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List of Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Description</i>
DoW	Description of Work
EC	European Commission
NISZ	NISZ Nemzeti Infokommunikációs Szolgáltató Zrt. (NISZ National Infocommunications Services Company Ltd.)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PbP	Puzzled by Policy
PP	Policy Profiler
WP	Work Package

1. Summary of country consultation process, statistics and results

This document is the third consultation report about the Hungarian pilot site of the Puzzled by Policy (PbP) project. PbP aims to inform, consult and empower people in order to reconnect citizens to policy making at both national and European level. For these to happen, the Project has set up and is operating a web based e-democracy platform. Empowering citizens is also supported by regular feedbacks between policy makers and citizens. These reports serve to channel a summary of users' opinions to policy makers. In turn, they are kindly invited to respond to reports, and their public comments will appear on the Platform. This consultation report has a reference period of 21st October 2012 to 24th of May 2013, also reviewing the results from all three periods, i.e. from 8th February 2012 until 24th of May 2013.

During the reference period, 20 people registered in the Hungarian pilot, 266 users have answered the Policy Profiler questionnaire, up to 569 people viewed U-debate more than 8 500 times and, by the end of the 3rd period 31 people have participated by sending in altogether 157 posts. A multichannel communication approach has been used to disseminate the PbP platform.

There were two **migration related issues** that were perceived as hot in this period. One of them was the legislation curbing students' rights to relocate after graduation in an attempt of the government to check emigration flows deemed dangerous from a macro perspective, rather inclined to cover challenges of emigration from Hungary. This has been already represented in a thread, but, until the end of the reference period, despite efforts to engage the affected parties, we didn't succeed to tap this process: stakeholders of this controversy chose to resolve the issue in traditional channels, without using PbP. Another current event was the launching of a European Citizens' Initiative to have the Commission investigate the implications of a hypothetical Unconditional Basic Income (UBI) regime (having only minor precedents to this date). Thoughts of some very active online communities have been channelled from Facebook into a new U-debate thread.

Policy Profiler results show that the average Hungarian respondent is still mostly neutral towards immigration according to the scale used. The slight shift observed in the 2nd period towards more liberal stances was confirmed in this period.

Opinions posted to **U-debate** were few except for the thread on UBI. Quite recently two new threads were started in collaboration with the Come Home Foundation, an NGO interested in helping emigrants return (but they have not been populated, yet). Posts on UBI delved into the interplay of migration, wages, labour market, and different sets of administrative measures to control these in order to arrive at possibly viable and stable economic and social environments.

The last feedback of an important **decision maker**, the Ministry of Interior has been disseminated on the Platform, and most of their suggestions have been followed by the facilitators. The Commissioner for Fundamental Rights provided a new feedback, but it suggests that his Office is not a really suitable one for providing more. Some municipalities known as previously involved in e-democracy experiments were invited to cooperate, but to no avail, yet. However, the Ministry of Human Resources may wish to cooperate in a future legislative effort of theirs.

To sum up all the piloting results in Hungary, during 3 reporting periods over 900 users of the Hungarian pilot showed interest in the immigration quiz, but the numbers are growing¹ and might well reach 1500, as initially planned, by the end of the project. Still, the achievements have required considerable efforts, so some factors of success and problems are suggested. With no strong interest in immigration in the Hungarian population, it has been some fringe topics, offered through the debate forum, which raised the most attention. Thus it might be easier to find a way from substantial civic activity (even if unstructured) to decision makers than to impose – however professionally accurate – topics on citizens in a top-down manner. Mediators have proved to be important: NGOs may help advertise the platform and “translate” between popular and professional phrasing of the same issues. It is utmost to utilize social media for reaching – and communicating – a critical mass. Some decision makers have found enough time to give feedback on PbP. However, the true potential of a feedback process is suspected where decision makers can be both more focussed on issues of confirmed interest to citizens, and less tied by official protocols.

2. Consultation policy-making framework, topics and aims

Two specific policy processes have been observed as relevant for the Hungarian PbP pilot during the 3rd pilot period, both on the fringe of the immigration domain.

- Debates on students’ scholarship agreements had been sparked end-2012, resulting in street protests. According to the law in force since September, new entrants to higher education applying for state scholarship had to sign a contract obliging them to be employed in Hungary twice the time of their studies within 20 years after graduation. Critiques coined this practice with the term ‘serfdom’, drawing a parallel with peasants of the feudal ages, also not free to move. Opposition parties tried to side with the students, but those mostly remained reserved in this relation. Responding to the protests, the Ministry of Human Resources (also in charge of education policies) entered round table discussions with students’ representatives in January. As a result, a bill amending the law was agreed upon in mid-April 2013. The new rule will only require the same amount of time to be spent in domestic employment as how long the studies lasted. Also, in case a young graduate chooses to repay the scholarship, the amount will more flexibly be reflecting actual expenses in different majors.
- The other process on the so-called Unconditional Basic Income (UBI) is a less acute one in Hungary. Grassroots groups started to nurture and share the basic idea on Facebook in the course of 2012. On the other hand, similar groups throughout Europe managed to launch a Citizens’ Initiative at the respective facility of the European Commission. In the current phase – one year from January 2013 – a certain amount of signatures must be collected in order to officially prompt the EC to investigate UBI as a social tool.

Unfortunately, both processes only have partial overlap with immigration issues, which has been a limiting factor. Hungarian facilitators opened relevant discussions on U-debate but visitors of these weren’t very interested in current PP content, nor could PP users possibly be much interested in

¹ At the closing of this report the exact number is 1109.

those discussions. Thus, consultation aims were to attract stakeholders of the above issues to U-debate. For both domains, U-debate can then serve as a means to register ideas in an orderly manner, thus becoming a worthy reference document while promoting one's case.

Topics opened in U-debate include:

- ⤴ {16/HU} Challenges of the trends of emigration from Hungary²
(Already described in the previous report. The students' contract was mentioned here, phrased as an "alternative" to the issue posed by growing emigration of young skilled people.)
- ⤴ {19/HU} Hungarians returning from abroad (Difficulties in returning)³
Teaser text: "Most Hungarians who emigrated did so after careful consideration. Some sought education, even more a job. Many planned this move temporary in the first place, others just become homesick after some time. What are the important factors of someone's staying abroad or coming back to Hungary? What are the difficulties that returning citizens face? How specific are these challenges compared to those of immigrants? What can the government, the civil society and the public do in order for the conditions of safe return to be met?"
- ⤴ {20/HU} Recognition of diplomas abroad (Where should someone wishing to have good chances finding a job anywhere in the EU acquire their qualification? Is it worth for a third country citizen to study in Hungary? What is the value of a Hungarian diploma in the EU? Can Hungarians get into trouble trying to fill a Hungarian vacancy if they acquired their diplomas in other Member States?)⁴
Teaser text (summary): "Directive 2005/36/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on the recognition of professional qualifications provides basic rules on the issue at hand, but its compensations measures leave much authority at local authorities and Universities. Member states may also decide to recognize certain qualifications received by EU citizens outside the EU. Such qualifications get fully "emancipated" (equal with certificates issued in the EU) after 3 years of one's authorized practicing of the profession. The Blue Card Directive states that third country citizen holders of the Blue Card "enjoy equal treatment with nationals of the Member State issuing the Blue Card, as regards [...] recognition of diplomas". However, application for a Blue Card requires proof of qualifications..."
- ⤴ {18/HU} Unconditional Basic Income and immigration (How could the UBI concept be reconciled with policies fine-tuned to current circumstances, such as with immigration policy?)
Teaser text (summary): "This forum supports the European Citizens' Initiative by providing a space for discussions. How should UBI be regulated so that it be sustainable? Among other factors, wouldn't free-rider immigrants overload the system? In case a sustainable solution

² <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-HU/udebatediscussion.aspx?Thread=200>

³ <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-HU/udebatediscussion.aspx?Thread=214>

⁴ <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-HU/udebatediscussion.aspx?Thread=217>

is conceivable, how can it be approached in terms of international legal agreements, EU membership, PR, etc.?"

