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State of the art Research on migration related interdisciplinary topics, organizations, issues and migration policies based on the current needs of partner countries

Migrants' Integration Experiences in Hungary and Their Institutional-Political Context

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1 Introduction: Migration, migrants and migration related issues in Hungary

The current study aims to support the development of useful, practical and exemplary approaches and implementation processes towards **migration related topics** in the respective local communities across the EU. The RiskChange project will implement a series of activities (art residencies, small and large scale exhibitions, touring residencies, lectures, symposiums, conferences, educational modules, ambassador of culture training programme, communication actions, stakeholders involvement) related to migration topics and develop supporting materials and tools for innovative approaches towards art production and creative educational modules targeted at migrants and integration activities.

The main research questions of the overarching project are:
What is migration? How is it understood? How responsive are residents of partner countries to migrants and migration related issues? How is the migration topic built (if it is) into national policies? What are the most integrated migrant's communities? How are they connected amongst themselves? What specific methods, cultural, educational and political are being used in partner countries? How can trainings/courses/interdisciplinary programmes for migrant target groups be integrated into local communities?

In order to contribute to this multi-annual, multi-member RiskChange project, we are hereby presenting the national report on the integration experiences of migrants and their institutional-political context in Hungary.
The report draws on various sources (see chapter 3 on data & methodology) and covers organisational, political, legal, and civil society/NGO aspects of migration issues & migrants as a target group in Hungary (part I). We present the rich and multifaceted experience of immigrants themselves (part II) within this context. Hungary has proven (once again) to be a fascinatingly controversial case country to study - but while some of its politics may be lacking a positive attitude towards immigrants and immigrant integration, it was certainly the enthusiasm, positive outlook, and energy of the migrants themselves that has set the tone for us while compiling the report.[1]

[1] For the completion of this report, we first and foremost want to express our gratitude to the many people who willingly shared their integration experiences in Hungary with us as the two interviewers. We also want to thank the two project managers Tünde Szabolcs and Barnabas Bencsik for giving us the opportunity to work on this report and who supported us throughout.

2 Research design briefly explained

This report builds on two main stages of reserach with a different scope and intensity, namely:

- **Desk Research** – a keyword led search through internet, databases of journals, books, book sections and grey literature (project reports, policy documents) on migration and migration policy in Hungary as well as services, connected with migrants and migrations with practice examples of educational and cultural integration opportunities in the country.
- **Life-stage-based Interviews (2 x 30 = 60)** – this instrument has been used to deepen the results of the desk research and to conduct life-stage-based interviews about the migration topics and related issues with members of target groups in Hungarian immigrant communities. The interviews followed an interview guide and are therefore semi-structured.

We are giving further comments and qualifications on the data in the different parts. Noteworthy at this moment is the input given by the RiskChange project lead consortium, providing a structure for both the interviews and the report, and the non-representativeness of the sample of interviewees that we assembled via snowball sampling, making it a non-representative sample of the overall immigrant population in Hungary.

PART I: Migration in Hungary

Ever since the emergence of the Hungarian nation state in the 20th century, Hungary has been a homogenous country with only small percentages of nationalities and ethnic minorities in the population[2]. According to the 2011 census, there are 13 national and ethnic minorities residing in Hungary, the largest one being the Roma population, making up about 5-6% of the entire Hungarian population.

The refugee crisis, involving many thousands of people of different religion and culture arriving to the country of less than 10 million people, was thus a shock, even if there have been several waves of refugees seeking refuge here in previous decades. Escaping the Greek civil war (1946-1949), around 7 thousand Greek refugees found shelter in Hungary in 1947 and 1948. Many of them returned to Greece after the consolidation in their home country. Those who remained were concentrated in industrial towns, some quarters of the city of Budapest (districts IX, X) and the small village of Belioannisz, built in 1950

[2] Two major purges in recent history led to this ethnic homogeneity: the Shoa on the formerly large Jewish population in Hungary during and the expulsion of Germans after WWII.

specifically to house Greek families. In the 2011 census a little less than 4000 people responded by saying Greek to the question about ethnicity (Source: Múlt-kor, 2015).

It was not until the 1980s that Hungary received refugees in large numbers again: predominantly ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring Romania arrived in Hungary, escaping Ceausescu's anti-Hungarian/Romanization policies. In 1989, the number of registered refugees from Romania was 14,000. Then 1991, with the outbreak of the war in the Balkans, refugees from the Balkans as a result of the war in the Balkans, some 48,000 refugees came mainly from Croatia and Voivodina in Serbia, a large part of the latter refugees were ethnic Hungarians. Many of them returned home or moved to the West. In 1992 another 16 000 people found refuge in Hungary, almost half them being Muslims from Bosnia. In the decade between 1988 and 1999, as many as 155,005 refugees came to Hungary, the majority coming from the former Yugoslavia. (Source: http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/kulhoni_magyarsag/2010/srb/feszekhagyo_vajdasagiak/pages/010_jugoszlaviabol_magyarorszagra.htm)

The proportion of foreign nationals living in the country remains small in international or European comparison even if it showed moderate increase, from 0.9% to 1.4%, in the decade between 2 censuses in 2001 and 2011. The source of migration has traditionally been the neighbouring countries, especially the territories with a large proportion of ethnic Hungarian population, such as Transylvania or Vojvodina, then Germany and China with the opening up of the borders in the wake of the change of the regime in 1989. In 2011, 41% of foreign nationals came from third countries, many of them outside Europe (Gödri, 2017). The number of foreign nationals (by country) registered in Hungary is shown in Figure 1.

Table 1 - Number of Foreign Nationals in Hungary, 2017

(by continent and country of origin)

Continent, country	**Number**
Europe	**99194**
Romania	24040
Serbia	2312
Ukraine	5774
Germany	18627
Poland	2061
Italy	4903
Slovakia	9519
Croatia	1064
Austria	4021
Asia	**39937**
China	19111

America	**5397**
United States	3198
Africa	**5985**
Australia	**619**
TOTAL	**151132**

(Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office)

Migrants in Hungary

Foreigners residing in Hungary are concentrated mostly in the Central Hungarian region and more specifically in the capital, Budapest: 41% of active age foreign nationals lived in Budapest at the time of the 2011 census (compared with the respective proportion of 17.5% of the Hungarian population), of which third country nationals numbered the most. (Gödri, 2017)

When looking at their labour market integration, Gödri (Gödri, 2017) found that the level of education is generally higher among foreigners than in the general population. The proportion of people with tertiary educational level was 26.9% compared with 19.5% in the general population, while the proportion of people with a minimum of elementary education is slightly smaller (18.9% compared with 19.9% in the population of the host country). This is paralleled with a higher employment rate among the active age (15-64 years of age) immigrants compared with the entire Hungarian population: 62.4% versus 57%, while the unemployment rate is lower: 6.5% in the former group versus 12.7% in the latter.

There are differences, however, when looking at this group by countries of origin. For instance, brain waste, is presumably a problem in the case of those with tertiary level education among third country nationals, given that 25% of them are over-qualified for the job that they perform. There are differences with respect of gender as well: immigrant women's employment rates are lower than that of immigrant men in active age and lag slightly behind the employment rates of Hungarian women in the age group of 20-64: it is 68.75% in the case of immigration women and 76.1% in the case of the total female population (Gödri, 2017). This, however, does not go together with higher, statistically reported unemployment rates among them, which suggests that many of the immigrant women may not even have entered the labour market (which may be due to more traditional gender roles and patterns or greater difficulties in entering the labour market in the first place). The main factors influencing labour market integration in Hungary are the following: country of origin, social-demographic background, the amount of time spent in Hungary, linguistic and cultural background, knowledge of Hungarian, the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship (Gödri, 2017).

The labour market integration of immigrants may show a relatively positive picture but as it has been pointed out, there are differences based on various features. We do not have

information about the level of integration of migrants in different respects, such as cultural or social background, but the social context and attitudes toward foreigners in a given country is one, migrants' active citizenship another.

Level of xenophobia in Hungary

Following the change of the regime in 1989/90, the level of xenophobia, defined as the two extreme points of social distance and operationalized using the Bogardus scale (Sík-Simonovits, 2016), has been increasing and fluctuating, but lately has remained constant; From 15% in 1992 it increased to 40% in 1995, then it fluctuated between 19-43% between 1996 and 2001, and showed relative stability between 2002 and 2011 at 25-30% (Bernát, 2011). The data show that the Hungarian society was the most tolerant in the beginning of the 1990s, followed by a sudden shift toward xenophobia in the late 1990s, then a moderate consolidation or the tendency to become latent, with a gradual but small decrease in the 2000s.

Over the years the majority of the respondents have been "deliberators", i.e. those whose answer to the question "Do you think all/some/no refugees should be accepted?" was "Some refugees should be accepted, others not". Their proportion was lowest in 2001 but even then, their proportion was 53%. Differences can be noted with regard to rejection of various nationalities within this group of "deliberators": the level of rejection is greatest towards Arabic people (80%), followed by the Chinese (75%), the Russians (72%), the Romanians (71%) and the Pirezians (63%), a fictional minority group invented by TÁRKI research group, to test whether xenophobia is directed toward a concrete object or is part of a more general exclusionist attitude. Respondents seem consistently to reject this fictional group (Bernát, 2011), almost to the same degree as really existing ones, which indicates that xenophobia is not directed towards particular groups but encompasses "all things foreign" (including imagined things foreign) and the fear/dislike of them.

In the beginning of 2016 the share of those rejecting the idea of accepting any refugee increased to 53%, the group of "deliberators" shrunk to 46%, while the "xenophile" group almost disappeared and represented only 1% of the population (Sík-Simonovits-Szeitl, 2016).

A considerable change came with the refugee crisis in 2015 and with the preceding anti-immigration government propaganda. The chapter below describes the main features and repercussions of the crisis.

The “refugee crisis” in Hungary and the government propaganda

In 2015, Hungary saw the influx of an unprecedented number of refugees in transit to Western Europe: approximately 390 thousand migrants arrived in the country in that year alone. 177 thousand of them were registered as asylum seekers (Simonovits-Bernát, 2016). Prior to that, starting from early spring 2015 the government conducted an anti-immigration billboard campaign, warning the migrants in Hungarian that “If you come to Hungary, you cannot take the jobs of the Hungarians” or “If you come to Hungary, you must respect our culture”. The billboard campaign being in Hungarian was clearly directed at local citizens, or more precisely voters, and also had the effect that by the time refugees arrived at the borders xenophobic sentiments had already been stirred up.



“If you come to Hungary, you cannot take the jobs of the Hungarians”
Source: BBJ

The billboard campaign was followed by another one in the spring of 2017. This campaign suggested that the EU, referred to simply as Brussels in the campaign, was trying to forcefully settle hundreds of thousands of migrants in Hungary (which was a clear distortion of the quota system), therefore Brussels needed to be stopped. Once again, the public spaces all over Hungary were covered with the blue and white posters - this time with the slogan “Let’s stop Brussels!”. According to the investigative journalism portal, atlatszo.hu, the government spent as much as 4.2 billion HUF (approx. 13.5 million EUR) on the campaign that included, in addition to the billboards, TV and radio commercials, as well as advertisements in newspapers (atlatszo.hu).



"Let's stop Brussels!" - the government campaign, financed from public money, covering the underground in Budapest. Source: 24.hu

Since then, xenophobic messages, fear mongering and the demonising of migrants (now used as a derogatory term) as well as the organisations and civic groups supporting them, have been on the agenda. With the upcoming national elections for the April 2018, the issue of migration is expected to be high on the campaign agenda. This is indicated by yet another "national consultation" on what the government calls the "Soros-plan" and which implies that George Soros is putting pressure on the EC to re-settle millions of migrants in Europe and is paying money to NGOs to facilitate that. (Source: https://english.atlatszo.hu/2017/09/28/hungarian-government-spent-e23-million-on-anti-soros-and-anti-eu-campaign/) The allegations are based on some sentences taken out of context from George Soros's books and interviews.

Having a quick glance at the numbers: the number of people applying for asylum status in Hungary was 177,135 in the year 2015, of which only 146 were granted. This makes the positive decision rate (on asylum applications) one of the lowest in all of the European Union (0.0008%). In addition, 356 cases received protection statuses. The respective figures for 2016 are 154 cases of asylum granted and 271 cases of protection status granted, out of 29,432 asylum requests received. Total numbers are lower in absolute terms for 2017: 2,725 requests were received until the end of September out of which 75 were approved, and 730 received protection status (Source: KSH, 2017).

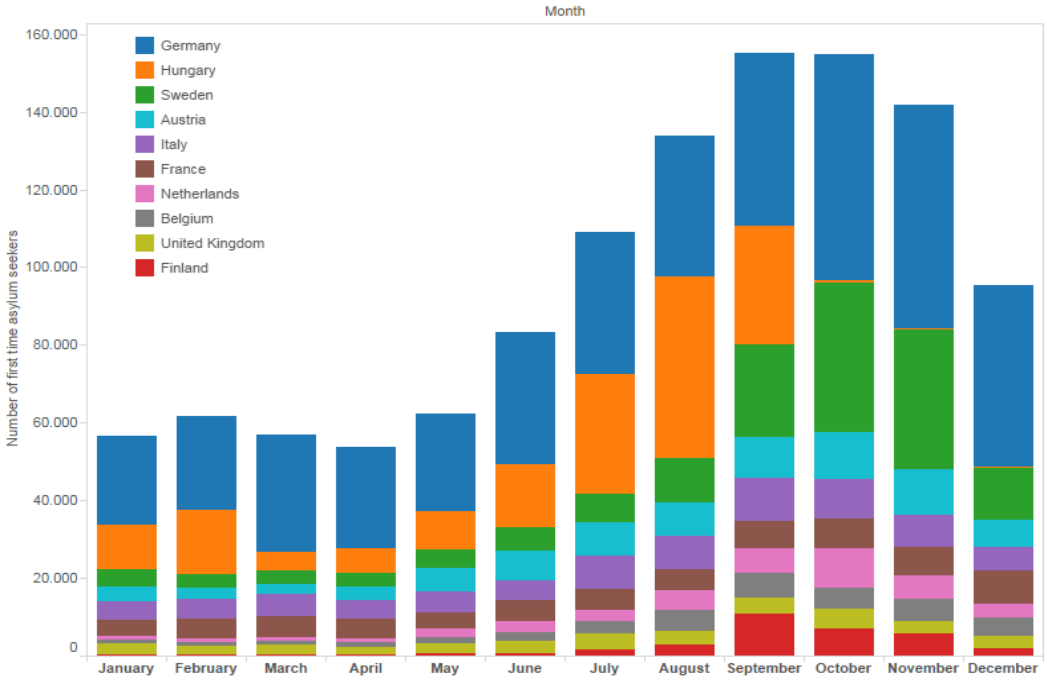


Figure - Reception of Asylum Applications in Hungary (Top Ten out of the EU28, in the year 2015) (Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Top_recipients_of_asylum_applications_in_the_EU-28_(2015).png).

Asylum seekers are kept in detention centres. Those granted the asylum can stay in open refugee camps for a month and after that, they receive no support whatsoever from the state for settling down and integration, the argument being that those who were granted asylum have the same rights as Hungarian citizens. It is only few NGOs which are not labelled as "foreign agents" or "Soros agents" that provide assistance and integration programmes.

In the meantime, we saw evidence of the "success" of the government's fear-mongering propaganda: recently an NGO organised a short holiday for some refugees with their children (all of whom had received refugee status and were thus staying in Hungary legally) in Őcsény, a small village in Southern Hungary. When the villagers found out that a local guest house was going to host them, a village meeting was held ending in a major fiasco, the threatening of the guesthouse owner, and the subsequent cancellation of the holiday and the resignation of the local mayor. The Prime Minister's reaction: "It is right that [those against migrants having a holiday in village] expressed their opinions loud and clear!" (Source: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-village/hungarian-villagers-in-backlash-against-holiday-for-migrants-idUSKBN1CB1Q8).

