THE SHORT MEMORY OF MIGRANTS:

What Lies behind the Exclusionary Behavior of Hungary's Settled Migrants Towards New Immigrants?

By

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Submitted to

Central European University

School of Public Policy

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Public Policy

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Budapest, Hungary

2017

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Abstract

In the fall of 2016, Hungary became the first European country to build a fence to "protect" its borders from the influx of immigrants, and to hold a national referendum on the European Union's refugee policy and the mandatory migrant-quotas. The controversial information flood and the influence of the domestic political propaganda resulted that the Hungarian population, alongside with many ethnic Hungarians from across the borders, who fled their poorer hometowns just a couple of years ago in search of a better life and has established in Hungary, took a loud stand against the quotas and against the new migrants. In the rich literature of migration studies, we can find several theories concerning those influential factors upon which settled immigrants might decide to show, or to withheld support and solidarity towards contemporary migrants. However, so far, no concrete research has been done focusing on the anti-immigration attitude of past-migrants who recently got reconnected with their mother country. Using qualitative methods, and within that, questionnaires among Hungary's established migrant community, who by formal citizenship are attached to one state (Romania), but years ago migrated to Hungary and by ethnonational affiliation today consider Hungary their second home[1], this thesis will prove that economic fears are not the primary obstacle to their inclusive behavior, for cultural threats and social insecurities are more powerful factors influencing their attitudes.

1 Rogers Brubaker (1995): National minorities, nationalizing states, and external national homelands in the new Europe", Daedalus, Vol. 124 Issue 2, pp: 107-132

Acknowledgements

I would first like to express my sincere gratitude to my adviser and thesis supervisor Martin Kahanec, who guided me through my research, and always had an open office and an open mind whenever I ran into a trouble spot. I would also like to thank to our wonderful Academic Writing professor Ágnes Tóth for her commitment and valuable inputs, and last, but not least to my SPP classmates, who inspired me every single day on this wonderful journey.

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Introduction

The internal heterogeneity of contemporary societies and the development of worldwide migration flows are often seen as conflicting problems for the functioning of a pluralistic society.[2] This contrast is especially sharpened in those countries where ethnic diversity and the ideas of multiculturalism are seen as divisive forces against a united nation. Although the current migration-crisis in Europe is indeed unprecedented in human cost and in the paradoxical behaviors of how countries are dealing with it, the continent has faced similar situations in the past.

Hungary, for example, after the communist regime change has swept across Eastern Europe in 1989–91 and travel bans got lifted, accepted tens of thousands of immigrants from its neighboring countries (most of whom were Hungarian nationals). A year later, during the Yugoslav refugee crisis in 1992, the country admitted another 60.000 refugees (the largest number after Germany with 200.000 hosted people) from the region's war zones. Since the turn of the millennium, there has been a more than twofold increase in the number of incoming migrants, residents, and refugees: some, in response to economic stagnation, political backwardness, or renewed violent conflicts[3]. With the current influx of refugees in the summer of 2015 Hungary registered 177 thousand newly arrived immigrants, the highest number since the regime change in 1989[4]. Despite the fact that official data have showed that most of the new migrants applied for asylum in Hungary purely for formal reasons, and

2 Mary Hickman, Helen Crowley, Nick Mai (2008): Immigration and social cohesion in the UK - The rhythms and realities of everyday life, London Metropolitan University, York, UK: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
3 Juhász Attila, Molnár Csaba (2016): "Magyarország sajátos helyzete az európai menekültválságban", Tárki Társadalmi Riport
4 Juhász and Molnár: "Magyarország sajátos helyzete"

almost without exception wanted to leave the country for other Western European locations[5], officials and the national media presented the influx in a rather negative light, creating confusion, hostility, and fear among citizens.

Migration processes, the related social attitudes and policies have a constant effect on each other[6], and Hungary was no exception in this. The public understanding of the refugee crisis was greatly influenced by political interests and by stigmatizing governmental campaigns. Even though the Hungarian Immigration Office asserted in 2016 that the country was not a destination, and according to an OECD report, recent immigrants from Syria are more skilled than those who came to Hungary during the wars in the 90s[7], in 2016 it was the first to build a fence, and to hold a national referendum on the EU's mandatory migrant-quotas. The campaign organized around the referendum served as a perfect occasion to further deepen people's fear and insecurity towards the immigrants, instigating contempt against all minority groups. After an insufficient number of people turned out to vote, the government failed to achieve a valid result, but they have accomplished a more important thing: they have kept the migrant issue on the agenda for a long enough time to convince the otherwise ethnically quite homogeneous society that the ethnic and cultural diversity brought by the newcomers represents a real threat to the country. As a consequence, the Hungarian population, alongside with many ethnic Hungarians from Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia who fled their poorer hometowns just a couple of years ago in search of a better life –, took a loud stand against the quotas and against the new migrants.

5 Juhász and Molnár: "Magyarország sajátos helyzete"
6 Juhász and Molnár: "Magyarország sajátos helyzete"
7 OECD Report (2015): Is this humanitarian migration crisis different? / Migration Policy Debates, Nr 7, September

Hungary's settled immigrant community is by far not the only one that certified an exclusionary behavior towards newcomers. Despite the fact that we can find a few examples in the literature (Morosanu) how old and new migrants manage to bridge their social and cultural differences because of their shared non-native experiences, in most of the cases established immigrants tend to align behind nationalist parties, hovering over their racial, social, cultural, and religious superiority. Some migration researchers (McDowell; Roediger; Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner, & Wegayehu) argue that cultural insecurities remain the main problem preventing social ties within the immigrant communities; others (Fox; Hacker; Linke) are using financial fears to explain the kept distances. Jon E. Fox for example stated[8] that one of the reasons that lie behind the anti-refugee attitude of old-migrants is a kind of racial supremacy, meaning that past migrant minority populations "use racism as leverage to improve their position on the labor market". According to Fox, racism doesn't always come from the majoritarian population against minority groups, for it can also be used by the minorities further down the chain to do similar work.

Other analysts are saying that people belonging to minority communities are warming up to right-wing populist out of cultural disorientation rather than economic fears, for they want to be assured that their "traditional" world is not totally lost to the post-materialist, cosmopolitan culture promoted by urban elites[9]. The fear of cultural and religious collisions plays indeed an important role in this matter. It can explain among others why in Sweden

8 Jon E. Fox (2013): The uses of racism: whitewashing new Europeans in the UK, Journal of Ethnic Racial Studies, Volume 36, pages: 1871-1889

9 Ronald F. Inglehar & Pippa Norris (2016): "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash", Faculty Research Working Paper Series, pp:1-53

more and more foreign-born citizens are joining anti-immigration parties[10] or why in the US a fairly high number of Latinos voted for Donald Trump[11].

As we can see the reasons why past-migrants might not welcome new asylum-seekers with open arms vary across countries and across minority groups. Considering that until this moment no concrete research has been done focusing on the anti-immigration attitude of past-migrants who recently got reconnected with their motherland, this thesis wishes to explore where Hungary's settled migrants would situate in this equation. In the following I intend to focus on established immigrants coming from Romania (Transylvania), for in Hungary today most immigrants are from Romania. While Rogers Brubaker argues[12] that "ethnomigrants" cannot be subsumed under the rubric of refugees or forced migrants like today's immigrants produced by wars and ethnic cleansing, I consider that fundamentally both groups are driven by similar purposes to relocate: concern and anxiety about one's well-being, or the well-being of one's children in the future. Even though today's migration happens on different scales and with different scopes, considering its basic dynamics and conditions there are similarities in the displacement processes that should serve as commonalities and as seeds of empathy towards each other.