2.1 An overview of a consultation framework, topics and aims during pilot operation

Immigration as a phenomenon is not very significant in Hungary, a mere 2% of the population can be regarded immigrants. Thus, interest in immigration matters in Hungary is also relatively low. This has made it difficult for this pilot to gather a critical mass of various kinds of participants. According to the model embraced by PbP, participative policy making happens in a so-called policy window where the "problem stream" (popular interest), the "policy stream" (legislative efforts) and the "political stream" (willingness of political parties to champion an issue) meet. Relevant issues identified in the public discourse have tended to appear as borderline cases in relation to the immigration domain, and also having only one or two of the "streams" flowing. Major broad, attempted topics have been the following:

1. Special policies to better integrate ethnic Hungarians across the borders.
The government made such policies and there are some, though not intense, controversies about the voting rights of the non-resident nationalized people.⁵ U-debate activity was marginal.
2. Education policies aiming at reaping labour market benefits.
This is a somewhat mixed proposition involving incentives for immigrant students, perceived supply shortages of the national labour market, and emigration as one of the immediate causes of the latter issue. U-debate activity was moderate.
3. Demographic concerns about a dwindling population, and the idea to let immigrants fill the gap.
This idea had been promoted by some researchers but is currently shunned by the left wing and rejected by the right wing. U-debate activity was marginal.
4. Challenges of emigration.
This topic is specifically addressing a significant loss of especially young active population, and its implications, including the Government's way to slow down the exodus of doctors or graduate students. Though the much affected students were invited to use this forum, they apparently preferred more direct ways of expression: protests and face-to-face negotiations with the government. To date, U-debate activity has remained marginal, but further activity is expected from a new, collaborating NGO.
5. Unconditional Basic Income and immigration.
There is only a small overlap between the two domains. However, a grassroots community was found who had been very active online in the first place, eventually resulting in lots of (mostly facilitated) U-debate posts.
6. Integration issues – combined with similar challenges around ethnic Romani population.
The latter issue is fairly popular but also too sensitive for politicians especially in the context of immigration. For this reason and a lack of clear relation the Ministry of Interior explicitly

⁵ A detailed update to this thread was added at the start of the 2nd reporting period, including many reference information, see at: <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-HU/udebatediscussion.aspx?Thread=108>

discouraged adopting this topic. However, later another Ministry saw some prospect in collaboration (negotiations are under way).

The Policy Profiler has served during the whole pilot as a user friendly quiz to inform users about issues of the immigration policy domain for which EU law allows a number of solutions, while any solution can have far reaching consequences for the country enacting it. Each pilot site used the same set of 15 issues for the whole time of the pilot. However, the last stated issue was country specific. In Hungary it was polling attitudes about Chinese immigrants, the apparently growing presence of whom has become a commonplace.

Table 1: List of statements in the Policy Profiler

s01	Immigration into the country should be made more restrictive
s02	New foreign immigrants should not be recruited unless natives, EU citizens and immigrants who are already in the EU are granted the opportunity to take the vacant jobs.
s03	Immigration policies oriented towards skilled workers should be encouraged as a means of fostering economic growth.
s04	Non-EU citizens who reside and work legally in the EU should enjoy the same social rights as native workers, including health and accident insurance, pension and unemployment benefits.
s05	Non-EU citizens who study at European universities and receive a job offer within a year after their graduation should be allowed to stay and work in the EU.
s06	When non-EU citizens come to Europe to study at a public university, they should pay higher tuition fees than EU nationals.
s07	All non-EU immigrant workers who reside and work legally in the EU should enjoy the right to bring their spouse and children without any additional conditions.
s08	Family members of legally admitted immigrants from outside the EU should not have an automatic right to work.
s09	Immigrants from outside Europe should be required to accept our culture and values.
s10	Non-EU nationals who live legally in an EU member-state should have the right to vote in local elections.
s11	Immigrant children born in an EU member state should be granted the citizenship of that state immediately if one of their parents resides there legally for many years.
s12	Illegal entry and/or residence of non-EU citizens in the EU should be considered a criminal offence and punished accordingly.
s13	Irregular immigrants should be returned to their country of origin immediately.
s14	Irregular immigrants who have lived and worked in the country for many years without committing a crime should be offered legal residence.
s15	<i>[Country-specific statement]</i> Hungary should welcome the immigration of more Chinese entrepreneurs and employees accompanying foreseen Chinese investments.

3. Consultation target groups involvement and dissemination

Three methods dominated target group involvement in the 3rd period.

(1) Universities, high and secondary schools were approached in order to address students in workshops. After some initial agreement, 5 universities/high schools cancelled this opportunity, referring to lack of time to organize it, or a change of their personnel. One workshop was held for 10th grade students in a town secondary school in November 2012, by a collaborating NGO (Policy

Foundation⁶), in a civics class. Though they showed some enthusiasm, their personal feeling of involvement was a bit slack because they were not yet to be eligible for the next election in 2014, and the question of emigration was also too distant for them.

(2) Similar to the last example, we also tried to reach some audience through Come Home Foundation⁷, an NGO interested in emigration and return issues. Banners have been exchanged, and Facebook posts are often shared between the two organisations. Two U-debate topics have been opened for the Foundation, although they have not added content, yet (NISZ will offer further assistance). Come Home Foundation is also keen on using a customized PP when it becomes available.

(3) Last but not least, online communities have been intensively reached more directly, through social media. This involved a joint campaign across pilot sites in March and April 2013, resulting up to 100 posts on Facebook and 50 posts on Twitter (potentially reaching an audience of 80 000 people). An even more focussed endeavour occurred around February 2013 to collect views for the U-debate topic on Universal Basic Income. After introducing the forum to 3 groups⁸ on FB, group members were invited to post their opinions either on FB or directly to U-debate.

To disseminate the Platform to the different target audiences, a multichannel model has been used. The main channel to reach people directly is through banners, social media and workshops. In the third period, decision makers have been contacted via emails or face-to-face. Stakeholders are mainly reached through emails, social media, events, phone calls and meetings. The different methods used are recorded below.

⁶ <http://www.policity.eu/>

⁷ Gyere Haza Alapítvány, www.gyerehaza.org

⁸ Pirate Pub (for sympathizers of the new Hungarian Pirate Party); Integrating Group (a, since then dissolved, group to reconcile society-improving ideas from different sources); and UBI (a group specifically on Unconditional Basic Income – its activity, too, has since then moved to other groups).