Below, we present a table of the events leading up to, during, and in the direct aftermath of the so-called refugee crisis of 2015.

Table 2: Milestones in migration flow in Hungary, 2015–2016

	Milestones in migration flow in Hungary, 2015–2016
11 January 2015	The first relevant official statement related to immigration into Hungary: Prime Minister Orban's speech in Paris after the commemoration ceremony of the victims of the Charlie Hebdo terror attack: economic migration is bad, Hungary will therefore not provide asylum for economic migrants.
April 2015	Preparations begin for the so-called "national consultation" on immigration initiated by the government (mailing a questionnaire to all Hungarian adults to survey their opinion on immigration). Increasing number of anti-immigration communiques by politicians in the government.
May 2015	"National consultation" on immigration.
June 2015	Government sponsored anti-immigration billboard campaign nation-wide; a counter campaign is organised by a fringe political party with pro-immigration messages.
25–30 June 2015	The formation of the new voluntary grassroots organizations.
13 July 2015	The Hungarian government starts building a fence along the Hungarian–Serbian border.
5–8 August 2015	The opening of transit zones at the railway stations in Budapest with the volunteers and grassroots providing street social work and aid for asylum seekers.
8 August 2015	71 dead migrants are found in a van in Austria close to the Hungarian border, obviously en route from Hungary.
25–29 August 2015	Negotiations are underway about a central transit zone in Verseny Street, Budapest, controlled by the Municipality of Budapest.
end of August – early September 2015	Increasing tensions at the Budapest railway stations, where thousands of asylum seekers are waiting for the opportunity to travel on to Germany. Tensions are increased by the hectic reactions of the Hungarian authorities and the state railway company (at one point no asylum seekers are allowed to get on the trains leaving for Germany, including those with valid tickets; later it is again possible to get on the trains for a few hours, but then all international trains leaving for Germany are cancelled for a few days; on 3 September a train leaves Budapest Keleti railway station with asylum seekers who were informed that they are heading for Germany; the train, however, is stopped at the Bicske reception camp (Hungary), with asylum seekers feeling cheated and trapped.
3–6 September 2015	Right after the train incident at Bicske on 3 September, asylum seekers at Budapest Keleti railway station set out to walk to Austria on the M1 motorway. In response to the government provides buses for the asylum seekers to transport them directly to the Austrian border from the motorway as well as

	Keleti station. A statement is made by the head of the Catholic Church in Hungary, Cardinal Peter Erdős, justifying the limited involvement of the church in the crisis, in stark contrast to statement made by the Pope.
8 September 2015	Petra László, a camerawoman at a right-wing Hungarian TV channel, trips refugees running from the police in Röszke (Serbian border).
15–16 September 2015	"The clashes of Röszke" takes place between police and asylum seekers after the physical and legal closure of the Hungarian–Serbian border. The migration flow heads towards the Hungarian–Croatian border.
17 September 2015	The Hungarian–Serbian border is closed down.
21–23 September 2015	Repercussions of a speech delivered by Prime Minister Orbán, saying "the government has given financial support to the NGOs"; the volunteers and grassroots protest as they have in fact not received any state funds; the Prime Minister meant only those established charity organizations that were commissioned by the government with the aid activities at the Croatian and Austrian borders after 15 September.
16 October 2015	The fence along the Hungarian–Croatian border is completed, the border is closed: the end of mass inflow of asylum seekers and migrants into Hungary.
4 November 2015	FIDESZ starts collecting signatures in order to launch a referendum against the EU's migrant quota.
12 January 2016	The Hungarian government proposes an amendment of the Fundamental Law of Hungary regarding special rules and measures applicable in case of terror threats; On 5 March 2016 the government withdraws the proposal as it is unable to garner the two-thirds support in the parliament required for the amendment.
24 February 2016	Prime Minister Viktor Orbán announces that the government will initiate a referendum against the EU's migrant quota.
10 March 2016	The government declares a state of "migration crisis" alleging that the large number of migrants stuck in Greece make the situation unpredictable.

(Source: Simonovits-Bernát (eds): The Social Aspects of the Migration Crisis in Hungary)

Contextualization of the Hungarian response to the "refugee crisis"

Important characteristics of the domestic context within which the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 unfolded are the homogenous population, the strong populism of the government, and the latent nationalism and the slow but steady dismantling of democratic and human rights safeguards.[3]

[3] See: https://euobserver.com/opinion/139588.

A number of reinforcing factors, both domestic and European &International ones, further help to understand the specifics of the Hungarian discourse and the actions and activities taken by both Hungarian government and civil society in reaction the inflow/transit of asylum seekers.

Among these additional factors are, on the national level, the strong media concentration and the soft censorship, the precarious social situation of many Hungarians, the strong position of the church and a Christian-national identity, and the relative high degree of oppression of independent NGOs (and particularly the independently funded ones). On a more EUropean level, these included the geopolitical position of Hungary itself, a distinct regional identity in the group of the four Visegrad (V4) countries, and European and international demands/obligations.

Precarity

On the one hand, the average income is rather low in Hungary; precisely there is an average household net-adjusted disposable income per capita of USD 16,821 a year, roughly half of the OECD average of USD 30,563 a year.[4] In addition, the average household net financial wealth per capita is estimated at USD 23,289, much lower than the OECD average of USD 90,570.[5] Their overall rating of their life satisfaction is equally well below OECD average with a 5.3 grade (on a 1-10 scale) on average, compared to the OECD average of 6.5.[6] There is 0.0% of average wage increase since 2005 and the wealth is distributed quite unevenly. Further darkening this picture, the tax and duty burden is particularly strong for the lower income levels due to lack of tax exemptions and allowances. With hindsight, a diffuse *angst* of social descent or at least a very real feeling of stagnation may be of strong concerns to many in the autochthonous population. On the other hand, there is a strong record of unchecked spending of the public budget and misappropriation of EU funds[7] that at least raises the question of priority-setting in public spending. The official government's position, echoing well with the resident population however was that if Hungarians have nothing themselves, they have nothing to give either.
Anti-migrant sentiment was exacerbated by drawing on the variety of negative stereotypes known from the literature, such as: immigrants as a threat to safety (particularly of women),

[4] See: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/hungary/.

[5] See: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/hungary/.

[6] See: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/hungary/.

[7] See for example: https://budapestbeacon.com/olaf-says-hungary-misappropriated-9-7-million-worth-of-anti-fraud-funds/, https://budapestbeacon.com/anti-fraud-office-calls-for-hungary-to-return-eur-283-million-worth-of-eu-development-funds/, or https://budapestbeacon.com/eu-suspends-payment-of-usd-2-6-billion-of-development-funds-to-hungary/.

as a threat to the social security of the autochthonous population, as a possible competition on the job market, and ultimately as a threat to the Hungarian national identity which sees itself deeply rooted in a Christian faith (purportedly threatened by the Muslim faith of the many asylum seekers).These stereotypes or negative narratives were amply repeated in government and media discourse.[8]

The church

Interestingly, the pope, as the global head of the roman-catholic church, has been an outspoken proponent of showing mercy, empathy, and hospitality towards those fleeing war and persecution.[9] But while the pope encouraged his followers to provide for the people on the move, the Hungarian church decidedly opposed this call.[10] Exemplary of such inactivity is the situation of the waiting asylum seekers at Budapest central station "Keleti Palyaudvar" in the summer of 2015, where grassroots civil society organizations stepped in to provide food, water, and even medical supplies, while both professional charity organizations as well as traditional churches remained inactive (Messing & Bernath 2016).

EU funds

Hungary is one of the largest net recipients of European Union funds.[11] Of specific importance, concerning people on the move is the *Asylum Migration and Integration Fund* (AMIF) by the European Union, supporting the member states in their activities by sharing the burden with the Union.[12]

For the multiannual planning period 2014-2020 a sum of €23,713,477.00 has been allocated to Hungary from this funding line (as basic allocation).[13] The European Commission offered additional funding during the peak of the "refugee crisis" yet refused to pay directly for the fence erected by the Hungarian government.[14]

The controversies between the EU and Hungary concerning the handling of the "refugee crisis" have also raised critical voices asking for conditionality for the reception of EU

[8] See for example: Messing & Bernáth 2016.

[9] See: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/refugees-keep-streaming-into-europe-as-crisis-continues-unabated/2015/09/06/8a330572-5345-11e5-b225-90edbd49f362_story.html?tid=a_inl&utm_term=.cbdf538fcc70.

[10] See: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/hungarian-bishop-says-pope-is-wrong-about-refugees/2015/09/07/fcba72e6-558a-11e5-9f54-1ea23f6e02f3_story.html?utm_term=.34d9304de35c

[11] See: https://bbj.hu/economy/hungary-to-get-huf-7080-billion-in-eu-funding-in-2014-2020_64759, or https://budapestbeacon.com/hungary-among-largest-beneficiaries-of-eu-funds/.

[12] See: https://budapestbeacon.com/hungary-among-largest-beneficiaries-of-eu-funds/.

[13] See: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/financing/fundings/mapping-funds/countries/hungary_en.

[14] See: https://euobserver.com/migration/138857.

funds.[15] Furthermore, it has been one of the major recipients of the Norwegian development grant, but a dispute over the government's crackdown on NGOs put an end to that.[16]

EU & international obligations

With its accession to the European Union on May 1, 2004, Hungary became a member state of the European Union bordering numerous non-member states or non-Schengen member states on both its Eastern and Southern border. As of December 21, 2007, internal border controls with its fellow member states discontinued, completing also its accession to the Schengen area (as part of the accession to the European Union).[17]



Hungary, the South-Eastern Schengen outpost of the European Union

The main idea of the creation of the Schengen area – free movement within its territory – also demands a coherent and harmonized control of the shared outer border (of the Schengen area – not to be mistaken with the outer border of the European Union because some member states have not yet met all technical requirements to be part of the Schengen area, such as Romania, Bulgaria, or Croatia, or have opted-out such as Ireland and the UK). By acceding to the European Union *and* the Schengen Area this responsibility has been placed on Hungary for both its borders to the South and the East. Additionally, the accession to the European Union brought for Hungary the obligation to process asylum seekers according to the Common European Asylum System (CEAS)[18]. With the CEAS certain rules, obligations or frameworks are laid out to the Member States on who is responsible for which asylum seeker (Dublin Regulation, currently Dublin IV), how to process asylum claims (Asylum Procedure Directive) or how to provide for asylum seekers (e.g. housing, in the Reception Conditions Directive) and others.

[15] See for example for Austria: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/08/austria-calls-for-less-funding-for-eu-countries-refusing-refugees.

[16] See: https://budapestbeacon.com/hungary-lose-eur-214-million-norway-grants-development-funds-govt-battle-ngos/.

[17] The delay in the full accession to the Schengen area can be explained (at least partially) by technical problems to implement the Schengen Information System II (SIS II), a prerequisite for this process.

[18] See: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum_en.

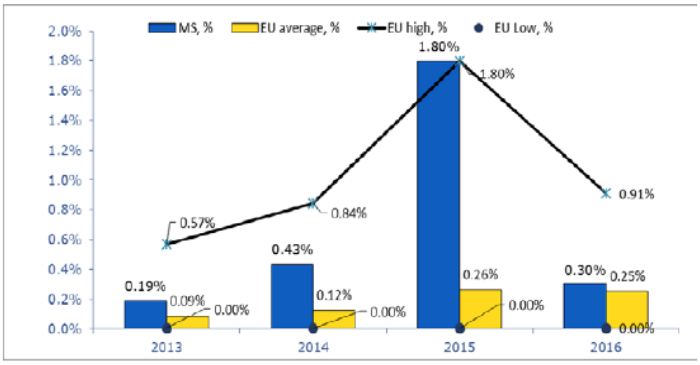
Hungary's position at the outer border of the Schengen Area and as one of the first member states of the EU means that it is particularly attractive for asylum seekers to reach when passing through the so-called Balkan Route. Because once they were within the Schengen Area, they were much more likely to be able to reach their envisage destination thanks to the abolition of border and passport checks within.[19] Equally, this meant that Hungary would be the first country to apply for refugee status within the CEAS.

As we can see from the statistics below, this was well the case during the "refugee crisis" of 2015, where Hungary received seven times more asylum applications that the EU average, or 0.26% to 1.8% respectively (and as share of the total population).

Statistical Annex: Migration and Asylum in Hungary (2013-2016)

1. INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION AND ASYLUM

Figure 1: Asylum applications as a share of the total population in Hungary, EU average and EU high and low (2013-2016)



Source: Eurostat migration statistics (migr_asyappctza)[2], data extracted 03/08/2017

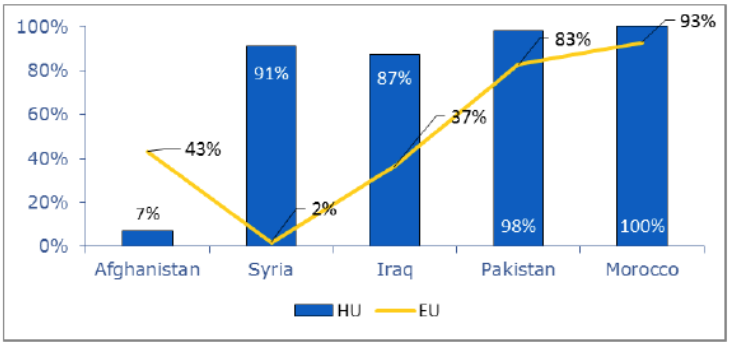
Hungary saw an immense rise in the number of people arriving on its territory when the people on the move (due particularly to the Syrian civil war) were no longer contained in their region but started to move moved towards Europe.[20]

Particularly concerning Syrian asylum seekers however, we see a clear contrast to EU practice, namely a strong leaning towards negatively deciding upon the application (in the first instance) while on EU average Syrian nationals enjoyed a dominantly favourable pattern of decision-making.

[19] As a consequence: During various stages of the "refugee crisis" internal border controls were reinstituted.

[20] For an overview over actual asylum applications, see graphic to the left (Reception of Asylum Applications in Hungary (Top Ten out of the EU28, in the year 2015).

Figure 8: Negative decision rate for the top five nationalities of applicants at the first instance in comparison with EU for the same given nationality (2016)



Source: Eurostat migration statistics (migr_asydcfsta), data extracted 03/08/2017

These data exemplify the singular stance that Hungary is taking in many of its actions and policies concerning asylum seekers and refugees, often to the heavy detriment of the asylum seekers and refugees themselves. Another example of this would be the exceptionality of the Hungarian handling of the control of the Schengen border, which ultimately led to a lock-down of the Balkan route - and this with its own devastating consequence of opening of more perilous routes, e.g. the Central Mediterranean Route, and people being stuck & living-in-limbo in Serbia.

The small capacities that the country had in handling asylum seekers where soon overburdened, plus many asylum seekers refused to be registered in Hungary for fear of "getting stuck" there. For a couple of months, Hungary felt it was unable to control its border and register the arriving people as it was supposed to under EU obligations. Since, there is a dispute between the EU and Hungary on the fair sharing of the burden and the proper assumption of responsibility.

With the heavily controversial and still enduring erection of a 4m high fence along most of its border to adjacent Serbia[21], Hungary was able to curb the inflow of asylum seekers and the mass transit via its territory shifted to different routes. In consequence, thousands were stuck *en route* while others diverted to even more dangerous routes via the Mediterranean. Abuse at the Hungarian-Serbian border is ripe and a continuing point of dispute between the governments involved on the one hand, and human rights groups on the other. The sharp and continuing increase in border violence is an issue well documented for the

[21] Hungary shares 175km of outer border of the European Union with its direct neighbour to the South Serbia (one of the main transit countries of the so-called Balkan Route).

