^{252}\) ibid
\(^{253}\) Index, 15 December 2015
\(^{254}\) MTI, 14 January 2016
5 Discussion

As I have chosen rape cases where victims and offenders did not have a relationship (to be able to compare with cases of migrant offenders where they usually do not know the victim), it is obvious that all crimes are “random and wanton”, but they do not need to be represented as “the intentional acts of evil folk”. Nevertheless, they were; offenders were represented as evil with one exception, namely Zsanett case where accused police officers were represented as innocent, exemplary citizens. Offenders in the other cases were represented as monsters incapable of self-control. Also, victims were represented innocent and vulnerable being wrong place at the wrong time, except in Zsanett case where the victim was portrayed as guilty. Furthermore, as mentioned above, more research have shown that media often polarize female rape victims as virgins or whores. While the former considers to be the ideal victim, the latter will be categorized as the undeserving victim. This strategy can be clearly observed in the present analysis; Zsanett was not only portrayed guilty but also as a whore and as such she fell in the undeserving victim category. In contrast, Kata Bárány and Nóra Horák were represented as ideal victims; first, their representation met every attributes by Christie, second, they were represented as virgins (if not literally but in the sense of being the opposite of promiscuous). It is notable that in Zsanett case is represented by press like ‘soft pornography’; they deal with the different bodily fluids on Zsanett’s thong, and even the pose was public. In contrast, in Kata Bárány case media – partly at the request of the court – avoided to report on the details of the rape and used the word lingerie in her case. Both, in freshmen camp and migrant offender cases media was silent about victims. So much, however, can be stated that they were not represented as promiscuous thus they are closer to ideal than to undeserving category in this manner. Moreover, the analysis showed that secondary victimization in media is a problem. Secondary victimization is not only problematic criminologically (increasing latency) but the rights and dignity of rape victims is also violated. Questioning the credibility of the victims, victim blaming and even denying the severity of the crime appeared in all three cases which did not end up with murder. Secondary victimization was the strongest in Zsanett case but it could be also observed in the freshmen camp case; the perpetrator questioned the victim’s credibility (he said what media states is not what had happened) he denied the severity of the crime (in his understanding what had happened was not

256 ibid
257 Greer (2007)
rape) and his model friend blames the victim (she must had given signs). Secondary victimization was even discoverable in some cases with migrant offender; in the Maltese case the victim’s credibility was questioned while in Cologne case the blame was partly put on the victims by the advice not go close to men and not to wear skirts since it is suggested that they were not cautious enough.

5.1 **Ethnicity and nationality in the character analysis**

When discussing whether ethnicity or nationality make any difference when characterizing victims and offenders and running the *ideal victim test*, it is also worth to recollect the theory on media representation of race, ethnicity and nationality. Greer claims that media have learned to “do race” but not yet *class*. Present research shows similar findings; race or ethnicity did not cause significant deviation in the representation of victims and offenders. Nevertheless, some distinction is capturable: the only Roma offender’s (Kata Bándy case) portray was the most demonized. In contrast, Kata Bándy was the most idealized victim. The offender’s Roma background is publicly discussed; far-rights talk about ‘Gypsy criminality’ concerning to his case; media makes it clear with pictures and with some description that he is a Roma man; also, in an article racist comments are cited as illustration how rage against the perpetrator is mixed with hate speech against Romas. Media itself, however, never connect his minority background to the crime, only when citing some politicians or other actors. Kata Bándy case (which happened four years later) is very similar to Nóra Horák case; in both cases a female disappeared, in few days their bodies were found, both case ended up with murders followed by nationwide chase after the perpetrator. Also, these cases were subject to more rigorous evaluation since both ended up in murder. As such the victim status were not questioned in these cases. The victim in Nóra Horák case was underage what theoretically raises her to the top of the *hierarchy of innocence* and as such to the top of the *hierarchy of victims*. Nevertheless, this was not much emphasized in the media coverage of the case and surprisingly, the whole story received less attention than Kata Bándy’s. Nóra Horák was represented as an attractive woman rather than a teenager. Furthermore, the offender was represented more miserable than evil. Thus the polarization of the two character was not so contrasting than in Kata Bándy case. The police officers in Zsanett case were not demonized at all, moreover, they became victims in media. In contrast, the victim was not idealized but represented as guilty. The freshmen camp rapist was represented rather sick and pervert than evil.