Table 2: Hungarian multichannel model of target audiences and channels

Method	Reach	Target group
E-mail communications	60	decision makers (4), press (3), stakeholders (4 NGOs), academia (3)
Call / phone communications	20	decision makers (national and local), NGOs, schools
Letter communications	0	–
Facebook Posts	150	citizens, NGOs, schools,
Twitter posts	60	academia, media, expat groups, parties, democracy advocates
LinkedIn Posts	0	–
YouTube videos	0	–
Flicker images	0	–
Meetings	4	NGOs (2), academia (1), decision maker (1)
Interviews	0	–
Demonstrations	0	–
Focus Group (<10 people)	0	–
Workshop (> 10 people)	1	high school students
Web banner	1	Hungarians abroad
Widget	1	all target audiences
Press release	0	–
Radio	0	–
Newspaper	1	all target audiences
Online article	0	–
Web blog	1	e-government interest
Local event	0	–
National event	0	–

3.1 An overview of target groups involvement and dissemination during pilot operation

Certain hard-to-reach groups (the elderly, the unemployed, the rural, and those with low ICT skills) were targeted through a network of the so-called eHungary Points, which was requested to promote PbP in its rural internet access points.

Young people were targeted “on site”, i.e. in schools through workshops. Two have been completed in May 2012 at the Corvinus University, Budapest, with an IT-perspective. A third workshop was held in a civics class at a high school in November 2012, with help of Policy Foundation. Some further planned workshops (including some with immigration perspective) were unfortunately cancelled.

Online communities were reached through social media, notably Facebook and Twitter. Facebook posts were shared on a regular basis both on PbP’s page and on the pages with an audience possibly having interest in e-democracy or migration. To name a few categories, we reached out to expatriate groups and associations in Hungary and abroad, embassies, transparency watchdogs, human rights NGO’s, churches, academic pages, media, fellow ICT projects, and campaign pages. Some short Twitter campaigns had similar targets, whereby we tweeted on behalf of the PbP project, naming our addressees in the message to ensure they will read it even if they aren’t following us, yet.

Immigrants in Hungary are few, with only little representation, so such online channels were probably the main vehicle to reach them.

Stakeholders like NGOs, individual experts, academia and the media were approached in email, phone calls, and face-to-face meetings to negotiate some sorts of cooperation. They were understood as entities who are able (and at least sometimes willing) to mediate between citizens with a limited capacity to participate and decision makers with a limited capacity to empower people. These talks often revolved around reciprocity and the prospect of achieving a critical mass of users. Having them place our banner on their homepages proved to be rewarding in terms of platform visitors. Decision makers were contacted in similar ways, but then also asked to stay aware of the Platform, follow its usage and reflect on it publicly, thus appreciating people's efforts, i.e. empowering people.

NISZ also presented PbP in national and smaller events for an audience of experts in the field of e-government, furthering public awareness of the project.

Traditional media presence has also been achieved, mainly at the launch of the pilots, celebrated in Budapest, resulting in over 10 articles in online or paper media. Web analysis showed that detailed articles and blogs – including an online campaign "Shape Immigration Policy with Just a Few Clicks"⁹ in the framework of the Citizens Participation Week (CPW) – can attract a lot of referral traffic to the Platform.

4. Consultation statistics

4.1 Policy Profiler

266 users completed Policy Profiler in the period from 21st October 2012 to 24th May 2013. The distribution of the users is shown in the following table, also showing historical values¹⁰. There was a small increase in activity compared to period 2. 40 people used the widget, and among the others, 185 also completed the short demographic questionnaire. Thus we registered at least 135 "ordinary" and 50 hard-to-reach users. Among the latter group, 15 immigrants and 4 emigrants (both in the broad sense) contributed.

⁹ <http://reszvetelhete.net/events/278/alakitsa-a-bevandorlaspolitikat-csak-nehany-kattintassal/>

¹⁰ Some figures have also been revised. 1st period user number has raised by 4, Immigrants' and emigrants' numbers are now consistently considered within the hard-to-reach group. Users specifying "Other" as their level of education are now considered as having attended primary school or less.

Table 3: Hungarian participants answering the Policy Profiler

Period	1. (2012.02.08 to 2012.06.17)	2. (2012.06.18 to 2012.10.20)	3. (2012.10.21 to 2012.05.24)	All (2012.02.08 to 2013.05.24)	
	Person	Person	Person	Person	%
Used Policy Profiler	489	152	266	907 ¹¹	
<i>...of which</i>					100
used the widget	41	8	40	89	10
did not provide demographic data	107	30	41	178	20
provided demographic data	341	114	185	640	70
<i>...of which:</i>					100
“common user”	259	84	135	478	75
“hard-to-reach”	82	30	50	162	25
<i>...of which:</i>					100
over 50	38	10	21	69	43
less than 18	8	6	5	19	12
attended primary school or less	9	5	7	21	13
unemployed	5	1	0	6	4
HU resident, born elsewhere	20	5	15	40	25
<i>...of which:</i>					100
Romania	8	4	4	16	40
Ukraine	3		1	4	10
Serbia	1	1	2	4	10
Austria	3			3	8
USA			3	3	8
UK			2	2	5
Mexico			1	1	2
China	1			1	2
Cambodia	1			1	2
Egypt	1			1	2
Djibouti	1			1	2
Congo	1			1	2
India			1	1	2
Saudi Arabia			1	1	2
Born in HU, lives elsewhere	8	9	4	21	13
<i>...of which:</i>					100
Germany	2	1	2	5	24
UK	1	3		4	19
Austria	3			3	14
Belgium			2	2	10
USA	1			1	5
Estonia	1			1	5
France		1		1	5
Holland		1		1	5
Czechia		1		1	5
Thailand		1		1	5
Japan		1		1	5
Answered in HU, born and lives elsewhere	1			1	1
<i>...of which:</i>					100
Ukraine	1			1	100

¹¹ Some pre-launch accesses raise the overall number to 928. Further completions of the quiz till the end of the project are expected to help attain or approach the initially set benchmark of 1500.

4.2 U-debate

Table 4: Hungarian overall statistics of U-debate

	End of 1 st Period	End of 2 nd Period	End of 3 rd Period
No. of U-debate topics (general debates)	5	6	8
No. of U-debate threads (general debates)	15	16	19
No. of submitted posts in U-debate	71	87	157
No. of views of U-debate	3524 (1400 unique page views within period)	6276 (656 unique page views within period)	14850 (569 unique page views within period)
No. of referential documents or background information used for U-debate topics/threads	7	17	23
No. of U-debate issues submitted	19	26	37
No. of U-debate comments submitted	2	10	18
No. of u-debate alternatives submitted	27	30	45
No. U-debate pro arguments submitted	14	16	31
No. U-debate con arguments submitted	9	11	25
No. of persons and organisations provided contributions	14	17	31 (incl. 2 anonymous, 6 mediated)

Source: <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-hu/udebate.aspx>.

4.3 Puzzled by Policy Widget

Hungarian web sites with embedded Widget are known at:

NISZ Facebook page: http://www.facebook.com/nisz.hu/app_311610832226735.

Statistics on Policy Profiler's quiz completed via the widget are included at the PP section.

4.4 Overall consultation statistics during pilot operation

Figures on the usage of PP for all periods in the Hungarian pilot have been already included in a previous Table. A more detailed summary of the activity in U-debate is presented below.