After exploring the theoretical interpretations on why established immigrants might resist to show support towards new asylum-seekers, this thesis sets up to explore the Hungarian context, trying to answer the question why established immigrants with similar experiences have little empathy towards contemporary migrants, and what is more, why they actually support anti-migration policies. I believe that targeting this issue, understanding what triggers

10 Ann Törnkvist (2013): Foreign-born Swedes join anti-immigration party, The Local
11 Suzanne Gamboa (2016): Latinos Who Voted, campaigned for Trump Found Common Ground with Him, NBCNews
12 Rogers Brubaker (1998): "Migrations of ethnic unmixing in the "New Europe", The International migration review, pp: 1,047-65

national minority groups to engage in populist rhetoric, might help improve social cohesion in Hungary.

In order to provide a better understanding of my research problem and to deepen my knowledge base regarding established migrants' perception of their social realities and in consequence, their actions within the social world, I have decided to use qualitative research methods for this thesis. Qualitative methods generally aim to understand the experiences and attitudes of certain target groups, its descriptions can play the important role of suggesting possible relationships, causes, effects and dynamic processes, and it allows a closer involvement, researchers can gain an insider's view of the field[13]. This helps to find issues that are often missed (such as subtleties and complexities) by scientific, more positivistic enquiries[14]. In consequence, the collected data for my research and eventually for the final findings of this thesis derive from the results of the *questionnaires* that were completed by cross-border Hungarians who for the past years have been living in Hungary. I have started out the research with 20 people from my personal network, but additionally, I applied for an exploratory snowballing technique, in the end reaching 30 people. Given the connected nature of networks, snowballing and triangulation with secondary data were deemed suitable methods to get a comprehensive picture[15] on how members of the community related to the anti-migration policies of the Hungarian government. In the survey (see Appendix 1), I did not ask direct questions about race or racism per se; the objective was to clarify the social backgrounds and resettlement motives of my subjects, trying to identify whether their attitude regarding the topic of migration and the mandatory migrant-quotas were influenced by

13 Christina Hughes (2006): "Qualitative and Quantitative approaches to social research" (Warwick University, Department of Sociology)
14 Hughes: "Qualitative and Quantitative approaches"
15 Carlos Melo Brito, (1999): "A methodological approach to the sampling issue in industrial networks research" Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal 2, pp. 92–102

political or personal factors, and further determined by economic, racial, or cultural insecurities.

I have decided to choose qualitative method, and within it questionnaires over statistical research because it does not set out to estimate the incidence of a certain phenomenon in the wider population[16], and because it produces data in a relatively short time. Being fully aware that self-administered surveys (when there is no direct interviewer and respondent answer the questions by completing the questionnaire themselves) have their own reliability-traps, I sought to use this instrument with an easy to follow design, and with straightforward questions. This is an important aspect, because respondents cannot be prepared as well as interviewees can; from a certain aspect, this can ensure a higher credibility for this technique, for sometimes the mere presence of an interviewer can influence responses and cause unwanted effects[17]. With surveys, there is a risk that respondents may not be truthful, and researchers cannot know how much effort, thought subjects will put in within the full context of the situation. Concerning the competency of my audience, I sought to formulate such candid questions that do not require a complex political background knowledge, but the given answers still could be useful for my research. Questionnaires proved to be an efficient and a quick to administer method to test certain arguments, and to mirror the general standpoint of my target group. By choosing to work with homogeneous samples (people with similar or identical traits) I have tried to investigate more in details the influencing factors in this specified context, and give a detailed picture about the possible reasons behind the analyzed phenomenon. For the research, all data was collected and transcribed in Hungarian, the

16 Jane Ritchie, Jane Lewis (2003): Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers", Designing and selecting Samples - Chapter 4, Sage Publications, London (336 pages)
17 Pertti Alasuutari, Leonard Bickman, Julia Brannen (2008): The SAGE Handbook of Social Research Methods, SAGE Publication, London 648 pages / Edith de Leeuw: Self-administered questionnaires and standardized interviews pp: 313

translations in English are my own.

Based on the findings of the concluded research, this thesis starts with the argument that Hungary's settled migrants, after having struggled through every level of the social ladder over the past years, have been caught between the ongoing political nation-minded rhetoric and their personal insecurities. The active nation-state building processes that are taking plans in Europe since the new migration waves lead not only the majoritarian societies, but also national minority groups to believe that they need to protect their Christian European values from the foreigners. The confusion of ethnic Hungarian immigrants, fueled by extremist national media and political rhetoric, was paired with a "cultural identity crisis"[18] that hindered them from identifying with the newcomers.

All of these will be analyzed in more details in the upcoming four chapters. Chapter one describes the background and history of the establishment of Hungary's settled migrants, who by formal citizenship are attached to one state (Romania), but years ago migrated to Hungary, as by ethnonational affiliation they consider Hungary their second home[19]. Chapter two will present the most relevant theories concerning those influential factors upon which settled immigrants might decide to show, or to withheld support and solidarity towards contemporary migrants. The Third Chapter represents the analytical part of the thesis, and as such it will introduce the most relevant findings of my research. As a summary, the Conclusion section will offer my final deductions and its implications regarding the raised research problem.

18 Tosin Agbabiaka, Ida Pedersen, Aisha Turner and Rediet Yibekal Wegayehu: Moving Beyond "the Danish Identity": The Role of Ethnic Minorities in Forging a More Inclusive Society, Humanity in Action
19 Brubaker: "National minorities", 108

Chapter 1 – Historical background

The main purpose of this Chapter is to give a comprehensive picture on how after the communist regime fall in 1989 Romania and Hungary began to open towards each other both geographically and politically, and further, how these power and foreign policy changes effected the emigration processes of ethnic Hungarians from Romania. Following a historical review, this unit will also reflect on how these past migrants, whose number in the last years steadily grew in Hungary were affected by the migration waves that hit the country in the summer of 2015, and how they related to the newcomers.

The migration of ethnic minority groups to their mother countries is a common, but by scholars often ignored feature of ethnic migration in Europe[20]. In the work of Rogers Brubaker[21] several examples are to be found about dispersed minorities from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, such as Hungarians, Germans, Russians, and Jews, who decided to migrate to the country to which the groups perceive ethno-linguistic and cultural affinity. In his article called "*Migrations of Ethnic Unmixing in the New Europe*" [22] he had closely studied ethnic Hungarian groups and their migration patterns, and he concluded that there are two distinct respects in which ethnicity may figure in a migration process: on the one hand as a push factor at the point of origin (in the form of ethnic conflicts), or as a pull factor at the point of destination (as ethnic affinity). In the middle of the eighties, Romania's Hungarian community indeed got totally alienated from the Romanian state which, in pursuit

20 Charlotta Hedberg, Kaisa Kepsu (2016): Migration as a Cultural Expression? The Case of the Finland-Swedish Minority' s Migration to Sweden, Source: Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2003), pp. 67-84
21 Brubaker: "Migrations", 108-109
22 Brubaker: "Migrations of ethnic unmixing in the "New Europe"

of mere ideological goals, viewed and treated its population simply as a resource and as a tool[23]. Estrangement from the state can also be explained by the fact that authorities never considered Hungarians as equal members of the nation, and what's more, even treated them as enemies of a unified society[24]. To all this, it is necessary to add that by the end of the eighties the "draining effect" of Hungary was becoming more pronounced, and the new political atmosphere showed great national solidarity and interest in the situation of the Hungarians (mainly Transylvanian) across the borders. The Hungarian public and official authorities have changed their attitudes towards Hungarian immigrants coming from Romania[25]. Although back then they haven't entered the "mother country" with citizenship rights already established, they were treated as favored foreigners[26].