Hungarian-Serbian border, but also pertains to other EU member states that share the responsibility of guarding the Schengen border, particularly in the Mediterranean.[22]

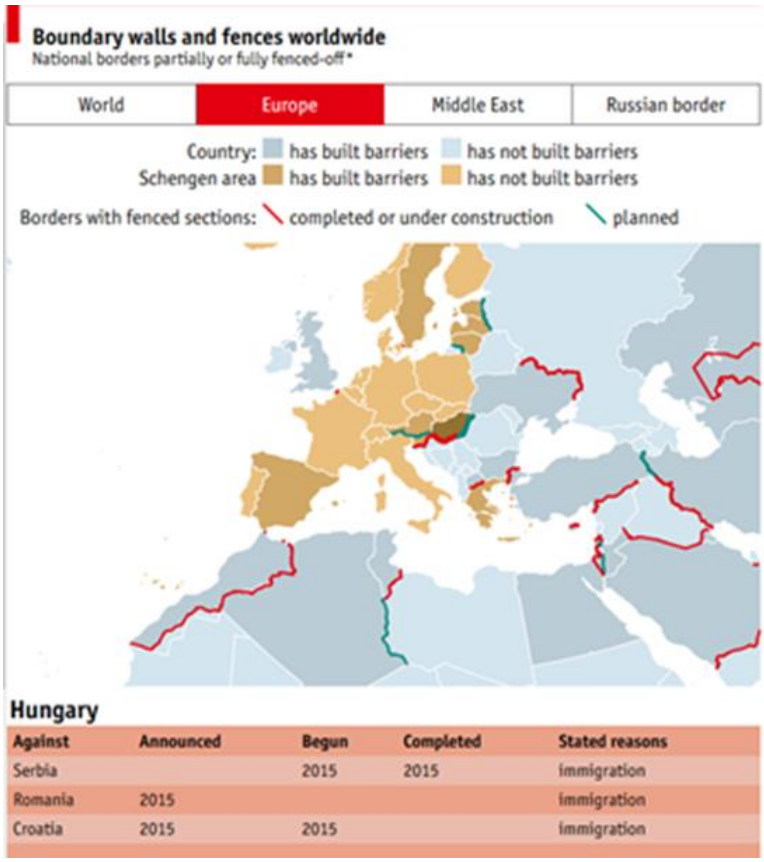


Figure - New Fences in Europe
(Source: http://infographics.economist.com/2015/fences/)

"It is not coincidental that the end of the Cold War began with the mass exodus of East Germans to the West in the summer of 1989 following the removal by Hungarians of barbed wire fences between Austria and Hungary. In effect, in 1989 Eastern Europeans rebelled, among other things, against the regime of closed borders and travel controls.

It is therefore beyond ironic that the current government of Hungary, the country that started removing fences in 1989, is building a new barbed wire fence in unified Europe today." (Dragostinova 2016)

Controversy around the relocation quota

Hungary is not alone in its hard-handed approach on asylum seekers. Together with three other countries of Central Europe (Ch, Sk, Pl) it forms a cohesive block called the "Visegrad Four" (V4) on many issues, including against EU positions on migrant reception.[23] For example, "Slovak leaders have indicated that Muslims would not be welcome in their country and have only reluctantly agreed to accept a limited number of Christians. In the Czech Republic, photographs of police writing numbers on refugees' arms with permanent markers have prompted comparisons to the Holocaust" (Dragostinova 2016).

Particularly the proposed relocation quota, taking into consideration different criteria such as population size, total GDP, number of previous asylum applications received and

[22] See for example: https://alarmphone.org/en/2017/12/13/the-long-summer-of-european-border-violence-alarm-phone-6-week-report-30-october-10-december-2017/.

[23] See for example: http://www.iapss.org/wp/2016/11/22/the-visegrad-four-a-controversial-stand-against-migration/.

granted, and the countries unemployment rate[24] has lead to controversy between the V4 and other EU member states & the EU itself.

> "The Eastern European member states presented a nearly united front against a planned EU policy, and […] have thus far played an instrumental role in foiling joint European action on the refugee crisis" (G. Győri, The political communication of the refugee crisis in Central and Eastern Europe, FEPS and Policy Solutions, Brussels 2016, http://www.feps-europe.eu/assets/3f672c37-1e17-4332-976b-ac395bc30ddd/political-communication-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-ceepdf.pdf, p. 63).

The ongoing dispute between Hungary and the European Union about the fair sharing of burden and responsibility, and demonstration of solidarity have also been subject of one of the Hungarian government's controversial "national consultations": heavily biased and polemic questionnaires that serve as a tool of the populist government to justify their hard stances on this topic as "the voice of the people" rather than serious well-balanced referenda.[25]

Following the dispute around the handling of the "refugee crisis" – which many experts classify as a "crisis of governance" rather than an actual "crisis of mobility"[26] – Hungary has not only taken a stance against people on the move but also against the European Union itself.

Hungary continues to be under criticism by the European Union, the UNHCR, and human rights organizations for its handling of the "refugee crisis" and measures that continue until this day, such as the detention of asylum seekers or the erection of so-called transit zones (a legal vacuum which should have been impossible under the various international agreements signed by Hungary).[27] As a result, the EU has initiated infringement procedures against Hungary[28] and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has already dismissed Hungary's arguments against the relocation quota.[29]

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[24] To be precise, the key is based on the following elements, a) the size of the population (40%) as it reflects the capacity to absorb a certain number of refugees, b) total GDP52 (40%) as it reflects the absolute wealth of a country and is thus indicative for the capacity of an economy to absorb and integrate refugees, c) average number of spontaneous asylum applications and the number of resettled refugees per 1 million inhabitants over the period 2010-2014 (10%) as it reflects the efforts made by Member States in the recent past, and d) unemployment rate (10%) as an indicator reflecting the capacity to integrate refugees.

[25] See: http://www.katoikos.eu/analysis/national-democracy-vs-european-solidarity-hungarys-referendum-on-refugees.html.

[26] See for example: https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/eu-crisis-governance-and-european-foreign-policy, or Crawley et al. (2017): Unravelling Europe's 'migration crisis'.

[27] See for example: http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2017/9/59b7fb324/visit-hungary-unhcr-chief-calls-end-detention-greater-solidarity-refugees.html; or http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40259268.

[28] See: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-5023_en.htm.

[29] See: http://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/06/europe/ecj-ruling-migrants-hungary-slovakia/index.html.

The media

For Hungary, strong media concentration and the soft censorship applied already before the "refugee crisis" but interference to its coverage by the media has been explicitly noted by Freedom House.[30] In all four of its criteria – legal environment, political environment, economic environment, and press freedom score – Hungary's scores are decreasing and it receives an overall mark of only "partially free".[31]

While the former means that the government is generally abled to get its message across, the specifics on the news coverage have been elaborated upon for example by Messing & Bernáth (2016). They find that particularly the pro-government TV channel M1 adopted the anti-refugee campaign of the Hungarian government (ibid, p. 46) and can convincingly demonstrate how the anti-refugee discourse generally prevailed in Hungary (ibid. p. 59). As the events unfolded, journalist were attacked by the police when covering the "refugee crisis"[32] or were denied access to sites where people on the move clashed with the police (i.e. in Röszke, ibid., p. 57).

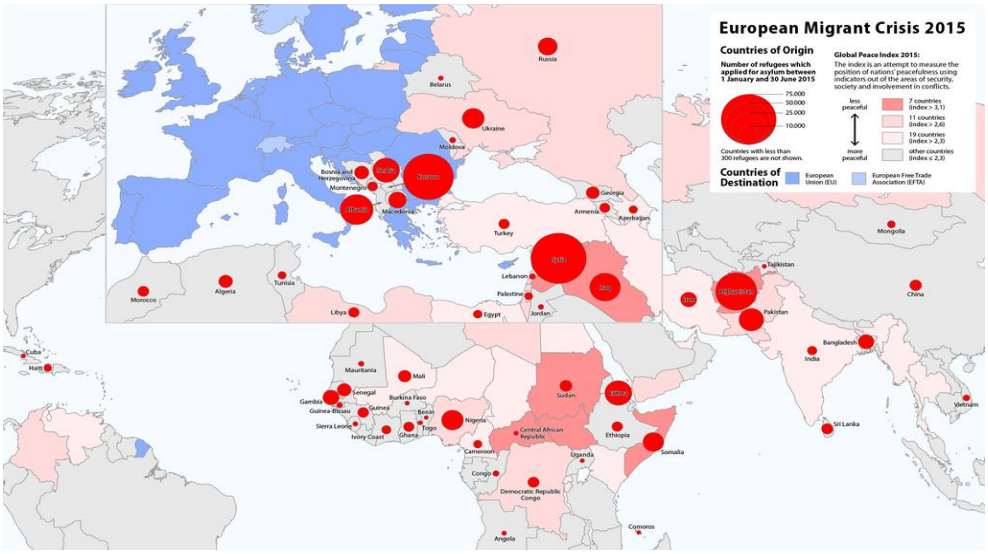


Figure 3- Countries of Origins of Asylum Seekers during the so-called refugee crisis 2015 (Source: http://origins.osu.edu/article/refugees-or-immigrants-migration-crisis-europe-historical-perspective).

[30] See: https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/hungary.
[31] See: https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/hungary.
[32] See: https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2016/hungary.

3 Part II: (Non-)Integration in Hungary

In the following part, we will present information on the organizational structures that regulate the entry and immigration of foreigners to Hungary. This includes the so-called welcome and detention centres, the international and national organizations that provide assistance to immigrants, including civil society organizations and NGOs and faith-based organizations. It proceeds with an overview of interdisciplinary programmes that further immigrant integration and concludes by presenting the legal framework within which these various organizations operate.

3.1 Integration / Migration / Refugee / Detention Centres in Hungary

In the following, we present a list of centres and organizations that are at the forefront of assisting those upon their immediate arrival, followed by a brief description of their actions.

Table 1. State-run organizations/institutions and international organizations in aiding refugees and migrants

No.	Center / Institution / Organization	Aim	Place (city)	Contact
1	Károlyi István Children Center	Established originally to provide for children in need (disability, chronic illness, etc.) the institution maintained by the state also provides services for unaccompanied minors arriving to Hungary as refugees	Fót	2153 Fót, Vörösmarty tér 2., Tel: +36 (27) 358 022; +36 (27) 358 490, E-mail: info@kigyk.eu Web: www.kigyk.hu
2	Reception centres, Balassagyarmat Community Shelter	Providing accommodation and services for foreign nationals requesting asylum, subsidiary or temporary protection, and for those already admitted	Vámosszabadi, Bicske, Balassagyarmat	http://www.bmbah.hu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=539&Itemid=1287&lang=en
3	Closed Asylum Reception Centres	They execute detention of foreign nationals seeking asylum so as to ensure their availability in the course of the asylum procedure; to provide accommodation and services in accordance with the	Békéscsaba, Nyírbátor, Kiskunhalas	http://www.bmbah.hu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=539&Itemid=1287&lang=en

		relevant legislation for asylum-seekers, or those seeking subsidiary or temporary protection held in custody.		
4	Immigration and Asylum Office and its regional directorates	Handles administrative duties related to asylum, citizenship and aliens policing issues	Budapest, Debrecen, Békéscsaba, Szeged, Győr, Bicske, Balassagyarmat	http://www.bmbah.hu/
5	International Organisation for Migration (IOM)	IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As the leading international organization for migration, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to: - Assist in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management. - Advance understanding of migration issues. - Encourage social and economic development through migration. - Uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.	Budapest	Budapest, Falk Miksa u. 8, 1055 Hungary Tel +36 1 472 2500 Web: www.iom.hu/
6	United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) - Central Europe's regional office	The role of the Regional Representation for Central Europe is to assist, advise and advocate for governments and NGOs to support asylum-seekers, provide shelter and general support, ensure swift handling of asylum claims following international standards, and implement policies and programmes in support of refugees. The regional office also monitors the extent of statelessness throughout the region, and advocates for laws, policies and procedures to resolve individual cases of statelessness as well as reducing the possibility of it occurring in the future.	Budapest	Budapest, Felvinci út 27, 1022 Hungary Tel: +36 1 336 3060 Web: http://www.unhcr.org/ceu/

7	Legal Aid Service (Office of Justice), Ministry of the Interior	The free Legal Aid Service is operated by the Ministry of Interior and is mandated to provide free legal help to those who otherwise would not be able to afford it.[33]	Budapest, Nyíregyháza, Szeged, Debrecen, Békéscsaba	Central office: 1088 Budapest, Múzeum utca 17. Phone: (06 1) 301 3200 e-mail: info@kih.gov.hu website: www.kih.gov.hu
8	UNICEF	In addition safeguarding the rights of children, UNICEF Hungary is fundraising for children living in refugee camps in Hungary, collecting money and warm clothes for the winter.	Budapest	Budapest, Wesselényi u. 16, 1077 Hungary Tel: XX Web: http://www.unicef.hu/

Among the first organizations to receive immigrants and asylum-seekers upon their arrival in Hungary are private national and international organizations and state-run agencies.

Here, the focus is on serving the most basic needs of the immigrants, such as shelter and food, but include also a focus on legal-administrative issues and initiating the integration process. There are two organizations, which particularly support children/minors, namely Karolyi Istvan Children Center and SOS Children's Village, while most are inclusive of all people, offering a range of services.
Exemplary for such a broad range of services and activities is the UNHCR, which assists, advises and advocates for governments and NGOs to ensure asylum-seekers can gain access to EU territory, and are able to lodge an asylum application; monitor and improve living conditions of asylum-seekers in reception centres and other refugee facilities, and ensure they are treated with respect, particularly where age, gender, diversity and special needs are issues of concern; ensure that refugee determination procedures are fair and efficient, and that asylum legislation and the work of asylum authorities reflect international legal standards; put in place functioning integration and resettlement policies and programmes, and promote a social climate that welcomes refugees, and rejects xenophobia and racism.
Furthermore, its (the UNHCR's) regional office monitors the extent of statelessness throughout the region, and advocates for laws, policies and procedures to resolve individual cases of statelessness as well as reducing the possibility of it occurring in the future.

[33] According to the data of the Ministry, asylum seekers before the IAO were granted state legal aid in 114 cases, while before the courts they were represented in 73 cases. According to the Ministry's letter, in the transit zones, 1,500 asylum seekers were granted oral legal aid. Given the large number of asylum seekers arriving to Hungary in 2016, state legal aid has covered an extremely low proportion of asylum seekers (5.7%).

In the following subchapter, we provide three more tables with private organizations, faith-based organizations, and NGOs & civil society organizations that provide more punctual or focused support.

3.2 Organizations / Institutions / NGO's dealing with migration issues and migration target group in Hungary

In the following section, we describe available private institutions, organizations and associations dealing with migrants in Hungary. We present their main activities and target groups, distinguishing between private organizations, faith-based organizations, and local civil society organizations.