Table 5: Hungarian statistics of U-debate (detailed)

Topic	Thread	No.	Loc. ¹	Issue	Alternative	Pro-Arg.	Con-Arg.	Comment	Total
Immigration for employment purposes	Professions and migration	1	H	4	7	4	4	2	21
	Migration of entrepreneurs	2	H	1	6	7	1	2	17
	Discussions about Directive 2011/98/EU (Single procedure and permit to reside and work; equal treatment)	3	E	2					2
	Simple and timely procedure to apply for residence and employment ²	4	E						0
Immigration for studying purposes	Education policies aiming at reaping labour market benefits	5	H	5	3	4	2	3	17
	Full rights to employment for third-country-citizen students	6	E						0
	Recognition of diplomas abroad	20	H						0
Immigration for reasons of family reunification	Is the requirement for integration tests fair?	7	E						0
	Requirements regarding income, housing and/or social security at the sponsor of family reunification	8	E						0
Long-term residents and naturalization policy	Integration of immigrants in general policy	9	H	7	6		3		16
	Immigration policy as a means to adjust demographical trends in Hungary	10	H	2	1		1	1	5
	Policies targeting ethnic Hungarians beyond the borders	11	H	2			1	2	5
	Documents to accompany applications for long-term resident status	12	E					1	1
Illegal Immigration	The European Parliament amended the regulation on the border guard agency, Frontex. What effects are to be expected?	13	H	3	5			1	9
	Possible measures against illegal immigration.	14	H	3	4	4		1	12
	Uniform minimum sanctions across the EU against employers of illegal immigrants	15	E						0
Emigration	Challenges of the trends in the emigration from Hungary	16	H	4	3	1		2	10
	Hungarians returning from abroad	19	H						0
General procedural issues	Perceived anomalies in the administration of immigrants to Hungary	17	H						0
Interaction of immigration policy with other domains	Unconditional Basic Income and immigration	18	E	4	10	11	13	4	42
Altogether	Altogether	–	–	37	45	31	25	19	157

Legend

- 1 H: Hungarian; E: European
- 2 At some point this thread was been merged into Thread No. 3

5. Consultation results

5.1 Policy profiler results

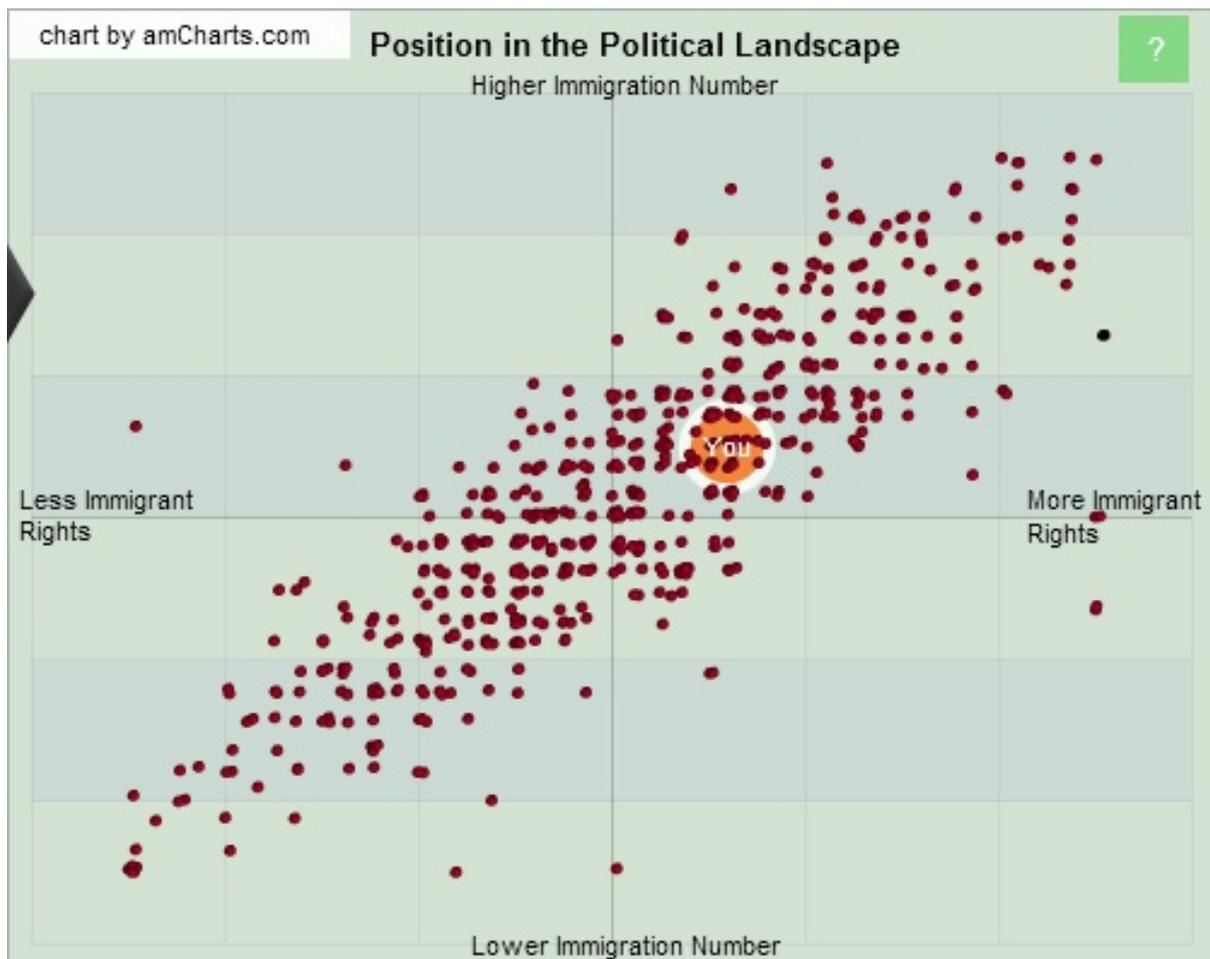
<http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-hu/policyprofiler.aspx>

On the five-point scale measuring attitudes towards immigration between a restrictive stance (let there be less immigrants and less rights for them, score 1 at the extreme position) to a liberal one (let there be more immigrants and more rights for them; score 5 at the extreme position), the average Hungarian respondent from the 3rd period attained a score of 3.21. This is practically the same as 3.23 from the 2nd period.

This means that, on average, our users still have a neutral or slightly liberal attitude vis-à-vis immigration. It also means that Hungarian respondents continue to be quite evenly distributed in the coordinate system of the Policy Profiler on immigration policies, which keeps supporting PP as a tool to measure Hungarian sentiments with sufficient detail.

Further details are presented in a next section, along with comparisons to earlier data.

Figure 1: Hungarian Policy Profiler overall results and user responses



5.2 U-debate results

<http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-Hu/uDebate.aspx>

In the 3rd period about 70 posts arrived to the Hungarian pilot, among which 60 were originating from external users, wherein 26 were facilitated by the moderator, and 2 posted anonymously by guest users. The most popular topic of this period is presented below.