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258 Moeller (2002)
259 Greer (2007)
His victim was not at all presented in the media. Finally, character and identity of offenders with migrant background are not discussed in details, their ethnic background is not mentioned but their nationality and migrant background is always. Considering the theory about ethnification, culturalization and essentialism the latter is not surprising; nationality and migrant background are connected to be alien, have different culture. Based on the different culture argument migrants are portrayed in media as people who are incapable to live in Europe peacefully. This is exemplary for culturalization or cultural fundamentalism. On the other hand, it is surprising that ethnification and ethnic essentialism was not part of the discourse and a high extent of awareness was observed in media when writing about the offender with Roma background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representation of the perpetrator</th>
<th>Background of the perpetrator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zsanett case</td>
<td>victims, innocent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóra Horák case</td>
<td>miserable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kata Bándy case</td>
<td>evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freshman rapist</td>
<td>sick, pervert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrant cases</td>
<td>alien, different</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 2. |

Media seems, however, less conscious when it comes to class; seemingly, *ideal victim* for Hungarian media belongs to middle class and are victimized by someone from lower class. Kata Bándy again is portrayed as the most *ideal victim* in this manner; she has a harmonic, middle class family background, she is very smart, have goals, and aims to gain a doctorate. In contrast, the offender is represented as a lower class, penniless squatter who rubs along aimlessly and not willing to change. Nóra Horák case is very similar in this regard, however, the victim’s representation is not as detailed as Kata Bándy’s, her middle class background still can be suspected. The offender is represented a lower class, miserable, aimless alcoholic. The class issue is very interesting in the freshmen camp rapist case since both the victim and the offender are represented as middle class (being a student at ELTE (university) has connotation with being middle class) students. Notable, the offender could qualify to be an interviewee, he gave more interviews in contrast to the offender in Kata Bándy and Nóra Horák case whom none of the journalists gave the opportunity to talk. He was, however, not the only offender in the examined cases who got the opportunity to present their side of the story but
also the police officers. As officers, they were represented as trustworthy, middle class citizens with aims and plans (wedding, holiday). They also enjoyed media attention; while the victim gave one interview at the very beginning of the case, they and their relatives talked with the press very often. In contrast, the victim’s representation was confusing; on the one hand, she was a friend of a celebrity (later she is represented rather as an enthusiastic groupie) and her mother is psychologist, on the other hand, she was portrayed as a thief without any professional skills, her father was unemployed, they lived in ramshackle building. So her family background was ambiguous and she was rather represented as lowlife. Finally, in the migrant cases the class of the victims was rarely mentioned but most of them had a job thus a decent life can be suspected. In contrast, all migrants were portrayed as penniless, homeless people rubbing around in cities throughout Europe and do nothing but trouble. Notable, however, that many migrants were middle class in their country of origin but since forced to resume their lives they are often considered to be low class in the countries of refuge. To sum up, when it comes to class, media seems more straightforward than with race and ethnicity. Media, editors, journalists seem to overtly sympathize and identify with middle class people regardless how they act while playing off lower class people not even give them the fair chance to present themselves and their side of story. As such media reproduce marginalization, instead of fulfill its normative role and represent the various social, economic and cultural levels of society, bearing in mind different interests and points of view.

Media had to deal with nationality only in the cases of migrant offenders. This human rights-protected property was stated in every article or if it was not known, media surely was stating that they were ‘Muslim-looking’ or ‘North African-looking’. They are represented as dangerous aliens unable to control their sexual instincts, thus being a general threat on European women. Surprisingly, cases of migrant offenders were not discussed detailed, not even the cases that happened in Hungary. After the massive government campaign which linked migrants to sexualized crimes, I expected that when finally a case occurs, media will discuss, problematize, dramatize it, drawing portrays, demonize offenders, idealize victims, etc. But this is not what have happened. Both case have worth one or two short crime news, moreover one of the cases was only published in Blikk.hu referring to police news. From the media coverage of these cases it seems that quantity is over quality in this regard. In other words, seemingly media rather collect more cases where sexualized violence can be linked to migra-

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260 Thorbjørnsrud and Figenschou (2016)
tion than go deep into one story. Finding the reasons for this in an exhaustive manner would require a targeted and detailed investigation, but some reasons may be formulated after considering the framing analysis.