Table 2. List of private organizations assisting the integration of refugees and migrants

No.	Center / Institution / Organization	Aim	Place (city)	Contact
1	Open Society Foundations Hungary	The Open Society Foundations Hungary has a threefold approach on migration in Hungary, it aims to strengthen the legitimization and base of NGOS active on the issue, it seeks to inspire a long-term vision of Hungarian politics on key issues such as migration/asylum ("Hungary 2025"), and it civil activism, social self-organizing, and community advocacy in Hungary through the empowerment of the groups of citizens. All three points are supported via grantmaking measures.	Budapest	Open Society Institute–Budapest Molnar utca 19. Budapest, H-1056 Hungary Phone: +36-1-882-3100 Fax: +36-1-882-3101 Web: www.opensocietyfoundations.org/grants/hungary-project
2	Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation	The Friedrich-Ebert Foundation seeks to foster a dialogue between society and politics on pressing issues, such as migration & asylum. It organized information events (e.g. with the Central European University), workshops for journalists, or seeks to offer policy advise by providing sound analyses & reports.	Budapest	Fővám tér 2, 1056 Ungarn Telefon: +36 1 461 6011 http://www.fes-budapest.org/en/
3	Demokratikus Jogok Fejleszteseert Alapitvany (Foundation for the Development	Projects supporting the Roma community as well as migrants and refugees.	Budapest	1052 Budapest, Apáczai Csere János u. 1. IV/40 Tel: +36 14 11 04 10 or +36 41 10 411 or +36 41 10 444

	of Democratic Rights)			Fax: 32 80 874 Web: www.demnet.org.hu Email: info@demnet.org.hu
4	SOS Children's Village	SOS Children's Village launched their refugee programme in 2015 to provide help for unaccompanied minors in the transit zones by the borders and shelter for unaccompanied minors through providing translation, psychological counselling, social work and medical care. They launched a programme to recruit foster parents for unaccompanied minors. They also run a programme to help the integration of refugee children.	Budapest, Fót and transit zones by the border	Budapest, Angyal u. 1, 1094 Hungary, Tel: +36 1 301 3160 https://www.sos.hu/ https://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/where-we-help/europe/hungary
5	Central European University (CEU)	In addition to a great number of audience building actions through education and research related to issues of migration, as well as communication and dissemination related to the issue (e.g, exhibitions, film clubs, lectures etc.)[34], CEU organizes Weekend courses for refugees and asylum-seekers in Hungary in the framework of the CEU's Open Learning Initiative (OLIve). It includes English courses, career courses, an introduction to life and culture in Hungary, an academic course on human rights and academic tutoring to help students prepare university applications.	Budapest	Budapest, Nádor u. 9, 1051, Tel: +36 1 327 3000 www.ceu.edu, https://www.ceu.edu/refugee-response
6	Hungarian Red Cross	The Red Cross provides humanitarian assistance and protection to people on the move, based on needs and vulnerability before all else. This includes for example distribution of hot tea, blankets and waterproof coats to those who were at the Keleti station, waiting to continue on their journey. Red Cross volunteers at the Hegyeshalom crossing on the border with	Budapest, Pec, Miskolc	Arany János utca 31 1051 Budapest V., Hungary Tel: (36) (1) 374-1338 Fax: (36) (1)374-1393 Telegram: RED CROSS BUDAPEST Email: intdept@redcross.hu

[34] For CEU's response in 2015, see:
https://www.ceu.edu/article/2015-09-05/ceu-responds-refugee-crisis
https://www.ceu.edu/sites/default/files/attachment/basic_page/13675/rectorlettertocommunityrerefugeecrisis.pdf
https://www.ceu.edu/article/2015-12-15/ceu-launches-weekend-classes-registered-refugees
https://www.ceu.edu/article/2015-10-12/ceu-offers-jobs-refugees
https://www.ceu.edu/category/refugee-crisis-response

		Austria, provided meals and other services. In Röszke, the first stop for migrants upon entering Hungary, Red Cross volunteers had handed out hygiene kits to women and children, and providing psychosocial support to those in distress after making the arduous journey from Greece.		Web: http://www.redcross.hu

Additionally, there is the Norwegian Social fund (EEA grants), which is active in the field of integration (but targeting dominantly Roma communities[35] and not immigrant communities). The strengthening of civil society and the improvement of social dialogue is another objective of this grant scheme, potentially also adding to the integrative capacities of the autochthonous population.

Table 3. Faith-based institutions aiding refugees and migrants

No.	Center / Institution / Organization	Aim	Place (city)	Contact
1.	Oltalom Charity Society, Oltalom Sport Association	Shelter for refugees, football team involving refugee men	Budapest	1086 Budapest, Dankó u. 9. http://oltalom.hu/
2.	Hungarian Baptist Aid	The Hungarian Baptist Aid cooperates with the Hungarian Immigration and Asylum Office and provide children's programmes, translation and intercultural activities. They also provide accommodation for refugee families at the temporary shelter for families (Lőportár utca e.g.)	Budapest, Röszke, Tompa	Magyar Baptista Szeretetszolgálat Alapítvány, Budapest, 1391 http://www.hbaid.org/
4.	Magyar Ökumenikus Segélyszervezet / Hungarian Interchurch Aid	Hungarian Interchurch Aid is a community that provides those in need or in crisis with efficient assistance through the power of unity. Our main objective is		Budapest, Kossuth Lajos utca 64, 1221 https://www.segelyszervezet.hu/en

[35] See: https://eeagrants.org/Where-we-work/Results/Hungary.

		to facilitate the integration of families seeking a way out of poverty.		
5.	Református Menekültmisszió / Refugee Mission of the Reformed Church	Housing Program: pays the rent for refugee families for 18 months and helps them to find work and navigate Hungarian bureaucracy.	Budapest	1151 Budapest, Alag u. 3. Tel: +36 12 71 04 98 or +36 12 71 04 99 Fax: +36 12 71 04 99 Web: www.rmk.hu Email: rmk@zsinatiiroda.hu

Not only refugees and migrants have been the target of the Hungarian government's communication campaign against immigration but also non-governmental organisations that have stepped up to help refugees. During the migration crisis of 2015 the governmental propaganda made a link between volunteers and human traffickers, implying that those who were helping refugees were also helping traffickers. In addition, a link was made to the Hungarian-born philanthropist, George Soros, whose local organisation provided some funds for NGOs that ran activities to alleviate the crisis. Since then Soros is attributed the so-called Soros plan (see in previous chapter) and any affiliation, real or imagined, to his private NGO (Open Society Fund for Europe) has been also labelled ("they are members of the Soros Army"). The most recent manifestation of that took place in the Southern Hungarian city of Pécs a local NGO, Emberség Erejével that won an OSIFE grant to carry out community development programmes in the region. The local NGO had a contract for an office space that later withdrew from the contract due to the "controversy" in Hungarian public life and the media. In addition, the mayor of Pécs issued a petition addressing the citizens of Pécs and institutions, calling on them not to provide space for the Soros-funded organisation that they labelled as a "campaign centre" and attributed to them plans to influence the national elections coming up next year. The petition has subsequently been approved and backed by the municipality council of Pécs (444.hu).

Table 4. Local non-governmental organizations assisting refugees and migrants

No.	Organization	Target group	Main activities for target groups	Place (city)	Contact
1	Menedék Association for Migrants (independent NGO)	Migrants	promoting the social integration of foreign citizens migrating into Hungary:	Budapest, Bicske, Budapest, Fót, Vámosszabadi (the latter are places with	1081 Budapest, Népszínház street 16. III/3. +36 1 322 1502 menedek@menedek.hu

				refugee camps)	http://menedek.hu
2	Hungarian Helsinki Committee	Refugees, detainees and victims of law enforcement violence	The HHC ensures access to effective, free-of-charge legal counselling and representation at all places (reception centres, community shelters, alien policing jails) where persons in need of international protection are accommodated or detained in Hungary. The organisation regularly comments on draft legislation in the field of asylum and immigration as well as analyses legal practices. To assist with casework, the HHC provides legal advice and country information (COI) to its network of lawyers. The HHC also organises trainings on domestic, European and international refugee law as well as immigration law and practice for its own staff and lawyers and other asylum professionals working in government agencies and courts.	Budapest	Magyar Helsinki Bizott 1054 Budapest, Ba Zsilinszky út 36-38., Tel.: 1 321 4323, 321 4327, 4141, E-helsinki@helsinki.hu, http://www.helsinki.hu/
3	Artemisszió Foundation	Refugees, migrants	Organise mentoring among locals for refugees, provide training for refugees/migrants to facilitate their integration (communication, job search), organise intercultural events to bring together locals and refugees/migrants (cooking events, excursions, etv.)	Budapest	Artemisszió Alapítvány 1445 Budapest, Postafiók 355. Tel: +36 1 413 6517, +36 1 70 321 3078, +36 1 70 633 4872 Email: info@artemisszio.hu, artemisz@artemisszio.hu, http://artemisszio.blog.hu/
4	MigHelp - Migrants' Help Association of Hungary	Refugees, migrants	Mainly training (ECDL, training on web design, database management and other computer technology	Budapest	MigHelp, Ráday u. 9. Budapest 1092, http://mighelp.hu/

			courses; language training, vehicle driving child care) and cultural activities		
5	Migrant Solidarity Group of Hungary (Migszol)	Refugees, migrants	Advocacy, campaigning against deportation and detention, awareness raising of rights of refugees and asylum seeker	Budapest	E-mail: contact@migszol.com www.migszol.com
6	Skill&Jobs&Fund	Foreign students from third countries	Information about the Hungarian labour market, Individual and group job-counselling and career advice; Advice on writing CV and cover letter; job-seeking techniques; Job hunting and Job Club; preparing for a job interview; help in keeping the job and dealing with conflicts at the workplace		munka@jovokerek.hu, mentorjovokerek.hu, http://jovokerek.hu/skillsandjobs/en
7	Szubjektív Értékek Alapítvány/ Subjective Values Foundation	Migrants	The aim is to support an ongoing dialogue between cultures, to create a sustainable society, and to promote the European ideals in Hungary.	Budapest	http://www.szubjektiv.org/
8	Mahatma Gandhi Human Rights Organization	Migrants, refugees	The vision of the founder, Mr. Gibril Deen, is to fight for the rights of migrants and refugees, to combat racism and discrimination against foreigners and to encourage at all levels social inclusion in our community	Budapest	Ferenc krt. 18. Fszt. 1. Budapest, Hungary 1092 http://www.gandhi.hu/
9	Ferencváros Community Foundation (FCF)	Local population in the 9th district of Budapest, including migrants living in the district	FCF, a grassroots organisation focusing on facilitating local philanthropy and raising funds for locally initiated programmes, has recently launched a project 'Our new neighbours - Colourful Ferencváros' with the aim of involving migrants connected to the 9th district and to raise awareness about the values of diversity.	District IX, Budapest	1094, Budapest, Márton utca 10. ferencvarosi.ka@gmail.com http://ferencvarosi.kozossegialapitvany.hu/

10	TASZ/Hungarian Civil Liberties Union	All human beings present on Hungarian territory	TASZ monitors the human rights and civil liberties situation of all people in Hungary, including transit migrants or foreigners, to uphold fundamental rights & principles. It provides comments and reports on the infringement of their rights, e.g. on maltreatment of journalists covering the clashes at Röszke by the police, the "totalitarian asylum law" or the treatment of asylum seekers at the Hungarian border. They provide legal advocacy, legal advise, and public education projects, including for migrants and about migration issues.	Budapest, Hungary	1136 BUDAPEST, TÁTRA UTCA 15/B. PHONE +36 1 209 0046 FAX +36 1 279 0755 EMAIL TASZ@TASZ.HU WEB https://tasz.hu/en
11	Cordélia Alapítvány/ Cordélia Foundation	Torture survivor and severely traumatized asylum seekers, refugees and their family members arriving in Hungary	The Cordelia Foundation for the Rehabilitation of Torture Victims offers complex psycho-social rehabilitation to severely traumatized asylum-seekers and refugees and their families. The professional staff usually treat refugee clients at the Hungarian reception centres. Specific services include: psychiatric, psychological and non-verbal therapies and social assistance; assisting torture survivor clients in the legal process with medical reports documenting the evidence of torture; offering trainings and supervision for professionals working with refugees, and organising awareness raising programme on the international day of torture victims.	Budapest	H-1133, Budapest, Hungary, Kárpát u 1/B. , VI./24. Tel: +36 13 49 14 50 Fax: +36 12 39 13 32 Web: www.cordelia.hu Email: cordelia@cordelia.hu
12	Háttér Társaság (Háttér Society)	LGBTQ migrants, asylum-	The legal aid service targets victims of discrimination, harassment and violence,	Budapest	H-1132 Budapest, Csanády u. 4/B.

		seekers, and refugees	but also provides advice on any legal matter where the sexual orientation or gender identity of the person might be significant.		Tel: +36 13 29 26 70 or +36 1 238 0046 Fax: +36 1 799 8418 Web: www.hatter.hu Email: hatter@hatter.hu

Activities in the rural areas are concentrated in towns where there is a refugee camp and more specifically to the territories of the refugee camps. For instance, the Hungarian Menedék Association for Migrants have programmes and social workers in Vámosszabadi reception centre and the detention centres in Győr, Kiskunhalas and Nyírbátor, as well as the Children's Centre in Fót.

Focused on immigrants in a different way are the various diaspora organizations, catering to the specific nationalities that can be found in Hungary (and concentrate on Budapest). There is for example the Russian diaspora in Hungary, counting roughly 13,000 people (according to the 2011 census) and offering a variety of cultural and other activities.[36] Many other Diasporas are organized on a more or less formal level (e.g. Chinese, Latin Americans, Italians).

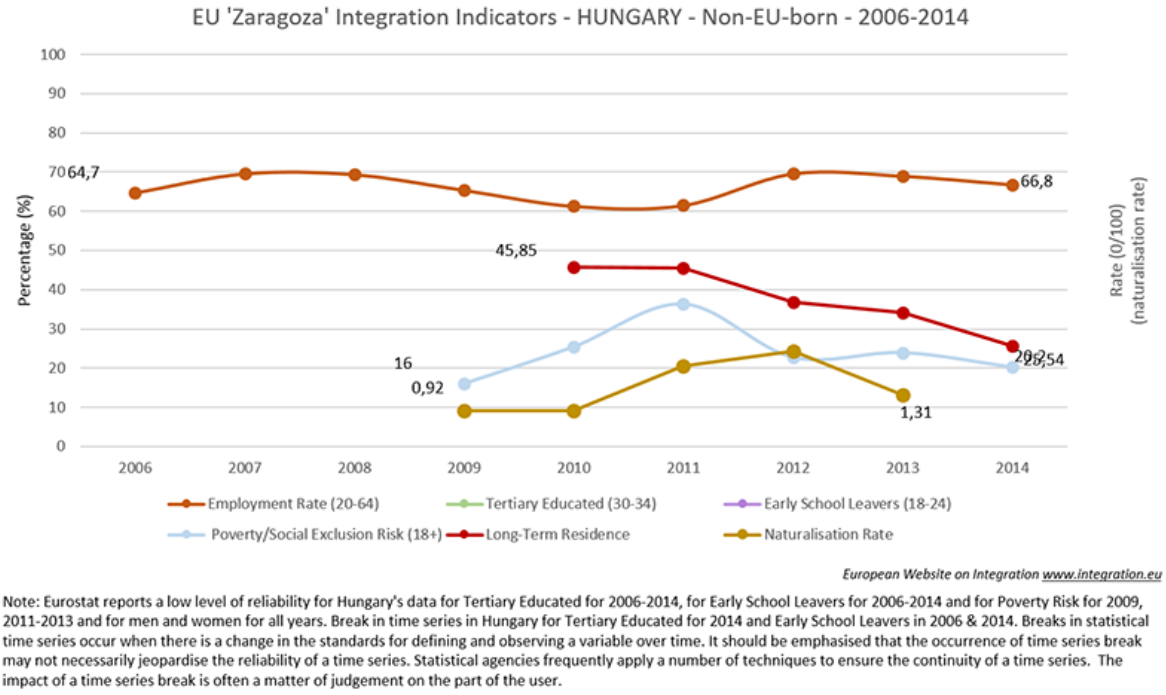
2012 the Institute for Minority Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences set out to explore migrant organisations operating in Hungary. Their definition of a migrant organization was one where over half of the membership and the leadership are migrants. They focused on entities set up by third country nationals and not only formalized NGOs but also initiatives that were carried out their activities in a structured way and had great impact. They found that of the 247 registered organisations that they have identified, 146 were operating (Kováts, 2012).
Most of these organisations were organized by people from East-Asia and the Middle East (60% of the identified organisations), followed by NGOs of people of Africa and Europe. There were only few organisations with a Latin American background (4%) and ones with a Muslim background (4%) – in the latter case the basis of the organization was religion. As to the fields of activity, most organisations were active in culture, community development, education, the situation of youth and children, charity and fundraising, international cooperation. Only one organization indicated that its main activity was to address issues related to migration and none mentioned the alleviation of the problems of the represented ethnic group as its main activity. The migrant background and ethnicity constituted the context of the operation of the organization rather than the target area. This

[36] See: http://www.ruscenter.hu/beta/hu/cominhun.php.

does not mean, however, that the beneficiaries of their operation did not include people from the related ethnic group, on the contrary, very often they were the main targets of the organisation's actions (Kováts, 2012).