Table 6: Hungarian statistics of a frequently visited U-debate thread

Thread id	#18
No. of submitted posts (from non-facilitator users; <i>in period 3 alone</i>)	42 (34; 42)
No. of contributions provided by other means (e-mail, Facebook, paper questionnaire)	26
No. of views (Platform statistics)	1050
No. of views / unique views (Google Analytics)	200
No. of users that viewed the debate at least once (Unique Page views)	159
No. of issues submitted	4
No. of comments submitted	4
No. of alternatives submitted	10
No. pro arguments submitted	11
No. con arguments submitted	13
No. of persons and organisations provided contributions (if available)	3
No. of reports created by facilitators (incl. this one)	1
No. of facilitators reports submitted to decision-makers	0
No. of feedbacks received from decision-makers.	0

Figure 2: Hungarian U-debate thread: "Unconditional Basic Income and immigration"

Feltétel nélküli alapjövedelem és bevándorlás

- Előrehaladott gépesítés és automatizálás
 - Feltétel nélküli alapjövedelem (FNA)
 - Gyermekeknek is alanyi jogon járjon
 - Egyes szülők visszaélhetnek a szabállyal
 - Demográfiai szempont
 - FNA-t nem feltétlenül kell pénzben megkapniuk.
 - "megélhetési gyerekszülés"
 - Járjon minden, az országban legálisan tartózkodó személynek
 - Akár kezelhetetlen mértékű bevándorlás harmadik országokból
 - Akár kezelhetetlen mértékű migráció az FNA-t bevezető EU tagországok között
 - Előbb az előfeltételeit kell megteremteni.
 - Mi a finanszírozás alapja?
 - aktív életet lehetővé tevő összegben.
 - Legyen elég magas
 - Az FNA egyben egy politika ellenes akció is.
 - Csak állampolgároknak járjon
 - Ellehetetleníti a még nem állampolgár bevándorlókat.
 - "Tabula rasa" az FNA bevezetésekor
 - Bérkompenzáció az állampolgárság megszerzéséig.
 - Az FNA csökkentené a munkaerő kínálatot, így inkább épp megemelné az árát, vagyis a béreket.
 - Bérszint-emelkedés csak az élők munkára építő foglalkozásoknál várható
 - Ahol gépesítenek, a bér vagy szinten marad, vagy csökkenhet
 - Ha nominálisan nem is, vásárlóértékében idővel csökkenhet a bér (elínflálódik)
 - A termelők áremelése kedvezően renndezi át a tőkestruktúrákat
 - Bérek inflációkövetése?
 - Az állam gondoskodik a bérek inflációkövetéséről.
 - Ha van FNA, nem kell átfogó bérszabályozás
 - Legyen FNA minél több országban, az EU-ban és azon is túl
 - Nemzeti FNA-k különbsége által motivált elvándorlás
 - Eltérő árviszonyok
 - Árkonvergencia
 - FNA-konvergencia
 - Részes országok között nem túlzottan ösztönözne migrációra
 - Magyarország a jövedelmek alapján közepes FNA-t nyújtana, így nem válna jelenős bevándorlási célponttá
 - Az ember, ha teheti, helyben marad – az otthoni FNA segít ebben
 - Méltányos szinten megélni sehol sem lehet túl drága
 - Túlzott bevándorlás EU-n kívülről
 - Használhatók a mostani szabályozó eszközök
 - Az FNA kifejezés pontatlan
 - Brand
 - Előrehaladott gépesítés és automatizálás
 - Az automatizálás fejlődése következtében egyre kevesebb kétékezi munkásra van szükség

The topic on Unconditional Basic Income and immigration was mainly opened in order to tap a considerable pool of people discussing this issue online, to an effect of a grassroots movement. A thorough introductory text was created by the facilitator to raise ideas and show the connection between the Basic Income concept and migration. 26 posts (from about 5 people) in relevant Facebook groups were put into U-debate under a "guest" ("vendég") account, also indicating the name of the author if he or she had allowed this. Another 8 posts arrived directly from 4 users. A single post in Facebook was often split into several "atomic" ones in U-debate to better match the structure suggested by the available posting categories. This practice was not commented in any way by the original authors.

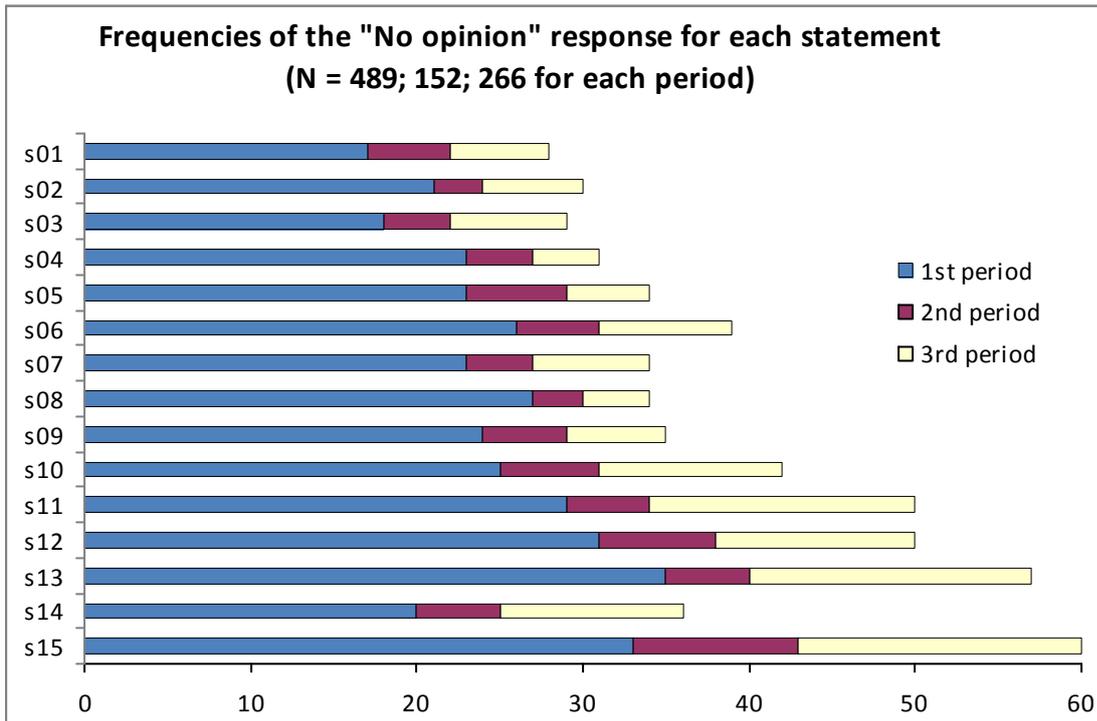
Opinions related to migration include the following ideas:

- An UBI country bordering a non-UBI one tempts one to migrate from the latter to the former.
 - o For this reason it is advisable for countries (like in the EU) to coordinate the introduction of UBI.
 - o Immigration will need to be regulated, but it is no problem since there are working solutions for this.
 - o Even intra-EU migration might grow too much if residency makes somebody eligible for local UBI.
- UBI is meant only for citizens, not for immigrants, a status which takes a longer time to achieve.
 - o Then, will immigrants have a chance of sustaining themselves? They must rely on a wage but how will its level change?
 - Wages might get devaluated by inflation, or because the general population (enjoying UBI) will not insist on as much as before.
 - UBI might decrease labour supply so much that wages could eventually increase (at least in labour intensive branches of the economy).
 - o Immigrants should enjoy a wage compensation.
 - o Perhaps, all immigrants should get citizenship when UBI is first introduced in a country.
- UBI in a less well-off country might in fact discourage emigration from that country.