After the II World War, hundreds of thousands of people had fled Hungary, and hardly anyone wanted to emigrate in the country. This situation had radically changed at the end of the eighties, when – at first secretly, then without official permission, and in the end supported by official bodies - thousands of ethnic Hungarians from across the borders started to arrive to Hungary in search of a better life. Hungary, as a destination country became open for international migrants only after the regime fall, for during the decades of communism migration was considered an obtrusive, anti-system social process[27]. The former sending country, with the demolition of the Iron Curtain made a great contribution to the realization of free migration[28]. With the beginning of the nineties, opening up borders and hosting

23 Horváth I. (2002): "A migráció hatása a népesség előszámítására", Magyar kisebbség nemzetpolitikai szemle, r.4 (26) szám
24 Horváth: "A migráció hatása"
25 Horváth: "A migráció hatása"
26 Brubaker: "Migrations"
27 Gödri Irén, Tóth Pál Péter (2001): "Bevándorlás és beilleszkedés - A szomszédos országokból Magyarországra irányuló bevándorlás az ezredfordulón", KSH Népességtudományi Kutatóintézet, Budapest, pp:1-216
28 Kincses Áron, Dr. Habil Mária Rédei (1994): "Hungary at a crossroads", the Institute for Political Science of the HAS, Budapest

immigrant groups suddenly became an accepted phenomenon, and the Hungarian society with essentially no prior migration experience, had to face extreme international movements, alongside with the social, economic, and political consequences of the refugee waves. This was the beginning of the migration process that Brubaker has called the "migrations of ethnic affinity"[29], for ethnic Hungarians were moving to, and not from their national homeland.

The economic and political changes that have reached Central and Eastern Europe in the early nineties have put in motion the whole region: between 1990 and 1993 hundreds of thousands of Romanian citizens decided to leave the country after the passport restrictions got eliminated, with permanent relocation intentions[30]. In 1990, officially about 97,000, while in the following two years, a total of 75.000 emigrants were registered in the Romanian statistics. Most of them were members of the German and the Hungarian national minority groups, with reported destinations in Germany and Hungary[31]. The refugee flood towards Hungary did not disappear after the 1989 revolution in fact, it reached its peak in 1990 when more than17.000 Romanian refugees were registered. The next turning point in the dynamics of the Romanian migration flows was registered between 1994 and 1996, when the labor migration started to emerge, the primarily targeted countries being Hungary, Turkey, or Israel. The third turning point came in 2002 with the visa-ban for Romanian citizens. This has significantly increased the number of people wishing to leave their motherland, and according to an OECD report published in in 2008, in 2006 Romania was the third biggest European country emitting migrants (Hungary hosting 35% of it)[32]. If we are to search for the explanatory factors of this large volume of emigration, it can be stated that while before 1990

29 Brubaker: "Migrations", 1053
30 Gödri Irén, Tóth Erzsébet Fanni (2010): "Magyarország, Románia, és Szlovákia kivándorlásai folyamatai a rendszerváltások után – Eltérések és hasonlóságok", Demográfia, 53. évf. 2–3 szám, pp: 157–204.
31 Gödri and Tóth: "Magyarország, Románia, és Szlovákia", 164
32 Gödri and Tóth: "Magyarország, Románia, és Szlovákia", 182

people had political and economic reasons, from the middle of the 1990s they made up their minds based on social and financial motivations. The differences between wages and living standards were huge between the neighboring countries, thus most the migrants decided to settle for good.

While Hungary lacks a comprehensive migration policy, existing policies have always favored ethnic Hungarians, reflecting a strong commitment towards ethnic migration policies. Let's just think about the law of citizenship of 1993, for example, that exempted persons of Hungarian ethnic nationality from the ordinary eight-year residence requirement for naturalization[33], or of the policy enforced in 2010, when the newly ruling Hungarian coalition (FIDESZ and the Christian Democratic Party) changed the Hungarian Citizenship Law, allowing the preferential naturalization of non-Hungarian citizens with Hungarian ancestors, and accelerating their naturalization procedures. According to the act, all holders of ethnic Hungarian certificates (923.000 in 2010) could potentially apply for citizenship. The process does not take more than 3-4 month and does not require passing the language test or knowledge of Hungarian constitution and history, as it is mandatory for other incomers applying for residency[34]. Like in any other European country, traditional citizenship means full membership in a polity, institutionalized by rights, obligations, and benefits that distinguished members from non-members[35].

In the last one and a half decades, Hungary's basic immigration characteristic have cleared up: because of its geopolitical situation the country primarily represented a target for ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries. Between 1987 and 2001, 70% of the

33 Brubaker: "Migrations", 1055
34 Irina Molodikova (2014): Hungary and the System of European Transit Migration, Journal: Transit Migration in Europe, Pages: 153-184
35 Miriam Feldblum (1997): Reconfiguring citizenship in Europe, California Institute of Technology and University of San Francisco, Paper to be presented at the 1997 European Community Studies Association Conference, Seattle, Washington

immigrants, while in 2002, according to preliminary data, 75% of all the incomers come from surrounding countries, the majority having Hungarian nationality. According to the same study in 2001, 92% of those who had been granted residency permit in Hungary, had Hungarian nationality (the remaining 8 percent was divided between nine other nationalities)[36].

This pattern began to be challenged in the summer of 2015 with the arrival of a large and ethnically much diverse flow of migrants. One of the most noteworthy features of the new migration is the multiplicity of immigrants' countries of origin[37], most of them having no historical, religious, or cultural links to the European heritage. In part, perhaps this can explain why these new waves of migration brought up new forms of racisms, cultural and economic insecurities within established, old immigrant circles. While Brubaker argued[38] that "ethnomigrants" cannot really be considered labor migrants because their ethnicity plays a crucial role in engendering, patterning and regulating their migration flows, John E. Fox stated[39] that in many aspects Hungary's settled Eastern European immigrants came as typical economic migrants, answering to the needs of the country's relatively prosperous economy. A sudden economic growth that managed to pull on migrant workers from Romania, Serbia, Yugoslavia and Ukraine, while the prospects of a comparatively dismal economic future in their homeland simultaneously pushed workers towards Hungary[40]. While 25 years ago their presence used to be dominant in sectors that were part of the informal or black economy

36 Gödri and Tóth: "Bevándorlás és beilleszkedés", 68
37 Steven Vertovec (2007): "Super-diversity and its implications", The Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies, Volume 30, Pages: 1024-1054
38 Brubaker: "Migrations", 1049
39 Jon E. Fox (2003): "National identities on the move: Transylvanian Hungarian labour migrants in Hungary", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, pp: 449-466
40 Fox: "National identities", 452

(construction industry, home care, babysitting)[41], this phenomenon has undergone several changes during the last years. However, because we are still talking about a migration-based lifestyle, members of the community, even if only temporarily, sometimes are still forced to accept lower-level and paid jobs than the ones they are qualified to do in order to accelerate the settlement process. Most of them see their current status as a transition, they plan further mobility in the employment hierarchy and contemporary immigrants may endanger this process somewhat.