Integration success of foreigners in Hungary

Given these manifold and multi-level efforts to facilitate integration, it is noteworthy to contrast these efforts with the actual integration of foreigners in Hungary. From an EU source, we can observe various indicators, so-called Zaragoza indicators, on the integration of non-EU born citizens in Hungary. Overall, integration indicators suggest a decline in integration success over the time period 2006-2014. Particularly the rate of long-term residence declined. So did the naturalization rate.[37] While the risk of poverty/social exclusion stabilized – after the global economic crisis around the year 2011 – at a pre-crisis level.



Note: Eurostat reports a low level of reliability for Hungary's data for Tertiary Educated for 2006-2014, for Early School Leavers for 2006-2014 and for Poverty Risk for 2009, 2011-2013 and for men and women for all years. Break in time series in Hungary for Tertiary Educated for 2014 and Early School Leavers in 2006 & 2014. Breaks in statistical time series occur when there is a change in the standards for defining and observing a variable over time. It should be emphasised that the occurrence of time series break may not necessarily jeopardise the reliability of a time series. Statistical agencies frequently apply a number of techniques to ensure the continuity of a time series. The impact of a time series break is often a matter of judgement on the part of the user.

Figure 4 - Integration indicators, 2006-2014
(Source: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/eu-zaragoza-integration-indicators-hungary).

[37] We cannot clearly ascertain that the temporary rise in naturalisation rates in 2011 and 2012 is due to the push by the Orban government (since 2010) to naturalize ethnic Hungarians in adjacent territories due to lack of data, but have a strong hunch that this is the case.

3.3 Interdisciplinary programs, cultural actions, trainings and educational services for migrants in Hungary

There are manifold activities, events and programmes that target migrants in Hungary - predominantly provided by civil society organisations. While we seem to observe a concentration of these services in the capital Budapest, this is not surprising as Budapest is the place of work/employment for many foreigners working in Hungary, it is a hub for the provision of services, and it also has larger immigrant communities that may provide a network as well as an active civil society scene doing the same.

1. Training Alternatives in the Hope of Marketable Knowledge and Jobs by MigHelp

MigHelp was initiated up by James Peter, a refugee from Sierra Leone who used to live in a refugee camp in Eastern Hungary, Debrecen. It was prompted by a conflict between some Muslim and Christian refugees living in the camp, police were called in, and the Mr. Peter concluded conflict resolution skills would be very much needed in the refugee community. Pursuing this idea, he later met an experienced non-violence communication expert and a series of workshops were held in both Budapest and at the Bicske refugee camp. Later this training activity expanded to include job training, language skills, and the dissemination of information. These activities were then formalized and MigHelp was founded in September 2009 and registered as an NGO in Hungary.

One of MigHelp's first projects was to offer practical job skills trainings of the European Computer Driving Licence (ECDL) program – these accredited lessons include everything from courses in email, to courses CSS, MySQL and PHP. MigHelp is the only organization to offer an accredited European Computer Driving Licence (ECDL) program in Hungary specifically for refugees and migrants. Collaborating with McDaniel College Budapest, MigHelp has now for several years provided advanced training in web design, database management and other computer technology courses to students who complete the ECDL courses, or who are otherwise eligible. Another area addressed by MigHelp's efforts is that of **language training**. MigHelp has provided beginners classes in Hungarian, German, French, and English for migrants and refugees eager to pick up the language of Hungary and other European countries, thereby further encouraging their successful integration.

In 2016 MigHelp obtained EU funding for a new series of projects that continue computer training, language training, while also offering new classes in vehicle driving, and child day care. Courses in 2017-2018: 1) Elderly care skills course and certification; 2) Car driving

course for 'B' category driver's licence; 3) Truck driving course for 'C' category driver's licence; 4) European Computer Driving Licence ECDL Course; 5) Microsoft Certified Systems Administrator (MCSA) Course; 6) Basket weaving and knitting for the new market. **Participants** to MigHelp's courses include people with refugee status, others have a residency permit, while some others have already been naturalized. There is usually a balanced gender ratio at the training sessions, except for courses on caretaking, where participants are predominantly women. Mighelp is also seeking to include Hungarians into their language courses, mainly from the neighbourhood, in an attempt to reach out to the local community.

2. Programmes by Menedék – Hungarian Association for Migrants

Menedék has been helping the social integration of immigrants arriving to and departing from Hungary, through a set of social, educational and cultural programs built on more than 20 years of experience. The organisation developed a **complex system of services that has supported thousands of refugees and other foreigners** in finding a new home in Hungary or returning to their home country, including counselling, language lessons and various community programs in order to help them to get to know and understand the Hungarian culture and habits, to find a job and housing, and to find their way out of the administration maze. Menedék offers **migrant-specific sensitization training for professionals who are in contact with migrants during their work: teachers, social workers, healthcare workers, police officers, and armed security guards**. In addition to supporting immigrants and professionals, Menedék help the majority society become more open and receptive to foreigners, as this is essential for the successful integration of migrants. To this end, we aim to build a bridge between the host society and the immigrants through various educational and cultural projects.

The **Menedék Film Club** every month documentaries or feature films are shown, which deal with migrant and refugee life situations and depicts characteristic cultural and social encounters. The screening is always followed by a discussion on the impressions of the audience. In addition to our above-mentioned regular programs, Menedék organises **celebrations of the major festivities of their clients** (Eid. Christmas, Nowruz, New Year's Eve).

Menedék promotes cultural diversity by publishing an international cookbook and a photo collection, selling their unique **CULT products (T-shirts, bags)** labelled by Menedék's

social enterprise. The last series of products used the drawings made by migrant children (the drawings were printed on the bags, T-shirts).

3. Film School by Palantír Film Foundation

Film School is a project implemented by Palantír Film Foundation. In the framework of the project documentary films are shown in high schools and discussed with teachers and students. The films depict the lives of everyday people, much like the audience, the only difference being that the people in the films have to get by in a country and culture that is different from theirs. What would you do if you had to leave your country? How would you try to get by? How does the film help you to understand these situations? These are some of the questions that will be discussed with 17-19-year-old students studying in high schools in the 9th district. The refugee crisis caused a genuine culture shock among Hungarians, the issue of migration has become a common topic in everyday conversations. There is nothing in the school curricula that would help students explore different cultures. The project, launched as recently as September 2017, involves working with teachers, a short survey exploring the students' knowledge of the culture that the given film addresses, discussions.[38]

4. "Our New Neighbours - Colourful Ferencváros" by the Ferencváros Community Foundation

The project "Our New Neighbours – Colourful Ferencváros" was launched in June 2017 by the **Ferencváros Community Foundation**, an independent, grassroot organisation operating in the 9th district of Budapest, seeking to facilitate community fundraising for locally initiated programmes. FCF had been keen to respond to the refugee crisis through its own tools and means and has been exploring the scope of action for community foundations. The goals of the project are two-fold: on the one hand, the NGO would like to reach out to migrants and foreigners connected in some way to the 9th district. The goal with this is to involve them, i.e. members of the community, to the activities that the NGO is carrying out and explore their ideas for activities that they would like to see implemented and which would help their integration into the local community. FCF is aiming for a truly participatory approach, which would make sure that foreigners in the district are also involved not only its activities but also in the volunteer pool and the decision making body

[38] For source and more info: http://palantirfilm.hu/film-school-program/ (In Hungarian).

as well (the long-term goal is to have foreigners in the board as well). On the other hand, FCF's goal is to run an awareness raising campaign in the district about the values of diversity ("Our New Neighbours - COlourful Ferencváros"). However, given that the peak of the campaign was planned to take place in May, which will coincide with the peak of the national elections, a central topic of which will very likely be the issues of migration, the NGO will have to consider carefully the implementation of this campaign.[39]

Initiating Dialogue

Most of the programmes listed above focus on migrant populations staying/residing in Hungary but NGOs do have programmes and initiatives seeking to further dialogue among local/migrant populations and addressing the issues of tolerance, inclusion and integration from the point of view of the receiving society as well.

For instance, **Artemisszió Foundation** - a key objective of which is to include facilitating dialogue and interaction between culturally, ethnically and socially diverse groups and to foster their mutual understanding - has been providing **intercultural training courses**, educational materials and methods for both professionals (e.g. teachers, those in the law enforcement and health care) and those interested. Artemisszió's **"Building Bridges"** program included training for local citizens interested in helping refugees and migrants through mentoring them. The **Mira intercultural community**, set up by Artemisszió Foundation also, seeks to provide space for intercultural encounters and dialogue, mutual learning and experiences through language classes (including Arabic and Farsi lessons by native speakers), cooking events and other events (games, creative workshops) designed for local and migrant communities alike.[40]

The **Migrant's Voice** project by Menedék Foundation is a program that increases the visibility of third-country nationals by giving them a platform in **community broadcasting and writing their own blog**. The activities included in this project will give third-country nationals a voice and many opportunities to show their identity and thus bringing them and the natives closer to each other. [41]

We should not forget to mention here the cultural events of the Central European University, especially the Doclab Workshops of the VERZIO Film Festival organized yearly since 2015[42], or lectures about projects on communication access (smartphones,

[39] For more info, see: http://ferencvarosi.kozossegialapitvany.hu/.

[40] See: http://artemisszio.blog.hu/.

[41] See: IO3 - Empowerment of migrants. Collection of best practices in the field of migrants' integration, for more info: www.similarproject.eu.

[42] See: Face to face: Refugees in Europe (2015): http://verzio.org/en/node/547, https://www.ceu.edu/event/2015-11-17/verzio-doclab-projects-face-face-refugees-europe.

apps, wireless internet) for refugees[43]. The festival is complemented with exhibitions[44] and literary panel discussions[45].[46]

There are a number of amateur football clubs that include migrants, some of them refugees, among the members. The African Stars football team consists of players who are exclusively refugees and migrants. The team participated in several tournaments and won a number of prizes, including first place in the 2006 World Cup Against Racism tournament held every year in Italy. Inter CDF is a Budapest-based football club that brings together refugees, mainly, from Nigeria, Cameron, Iraq, Iran and Libya living in the Hungarian capital. Inter CDF was originally set up to help footballers from Africa who struggled to be accepted by clubs. The Mira! intercultural community, initiated by Artemisszió Foundation, also organizes football training for migrants and refugees residing in Hungary but also interested Hungarian citizens as well. The project **Welcome to the pitch!** Is a project supported by the European Commission to provide (football) training opportunities for for adult refugees living in Hungary. Their players are mainly from Budapest and around. The project's top priority is to help refugee football players make as many contacts in our country as possible through the the open trainings and theFair Play Football Roadshow championships.

We clearly see from the lists of organizations working on the migration and refugee issues that there is a strong diversity in terms of focus, resources, and reach.

Two further points are notable here: the aforementioned absence of certain state or church bodies that would/could be assumed traditional facilitators of such actions, events, or programmes. Second however, we want to underline again the wide range of organizations working on these issues, implying a quite involved layer of society that actually works or volunteers in these organizations. The migrant solidarity groups that formed spontaneously during the "refugee crisis" in 2015 and included numerous people in different villages deserve a special mention here.
Also, while the (public) media can be criticised for a lack of representation (of a migrant perspective, migrants themselves, or simply a non-securitizing coverage of events), there is now emerging attention from outside the country given to a balanced, well-informed, and inclusive media coverage. For example, the U.S. Department of State will provide funding for media pluralism (and thus against the implicit sway the current government has over the media) in Hungary.[47] Additionally, there are several European initiatives with the

[43] See: https://spp.ceu.edu/node/1803.

[44] For an example of 2015, see: https://www.ceu.edu/event/2015-11-04/migration-europe.

[45] For example in 2017, see: https://ias.ceu.edu/node/688.

[46] For further information, see: https://www.ceu.edu/event/2015-11-10/verzio-international-human-rights-documentary-film-festival, https://www.ceu.edu/event/2016-11-08/13th-verzio-human-rights-documentary-film-festival, https://www.ceu.edu/event/2017-11-14/14th-verzio-film-festival.

[47] See: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-us-media/u-s-launches-media-fund-for-hungary-to-aid-press-freedom-idUSKBN1DD21C, or https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-11-30/u-s-joins-hungarian-media-resistance-to-loosen-orban-s-sway.

objective to promote independent and balanced media reporting in general and/or with special regard to migration topics.
And while the Hungarian Catholic Church seemed rather passive, the integrative power of local communities should not be underestimated. (And this pertains to all different faiths extant in Hungary, even though the catholic church could serve as a positive example for all of society here.)

What is missing?

While we are able to observe a lively and diverse NGO scene that really employs the range of tools and activities possible to facilitate integration and foster cross-cultural dialogue, we have a notable absence of state and church activities specifically targeting this area.

The stronger concentration of activities in the capital Budapest is mainly also due to the concentration of foreigners/immigrants there, and a variety of initiatives also covers other cities and villages. So while at first one may only notice the concentration in Budapest, it seems reasonable that most NGOs work here, and other regions and cities also seem reasonably covered.

In terms of NGO activities, there is only to say that maybe some programmes, such as the very popular “cooking together” approach on bridging cultures and putting people of different culinary and cultural backgrounds in contact with each other, could be rolled out on a larger scale. These are clearly not restricted to more affluent nations, for example there is also a successful programme like that running in Bulgaria[48], and are accessible to people with different socio-economic backgrounds. Yet, so far, only few of them exist.

The same holds for the area of sports where many different approaches and activities could be implemented – and are recommended as a viable tool for migrant/refugee integration – but where we could only identify some. A rollout on a larger scale could be realised without many resources, yet potentially reach people from different backgrounds very successfully.

With the government’s current new take on NGO’s that provide (particularly) for refugees, it remains to be seen whether and how NGO activities will be curtailed in the future in Hungary.

[ADDENDUM on the latest developments regarding the financing of NGO activities for migrants & refugees should go HERE.]

Critical review

As it can be seen in the previous section, there are many and a large variety of programmes and initiatives organized by non-governmental organizations to assist the integration of

[48] See: http://multikulti.bg/1768.

migrants in Hungary, ranging from "softer" programs (such as cooking events or sports), through projects seeking to advance migrants' participation in society (e.g. the Migrants' Voice community radio initiative by Menedék Association) to educational programs and training targeting the majority society and professionals (like Artemisszió or Menedék Foundation's training sessions for teachers and social workers who are in contact with migrants). For some of these actions the NGOs receive funding from the EU structural funds (through the Hungarian government's mechanisms) or international organizations. It seems as if the government was "outsourcing" the task of assisting migrants' integration to non-governmental organizations and minimizes its own efforts, which can also be noted in the level of services that the very central state organization, the Office of Immigration and Nationality, provides for the foreigners that come to Hungary. Many interviewees mentioned the lack of appropriate language skills and the limited level of helpfulness on the part of officers at the Office. Generally, Hungarian state services can be characterised by providing only a minimal level of support for migrants and refugees arriving to the country.