5.3 Overall consultation results during pilot operation

When calculating the average users' position for PP statements, we did not involve the "No opinion" responses. Considering all responses so far, we can clearly conclude that people from the Hungarian pilot (and probably from anywhere) tend to lose focus with each consecutive step of the quiz. Thus, by the last, 15th, statement 6,6% (60 out of 907 people) effectively did not respond. Compared to the slant line of this tiring effect, there is one clear outlier, statement #14. Hungarians tend to have a clear stance whether "irregular immigrants who have lived and worked in the country for many years without committing a crime should be offered legal residence". However, the ratio of neutral responses to the same statement is average so, instead of evoking radical views, this statement merely succeeds in raising attention—perhaps by mentioning the word "crime".

Figure 3: "No opinion" responses

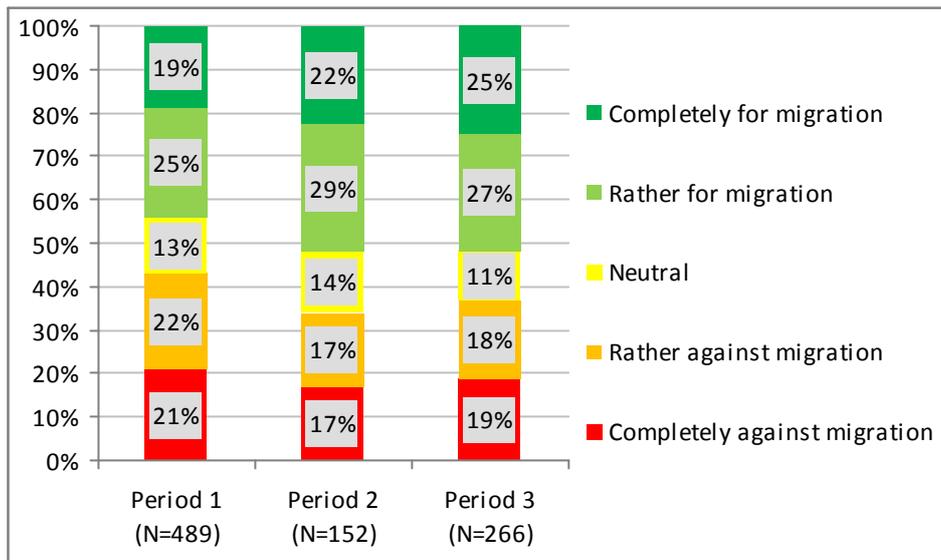


Taking the definite opinions, the average, normalized¹² position of users on a 5-point scale was 3.21, similar to 3.23 in the second reporting period and still higher than 3 from the 1st period.

While the change of general sentiment stayed within the margin of error, the ratio of responses completely in favour of immigration grew by 3 percentage points, and neutral responses fell by the same amount. Comparing the last period with the first one, a small shift from (either fully or moderately) anti-immigration sentiments towards pro-immigration ones seems robust.

¹² I.e. also taking into account the positive or negative phrasing of each statement.

Figure 4: Shift of Hungarian users' attitudes, combining all Policy Profiler statements



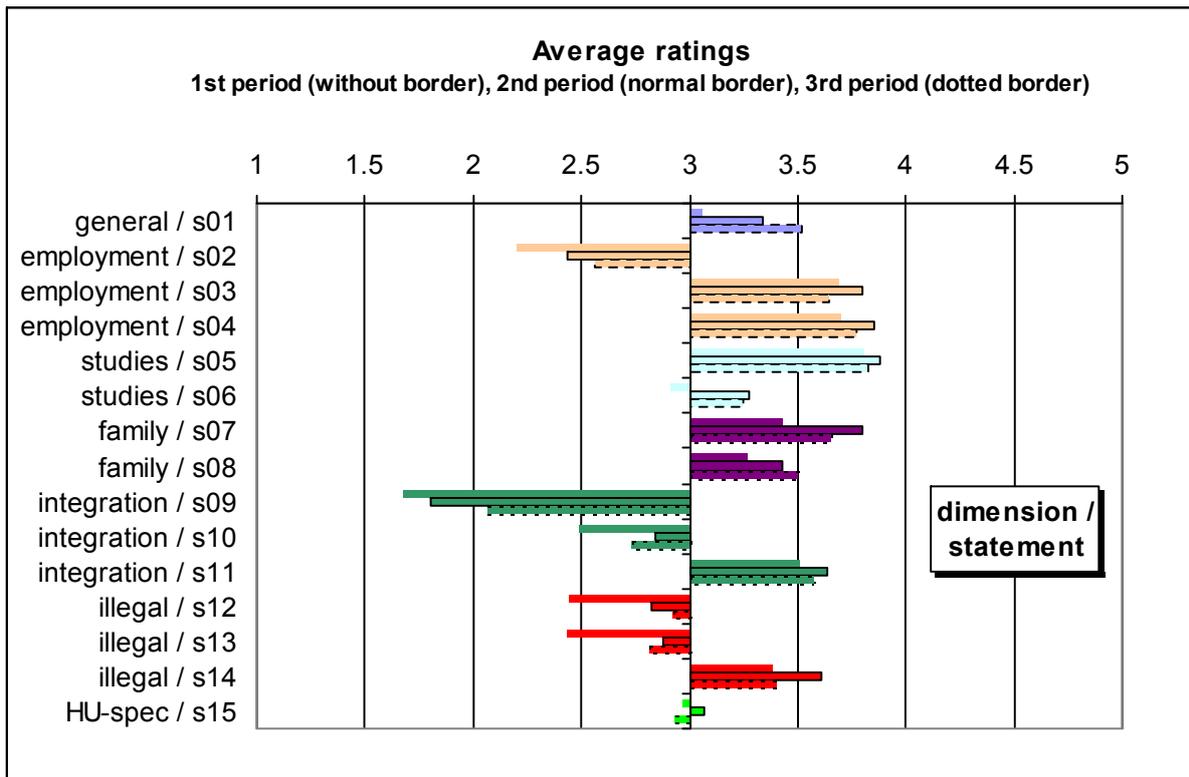
Having surveyed three time periods, we can spot the statements where a change of attitude appears both significant and consistent over time. Such statements are listed below.

Table 7: Possibly significant changes in Hungarian respondents' sentiments

#	Statement	Shift in the score
s01	Immigration into the country should be made more restrictive	+0.45
s02	New foreign immigrants should not be recruited unless natives, EU citizens and immigrants who are already in the EU are granted the opportunity to take the vacant jobs.	+0,36
s09	Immigrants from outside Europe should be required to accept our culture and values	+0.38
s12	Illegal entry and/or residence of non-EU citizens in the EU should be considered a criminal offence and punished accordingly.	+0.48
s13	Irregular immigrants should be returned to their country of origin immediately.	+0.38

Sentiments about one statement (s03: Immigration policies oriented towards skilled workers should be encouraged as a means of fostering economic growth) changed atypically, slightly (2.96 → 2.93) towards the rejection of immigrants.

