



European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions

Case Study on Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations Budapest



Authors:

Mihály Szabó

Heinz Fassmann

Institute for Urban and Regional Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Postgasse 7/4/2, A-1010 Vienna

© 2008 European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions
Wyattville Road, Loughlinstown, Dublin 18, Ireland
Telephone: + 353 1 2043100, Fax: + 353 1 2826456

Content

Foreword	3
1 Introduction	4
2 Background information on the country	5
2.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations	5
2.2 National policy context.....	9
3 Background information on the City	13
3.1 Brief description of the city.....	13
3.2 The city's migrant population and its characteristics/main groups.....	14
3.3 The city' Muslim population and its characteristics.....	19
4 Local intercultural policies in general	21
4.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organisations in the city	22
4.2 Issues, demands and interests	24
4.3 Forms of relations and dialogue	25
4.4 Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city.....	28
4.5 Public communication.....	29
4.6 Summary and lessons learnt	29
5 Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities	30
6 Intergroup relations and radicalisation	31
7 Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP	31
8 References	34
9 Interviewpartner	Zielstelle nicht gefunden!

Foreword

In the spring of 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the City of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (hereafter 'the Foundation') came together to form a 'European network of *Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants*' (CLIP). They were subsequently joined by the City of Vienna. The CLIP network, which was officially launched in Dublin in September 2006, brings together 25 large European cities in a joint learning process over several years; the network seeks to support the social and economic integration of migrants, combat social inequalities and discrimination, and to help migrants to preserve their cultural identity.

European cities and in particular the larger cities with strong economies attract migrants from all over the world. These cities already have considerable experience in integrating a highly diverse and culturally rich immigrant population into the local community. They can use this experience to develop and implement strategies on how best to integrate migrants and ethnic minority groups and encourage their participation in society. However, simultaneously, cities and municipalities often have to pay the price for failed integration processes, although they are not in control of migration flows and have to depend on national legislation in all immigration-related issues. For this reason, cities and municipalities have a genuine interest in following successful local integration practices.

The report aims to present and analyze innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level. It also provides an exchange of experience between cities to help encourage a learning process within the network. Moreover, the analysis assesses the role of companies, social partners, religious organizations, nongovernmental organizations and voluntary organizations at local level in supporting and developing more successful migrant integration policies.

The report also provides an objective assessment of current practices and initiatives in the cities participating in the CLIP network and discusses their transferability. In doing so, it looks at measures of good practice in the various cities participating in the network, while at the same time it investigates the development of guidelines for good practice to help cities to cope more effectively with the challenge of integrating migrants into the local community. Together with the main contact person of the Municipality of Budapest Zoltán Markocsány from the Deputy Mayor's Office for Urban Development, Management and Social Affairs, a strong effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data for this report. We are very thankful for the information we have got. We trust that the analyses drawn in this module of the research will support the emerging European policy debate with innovative concepts of integration policy on the local level.

1 Introduction

The topic of this module of CLIP has to do with the phenomena of urban life that are related to the multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structures of urban populations which challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or keep peaceful relations among the different segments of the population. In present day political discourse, relations between different ethnic and religious groups, immigrants and natives predominantly are discussed in terms of “intercultural dialogue” and/or “interreligious dialogue”. The idea is to conceptualize these phenomena as cases of intergroup relations. This conceptualization stands for an abstraction working with the assumption that there are similarities in the relations between quite different “groups”. Intergroup relations are about ways in which “people in groups perceive, think about, feel about, and act towards people in other groups”. An intergroup relation in this sense means relations between categories and what and how one communicates about these. The images and stereotypes of the categories typically hide the socio-structural and cultural heterogeneity that exists in these groups.

Stereotypes and images in public communication are important, because they influence daily interaction in the city’s life and the relations between real groups. Many people in the urban area do not have direct and regular relations to people of a migration background or to ethnic minorities, but carry images and stereotypes of what these groups would be like in their minds. Newspapers, radio and television stations, communication in organizations or via cultural events are examples of media in which this communication takes place in the urban public. The stereotypes and images presented are not merely reflecting the local public, but mirror the patterns that exist on a national and partly international level. The “social climate” in a city, conflict or cohesion, is much influenced by the public discourse on the images and stereotypes about different groups in the city. The stereotypes create predispositions for trust and distrust, for readiness to interact, to like, to hate, to fear or to be indifferent.