According to Political Capital (Political Capital, 2017) both the politics and the rhetoric of the Hungarian government can be interpreted in the context of securitization. The basis for such an approach is the premise that migrants are a threat to Europe's safety and Christian values, which should be defended from the intruders through a variety of measures: by introducing anti-migrant policies and communicating against migrants.

The fact that in June 2016 the government discontinued the so-called integration allowance, which was an allowance of 90,000HUF (approx. 280 EUR) paid monthly to those who were granted asylum, is another example of an unwelcoming approach, which implies "you will receive no help here, do not come!". The condition of the allowance was that the recipient reports monthly at the social services of the district/territory that the refugee was registered in and the amount could be used for particular purposes (primarily housing). Officers at the social services provide information and help with job search, although this is a task that they were entrusted with without any prior training or any additional capacity, which suggests low efficiency of the help provided by the state-financial social system. In fact, an officer in one of the districts in Budapest explained that the most he could do was forwarding information to his refugee-clients about the relevant programmes and actions that NGOs carry out. This can be generalized as well: the Hungarian government's limited involvement in providing for the refugees and migrants, providing relevant information is supplemented by NGOs.

3.4 National and local policy documents supporting / dealing with migration issues in Hungary

The Ministry of Interior (MoI) is overall responsible for setting the policy guidelines in the areas of migration, asylum and integration within the Deputy State Secretary for EU and

International Relations is the main entity in the area. The Ministry is working in close cooperation with other relevant ministries, the executing authorities and with the relevant international organizations and NGOs.
Within the Ministry of Human Resource has the main responsibility for elaborating and representing the employment policy in the field of migration and asylum. The Ministry is also responsible for determining the detailed rules on work permits, as well as equal opportunities are under the remit of this Ministry. Visa issues belong to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Implementing bodies include the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN) (e.g. decision-making regarding certain visas and residence permits, asylum procedures, expulsions and naturalisation), the Equal Treatment Authority, the National Employment Service, Police Headquarters and the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.
International organisations such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) are active in Hungary, and many NGOs are active in providing various services to migrants, refugees and asylum applicants (Source: European Migration Network, National Contact Point Hungary, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/authorities/hungary_en, accessed: 19.11.2017).

The Hungarian new Fundamental Law states the basic rules and principles regarding the organization of asylum and migration policies in Hungary. The rights set down in the Fundamental Law, such as the right to asylum, the freedom of movement, etc.
Act I of 2007 (Free Movement Act) regulate the entry and stay of persons enjoying the right to free movement and their family members, and Act II of 2007 (Aliens Act) regulates the entry and stay of third-country nationals. The Act on Asylum, Act LXXX of 2007, sets down the basic principles and the most important guidelines to follow in the area of asylum in line with the relevant EU directives. There are several provisions on integration in various sectoral legal instruments (Source: European Migration Network, National Contact Point Hungary, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/authorities/hungary_en, accessed: 19.11.2017).

List of policy documents (retrieved from the European Website on Integration - Migrant Integration Information and good practices, accessed 19.11.2017):

- A menekültek, kiegészíto védelemben részesülők és a Magyarországon jogszerűen tartózkodó harmadik országbeli állampolgárok magyarországi integrációjáról / White paper for the integration of refugees, persons under subsidiary protection and other third country nationals living in Hungary. Result of the transition facility programme – 2006
- Magyarország migrációs stratégiája / Hungary's Migration Strategy
- Interkulturális pedagógiai program / Intercultural pedagogical programme
- Magyarország külkapcsolati stratégiája / Foreign Affairs Strategy Paper for Hungary
- 1057/2009. (IV. 24.) Korm. határozat a Magyar Köztársaságnak a szabadság, biztonság és a jog érvényesülése térségében való együttműködésére vonatkozó 2009-2014 közötti kormányzati stratégiájáról - **Please note that the EN version is an unofficial translation**

- Nők és Férfiak Társadalmi Egyenlőségét Elősegítő Nemzeti Stratégia - Irányok és Célok 2010-2021 / National strategy for promoting the social equality of men and women - lines of action and goals 2010-2021
- Foglalkoztatási Stratégia / National Employment Strategy

List of Key Legislation (retrieved from the European Website on Integration - Migrant Integration Information and good practices, accessed 19.11.2017)

- The Fundamental Law of Hungary (HU - EN)
- Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship
- Government Decree 125/1993 (IX.22.) on the Implementation of Act LV of 1993 on Hungarian Citizenship
- Act LXXX of 2007 on Asylum
- Implementing Government Decree 301/2007 (XI. 9.) of the Act LXXX on Asylum
- Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education
- Act CCIIV of 2005 on National Higher Education
- Act C of 2001 on the Recognition of Foreign Certifications and Degrees
- Act III of 1993 on Social Governance and Social Benefits
- Act LXXX of 1997 on the Eligibility for Social Security Benefits and Private Pensions and the Funding for These Services and its implementing Government Decree 195/1997(XI.V.)
- Act XXXI of 1997 on the Protection of Children and the Administration of Guardianship
- Act IV of 1991 on Job Assistance and Unemployment Benefits
- Governmental Decree 12/2001 (I.31.) on the State Subsidies for Housing
- Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and Promotion of Equal Opportunities
- Act II of 2007 on the Entry and Stay of Third Country Nationals
- Government Decree 114/2007 (V. 24.) on the Implementation of Act II of 2007 on the Entry and Stay of Third-Country Nationals
- Act I of 2007 on the Entry and Stay of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence
- Government Decree 113/2007 (V. 24.) on the Implementation of Act I of 2007 on the Entry and Stay of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence
- Act LXXV of 2010 on Simplified Employment
- Act LXXX of 2003 on Legal Aid
- Act LXXXIV of 1998 on Family Support
- Act I of 2012 on the Labour Code
- Government Decree 445/2013 on the employment of third-country nationals in Hungary. The Decree refers to: procedures other than the single application procedure; the exemptions of such authorisation obligation; the involvement of the metropolitan and county government offices as opinion makers in single application procedures; the notification of employment of non-EU nationals' authorisation for free employment in Hungary and salary reimbursement

A study conducted in 2012 found that migration-related policies in Hungary were primarily focusing on the circumstances of staying in Hungary and acquiring nationality but there have been little policy efforts related to integration (Bernát-Simonovits-Szalai, 2012). The integration of migrants is equally neglected in local policies, although we did find mention

of the integration of migrants in the equal opportunities programme of the city of Budapest. However, neither the larger towns affected by migration (e.g. the Eastern city of Debrecen, where there used to be a refugee camp and where the local university accepts large number of foreign students, does not mention migrants/refugees in its equal opportunities programme), nor the districts in Budapest with the largest number of migrant population (8th and 10th district) have any policy documents related to the local migrant population. The researchers in the above-mentioned study heard from the local policy makers that this was because of the very small number of migrants (even the 8th and 10th district local officers said that) (Bernát, Simonovits, Szalai, 2012).

Local policies

The Act CXXV of 2003 on Equal Treatment and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities stipulates that "local authorities can adopt local equal opportunities programme, which analyses the state of disadvantageous groups living in the settlement and defines the purposes of promoting the equal opportunities of these groups." Such programmes must be reviewed every two years and must address at least three target groups (the situation of the Roma, people with disabilities and women) but other vulnerable groups may be included as well as regarded necessary.

The **Equal Opportunities programme of Budapest**, Hungary's capital, for the period of 2017-2022 includes migrants as well (defined as immigrants and refugees). The programme specifically defines areas of intervention in the social services and in culture. In the social sector it envisions increasing the number of complex services supporting refugees in finding accommodation and jobs; expanding the level of relevant knowledge of people employed by the Budapest Municipality; compiling a database of interpreters and NGOs working with migrants. In addition, the Programme proposes more events and cultural programmes to raise awareness about the cultural and religious values pertaining to migrant groups to facilitate their acceptance. What is more, the Budapest authorities would like to include in the city's image the large number of integrated immigrants and refugees living in Budapest.

What exactly will be implemented from these remains to be seen, what is interesting, however, is the sharp contrast with the government's rhetoric (Source: BUDAPEST FŐVÁROS HELYI ESÉLYEGYENLŐSÉGI PROGRAMJA (2017-2022).

Results of the quantitative life-stage-based interviews with migrants in local communities in Hungary

The purpose of the interviews was to deepen insights from the desk research and complement it with the direct integration experience of immigrants in Hungary. We were able to draw on a rich and diverse pool of participants who willingly shared their very personal stories with us. In the following, we provide an overview over the participants as well as share the main points of their answers to the questionnaire. While we share as much information as possible, we foremost treat the information we received confidential and guard the anonymity of the participants (in line with the RC ethical guidelines).

3.5 Who was interviewed?

Below you find a list of the 60 interviewees of Hungary:

No.	Date	Place	Duration in minutes	Female/ Male	Age	Position towards migration
1	17.7.2017	Budapest	90	Male	40-60	Permanent resident
2	25.7.2017	Budapest	60	Male	40-60	Citizen
3	26.7.2017	Budapest	50	Male	40-60	Permanent resident
4	9.8.2017	Budapest	70	Male	40-60	Permanent resident
5	15.8.2017	Budapest	90	Female	20-30	Permanent resident
6	19.8.2017	Budapest	90	Male	30-40	Temporary resident
7	21.8.2017	Budapest	100	Female	20-30	Temporary resident
8	22.8.2017	Budapest	100	Male	20-30	Temporary resident/Economic migrant

9	24.8.2017	Budapest/Skype	60	Male	40-60	Temporary resident
10	28.8.2017	Budapest	90	Male	40-60	Temporary resident
11	29.8.2017	Budapest	60	Male	30-40	Temporary resident/Economic migrant
12	30.8.2017	Budapest	60	Male	40-60	Citizen
13	1.9.2017	Budapest	60	Female	30-40	Permanent resident/EU
14	4.9.2017	Budapest	90	Male	30-40	Permanent resident
15	5.9.2017	Budapest	90	Female	30-40	In marital union with a citizen
16	6.9.2017	Budapest	60	Male	40-60	Permanent resident/In marital union with a citizen
17	6.9.2017	Budapest	120	Male	30-40	Temporary resident
18	14.9.2017	Budapest	60	Female	20-30	Permanent resident/EU
19	15.9.2017	Budapest	90	Female	20-30	Temporary resident
20	20.9.2017	Budapest	90	Female	30-40	Temporary resident
21	1.10.2017	Budapest	90	Male	60<	In marital union with a citizen

22	17.10.2017	Budapest	90	Female	30-40	In marital union with a citizen
23	18.10.2017	Budapest	60	Female	20-30	In marital union with a citizen
24	19.10.2017	Budapest	90	Female	40-60	Citizen/In marital union with a citizen
25	19.10.2017	Budapest	90	Female	40-60	Citizen/In marital union with a citizen
26	20.10.2017	Budapest	60	Male	30-40	Temporary resident/economic migrant
27	21.10.2017	Budapest	80	Female	60<	Temporary resident
28	22.10.2017	Budapest	40	Male	40-60	Permanent resident
29	23.10.2017	Budapest	90	Male	30-40	Temporary resident
30	30.10.2017	Budapest	90	Male	30-40	Citizen
31	26.7.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Male	30-40	Economic Migrant*
32	28.8.2017	Budapest	50 min.	Female	30-40	Economic Migrant*
33	31.7.2017	Budapest	35 min	Female	20-30	Economic Migrant*
34	25.8.2017	Budapest	40 min.	Male	30-40	Refugee
35	02.8.2017	Budapest	50 min.	Male	30-40	Temporary Resident

36	30.7.2017	Budapest	30 min.	Male	40-50	Permanent Resident
37	17.8.2017	Budapest	35 min.	Female	30-40	Permanent Resident
38	22.8.2017	Budapest	60 min.	Male	40-50	In marital union with a citizen
39	16.8.2017	Budapest	30 min.	Male	40-50	Temporary Resident
40	21.8.2017	Budapest	60 min.	Female	60 +	In marital union with a citizen
41	23.8.2017	Budapest	30 min.	Female	30-40	Temporary Resident
42	11.9.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Male	60+	In marital union with a citizen
43	23.8.2017	Budapest	35 min	Female	20-30	Temporary Resident
44	08.9.2017	Budapest	35 min.	Male	20-30	Economic Migrant*
45	29.8.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Male	40-50	Economic Migrant*
46	28.8.2017	Budapest	35 min	Male	30-40	In marital union with a citizen
47	12.10.2017	Budapest	30 min.	Male	50-60	Permanent Resident
48	24.9.2017	Budapest	40 min.	Female	20-30	Economic Migrant*
49	17.10.2017	Budapest	60 min.	Male	60+	In marital union with a citizen

50	26.8.2017	Budapest	35 min.	Male	30-40	Temporary Resident
51	29.10.2017	Budapest	60 min.	Male	30-40	Permanent Resident
52	24.10.2017	Budapest	30 min.	Male	30-40	In marital union with a citizen
53	22.10.2017	Budapest	40 min.	Female	30-40	Economic Migrant*
54	12.11.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Female	30-40	Economic Migrant*
55	5.11.2017	Budapest	40 min	Female	30-40	Citizen
56	17.11.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Female	30-40	Permanent Resident
57	6.11.2017	Budapest	40 min.	Male	30-40	Temporary Resident
58	10.11.2017	Budapest	45 min.	Male	30-40	Economic Migrant*
59	12.11.2017	Budapest	50 min.	Female	30-40	Temporary Resident
60	17.11.2017	Budapest	50 min	Female	40-50	In marital union with a citizen

*Those participants marked with a * have self-identified as a different type of immigrant (temporary/permanent immigrant) than what their actual situation would actually justify. I am denoting therefore here their status as assessed by myself as the interviewer. However, it should be noted that the interviewees themselves do not perceive of themselves as economic migrants, but as temporary or permanent migrants. (And because no definition has been provided, it remains to be discussed in how far these categories are actually mutually exclusive.)

What about EU citizens?

3.6 Who participated in the interviews phase?

We would like to underline that the sample is in no way representative of the migrant population in Hungary. For reasons of capacity, we were only able to interview people who live in Budapest (although the large majority of the migrants living in Hungary are concentrated in Budapest). In finding our interviewees, we used the so-called snowballing method and asked interviewees to recommend others we could interview. In most cases, they recommended interviewees from their circle of friends and colleagues with similar socio-economic background and situation.

We were able to interview only one person with a refugee status. The reason for this is that refugees living in Hungary are extremely cautious of any interviews, which in the hostile, anti-immigration atmosphere is not surprising. Many of them were concerned that anything they said would jeopardize their status. In addition, as a refugee interviewed previously expressed, refugees had to re-tell their stories many times at the Immigration office and other institutions, so there was a fatigue on their part to give interviews. Also, he felt that interviewers - referring mostly to journalist - were interested to hear stories that re-affirmed their pre-conceptions about “suffering refugees” and did not hear out their experiences in their complexity. Therefore, it is hard to find refugees who would be willing to give an interview for any project.

3.7 Quantitative questionnaire

- Age
  Under 20 yrs: 0 persons
  20 – 30 yrs: 10 persons
  30 – 40 yrs: 28 persons
  40 – 60 yrs: 17 persons
  Over 60 yrs: 5 persons

- Here, we see a clear dominance of the age group 30-40, most likely due to the interviewers own age and the snowball method used to get into contact with the interviewees.