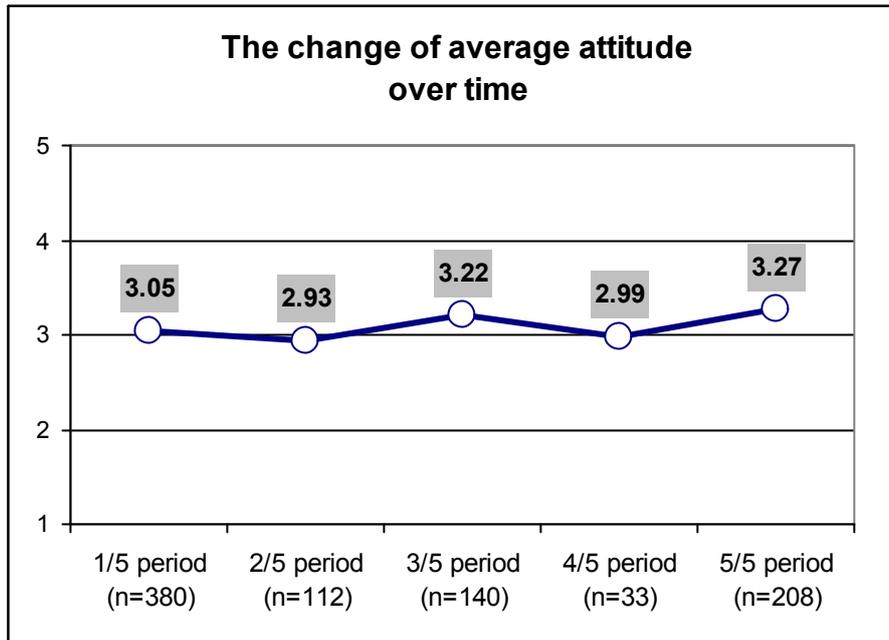
Figure 5: Hungarian users' average positions for Policy Profiler statements (grouped by topic; normalized)



To verify the observed shift, more cleaning¹³ of the database was performed, and all the pilot time to date was divided to 5 equal periods. The first and the last periods remain robust in terms of completed quizzes, confirming a slight shift towards more liberal attitudes from early 2012 till Spring 2013.

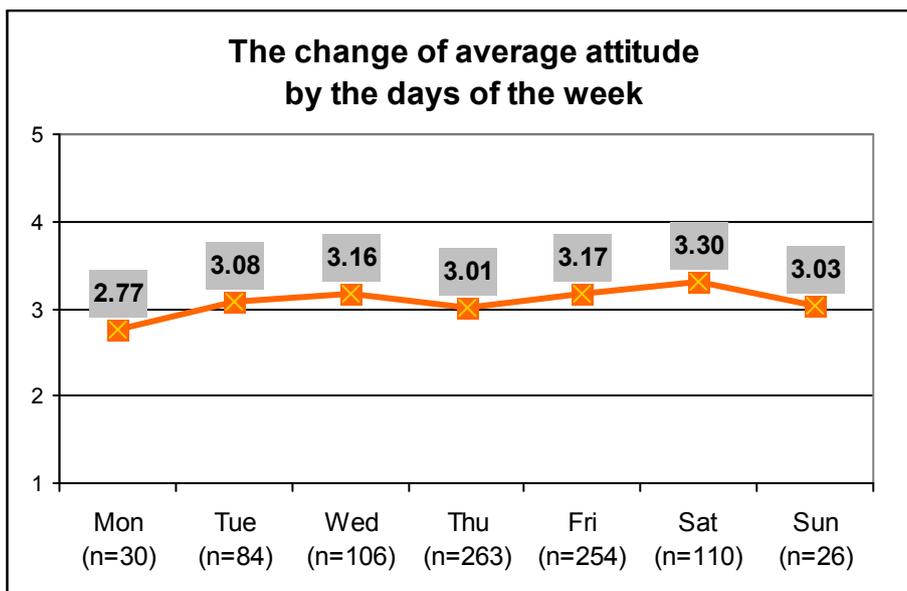
¹³ Early test runs, some duplicate entries of the same users, and obviously insincere entries were removed, resulting in a sample of 873 records.

Figure 6: Change of Hungarian users' average positions over time



A further possible factor has been investigated by looking into the day of the week on which each policy profile was created. The observed variance is usually small, with perhaps only two notable days. Users expressed relatively liberal views on immigration on Saturdays, and relatively conservative ones on Mondays. However, the Monday subsample is rather small. Nevertheless it remains an open question, whether this variance reflects a different sample of people providing data on certain days, or perhaps most people change their mind as their general mood fluctuates between weekdays and weekends.

Figure 7: Variance of Hungarian users' average positions within the week



Another question is whether the channel of response to the PP tends to differentiate the attitude reflected in the profile. The portal looks different than the Widget, the latter being more modern,

perhaps attracting younger users. On the other hand, respondents choosing the portal may have registered already, revealing some quasi personal information on themselves, possibly being in favour of acting and opening transparently on the web. Indeed, registered users displayed somewhat more liberal stance than totally anonymous users, but widget users seemed the most liberal.

A more important factor is the language chosen for completing the PP in. This client-side choice can be seen as a proxy¹⁴ to being an immigrant. It is then not surprising that those who made the user interface “speak” in a language other than Hungarian have a significantly more tolerant stance about immigrants.

Table 8: Variance in Hungarians’ attitudes by the ways of accessing the PP

	Registered portal user	Anonymous portal user	Widget user	In Hungarian	Not in Hungarian	<i>Altogether</i>
Average attitude	3.16	3.10	3.21	3.06	3.39	3.11
N	33	753	87	747	126	873

Overall results of the use of U-debate are more difficult to assess than results from the Policy Profiler. Usage statistics of use have been presented in previous tables, revealing that half of the debates opened have not attracted any comments. Typically these are the so-called European debates, i.e. those that have – or could have – a counterpart in each member state because of their all-European relevance. These debates were usually introduced with an exact title and important legal references. Users may have avoided them because these topics were not perceived as “hot” as national issues. Or it might also happen that their phrasing was felt too legal, which, along with the difficulties of learning a novel interface took away the fun element from debating.

Contributions in the more popular threads is also low compared to typical forums on the web, especially if we notice that only about half of the 157 posts came from users different than the facilitators. This was partly expected, considering the nature of U-debate, which is meant to avoid redundancy by introducing structure into the debates. However, it is feared that activity also remained low because users could not grasp how to best use posting categories.

Some of the external contributions were entered by the facilitator, collecting, and sometimes rephrasing and structuring opinions. Ideas shared directly by users were in most cases relevant to the thread. Their length was diverse, from one-liners to a long paragraph. Long entries usually contain reasoning, though, suggesting that such texts could have been further structured. External users often used posting categories inconsistently. Their usage of the “Comment” category was also high, sometimes signalling they chose the safest category (even though their post was an argument for or against a previous entry). The genre of entries has also been diverse, from theoretical reasoning to personal accounts, which is good: both extremes may be able to assist policy making. It is the low quantity of posts and their often inconsistent placement that has in many cases remained a challenge yet to overcome.

¹⁴ Until the publication of this report there have been some technical difficulties in matching users’ responses with their demographic data. Should this become possible, the consortium might share a deeper statistical analysis.

6. Decision-makers feedback and target groups empowerment

In the 3rd period there was communication with four decision makers.