Recent waves of non-European migration – Muslims in particular – have created strong social pressures for granting immigrants special rights, or exemptions from duties on the basis of their cultural and religious difference from the rest of the society[42]. The Hungarian society began to regard migration as a phenomenon that undermines the vision of a unitary nation, and took a defensive position against anyone who is not a native. Nothing proves this better than the results of a national public opinion poll on Hungary's xenophobia level published in 2016[43], which grouped ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania, African university students, Syrian Christian refugees, Arabs, and homosexuals in the same immigrant category. In the survey, they asked one thousand people whether they would rather accept an ethnic Hungarian, a student from Africa, a refugee from the Arab worlds, a homosexual, or a gypsy as a neighbor. The overall result: the level of xenophobia in Hungary has reached its peak, the population has never been this suspicious towards ethnically different groups, a quarter of them even rejecting the thought of living next to an ethnic Hungarian from a neighboring country. The applied distinction of the pollster was evidently not solely about race; cultural

41 Gergő Pulay (2006): "A munkavállalók világa: etnicitás, állampolgárság és munkaerõpiaci kategorizáció", Regio 2sz. pp: 25–42
42 Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham. (2001): How national citizenship shapes transnationalism: A comparative analysis of migrant claims-making in Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 17: 63-100
43 Kolozsi Adam (2016): Sosem látott mértékű a magyarországi idegenellenesség / Index.hu

and social disparities were used to perpetuate the inferiority of certain groups, which allegedly might have had negative effects on ethnic Hungarians from abroad who viewed the Hungarian society as their own. By labelling what is socially and culturally different, they were inadvertently dictating the terms by which an individual is included in the society[44]. The fear of social exclusion and cultural collisions can work as efficient driving forces to motivate settled migrants to align behind nationalist and populist appeals.

44 Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner and Rediet Wegayehu: "Moving Beyond"

Chapter 2 – Literature review

Having outlined my research strategy and identified the medium that I consider Hungary's established immigrant community, this chapter will discuss the various theoretical frameworks that have been developed to interpret the different reactions of settled migrants regarding the contemporary immigrant inflows. Despite the fact that the literature on migration-related challenges is voluminous and growing fast, the formation of social ties among immigrants of different times and different origins is a relatively unbeaten path. In light of the new migration waves, a new phenomenon started to emerge within Europe's "old migrant" [45] community: faced with a racially and culturally much more diverse influx of newcomers, they have started to certify the same exclusionary behavior towards them that they have experienced upon their arrival from the majoritarian society. As Jon E. Fox have argued[46], while racism against East European migrants constitutes a continually central theme, racism by East European migrants has been overlooked for years.

The opinion of the scholar community regarding the reasons why settled immigrants decide to show, or to withheld support and solidarity towards contemporary migrants is fairly divided, ethnographers, social scientist, migration and European mobility researchers approaching the phenomenon from two different perspectives. Some (McDowell, 2009; Fox, 2012) claim that immigrants coming from post-communist countries are using their whiteness, their racial supremacy out of economic interest to forge advantage for themselves

45 expression used by Linda McDowell in her study Old and New European Economic Migrants: "Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 2009, pp. 19-36

46 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1872

on the labor market, while others (Pippa Norris, 2016; Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner & Wegayehu) are sharing the opinion that settled immigrants are fostering a reticent behavior out of social and cultural identity fears. Although from the point of view of my topic I intend to accentuate the absence of social bonding between settled and new immigrants, I do not wish to imply that immigrant communities never bridge informally these social and cultural gaps based on their non-native statuses[47]. Migration and transnationalism researcher Laura Morosanu, for example, have argued[48] that ethno-cultural differences are not that relevant within the immigrant society for their shared experiences over time lead to unity and adaptation, rather than disengagement. I consider these three theoretical approaches important to present because I wish to analyze which one of these alternative concepts can serve as a relevant explanation from the perspective of my target group.

2.1 Economic insecurities

Despite the fact that there are situations where old and new immigrant groups are trying to succeed in their new common home by helping each other, ethnicity and race can sometimes "spice up" social relations within the immigrant community in the wrong directions. According to John E. Fox[49], one of the reasons that lies behind the exclusionary attitude of past-migrants is a kind of racial supremacy: settled immigrant minority populations "wield 'race' to assert that they are more suitable workers, to defend their relatively privileged position in the labor market, for they believe that their putative whiteness will serve them good on the increasingly competitive job market."[50] Pursuing this economic theory, fear of job loss, wage competition, concerns over the costs of social programs, or perceptions that

47 Laura Moroşanu (2013): "We all eat the same bread: the roots and limits of cosmopolitan bridging ties developed by Romanians in London", Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36:12, 36:12, pp: 2160-2181
48 Moroşanu: "We all eat", 2160
49 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1871
50 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1874

newcomers may harm labor market opportunities are often cited as reasons to oppose immigration[51]. Within the immigrant community, whiteness is often perceived as a leverage that can provide advantageous positions for European migrants by producing racial categories[52]. These sets of associations have been crucial in the development of a discursive rather than an essentialized view of ethnicity/race in studies exploring discrimination in the labor market and in other areas against the "non-white" population[53].

Theorizing about the importance of whiteness is a relatively new development in critical social theory, but it was always considered an advantage from the perspective of the labor market[54]. Some researchers have argued that for minority groups whiteness produces images of objectified and racialised otherness[55], while others outlined that it helps secure migrants a better position vis-a-vis other 'less white' migrants. According to Herbert Blumer[56], people necessarily come to identify themselves as belonging to a racial group; such identification is not spontaneous or inevitable but a result of experience, he argues, and by characterizing other racial groups, by opposition, means defining our own group. Blumer identified four basic types of feeling that seem to be always present in race prejudice in the dominant group: a feeling of superiority, a feeling that the subordinate race is intrinsically different and alien, a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage, and a fear and suspicion that the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race. In the following, this thesis will focus on the first "feeling", the one of superiority,

51 D. Card, C. Dustmann and I. Preston (2005): "Understanding Attitudes to Immigration (2005): The Migration and Minority Module of the First European Social Survey", CReAM Discussion Paper 03/05, pp:1-45
52 Uli Linke (1999): Blood and Nation: The European Aesthetics of Race, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
53 Linda McDowell (2009): "Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 19-36
54 McDowell: "Old and New", 28
55 Linda McDowell: "Old and New European", 28
56 Herbert Blumer (1958): "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position", The Pacific Sociological Review, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1958), pp. 3-7

considering that immigrants with European origins have enjoyed more privileges for decades than those without them[57] because of their racial identifications.