The concept of “group” on which intergroup relations research is based is rather broad. In the CLIP project it includes the city administration, the city council, political parties, churches, labor unions, welfare organizations foundations, local media and anti-immigrant movements among others in the majority society. On the part of the minorities it includes religious groups and national minorities. Some of the CLIP cities do not yet have much immigration, but have national minorities within their population that originate from the multi-ethnic structure of their country’s population.

The identification of conditions, under which relations between groups take on different qualities, makes it possible to arrive at recommendations for the improvement of relations between groups that are based on research. This is what qualifies the intergroup relations approach as an appropriate conceptual foundation for the third CLIP module.

2 Background information on the country

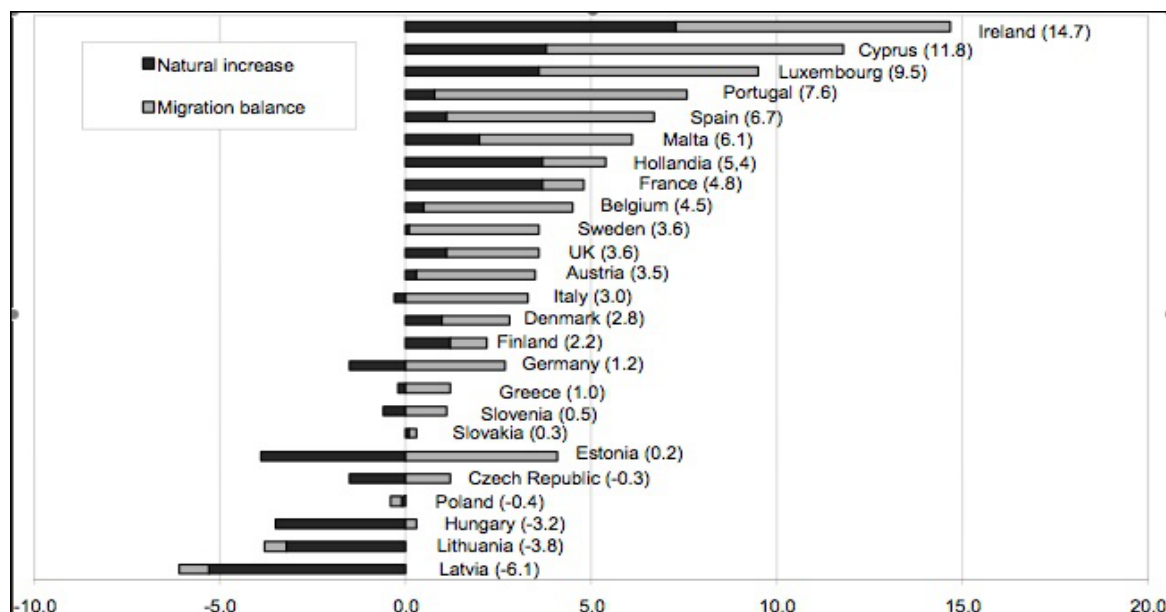
2.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations

Looking back in Hungary's younger past, at least three periods with particular compositions of migrant groups in the country and different political concepts how to deal with these parts of the society can be identified: (a) Hungary as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until 1918, (b) the socialist era between the end of World War II and the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and (c) the years after that, mainly characterized by the transformation to a market-orientated country.

Between 1949 and 1989 there was almost no immigration into Hungary aside from some politically motivated Greeks escaping from the civil war in their country, and refugees leaving Chile after the 1973 change of government in their country. Mass emigration took place after the Revolution of 1956, when during one year approximately 200,000 people left Hungary. Till the late 1980s Hungary remained a country of emigration. In spite of the fact that borders were formally closed, it is estimated that about 200,000 people left Hungary between 1956 and 1989. During the late 1980s the situation has changed. Between 23,000 and 37,000 people, from which 80% were ethnic Hungarians from Romania, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia, moved to Hungary every year (compare Hajduk, et al. 2008).

Some general data about migration to Hungary show that compared to other European countries the migration gain in Hungary is still very small at present time (Fig. 1).

Figure 1: Contribution of natural growth and of international migration to population growth, Hungary 2002 (per thousand)



Source: TÁRKI 2005, p. 130.