In January 2013 the Office of the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights (OCFR) provided a feedback to our inquiry. In his letter he is indicating that, based on content posted so far, he has found no offence of fundamental rights that his Office should attempt to remedy. Some further talks revealed that their possibilities of cooperation with PbP are more limited than the facilitators thought.¹⁵

In March 2013 two municipalities were emailed, but then no replies received. According to an inspirational video¹⁶ by the so-called Cultural Creatives¹⁷ in Hungary, Sározd and Aba are two small towns having launched some form of a participative democracy. Their homepage confirmed this information, adding contact information to the respective new organisations called magistrates. Collaboration was offered to them, but the lack of response suggests that their democratic experiment might have already ended.

Contacting the Ministry of Human Resources in April 2013 was a more successful story. The ministry is planning new legislation about social integration in this autumn. Their using of the PbP platform for public dialogue is under consideration.

Regarding the latest results, it is planned to also report these to a ministry competent in the thread on Basic Income (probably the Ministry of National Economy).

To date, the most useful feedback in the Hungarian pilot was from Mr. MOLNÁR from the Ministry of Interior, reported on in the second consultation report. It contained informative messages to citizens on their current tasks in forming immigration policy, which hopefully many people have already read. He also sent suggestions for the facilitators of the platform. In response to these, Threads #3¹⁸ and #4¹⁹ have been merged²⁰, immigration related threads have been kept without reference to Romani integration issues, and new debates on emigration were steered to a new Topic.²¹

¹⁵ OCFR has a mandate to protect people's fundamental rights in the course of the execution of legal acts, and reports to the Parliament (thereby it is a twin organization of the Constitutional Court which examines the legal acts themselves). The Office needs to stay objective and unbiased, so it cannot afford giving out statements without due examination, and it cannot initiate such examination without someone's explicitly applying for it (advisable when appeal options within the public administration have been exhausted, but before a lawsuit). Thereby it must not (based on hypotheses from informal communication in either the debate forum or quoted in a report) encourage or discourage PbP users to start a procedure.

¹⁶ <http://vimeo.com/49261872>

¹⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Cultural_Creatives

¹⁸ Issuing and renewing residence and employment permits for non-EU citizens should be simple and timely, as envisaged by the proposed EU Directive"

¹⁹ "Should the EU have a single approach to granting permits to third country nationals and a common set of rights for immigrant workers as provided by the Directive?"

²⁰ <http://join.puzzledbypolicy.eu/hu-HU/udebateddiscussion.aspx?Thread=112>

²¹ Some movement of existing posts were also suggested, but remaining technical obstacles prevented us from following these pieces of advice.

7. Problems and limitations

As it was often suggested in the reports, the Hungarian pilot site is somewhat specific in that the pilots' main theme, immigration is less important than at the other sites. This fact has limited users' and stakeholders' level of engagement. The number of completed Policy Profiler quizzes remained somewhat low, and U-debate usage level was only maintained by broadening the thematic scope of discussions. (Even so, "heated" debates did not occur, pointing to the possibility that such debates might occur elsewhere.) Indeed, many Hungarian stakeholders and decision makers demanded that PP, too, be adaptable to custom policy domains.

In a joint effort of pilots to raise U-debate activity, for some weeks posting was again allowed for anonymous users (without requiring registration or logging in). While this did result in several "guest" posts, two posts had to be deleted by the moderator (effectively for the first time in the Hungarian domain): one was only some scribble, the other one a spam. Should guest posting be generally allowed, spams might abound, requiring substantial efforts to remove them.

The quality of posts in U-debate could be improved, too. Users seem to remain unsure how posting categories work, and if those represent a relation to the direct parent entry (preferable) or to an element higher in the hierarchy, maybe to the title of the thread. They also never use the opportunity to arrange their opinion in several, interrelated posts (which could then allow a better overview of debate content for the next visitor). If PbP chooses to pursue the structuring of debates, some automatism would probably be useful to prevent users from making common mistakes with the structuring.

Since the 2nd report the U-debate interface has been enhanced by adding the feature for moderators to move threads across topics. However, moderators of more active debates might also benefit from the ability to move posts (or branches of posts) across threads, when a thread tends to overload. A feature to simply like or dislike posts might also attract users, raise activity, and help decision makers estimate the importance of contributed ideas.

8. Success examples of pilot operation

Recent successes involve a considerable number of contributions to the thread on the hypothetical introduction of a Universal Basic Income regime. This was possible due to the existing online communities and the facilitators' efforts to migrate opinions from Facebook discussions. Users' awareness of the fact that the European Commission (an important decision maker) has acknowledged the process (in the framework of a Citizen Initiative) must also have played a positive role.

The recent involvement of the Come Home Foundation, an NGO active in emigration issues has the prospect of reaching a new set of interested citizens.

It must also be noted that an intensive social media campaign in Spring 2013 managed to considerably engage citizens to use the Platform.

While each pilot site had set the goal of involving 1500 users (optimistically measured only by the number of users who have completed the PP), Hungary is hitting only the 1000 mark at the writing of this report, waiting to see if the remaining 4 months will attract 500 more people.

In an environment where the main theme is only moderately interesting, this is difficult. In fact, excursions to neighbouring policy domains have shown that more popular issues are much easier to channel in people. In general, the choice is between top-down and bottom-up approaches of policy making. Top-down methods mean that it is decision makers (in another model, the typical agents of the “policy stream” and/or the “political stream”) who formulate issues, while it is the citizens (or: typical agents of the “problem stream”) who are supposed to adapt their mind-set to be able to reflect (understand, process, discuss, reply). Bottom-up approach is the other way around, and it is obviously easier to collect a certain number of participating citizens when they are freer to set the agenda. It is then the decision makers’ task to carefully assess opinions—perhaps with some help from mediators: civil society organisations that do the networking and the interpreting of views and/or an IT platform pooling, structuring and reliably displaying these views. It has been PbP’s strength that, during the pilot, it could realize both kinds of mediation.

The success of future campaigns on the platform might well depend on NGOs volunteering to put PbP into their inventory while pursuing their goals, thereby delivering the tool to their own audience and beyond. During the project, the positive effect of the NGOs’ merely placing the banner of PbP on their website could be noted. The Hungarian pilot also had the chance to utilize the substantial network of eHungary Points which are supposed to provide public internet access points and also value added services, like IT mentoring mainly in rural areas. With our goals coinciding, the supervising public body approved collaboration (placement of banner to their site serving as the homepage in the network of the workstations they operate; informing of staff so that they can recommend the tool to customers). Thus, eHungary Points served as a helpful distribution channel without spending extra resources, even to some hard-to-reach categories of users.

Quite independent from the choice of policy area, it appeared important to effectively advertise or disseminate the discourses. Nowadays, social media is the natural habitat of the “buzz”. It is imperative to be and remain visible on sites like Facebook to credibly convey an image of having the “critical mass”, i.e. the number of participants which makes it for newcomers seem worth joining, too. On the other hand, the most active users often found their way to the platform by reading detailed writings (articles) in either online or offline press about the endeavour.

Empowering citizens has been a central concept of PbP. It relies on decision makers publicly acknowledging citizens’ efforts in informing about policy issues and/or discussing them. The Hungarian pilot has achieved some success in this regard. However, since interests of the two parties in the process did not fully match, some of the efforts may have been wasted. Citizens might in general prefer more frequent feedbacks related to the hottest issues, even if they are somewhat informal (although we have learnt that it may be difficult if not straightaway unfeasible for decision makers to express themselves in an informal fashion).