Researchers have traced this back to the 19th and early 20th centuries when Italian immigrants have used their European origins to improve their social standing in the American society by adopting the social, economic, and ideological practices of the white majority, while simultaneously separating themselves from the blacks[58]. Over the course of the same period, Catholic Irish immigrants in the USA have also lobbied for a white racial status in America, highlighting their European roots as a possible supremacy. Despite the fact that they were forced to compete for the same low-wage, low-status jobs than their African peers (the Irish facing a status almost as low as that of recently-freed blacks), over the years the Irish Americans managed to enter and become part of the dominant white culture[59] to a great extent. In order to secure their social positions, as Noel Ignatiev said, the oppressed race of Ireland became part of an oppressing race in America[60]. Thinking of cases from the not so distant past, we could bring up how in postwar Britain the whiteness of young Baltic women brought them unlimited advantages to the loss of their Caribbean compatriots[61]. The European Volunteer Workers, who had to fill "vacancies" in key sectors of the British economy, used their white skins to achieve an invisibility in Britain that was inaccessible to black migrants who came to the UK almost at the same time. They were considered more suitable wifes for white man and potential mothers of Britons[62].

57 Howard Winant (2001): The world is a ghetto: race and democracy since World War II, New York: Basic Books
58 Jean Ann Scarpaci (1972): "Italians Immigrants in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes: Recruitment, Labor Conditions, and Community Relations, 1880/1910" (PhD Dissertation, Department of History, Rutgers University)
59 Jessie Daniels: Irish-Americans, Racism, and the Pursuit of Whiteness, Racismreviews.com
60 Noel Ignatiev (1995): How the Irish Became White, New York / London: Routledge
61 McDowell: "Old and New", 26
62 McDowell: "Old and New", 29

As we can see from these examples, and as J. Fox has also put it, the reasons behind the attractiveness of racism can be the same in the case of a white majority then in the case of a white migrant community[63]. The migration researcher has supported his theory by empirical evidence as well, by showing how Romanian and Hungarian economic migrants working in the UK are differentiating themselves by using color, by invoking their "putative whiteness to `darken` less white migrants on the labor market"[64]. While he admits that this "shared whiteness" does not guarantee that these migrants will not be victims of racism themselves, it can be used as a tool in order to assign other minority groups a hierarchically less white status[65].

In the last years, more scholars started to argue that with the rise of the new migration crisis, the same patterns of discrimination can be noticed among white-minorities from the EU's newest member states. With the increased racial diversity of the European society, settled migrants are trying to position themselves in a hierarchy of acceptability[66] and gain higher status by highlighting the racial disadvantages of other non-European minority groups.

2.2 Social and cultural insecurities

As pointed out above, we can find several explanations in the literature concerning why established migrants might try to undermine the introduction and the social integration of new migrants. Some of these concerns may have economic origins. Other reasons could relate to the social backlash theory, which is based on the assumption that newcomers will undermine the traditional language, religion, political power, or way of life of the native

63 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1872
64 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1874
65 Fox: "The uses of racism", 1874
66 David Roediger (2002): Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past, Berkeley: University of California Press

population.[67] This perspective emphasizes that the populist support of past migrants can be explained primarily as a social psychological phenomenon, them warming up to right-wing populists because of cultural disorientation and national solidarity rather than economic insecurities.

Group identity and self-categorization theorists (H. Tajfel, M.G. Billing, R.P.Bundy & C. Flament, 1971; Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., &Wetherell, M. S.,1987) predict that when certain conditions are met, a negative relation between in-group identification and tolerance towards outgroup members can be observed[68]. In the definition of Henri Tajfel, the intergroup behavior is that in which the interaction of individuals towards each other is determined by their membership of different social groups or categories[69]. This theory is related to the well-known categorization of "us" and "them", treating outgroup members less favorably than "insiders". According to Tajfel, subjective group identification constitutes of three major components: the cognitive, the evaluative, and the emotional factor in the sense that the cognitive and evaluative aspects of the group and one's membership of it may be accompanied by emotions (such as love or hatred, like or dislike) directed towards one's own group and towards others which stand in certain relations to it.[70]

Throughout history, migration has always involved the mixing of diverse groups, but in the contemporary context the diversity of migrants has increased substantially[71]. There are more

67 Card, Dustmann and Preston: "Understanding Attitudes", 5
68 H. Tajfel, M.G. Billing, R.P. Bundy, C. Flament (1971): "Social categorization and intergroup behavior", European Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 1, Issue 2, pp: 149–178
69 Henry Tajfel, (1981): Human groups and social categories / The attributes of intergroup behavior (pp: 228-277) Cambridge University Press, New York, USA
70 Tajfel: "Human groups", 229
71 Hugo Graeme (2005): Migrants in society: diversity and cohesion, National Centre for Social Applications of GIS University of Adelaide

than eight million people of non-European origins living on the EU's territory[72], and in many cases, new immigrants are from different racial and ethnic groups than the native population. Inflows of groups with a distinct religion, language, or culture may be perceived as a threat to the way of life and social status of current residents[73]. Returning to the above mentioned self-categorization theory, self-definition as a member of a social category implies the adoption of attitudes perceived as normative within an in-group[74]: individuals can act generous towards an outgroup when they think that fairness is accepted, but they behave bias when discrimination is normative[75].

Although the role of minority groups should be the forging of more inclusive societies[76], when faced with generalized political discourses that thrusts all immigrants, established and newcomers, into a marginal position, settled immigrants tend to support official restrictive immigration policies. A sort of cultural and social identity crisis develops in them that rises from the contradiction between the way their hosting society starts to label them and the way they want to be seen. Collectively these factors can contribute to a degrading migrant experience, which undermines their own hierarchical perception. After years of existential security and stability, if their legitimacy is being questioned, as a reaction against progressive cultural changes, as a defense mechanism, settled immigrants might decide to support nationalist and populist appeals. In order words, to avoid becoming the victims of this

72 Laurent Licata and Olivier Klein (2002): "Does European Citizenship Breed Xenophobia? European Identification as a Predictor of Intolerance Towards Immigrants", Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, pp: 323-337
73 Card, Dustmann and Preston: "Understanding Attitudes", 9
74 J. C. Turner, M. A Hogg, P. J Oakes, S. D. Reicher, and M. S. Wetherell (1987): Rediscovering the social group: a self-categorization theory. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell
75 J. Jetten., R. Spears, & A. S. R Manstead (1996): "Intergroup norms and intergroup discrimination: distinctive self-categorization and social identity effects", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71, 1222–1233.
76 Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner and Wegayehu: "Moving Beyond"

suddenly up sprung xenophobia, old migrants rather identify with the restrictive behavior of the majoritarian society.

Along with the increased diversity in national origins, new immigrants bring greater religious diversity as well[77], so established migrants are getting afraid not only of cultural, but also of religious clashes. Suzanne Gamboa argues[78] that religious concerns are playing an important role in how established migrants perceive the newcomers. Throughout her research, she explains why in the US a fairly high number of Latinos voted for Donald Trump[79], or why in Sweden more and more foreign-born citizens are joining anti-immigration parties[80]. Christian Hispanics who voted for Trump were very American in their decision, assimilating with the general belief that new asylum-seekers are threatening their Christian roots. The same thoughts were sweeping through Europe, and through Hungary in the past year, the rhetoric being reinforced over and over by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, as he warned Europe against allowing in Muslim families[81]. "Migration is the Trojan wooden horse of terrorism, the migrants, many of whom are Muslims, are a threat to Europe's Christian identity and culture" Orbán said[82].