- Nationality
  German:
  GDR 3 persons
  GFR 1 person
  British: 3 persons
  Brazil: 1 persons
  Russian: 5 persons
  Portuguese: 2 persons
  Mexican: 1 person

Austria:	1 person
Serbia:	2 persons
Italy:	1 person
Macedonia:	2 persons
Slovakia:	1 person
Armenia:	1 person
Norway:	1 person
Finnland:	2 person
Romanian:	3 persons
Czech Republic:	1 person
Syrian:	2 persons
Georgian:	1 persons
Palestine:	2 person
Turkish:	2 persons
Ukrainian:	1 person
Australia	2 person
Greece	1 person
Costa Rica	1 person
Madagascar	1 person
Lebanon	1 person
Canada	1 person
Kazakhstan	2 persons
Mongolia	1 person
Columbia	1 person
Slovenia	1 person
Pakistan	1 person
Egypt	2 persons
Morocco	1 person
Afghanistan	1 person
Netherlands	1 person
France	1 person
Kenya	1 person
Ireland	1 person
Uzbekistan	1 person

- Working status

Schooling:	8 persons
Unemployed:	6 persons
Employed:	29 persons
Other:	17 persons - (freelancers or self-employed, 1 person on maternity leave)

- Gender

Female	25 persons
Male:	35 persons

- Level of education

Primary School	0
High School	6
B.A./M.A.	47
PhD	7

- Target Group

Non Status	0
Asylum Seeker	0
Asylum Holder	1
Temporary Residence	26
Permanent Residence	14
In marital union w/citizen	13
Citizen	5
Economic Migrant	1

**There is some uncertainty about the interviewees being able to assess their own status correctly, e.g. some citizens of EU member states self-assessed as temporary residents, not permanent ones. Additionally, this list of 6 possible statuses conflates social and legal descriptions and not exclusive and equally valuable categories. The placement into one of the given options is therefore more a self-assessment of one's situation in Hungary than necessarily the correct ascription.*

Hardly any of the interviewees identified as 'economic migrant', although many of the "temporary residents" came here specifically to work at shared service centres or multinational companies. This may be because of the categorization was not consistent, i.e. "economic migrant" is a sociological category, while all others are legal ones. We may also add in relation to this that the term "economic migrant" has become a derogatory one in Hungary in the context of the government's anti-immigration campaign (note that one billboard in the early 2015 communication campaign read "If you come to Hungary, you cannot take away the jobs of the Hungarian people"). This is particularly ironic given the large number of Westerners working in multinational companies in Hungary but they are referred to as "expats", which carries a positive connotation here.

- Willingness to integrate

Not willing	0
No motivation	0
So & So	12
Quite willing	22
Most willing	26

- Unsurprisingly, the level of motivation to integrate is quite high among all interviewees. However, immigrants confess to varying levels of willingness to integrate depending on past experiences and future plans - particularly those who want to emigrate from Hungary in the near future did report lower scores in their willingness to integrate. Also, motivation seems to decrease over time, with varying degrees of actually accomplished integration.

- Involvement of the host country in the integration process

Utterly insufficient	2
Insufficient	15
Neither/nor	20
Sufficient	13
Exceptionally	10

- This is a very mixed picture covering the whole range of possible answers with a clear leaning towards a negative evaluation for the host country's involvement (as "insufficient"), due to several factors (language barrier, unfriendliness, and others).
  Also, our interviewees differentiated in this respect between different times ("the time when I arrived" and "what would it be like now"), as well as the willingness of different social entities ("the authorities" or the "people in the street" or "neighbours"). That is why we marked "Other" in some cases, adding an explanation about the different layers that interviewees differentiated between. An important point here is the **knowledge of the language** or the lack thereof: one interviewee from Central Asia pointed out that at the beginning of her stay in Hungary, 21 years ago, she often felt mocked, people made faces behind her back and she was helpless until she learned Hungarian and was able to react to the situation.

  Another interviewee from Afghanistan came to Hungary 35 years ago on a scholarship to study at a medical university and assessed to willingness of his adopted country to accept foreigners as good - up until 2015. Since then he has experienced more hostility, like when he spoke with his friend in Persian in a public space and people moved away from them. He thought the **turning point came with the refugee crisis** in 2015, since then he has sensed increased xenophobia both on a governmental level, as well as in everyday situations.

  Some interviewees rated the involvement of the host country in their integration as "exceptionally sufficient". In two cases, this was explained by the fact that they came here on a **scholarship** (under communism) and the scholarship included various things, such as accommodation, stipend, a language course and even cultural programmes or excursions. Whereas in three other cases it was the micro-environment, more specifically the person's own family (in the case of the interviewee from Madagascar), or adopted families of the spouses (Kazakhstan and Russia) that justified this answer.

- Specifically mentioned, and beyond the provided categories of "quality of language courses, social activities, hospitality of people, etc.", were assistance by "people of Hungary", "the

company", and "bureaucracy" in either a positive or negative way. The following 7 bullet points assess different sub-aspects of this general question separately.

a. Separate aspects of importance for willingness to integrate

	Least important	Not so important	Neither/nor	Pretty important	Very important
Openness & hospitality of people	0	1	7	20	31
Employment	2	3	8	15	32
Time willing to spend in the country	6	2	8	12	30
Presence of religious groups	27	7	19	4	3
High living standard & general atmosphere among people	1	11	18	21	9
Offer of quality language courses	5	7	16	13	19

From this table it becomes clear how important the factors time, job & people are for the immigrants' willingness to integrate. Religion plays a negligible role, while language course would also be quite appreciated. (But again, due to our snowballing method of collecting data, we may simply have missed those with different, and particularly disengaged or negative attitudes.)

b. Other

Beyond these six categories, interviewees also mentioned "friends" and "bureaucracy" (two mentions each) and other factors, like having a Hungarian partner/spouse and an attached family.

Someone mentioned the rule of law and the protection of property as key factors, as well as cleanliness and sports facilities (although these may be part of the 'high living standards…' category) one other person also mentioned democratic values ("I wouldn't want to live in a dictatorship") and security.

For one person the presence of religious groups was important because coming from a deeply Catholic Latin American country, she felt she would not be able to fit in in a Muslim environment. The same person mentioned diversity, explaining that it is easier to live in a foreign country that hosts and caters for a diverse group of nationalities already, which not only makes it easier to fit in but allows access to the person's culture through other people from the same country, speaking the same language, even ingredients of the person's culinary traditions.

One interviewee mentioned age as an important factor in this respect: the younger you are, the easier it is to fit in a new environment, he pointed out. The very same person also underlined cultural and religious proximity as factors that help the process of a person's integration in a different country.

One interviewee mentioned the obvious factor of liking the place (while admitting that all of the factors listed in the question may contribute to a person's liking the given location).

An interviewee from Afghanistan (who came to Hungary to study in the 1970s and stayed on since then) added after answering this question: "Whoever comes here has no other choice", referring to his own story: although he came here on a scholarship, he did not have much choice in terms of countries and scholarship opportunities. It suggests that while some of the above-mentioned factors are very important (e.g. the openness and hospitality of people, the time a person's willing to spend in the country, as well as language courses), often one just needs to adjust and get used to the new environment.

Attending events and getting involved in the work of NGOs, volunteering - these were mentioned by a student from Ukraine, and learning the language was emphasized and mentioned again on many occasions even though it featured among the choices.

One interviewee (a Dutch person working and living in Hungary but on Dutch projects) pointed out that employment is very important - but only if it is in Hungarian or with Hungarians.

- Attendance of social events

	Never	Hardly ever	Few times per year	Quite a few	Plenty
Frequency of attending social events	0	0	15	26	19
Frequency of foreign-language group socialization	0	0	13	19	28

Immigrant interviewees are actively socializing, predominantly with people from a different cultural-linguistic background than their own.

- Expectations & Goals

Have they been realized?

	Have not been realized	Have been slightly realized	I learned the language	Many have been realized	I achieved all of them	Unable to answer
Overall	0	16	10	24	7	3

- Number of years living in Hungary

>30 yrs: 6 persons (2 over 35-38 years, 1 over 45 years)
25 to 29 years: 4 persons
20 to 25 yrs: 1 persons

15 to 19 yrs:	1 persons
10 to 14 yrs:	7 person
6 to 10 yrs:	10 persons
2 to 5 yrs:	18 persons
Less than 2 yrs:	8 persons
Less than 1 yr:	5 persons

From this aspect, we have a very diverse sample in terms of time already spend in Hungary, so we have different trajectories and experiences covered. This range and richness in experiences covered by our sample becomes even more apparent in the following (qualitative) part of the questionnaire description (see part 3.8 below).

3.8 Qualitative questionnaire (In-depth interview)

Questionnaire V2

(Q10) What are/were your expectations and goals you have set for yourself to accomplish in Hungary?

Four themes:

- **Education**
  - immigrants wanted to get a quality degree (e.g. engineering, medical studies, social studies, etc.)

    In some cases, Hungary was not the top choice for our interviewees to study ("Hungary was never my dream country to study in", F, Ukraine; "Originally I wanted to go to East Berlin") but given the availability of a scholarship, they went with it nevertheless.

    In other cases, especially in the case of those who arrived to study in the communist era, it was the opposite: Hungarian universities had a good reputation in their countries and therefore the prospect of studying here was appreciated ("I knew Hungarian universities were good, especially in the field of social sciences, so for me it was a challenge professionally", Male, Greece).

- **Employment**
  - immigrants wanted to gain a quality employment (e.g. better paid, more challenging than at home) or gain international work experience. Just like with education, getting a job in Hungary at a multinational company is often thought of as a stepping-stone towards Western destinations. E.g. Uzbek interviewee who studied in Hungary and has worked for a multinational company for 7 years and has been learning German intensely, as he has very definite plans to move to Germany for work. He, for

instance, put it very straightforwardly that his main goal coming to Hungary 10 years ago was to “set my boots in a new continent”.

- **Love**
  - interviewees wanted to live with their spouses or partner. Some of the interviewees met their spouses abroad and moved to Hungary because of that, others met them here while studying, working and ended up staying in Budapest.

- **Unplanned or “why not”?**
  - some interviewees did not plan to stay but did so eventually.

(Q11) Were these expectations and goals fulfilled?

Four categories emerged:

- **Yes**
  - Some peoples expectations were fulfilled, sometimes even exceeded. These are the immigrants with clear goals and/or long-time immigration experience in Hungary. Or migrants who did not come here with very clear or long-term goals but found a spouse here and ended up setting down here usually answered that not only did they fulfil their goals but also exceeded them.
- **Yes & No** / **Partly**
  - For most interviewees a mix of positive and negative experiences led to this mixed answer. Often this reflects diverging developments in their personal and professional lives (e.g. while their relationship with a Hungarian ended, they found a very good job or vice versa).
- **No** (Nobody in the sample answered with “no”.)
- **No expectations in the first place**
  - These are the interviewees who happened to be in Hungary by chance, or those who simply did not formulate specific expectations & goals for their stay in Hungary.

(Q12) What is it that you like/dislike about Hungary?

Three main themes emerge for the positive answer:

- **Budapest**
  - This is the dominant theme in this question, covering a variety of aspects about the city of Budapest (e.g. transport, culture & events, nighlife, spas, bars, multicultural vibes, safety, architecture etc.)
- **Values**
  - This theme covers the people of Hungary and the values that they demonstrate, i.e. family-orientation and social interaction - but has only been mentioned by a few of the interviewees.
- **Order, “things work here”**

- This was pointed out mostly by our interviewees from the North Africa, Afghanistan and from Greece. ("One day I was running after a bus at night and it dawned on me that it's OK to do it here, I'm safe here", M, Afghanistan)

Five main themes emerge for the negative answer:

- **Hungarian mentality**
  - Many interviewees comment negatively on the behavior of Hungarians as rude, unfriendly, "socially cold", distant, lacking humor, being withdrawn + passive, and complaining and being pessimist.
    Some interviewees felt that Hungarians tend to linger in the past and brood about past grievances. They meant it on a societal level, meaning that they were struck by how the Peace Treaty of Trianon[49] is still an issue here.
- **Political Situation**
  - Some interviewees mention the nationalistic and xenophobic discourse & actions of the government
- **Language barrier**
  - Several interviewees comment on the language barrier that strongly hinders interaction with Hungarians (but some also point out that once they have learned the language they could socialize and integrate well)
- **Food**
  - While some interviewees like the Hungarian cuisine, many comment negatively on it ("too heavy", "too much meat", "don't like the taste"). Food was an almost universal theme among interviewees and comments on it came from a large variety of people.
- **Public transport**
  - While some interviewees appreciate public transport in Budapest, others assess it as chaotic.
- **Homelessness**
  - The presence of a vast number of homeless people in the streets and the implication that they are neglected (by the state, by society and, very importantly, their families)**.** This led to pointing out cultural differences between the countries as well, as in my sample many people from Arabic countries commented that in their country this is dealt with differently and also underlined the potential role of religion in this.

(Q13) Please specify the cultural differences between your culture and general Hungarian culture & mentality.

Five main themes emerge here:

- **Social Interactions**

[49] The Treaty of Trianon was concluded in 1920, formally ending WWI. between most of the Allies of World War I and the Kingdom of Hungary. Hungary lost over two thirds of its territory, which is a key topic in the agenda of nationalistic, extreme right wing movements and groups.

    - Most interviewees drew a comparison at the welcoming/unwelcoming attitude of Hungarians, their active/passive behaviour, their family attachment/detachment (all three in either a positive or negative way), or commented on the "Hungarian way of being depressed". One interviewee from Morocco pointed out how he tried to chat with people while waiting in the line in the shop but how he was met with by puzzled looks.
- **General Atmosphere**
    - Some interviewees also commented on the more general atmosphere as more backward looking, traditional, or generally more negative and full of complaints as in their country of origin.
- **Food**
    - Very many interviewees commented on the food (+/-).
- **Public Transport**
    - Several interviewees mentioned the public transport as being different.
- **Service provision**
    - either private (e.g. banking) or public (hospitals, bureaucracy), interviewees comment negatively on the necessity to bribe, the level of corruption, and the lack of a "service mentality"
- **Social cohesion and solidarity**
    - The sight of many homeless people in the streets of Budapest was especially striking for interviewees from Arabic countries. They explained that in their countries the homeless and the needy would be taken care of their extended families, which may derive from Islam, they pointed out. Two interviewees referred to how the elderly are treated here: one person from Kazakhstan commented on how an old person in her neighbourhood is neglected by his/her family, another from Afghanistan mentioned something similar, while pointing out that in his country the older the person is, the more respect he/she receives. The interviewee found that it was the exact opposite in Hungary.

(Q14) What do you consider as happiness & what would a life of a happy person be like?

Four themes emerge around happiness:

- **Personal traits**
    - Interviewees cover a range of personal issues, such as good health, safety, freedom, being smiley, being happy with "who you are", finding strenght in their faith, being engaged in some activity
- **Having a home**
    - Interviewees use different concepts of "at home" such as feeling integrated, having a close circle of friends, or having a family, and also speaking the language.
- **Having a perspective**
    - Interviewees often mention this aspect, either as a certain attitude towards life, as an economic and/or professional aspect, or as the chance to travel
- **Balancing private & professional life**

- While some interviewees explicitly mention that they strive for a fair balance of their private and professional life, most mention those different areas of life as considering to their happiness with “weighting”.

(Q15) What do you consider as “personal freedom” and how important is it in your life?

Five themes emerge here:

- **Non-interference**
  - Dominant answer by the interviewees, that freedom is in a way a non-interference from the outside, i.e. by the government, society, the environment (e.g. the workplace/the boss, the streets), and more theoretically as a form of non-discrimination & equal treatment.
- **Choice**
  - Closely linked to the aspect of non-interference but with a focus on agency is the theme of “having a choice” - this includes, making your own decisions, the right to choose, the right to not be judged,
- **Expression**
  - Interviewees often refer to the freedom of expression, but also mention a free media, or the freedom for critical thinking.
- **Movement**
  - Being able to travel, but also to move around safely in the streets is a recurring theme among the interviewees.
- **Finances**
  - Financial independence as a mean for freedom is mentioned also a few time (and mentioned only by women, as in: to be free from family constraints, being able to work, not having to conform to the conservative understanding of a woman’s place being in the family, being able to spend their money freely).