In summary, when characterizing the victims, offenders and crimes, Hungarian media portrayed them very simplifying. Though, some cases were represented well detailed, schemes were repeated. Notable, detailed representation could have more functions; media can help readers identify with the victims or do the opposite. In Kata Bárdy and Nóra Horák case, where the victims were also killed, the portrays were focusing on their personal life thus readers could feel really close to them. In the Zsanett case, however, readers were rather distanced from the victim by giving little information on her personal life, but representing her as incredible, unmoral. Not giving any information on the victim, on the other hand, could work as protection as well as it happened in the freshmen camp case. Positive finding, however, that ethnicity does not seem to make a big difference when doing so. Despite, the only Roma offender is represented the most evil, there can be several other reasons beyond ethnicity; the victim was also murdered, due to Facebook her disappearance received countrywide attention, the novelty of working for the police, class difference or other attributes of newsworthiness. Nevertheless, nationality or at least being alien or outsider was a crucial attribute for media when representing criminals.

5.2 Ethnicity and nationality in the framing analysis

When examining framing and its influence on how ethnicity and nationality were represented, media seem less conscious than when characterizing. ‘Gypsy criminality’ and security frame appeared in the cases where someone disappeared and cases which end up in murder, so in the most severe cases. Nevertheless, in one of the cases the perpetrator did not have Roma background. In both cases ‘Gypsy criminality’ were among the causes of the deteriorating security. Prejudice against Romas which dominates public discourse in the society and the political sphere was palpable when framing. Though, media itself did not strengthen negative stereotypes and racism but it often cite far-right and racist opinion without contextualizing or explaining other arguments and opinions. In this regard media functions just as a trumpet or even a tool for propaganda. In contrast, in the case where middle class, white police officers are accused, first, a moral crisis among police in general seems to be the cause for the crime but it changes quite fast. The accused police officers are framed by the media as people like ‘us’ while the victim of the case is represented deviant. Thus the moral crisis frame fades and the accused officers are represented as innocent people. When framing the freshmen camp case, the responsibility of the middle class, white, Hungarian offender becomes invisible and
all blame is put on organizers, drunk, irresponsible students in general, the circumstances in
the camp and patriarchal education system. Finally, ethnic/cultural essentialism and cultural
fundamentalism can be quite well observed when framing the cases of migrant offenders.
Media represents migrants as aliens who are very different from ‘us’, ‘Europeans’. The media
coverage of these cases suggested that they are from a different culture where women are
judged differently and this is the reason for assaulting women. Their culture seems to be unal-
terable in the representation of the media and as such their very presence in Europe is a threat.

I suggested above that reasons for not demonizing migrant offender detailed (like the
perpetrator in Kata Bándy case) may be related to its framing. Further demonization of mi-
grants may be not needed since fear of unknown, xenophobia and hostility towards migrants
in Hungarian society is strong already, thus it is enough to state alien, migrant or refugee,
negative connotations immediately come to people’s mind. Migration in general is discussed
in national security frame\textsuperscript{261}, it is linked to illegality\textsuperscript{262}, MTI uses the tag “illegal migration”
for all articles concerning to migration. Humanitarian and human rights issues, however, are
entirely neglected in Hungarian media in general.\textsuperscript{263} Further, sticking with the facts can be a
strategy of media; perhaps media outlets do not want to look biased so not demonize migrants
intentionally. On the other hand, by reporting almost just on criminal stories in connection to
migrants and not explaining the background of migration in general, international politics,
humanitarian issues, human rights, international law, media show lack of awareness. Media
outlets often state that sexualized violence increased since the beginning of the migrant crisis
without any reliable statistics, also they usually not show the figures in comparison (e.g. sexu-
alized violence committed by citizens) and as such, this is nothing but panic. As Horsti (2007)
states news agency news concerning to migrants seem neutral as single stories based on facts
but as a group they strongly support the illegality frame.\textsuperscript{264} The same happens in Hungarian
media with the completion that most media outlets follow without critic the agency’s agenda.
This results apparently neutral but in fact, simplified interpretation and misrepresentation of
migration in general. The sampled articles support the picture beyond illegality of migrants
that they are all violent and European women are in danger just because of their very pres-
ence. Additional finding of the research is the lack of human rights frame in each case.