2.3. Overcoming ethnicity

While some researchers are convinced that European citizenship itself can breed xenophobia in a certain context for it is still anchored in nationality[83], others have found that ethno-

77 Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (2000): Religion and the New Immigrant Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press
78 Suzanne Gamboa (2016): Latinos Who Voted, campaigned for Trump found common ground with him, NBC News
79 Gamboa: "Latinos Who Voted"
80 Ann Törnkvist (2013): Foreign-born Swedes join anti-immigration party, The Local
81 Michael B., Griff W. (2015): 'People in Europe are full of fear' over refugee influx, The Washington Post
82 AP (2017): Hungary PM: Migration is 'Trojan wooden horse' of terrorism, Fox News
83 Licata and Klein: "Does European Citizenship Breed Xenophobia?", 325

national factors are secondary arguments on this issue, and cultural differences are not the most relevant and decisive factors within the immigrant society[84].

One researcher who is reinforcing and confirming the latter theory is Laura Morosanu, whose study focuses on how Romanian guest-workers in London are building social ties and networks with immigrants from other ethnic groups. According to her results, convergence between immigrants with different ethnicities might simply rise because of common experiences and challenges. Migrants of different ethnonational backgrounds cross paths occupationally on a daily basis, whether we are talking about lower end jobs, academic programs, or transnational companies, and they might intersect in poorer neighborhoods, or shared housing. She argues that mixed workplaces and neighborhoods are encouraging a sort of cosmopolitanism among immigrants, who will consequently develop a sort of sensibility towards each other. As an example, she brings up a conversation with a young Romanian woman, Elena, who is working as a nanny and cleaner, and who is describing her cooking habits to her: 'When I cook, I mix,' said Elena, 'I don't always cook Romanian food, if it's a ciorbaˇ [Romanian soup], yes, but for the main, I mix so to say ... if we like the taste, we adapt, we adapt to everything, it doesn't really matter.'[85]

According to Morosanu[86], this very banal example shows clearly that shared experiences, shared non-native fates and statuses do bring different immigrant groups together, without seeing a constant competition in each other. She points out that migration researchers always tend to separate immigrant groups based on their ethnicity instead of trying to figure out what other categories might be dominant in a migrant's life, reinforcing her conclusion with the

84 Moroşanu: "We all eat", 2162
85 Moroşanu: "We all eat", 2165
86 Moroşanu: "We all eat", 2165

theory of Briggs[87], who argued that social ties can help the "disadvantaged" to cope better with their minoritarian situations. Immigrants in their hosting countries frequently can better "get ahead" by relying on these networks, rather than confiding only in their kin or friends[88]. As such, even though ethnicity is not entirely irrelevant within the immigrant community, living or working among similarly positioned people might just lead the migrants to acquire skills to handle diversity[89], and to overcome easier cultural differences than the majoritarian society.

Although immigration may have positive effects on economic efficiency and growth in the receiving countries[90], it is often perceived as a negative aspect, as a threat to a unified identity. While majoritarian societies often foster exclusionary behavior towards newcomers because of public and personal life insecurities, established migrants may be driven by economic and social insecurities. This chapter has summarized the most relevant theories that can help us understand these attitudes, and map the underlying impulsions. Taking into consideration that so far little concrete research has focused on the anti-migration attitudes of settled migrants who recently got reconnected with their motherlands, the following chapter will address this occurrence as it relates to the Hungarian context. This becomes useful when looking to understand the relationship between national minorities and migration as well as the reasons behind their unity or dissension. As such, the next section intends to discover what has influenced cross-border Hungarians who have recently chosen Hungary as their new home (as of a few years ago) in their attitudes towards new immigrants, as well as

87 Xavier de Souza Briggs (1998): Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital" Housing Policy Debate. Vol. 9, pp: 177-220
88 Briggs: "Brown Kids", 206
89 Moroşanu: "We all eat", 2171
90 Card, Dustmann and Preston: "Understanding Attitudes", 2

showcasing the prevailing explanatory power of this case under the theoretical models outlined above.

Chapter 3 - Findings

The main purpose of this thesis is to map the possible reasons why established immigrants might resist to show solidarity and support towards new asylum-seekers, and more precisely to explore the Hungarian situation in this context. Throughout my research, I tried to detect why Hungary's established immigrants, ethnic Hungarians from across the borders, showed little empathy towards contemporary migrants, and what is more, why they support anti-migration policies. As mentioned earlier, the findings of this thesis derive from the results of the surveys that were completed by cross-border Hungarians, who in recent years have chosen Hungary as their new home out of economic or other personal reasons. The questions were grouped around four specific topics: the mandatory migration quotas, awareness concerning the Hungarian government's migration policies, personal experiences of discrimination in Hungary, and equality of migrant's rights. In the following I will describe the most relevant findings along these themes. In line with this, this chapter sets out to present the most important concerns and factors that settled immigrants in Hungary took into consideration when they felt forced to choose between national solidarity and cultural diversity, between openness towards newcomers and devotion to their mother country. Shedding light on whether the country's hostile atmosphere at the time of the quota referendum has affected their views and behavior or not, I can gain a clearer image of the underlying reasons that fueled their lack of empathy, and exclusionary manners.

3.1 Opinions on the mandatory migrant quotas

The movement of people across states have strengthened the belief that citizenship is not only a set or rights, but also a mechanism of closure that can sharply demarcate the boundaries of a

state[91]. Taking into consideration that I am focusing on an immigrant community that shares common historical, cultural, and ethnonational background with the host society, their tendency to congregate with it while feeling a certain supremacy towards the "carriers of ethnic differences"[92] should not come as a surprise. The fears and insecurities of the majoritarian society rapidly became the fears of the settled migrant community, who's members when asked in the survey whether they agree or not with the mandatory migrant quotas imposed by the EU for its member states, in a majority have responded with 'no', explaining their responses with economic and security reasons.

A woman who moved to Budapest five years ago and today is working as a medic said that although she accepts that immigrants need assistance and fast solutions, she does not agree with the mandatory quota-system, because since the arrival of the new migrants, crime has visibly increased in Europe. A 31 years old worker, who moved to Hungary from Transylvania at the age of 14 said that being a father of two small children, he strongly agrees with the Hungarian government's anti-migration policy.

> "*I consider that building a fence and stopping the massive refugee movement was a good idea, and it probably will not be enough. How can we tell if they are migrants, refugees, or something even worse, as we can see on a daily basis? It is wrong to treat these groups of people as one community. One of them* (national minorities) *belongs to the European family, probably is doing something for it, has more rights to benefit from its labor market, healthcare and housing system, while the other as soon as arrives tries to become an economic migrant as fast as possible just to take advantage of the social system of the West"*

– he said, adding that he does not agree with the quota system for he believes that the problem should not be solved here, but at the site of the problem.

91 Christian Joppke (1999): "How immigration is changing citizenship: a comparative view", Ethnic and Racial Studies 22(4), pp: 629-52
92 Joppke: "How immigration", 630

Respondents approached the topic from slightly different perspectives, but most of them agreed on the fact that Hungary should not be forced to accept new immigrants, even supporting further interventions. A practitioner medic who moved to Budapest in 2013 because he found better work opportunities in Budapest said: "*If a country decides through a referendum that it wants to accept immigrants, let them do so, but no country should be forced. I don't agree with the quotas, for I believe that every country should deal with the immigrants of their own exploited colonies*". Another person, who is also working in the healthcare system, and moved to Budapest for professional reasons argued that Europe needs to solve the problem of migration uniformly, though she would appreciate it if there were other ways than the mandatory quotas. Of course, there were respondents who stood up to the legitimacy of the quota-system, saying that every country needs to get involved in solving the problem of migration. A 30-year old man from Transylvania who moved to Hungary in 2010 stated that the entire migration story was poorly communicated, so it is understandable that people got worried, and did not want to accept foreigners from anywhere. "*I think it is important that we allow immigrants from war zones to enter Europe, and engage them in the right integration programs as soon as possible. In the same time, I feel that Europe is not prepared for this, and there are not enough prepared experts who could be responsible for these trainings*"- he said.