(Q16) Which areas of social life are you drawn to the most?

Four themes can be distinguished here:

- **Culture**
  - Including all sorts of venues & events (e.g. museums, concerts, cinema, etc.), this is a recurring theme among interviewees.
- **Politics**
  - Several interviewees are politically active, either by being engaged in an NGO, being activists for a certain cause, or simply by participating in demonstrations.
- **Friends**
  - This is the dominant answer: Simply spending time with friends, underlining earlier findings of the frequency of socializing of our sample. It includes everything from sharing a beer to preparing an elaborate dinner, to joint activities and even holidays.
- **Activities**
  - Somewhat overlapping with the first three themes, this point covers meeting with friends, engaging in political and cultural activities, but also practicing one’s faith, or

practicing sports. And while some interviewees focus on the area/content, others focus more on the interactive part.

(Q17) Which are your favorite activities & hobbies?

Two separate categories evolved here:

- **Individual activities**
  - Interviewees like reading and cooking, visiting or practicing the arts, but also individual sports, like swimming and dancing or running.
- **Team activities**
  - Interviewees mention outdoor activities a lot, e.g. hiking with a friend, doing a bike tour, etc. But after Q16, the focus seemed to be more on individual activities in the answers to Q17.

(Q18) Do you feel accepted & respected in Hungary?

Most interviewees distinguish between a closer circle where they feel accepted and respected, and experiences with strangers/on the streets which they rate far less positively. There has been no or very little outright hostility but several participants report a feeling of unease or having been met with ignorance at best. Some interviewees recounted incidents of discrimination, which they attributed to being foreigners. In the case of a Kenyan interviewee, a student at a university, opening a bank account took many weeks and repeated visits to the bank, as he was told each time some documents were missing or he was just kept waiting. His fellow students with white skin did not have such problems.

Several interviewees mention how they attribute their feeling of being respected & accepted to their language skills, their non-foreign complexion, and/or their social status (e.g. dentist or university professor).

(Q19) What do you think you could contribute to a constructive, functional and friendly community?

Three themes emerge here

- **Social Engagement**
  - Several interviewees are (or want to be) socially engaged helping disadvantaged groups in their community or simply playing an active role in their community.
- **Integrative Attitude**
  - Many interviewees mention their positive attitude, open-mindedness, and general friendliness as a contributing factor.
- **Concrete Project Ideas**
  - A few interviewees actually mention specific ideas, such as organizing multicultural events & activities, bridging barriers by giving language instructions, and installing a participatory budget. One interviewee from Egypt mentioned his idea to do something for the homeless in Budapest.

- **Work**
    - Most interviewees referred to the work that they already do as something that adds to the common good.

(Q20) Please describe one or more major life goals.

Unequivocally, the two major life goals are **having a family** (i.e. partner/marriage, and children) and **having a job** (interesting, well-paid, career, own business, self-ful
lfillment) or other work-related achievement ("write the history of Modern Greece"), but a very few interviewees also mention how they want to contribute to a higher cause (e.g. by philanthropic engagement) and more generally making an impact on their environment. Those who already have a family wanted to provide for their children, live in peace.
Some interviewees had more abstract goals: to grow, experience and learn as much as possible of life.

(Q21) Is there anything significant, maybe a motto, you have learned during your lifetime and which you would be willing to share?

Mottos and learnings are manifold. Broadly, they can be clustered into two different categories:

- **Enjoyment**
    - Many interviewees referred to how life taught them to make the most of every day, to enjoy life/being alive, to be grateful for the people in their lives.
- **Endurance**
    - Often rooted in similar life experiences, many interviewees also raised the issue of being persistent (in work, in following one's dreams) and keeping a broader picture in mind, i.e. being prepared for the best but also the worse to happen (e.g. illness, death of a close friend or a family member) and to keep the bigger picture (i.e. there cannot be just happiness, there also needs to be hard work, saving money, providing for the family and retirement), and recurringly to be grateful & accepting overall.
- **Be open!**
    - Some interviewees may have been motivated to mention this because of the topic of the interview.

(Q22) Would you like to add anything?

Only few interviewees took advantage of this "free pass" question, mainly to comment on how their migration experience has shaped their personal development, a few expressed concern over conceptual clarity in the questionnaire (e.g. lack of definition for integration, culture, etc.), and one person specifically mentioned how much it meant to him/her to gain Hungarian citizenship.

3.9 Interest in interdisciplinary topics and cultural projects / events

Most of our interviewees were interested in the RC project and its activities. Several people indicated their willingness to participate (their personal emails have been forwarded to the project leader HU). A considerable percentage of interviewees expressed interested to stay informed about the project, and several also expressed interest in becoming a cultural ambassador to the project. Many showed interest but cited different reasons (lack of time, unwillingness of public exposure) to further participate in the project. Among our interviewees, we interviewed two contemporary dancers and one arts manager, themselves immigrants, who may be interested to contribute to the project through their professional background.

3.10 Most interesting quotations from interviews

Insert at least 10 interesting quotes to be included into RC Newsletter and RC Communication Actions.

The quotes below give an impression of the range and depth of (non-)integration experiences of immigrants in Hungary and their encounters with Hungarians and non-Hungarians in the country.

“I will feel like a tourist until I learn to speak the language.”, male, Uzbek, 10 years in Hungary, plans to move to Germany

“I didn’t choose Budapest, Budapest grabbed me by the ankle.”, female, Australia, 4 years in Budapest (off and on)

“I don’t feel like a foreigner”, female, Mongolia, 25 years in Hungary, married to a Hungarian, already a citizen

“What happened to the wise people I met on my arrival to Hungary?”, male, Madagascar, 16 years in Hungary, already a citizen, commenting on the xenophobic atmosphere in the country.

“I’m a Muslim, I live with a Christian guy and a Jewish guy. It is amazing, I cannot believe it! It’s the three religions that make the most wars between them - I live with them in the same flat! And we have a good time. Believe me, we really have a good time. There is no racism!”, male, Morocco, 6 months in Hungary

“The threshold to ‘get in’ is very high in Hungary. I thought people would be warmer or more receptive, I was terribly wrong” (Male, Macedonia, 12 years on Hungary).

"I don't have that much daily contact with Hungarians. And I don't like to have to bribe doctors for getting an examination" (female, Georgia, 5 years in Hungary).

"I guess the main thing that strikes me, Hungary is much less diverse than [my home country]. So the cultural identity & tradition is much more solid or concentrated. … I am living very much in an expat bubble where the atmosphere is much different than from what I experience on encounters with Hungarians" (female, Australia, 2 years in Hungary).

"At the beginning, I fell in love with Budapest. (…). Living here, as a student was simply amazing, there were only a few foreign students from other communist countries. Only later on I married, found a job, had a family…." (male, Romania, 45 years in Hungary).

"I achieved this goal: I am successful as an artist and I am raising my child in a safe environment and give [the child] a perspective for his/her own life. I have a stable relationship (I was not hunting for it, but I am very happy and feel very fulfilled for it). I have a fulfilled life!" (female, Brazil, 10 years in Hungary).

3.11 Conclusions from the interviews

The interviews were the second part in the collection of information on the integration of migrants in Hungary, and they gave an impressive example of the variety of motivations (to migrate), experiences, efforts, and achievements that migrants accomplish.

We were able to include a broad diversity of participants in terms of different nationalities (European & Non-European), with a slight male dominance, and the migrants being dominantly in the age group 30-40years-old. Most of the interviewees in our sample self-identified as temporary or permanent residents, and confessed to a high degree of willingness to integrate.
Their integration experiences however are mixed, with positive and negative experiences of both the political-administrative frame and the direct interaction with Hungarians themselves. Additionally, the language barrier seems to be a very relevant factor in the integration experience of immigrants.

Throughout the description of the questionnaire, we tried to group answers according to an overarching theme (please see each question for details). Thus, we were able to point at the different themes of relevance to the immigrants and could also assess their overall relevance to the sample group.

With little surprise, those issues most relevant to the immigrants can also safely be assumed to be the most relevant to Hungarians themselves: finding a job, finding a partner, building a family and provide for that family may all very well be themes that are of equal importance to the autochthonous population. What the immigrants can offer however is a fresh perspective on Hungary – its beauties, its characteristics, its challenges – that native people may take little time to reflect upon. Moreover, immigrants are able to contrast their experiences of living in Hungary with their experience of living in other/their home country both enriching and diversifying how they think about and what they can contribute to Hungary.

Our interviewees were aware of how the migration experience also widened their own horizon and how they themselves have also benefited by seeking new opportunities.

Interestingly (but not necessarily surprisingly), for many immigrants Hungary does usually not present a destination migrants would choose for themselves. Rather, they see it is more like a springboard or a stepping-stone – both into Europe and job market-wise – and intend to be moving on somewhere else. Several of our interviewees confessed to these plans, yet some also revealed that they had harboured these thoughts but thanks to finding 'their place' in Hungary they continue to stay in the country.

There is a certain typology to the different people interviewed that we would like present here. :

1. **students** - difference between students studying at CEU/Erasmus and those who came here on a state-funded scholarship scheme (e.g. the latter usually come here with Stipendium Hungaricum, the amount of which is rather small but most of all they usually do not receive as much support with their orientation as the former groups, although it mostly depends on the HEI). Diverse countries (Ukraine, Kenya, Romania, etc). They usually regard their stay in Hungary as a springboard or a transitional phase: most of them would like to either move on and continue their studies or start working in some other country, or return to their home country.
   Therefore their willingness to integrate varies.
   Two interviewees came from GDR with a state exchange programme and are both extremely well integrated. Both said, they received quite a lot of support, not necessarily financial though.

2. **Economic migrants: employees of multinational companies**, shared service centres the companies usually do not provide any extra help for these employees'

integration other than arranging their residency permits and providing Hungarian language courses. So it's really up to the person to find way to engage in the host society. Often it is not very easy, given that they work in an international environment and they often hang out with their foreign colleagues.

3. **Long-time residents / "Migrants of the heart" -** those who arrived before or around the change of the regime, either to study (as a result of bilateral agreements among between their country and Hungary) or to work (e.g. Mongolian seamstress), or to. They speak the language well, tend to have Hungarian spouses and family - in fact almost all of them stayed in Hungary because they met someone and got married. One of them said she didn't really feel like a foreigner here, as she's spent more time here now than in her country of origin
   Their initial motivations may have been to work (e.g. Mongolian seamstress who came to Hungary as part of a bilateral agreement between Mongolia and Hungary allowing a one-year work opportunity for Mongolians) or to study (e.g. interviewees from Palestine, Afghanistan, Greece came here on scholarship, met their spouses here, established their families and stayed here). Two people came here to join their would-be husbands (one person from Kazakhstan, the other person from Costa Rica)

4. **Freelancers, artists / "intellectual migrants" -** US/Canada, Finland, Australia, UK, France. They tend to be highly qualified people, some of them into the arts. For them coming to Hungary was a choice they made and they can make the choice of moving to another country whenever they feel like.

4 Conclusions for Hungary

With the two different parts of the data collection, the desk research and the interview collection, we were able to grasp both the political and institutional context of and actual experiences of immigrants in integrating in Hungary with an overall positive result.

The specific challenges and actions of the Hungarian government in recent years echoed with migrant experiences (who commented on the less welcoming or even xenophobic attitudes encountered in the streets as well as the inconsistent support received from official sides). These mixed experiences and the inactivity by the Hungarian government and the main churches during the so-called refugee crisis are contrasted with the many private,

church-based, NGOs and civil society organizations and initiatives (and the many Hungarians engaged in them).
It is quite clear that the number of refugees who entered and/or transited Hungary in 2015 and afterwards has impacted on the wider policies and attitudes towards foreigners more generally. But while the fence to the Serbian border continues to exist, and the anti-immigrant and anti-muslim rhetoric of the government persists, so do pro-migrant and pro-integration efforts.
With the upcoming national election on April 8, 2018, migration continues to be a dominant domestic issue. Beyond domestic affairs, also European debates and controversies continue to exist, e.g. on border control, the relocation quota, or the fight about competencies between the EU and national governments.

UPDATE, 2018 JANUARY: Update: In January 2018 the Hungarian government introduced a package of draft laws under the title “Stop Soros”, allegedly to stop “illegal migration”. Although the draft law does not mention the Hungarian-born billionaire-philanthropist, previous government propaganda has been successful in making the name Soros synonymous with migration, suggesting that Mr. Soros has a plan to bring hundreds of thousands of migrants to Europe and is financing civil society organisations to implement this plan even through helping illegal migration (see previous page X on the national consultation on the Soros plan). Based on the overt conspiracy theory the government is now proposing to step up against these NGOs by obliging them to notify the court about foreign funding received or used to support unlawful entry, relocation and residence to Hungary and submit reports on how such funding was spent. When asked how it is expected of organisations to admit to unlawful activity, Antal Rogán, Minister of the Prime Minister's Cabinet Office said in an interview that “Hungarian authorities will make suggestions for the Hungarian Prosecutors’ Office about the organisations that fail to do such self-assessment and whose role in the promotion of (illegal) migration is to be investigated. Mr. Rogán thus is clearly saying that the government will order investigation against NGOs that they accuse of having a role in promoting illegal migration.

This is reminiscent of the events of 2013-2014, which signaled the beginning of the government’s offensive again civil society. Back then many NGOs, including human rights and watchdog organisations, which received funding through the EEA Norway Grants, were pointed fingers at and accused of representing foreign interests, including those of George Soros, because they were also grants recipients of Mr. Soros’ Open Society Foundations. An investigation began against these organisations prior to the 2014 elections, with the government-friendly media constantly reporting on alleged irregularities, only to find no irregularities eventually – but that was only revealed after the elections and only by news

portals critical of the government. Nevertheless, the constant flow of accusations and allusions did the work and contributed to the stigmatization of NGOs, especially those critical of government policies, and civil society in general as well. Now, with the issue of migration also attached, there are national security claims included also. The government has once again found scapegoats and with the intensification of the political campaign in the run-up the national elections in April 2018, NGOs, especially those whose work is related in some way to the issue of migration (even those helping the integration of migrants and refugees), can only expect further stigmatization and harassment, as well as undermining of their work.

One example of this is the undermining of the work of Menedék Association for Migrants (see above a description of their related activities). Menedék has received funding from the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund of the Ministry of the Interior. The media began publishing articles about double communication of the government. It was pointed out that, while the government has been loudly advocating against the acceptance of any refugees whatsoever, it has not only given asylum to some 1300 refugees (which number has been clearly indicated on the website of the Immigration Office all along) but it has also supported programmes that seeks to support the integration of refugees. After this was widely publicized in the media, the Ministry has immediately cancelled the new round of calls for proposals and also reduced the number of people to 1 who can enter the transit zone along Hungary's border to apply for asylum (source: http://168ora.hu/itthon/napi-egy-fore-csokkenti-a-kormany-a-tranzitzonaba-belepo-menekultek-szamat-144283).

In addition, another draft law in the Stop Soros package stipulates that "organisations supporting illegal migration" would have to pay a so-called **'migration financing duty'** of 25% of the foreign funding annually. "This significantly threatens CSOs' ability to receive funding from abroad and also reducing funding that they may be able to use to implement activities or provide services." Last but not least, the third draft law proposes "to **restrain persons from the border zone or in justified cases the entire territory of Hungary** for activities that aid illegal entry or stay of third country citizens, or giving financial or in-kind support for such activities". This will disconnect citizens from supporting CSOs (e.g., through volunteering, or individual donations) out of fear of being sanctioned. (Soruce: http://ecnl.org/stop-soros-assessment/)

The latest developments indicate even direr times for refugees and migrants living in Hungary, as the few remaining programmes launched to assist them, are now entirely undermined; and also for civil society organisations, as they have clearly been singled out as threats.

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