\textsuperscript{261} Kőves (2015)
\textsuperscript{262} Horsti (2007)
\textsuperscript{263} Bernáth and Messing (2015)
\textsuperscript{264} Horsti (2007)
Women's rights and violence against women is involved in all five cases but it is neglected. This is especially interesting considering the fact that in the discourse about migrant perpetrators, European women should be protected. Also notable that gender dichotomy (male perpetrator, female victim) was very sharp in character analysis but deeper analysis of gender based violence was ignored. Further, other human rights issues also could have been brought up as frames or at least as side topics.

In summary, media is less conscious when framing then when characterizing; ethnicity, nationality, cultural differences and class differences seem to be crucial when framing rape cases. The fact that media avoided ethnification in the characterization but did not when framing can be explained with the different methods. To be conscious is simpler when characterizing than framing; since frames only emerge when several articles are read together thus editors cannot see how the frame develops when editing different stories alone. In other words, when editing news today, news rooms cannot see forward the ‘big picture’. In addition, framing in the news rooms include not only internal factors (e.g. editorial policies and news values) like characterization but also external factors\(^{265}\) (e.g. who and how reacts to the events).

6 Conclusion

In conclusion, media often simplifies the representation of victims and offenders and use polarized dichotomies; on the one hand, monstrous offenders against vulnerable, innocent victims, or when representing migrant cases; Muslim, patriarchal, male perpetrator against white, enlightened, European women as victims; on the other hand, ideal (virgin) and undeserving (whore) victims. The polarization as a strategy is eligible to reward ideal or undeserving victim status. Victimologically also problematic that as shown above many rape victims are going through secondary victimization to some extent.

When answering the first research question, the findings are not black and white; in the first segment of the analysis where characterization is examined, it was found that ethnicity did not make a significant difference but class did. According to Greer (2007) it is not a unique phenomenon; he had similar findings in British media. Nationality, on the other hand, was a crucial attribute for media when representing criminals.

When looking for the answer to the second research question, the findings differed; when framing rape cases, media represented the offenders and crimes rather in an ethnic essentialist or cultural essentialist way, meaning that minority background of perpetrators was

\(^{265}\) Vreese (2005)
more emphasized. Though, media itself does not strengthen ethnification by writing but it did by editing, meaning that only by giving word to radicals without contextualizing and neglecting more progressive approaches, e.g. human rights frame, media was less conscious and prudent. Also, nationality and different culture as an inherent attribution was framed problematic; illegality frame was in the focus and again human rights and humanitarian frame was totally ignored.

In conclusion, Hungarian news rooms seem to learn how to do race and ethnicity, however, further development is conceivable. Media seem less conscious and prudent when analyzing class and also in cases concerning to migrants. In these cases, media seemed to reproduce marginalization of lower class and migrant people, instead of acting like a watchdog and make their voice heard. As such, I believe that further research along class and marginalization is needed. As suggested during this research a legal analysis on human-rights protected attributes and a policy analysis of the proposed and introduced solutions would be fruitful as well.
7 Table of reference

7.1 Analyzed articles


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7.2 Legal documents


7.3 Secondary literature


### 7.4 Other sources

HVG (13 December 2015) *Crucifix is enough for us, we don't need crescent - minute to minute* ("Nekünk elég egy kereszt, nem kérünk mellé félholdat" - percről percről) available at: http://hvg.hu/itthon/20151213_Elkezdodott_a_Fidesz_diadalunnepe__percr/?isPrintView=False#55542 [accessed 13 March 2017].

Index (14 December 2015) *Women are not about to earn the same amount of money as men* (A nőknek nem az a dolguk, hogy ugyanannyi pénzt keressenek, mint a férfiak) available at: http://index.hu/kultur/zene/2015/12/14/a_noknek_nem_az_a_dolguk_hogy_ugyanannyi_penzt_keressenek_mint_a_ferfiak/ [accessed 13 March 2017].

Index (1 April 2017) *A Syrian man raped someone in New Year’s Eve in Budapest* (Szilveszterkor erőszakolt egy szír férfi Budapesten) available at: http://index.hu/belfold/2017/01/04/ssexualis_eroszak_szir_budapest_szilveszter/ [accessed 13 March 2017].