From the listed answers, we can conclude that Hungary's settled immigrants are rather seeing a source of threat in the newcomers than fellow fate-companions. National citizenship can be a powerful device of disdain, especially if it is fueled by anti-immigration incentives from the government and the public media that functions under its authority. If restrictive policies and the dominant official narrative starts to target everyone who is not an integral part of the society, the majoritarian society will begin to be suspicious towards everyone, while minority

groups might get the sense that they are considered as drains on the society. With the words of Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner, and Wegayehu[93], if the cultural discourse thrusts the minority into a marginal position in relation to the mainstream cultural identity, and does not portray positive images of them as real contributors of the society, a cultural identity crisis might emerge, which can force them to support the persecution of other, racially, ethnically, culturally different minority groups.

3.2 Awareness of the Hungarian government's migration policies

Moving forward to the second theme of my survey, by trying to find out if my interviewees are aware of the Hungarian government's position on the refugee influx, and whether this position had any influence on their own judgement, I had two purposes. On the one hand, I wanted to make sure that their replies can be used on a substantive basis, on the other hand, I wished to find out if the government had succeeded to set ethnic Hungarians from across the borders on its side with its exclusionary anti-migration initiatives or not.

We can find a rich literature regarding the instrumental use of ethnic ties to those from abroad to justify irredentist ambitions and nationalist politics, and Hungary has done a lot in recent years to create "windows of opportunity"[94] for ethnic Hungarians at the expense of other migrants. Building national solidarity can be seen as a progressive political resource, but in a relatively heterogeneous, nationalizing state as Hungary, it mainly resulted in exclusionary attitudes towards immigration, towards multiculturalism. Nation-building projects with their social constructions of a national "we" and a foreign "they" are pervasive[95] and divisive features of the contemporary world.

93 Agbabiaka, Pedersen, Turner and Wegayehu: "Moving Beyond"
94 Molodikova: "Hungary and the System", 154
95 Will Kymlicka (2015): "Solidarity in diverse societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism", Comparative Migration Studies, 3:17, pp:1-19

Concerning the Hungarian government's position, most of the respondents stressed in their answers that the government's messages were too confusing and controversial, and as such, they did not fully understand them. Some of them believed that the manipulative attitude of the government is based on a provocative rhetoric, striving to create hostility in the society by poisoning public speech. Only few of them have said that they agreed with the messages of the central power, which somewhat did affect their own opinions. A journalist who moved to Hungary in 2011 for better job opportunities said: *"I do not think that the Hungarian government has a firm standpoint in the matter besides a demagogue approach, so I do not claim to be aware of it at all. I have followed somewhat the government's communication strategy, but it is not a coherent one. It is built on racist and islamophobic elements, it is not economically useful, and it is not based on solidarity. Beside this, it has no factual basis."*

Fundamentally, similar opinions were given by most of my subjects, though many of them highlighted that despite the fact that they are not favoring the government's position, they are concerned that further immigration will further deepen the country's economic and social problems. As one of the respondent argued: *"The Hungarian government's opinion is not my opinion, but how can we tackle this issue when even Hungarian citizens are reaching the limits of their livelihoods?"* An IT-consultant who moved to Budapest in 2010 for better job opportunities had even accused the government for having double standards when it comes to who can settle down in the country and who cannot: *"I find it completely unacceptable to build up such a propaganda that we have witnessed lately, and forge capital and money at the expense of unread people, while allowing for years and for immense amounts of money the incoming of unchecked people through the Hungarian investment immigration program,*

the Residency Bond Program[96]*."* Contrary to these opinions, an architect who moved to Budapest just in the last year for more profitable and better life conditions, said that he agrees with the official rhetoric, for the problem of migration should be handled at the roots, referring to the hometown of the new migrants: "*Of course, we need the cheap labor, and our society is too scared to provide it. However, the solution should not be the unbounded admission of immigrants"* – he argued, saying that the government's position only had partial influence on his own. A similar answer was given by a woman who lives in Budapest since 2012: *"I think that every asylum seeker must be handled individually, authorities cannot let them enter the country unchecked. To this extent, I can accept the need for a fence. However, in addition, we need larger accommodation units, more official control capacity"* - she argued, adding that instead of fighting with Brussels, the government should ask for a higher degree of cooperation and assistance.

Although many of my interviewees have answered that the Hungarian government's position on the immigrant influx and the mandatory quotas had no influence on their own opinion, some of their arguments are resonating perfectly with the rhetoric of the authorities. Official representatives often mentioned that Hungary must deal alone with the issue of immigration, without the European Union (EU) interfering with it, and that immigrants must be sent back from wherever they came from, for the problem must be dealt with at its root[97]. As it can be seen from the answers, Hungary's old immigrants on the one hand are condemning the government's inciting and anti-minority position even if they have concerns about the newcomers, while on the other hand, to a certain extent they can identify with some insights,

96 The Hungarian residency bond program started in 2013, grants permanent residency in Hungary to foreigners in Hungary who buy EUR 300,000 worth of government bonds, which will be entirely given back after 5 years with no interest. Investors are free to move around Schengen countries, once the residency is granted
97 Hir TV (2015): „Háború van" – Tabudöntő szerepet játszott Magyarország

supporting official anti-migration policies. In the words of Kymlicka[98], building on their common "invisible background", as he defined the notion of shared nationhood, the government is providing a sense of belonging together that automatically awakens a sense of acting together. Ethnicity in this sense becomes a social membership that turns class solidarity into national solidarity[99], and citizenship becomes identity with a rich emotional charge.

3.3 Experiencing discrimination in Hungary

Coming to the third topic of my questionnaire, when asked if they have ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination since their stay in Hungary, with a few exceptions, everyone answered '*yes*', one of the interviewees even emphasizing that in her opinion, today it is worse being a woman in Hungary than in Romania. Many of those who in their answers said that they are experiencing discrimination almost on a daily basis[100], turned out to be less biased concerning the topic of migration. However, even so they highlighted that "there is a big difference between immigrant and immigrant", and when it comes to integration, ethnic and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration by both official authorities and the society as well. Seven different respondents have emphasized this, which suggests that at a certain level the community expected from the Hungarian authorities and the society not to consider them under the same cover with new migrants coming from outside of Europe. Attila, who has moved to Hungary in 2012 for his studies and today is working as a sound engineer, said: "*I believe that every country should show solidarity in the matter of migration, but I think that cultures and their compatibilities must be considered when we are thinking about accepting and hosting foreigners*". Another respondent who moved to Budapest in

98 Kymlicka: "Solidarity in diverse societies", 2
99 S. Berman, (2006). The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
100 mostly because of their formal Romanian „identity"

2002, after graduation, because he wanted better career and social life opportunities, argued: "*I do not think that Hungary should treat every immigrant the same, for we come with different purposes and from different places. Every case must be handled uniquely."*

Minority groups usually exploit their ethnic hierarchies in an attempt to acquire more financial, political and moral resources for themselves, to delegitimize the claims of their opponents, while engaging in negotiations with potential allies[101]. This ally in our case is the Hungarian society itself, which openly certified an exclusionary behavior towards the new immigrants. A highly important aspect if we take into consideration that we are talking about historically – formerly also territorially – bound national groups, which according to Will Kymlicka when faced with a considered external disruptive force, tend to engage in convulsive "nation-building" processes[102]. National minority is a field of struggle in a double sense: first, they have to struggle to impose and sustain a certain kind of stance in their homelands, second, they have to fight the same battles in their new host states[103]. For trans-border immigrant groups these battles may trigger a certain sense of responsibility to "defend" their newly-recovered home, while on the other hand might consider complying with the majoritarian attitude in order to sustain a certain perception.

3.4 Equality for all immigrants

Addressing the question of equal opportunities and rights for all immigrants, fifty percent of the respondents thought that on some level all migrants deserve to be treated equally, however, everyone has bound conditions to the replies: immigrants must respect their hosting country's laws, and must have valid documents, because "*it is unacceptable that they can get*

101 Steven J. Gold (2004): "From Jim Crow to racial hegemony: Evolving explanations of racial hierarchy", Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies, pp: 951-968
102 Will Kymlicka (2007): Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity. Oxford: Oxford University Press
103 Brubaker: "National minorities", 115

rid of their papers and then just go to the border of another country." While some of the people who had positive attitudes towards the question of equality have also said that people coming from war zones should benefit advantages, others have stated that if newcomers want to stay in Hungary, they have to live up to the country's social and labor market expectations. A journalist who moved to Hungary in 2011 for better job opportunities said: "*Under no circumstances should the issue of economic immigrants and asylum seekers be confused; this is a completely different circle of solidarity. I do not see this comparison justified, neither non-EU immigrants, nor EU immigrants should have the same level of service as Hungarian citizens."*

All the above-mentioned answers are strengthening the assertion that solidarity is not only about social and economic factors, but it is also a political phenomenon, which can be built or eroded through politics[104]. As social protection is only reserved for those who fit this narrow category of the nation[105], on the one side immigrants access and rights becomes highly limited, while on the other, solidarity will be ignored because it does not fit well with the national solidarity. Based on the four subsections above (3.1.-3.4.), I believe we can confirm the assumption that at the time of the quota referendum Hungary's settled immigrant community has been caught between their own personal insecurities and a consciously built nation-minded rhetoric, which promoted hostility towards diversity. They have decided to comply with the exclusionary behavior of the majoritarian society out of a sense of national solidarity, and out of social fears so much so that some of them still cannot decide whether to see a source of threat in them, or to support their integration. This kind of dual attitude can be observed throughout their answers: although most of them would grant equal treatment to all

104 Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka (2015): "The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies", European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Global Governance Programme
105 Kymlicka: "Solidarity in diverse societies", 8

migrants out of humanitarian reasons, the arrival of people with distinctive identities in terms of language, culture or religion raises in many of them fear and uncertainty; while most of them think that ethnicity should not play a decisive role in accommodating migrants, seventy percent of the respondents disagree with the mandatory migrant quotas.

Conclusion

As pointed out in the previous chapters, the shared ethnicity linking Hungarians from Romania to Hungarians in Hungary is not primarily a legal fiction, but rather a sociological reality[106]. Thus, when their cultural integrity got challenged and questioned, they once again have experienced the status distinction they endured upon their arrivals. In the nineties, ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania were often labelled 'Romanians' by members of the Hungarian society, and as such were symbolically denied the national honor associated with being Hungarian. This from their perspective, was an insult[107]. At the time of the quota referendum, in order to avoid becoming the victims of this suddenly up sprung xenophobia, a significant part of the established community has decided to identify with the restrictive behavior of the majoritarian society.

Leaving aside the referendum and focusing on the social structure and the political system of Hungary, we can assess that in a society where homogeneity is consciously nurtured, citizens tend to be less tolerant towards newcomers who might "dilute" this unity. Nationhood can be interpreted like a battery that energizes politics: it can be an effective battery for social justice claims, but it can also be used for excluding immigrants[108]. This theory is supported by some of my most important findings, which I could concisely summarize in two main points.

One rationale behind the exclusionary attitude of Hungary's settled immigrants towards contemporary migrants can be explained by the fact that they feel empowered to see new immigrants as potential threats and as unskilled labor force from less progressive countries

106 Brubaker: "Migrations", 1059
107 Fox: "National identities", 459
108 Kymlicka: "Solidarity in diverse societies", 2

because of their shared ethnicity and granted citizenship. Based on the answers it seems obvious that quite a large proportion of the respondents do not see themselves as immigrants, while others consider that at least they are "purposeful migrants" who chose Hungary as a destination because they wish to contribute economically and culturally in the country. Ethnic Hungarians from across the borders feel that they are belonging to a larger group of "us", and that they are organic parts of the larger Hungarian society; a society that has always belonged to the Catholic or the Protestant religion, whereas new immigrants are mostly members of the Islamic group. In this sense, many of the respondents have highlighted that besides the societal and cultural differences, linguistic and religious conditions may be important factors or obstacles in the successful integration of the newcomers. Although they themselves have experienced discrimination since their stay in Hungary, most of them do not shy away from further differentiating themselves from the new immigrants based on cultural, racial, or religious reasons. I believe that within this category solidarity and empathy gets ignored simply because people tend to automatically discriminate against those who are not part of their own group, an argument that fits perfectly into Tajfel's theoretical framework concerning intergroup behavior.[109]

The second rationale can be filtered out from the arguments of those who rejected the government's propaganda program, and are supporting open border policies. Even though this category thinks that every migrant should enjoy the same legal and social treatment, they believe that "cultural otherness"[110] must be tackled, and newcomers must accept and support the notion of a shared membership upon their arrival.

109 Tajfel: "Human groups", 240
110 Kymlicka: "Solidarity in diverse societies", 11

Based on these two points, using Kymlicka's reasoning[111], I believe that when it comes to Hungary's established immigrant community, perceiving new migrants as an economic burden is not the primary obstacle to their inclusive solidarity: the presumed cultural threats and social insecurities, with the ongoing political pressure are more powerful factors that influenced their attitudes.

Within this conclusion their shared Hungarian ethnicity and citizenship obviously plays an important role. As for further perspectives and research, it would be interesting to see whether in other countries that are similarly hosting larger ethnically affiliated minority groups, the same situations emerge in the face of the current migration waves.

111 Kymlicka: "Solidarity in diverse societies", 11

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Appendix 1

Survey questions

1. Where are you from?
2. When did you moved to Hungary and for what reason?
3. What was your occupation before moving to Hungary?
4. Do you agree with the mandatory migrant quotas set up by the EU for its member states? Please explain your answer.
5. In your opinion regarding the mandatory migrant quotas, do you think that ethnicity or race should be taken into consideration?
6. Are you aware of the Hungarian government's migration policies? Do you agree with them?
7. In your opinion regarding the quotas, or in general the topic of migration, do you feel influenced by the Hungarian government's position and messages?
8. Have you ever experienced any kind of discrimination here in Hungary?
9. Do you think all migrants (no matter of their country of origin or reason of relocation) deserve to be treated equally (equal rights for housing, healthcare, access to labor market, social security)?