To sum up the periodicity of the immigration, three distinct phases can be classified within the development towards a mature migration regime (if at all), while the future is still uncertain:

- 1988/89-1992: unexpected immigration followed by regulation; is called the “quasi-migration period”; during this phase most of the immigrants were ethnic Hungarians from Romania (Hárs et al. 2009).
- 1993-2000: consolidation and stabilisation of the migration regime, shaping immigration regulations;
- since 2001: prior to and following the EU enlargement; Hungary as a new EU member state experiences the (slowly) developing maturity of the migration regime
- future prospects: must be classified as very vague from the scientific point of view.

The national territory of Hungary as we know it today was defined in 1920, so it is not possible to draw comparisons in a direct way: In 1910, the total population of the whole Kingdom of Hungary was 18,264,533 (of whom 54.4% were ethnic and linguistic Magyars). Within its new borders of 1920 about 8 million people remained in the later Republic of Hungary.¹

Table 1: Population of Hungary by mother tongue

	1910	1930	1980	1990
Total population	7,612,114	9,316,074	10,709,463	10,374,823
Gipsy, Romani	9,799	18,640	27,915	48,072
Croatian	62,018	37,855	20,484	17,577
German	553,179	475,491	31,231	37,511
Romanian	28,491	14,142	10,141	8,730
Serbian	26,248	5,442	3,426	2,627
Slovakian	165,317	75,877	16,054	12,745
Slovenian	6,915	4,816	3,142	2,627
Hungarian	6,730,299	8,655,798	10,579,898	10,222,529

Source: Hungarian Statistical Office 2005.

At present, most of the immigrants are still ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries, with large Hungarian minorities. Experts approximate that more than 2/3 of the immigrants to Hungary are ethnic Hungarians. Nevertheless it is interesting to take a look at the composition of Hungary’s population differentiated by mother tongue (data of 1910 is adjusted to the territory of later Hungary):

Some minority groups have a long tradition in Hungary; their share in the total population rapidly declined after the revision of the borders after World War I. Nevertheless many

¹ Compare Donner (2006: 93).

members of these ethnic minorities are grown up with a kind of double identity – on the one side as Hungarians (in cultural and language aspects dominating) as well as their literal origin. As a consequence of this situation the Hungarian government listed thirteen national and ethnic minorities as “constituent components of the state”². Since 1993, Bulgarians, Roma, Greeks, Croatians, Poles, Germans, Armenians, Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Slovaks, Slovenians and Ukrainians have this status. According to Census data of 2001, 314.000 people belonging to one of these ethnic communities had been counted, of whom the Roma community (190,000) is by far the biggest one.

Table 2: Population of Hungary by nationality and sex

Nationality	Total	Male	Female
Total population	10,198,315	4 850,650	5,347,665
Hungarian	9,416,045	4 457,641	4,958,404
African	187	147	40
Arab	1,396	1,059	337
Bulgarian	1,358	686	672
Gipsy, Romany, Bea	189,984	96,273	93,711
Greek	2,509	1,241	1,268
Croatian	15,597	7,231	8,366
Chinese	2,275	1,271	1,004
Polish	2,962	1,123	1,839
Modern Hebrew (Ivrit)	701	405	296
German	62,105	29,896	32,209
Armenian	620	334	286
Romanian	7,995	3,963	4,032
Ruthenian	1,098	396	702
Serbian	3,816	1,994	1,822
Slovakian	17,693	7,739	9,954
Slovenian	3,025	1,377	1,648
Ukrainian	5,070	2,054	3,016
No answer	543,317	272,903	270,414
Unknown	27,220	13,788	13,432

Source: Census data 2001; Hungarian Statistical Office 2003.

Generally migration-related data is quite poor because of the disinterest of the responsible bodies and the insignificance of migration over time. Data collection was stopped during the war period and the following political situation and was never revitalized due to moderate flows and modest interest in collecting detailed data (Hárs et al. 2009). There are several reasons why statistical data do not mirror the real numbers of people belonging to ethnic minority groups:

- First of all, nobody is obliged to declare his affiliation to a certain minority.

² Compare Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (2005: 1).

- Secondly, the number of irregular immigrants is considerable, a fact, which for example concerns Chinese immigration. Some estimations assume that the share of people with minority or migration background is twice as high in Hungary as one would assume on the basis of official census data. Concerning their routes of international mobility immigrants from China very often use Hungary (in particular Budapest) as a kind of “stopover-destination” on their way to their really aspired migration destination (in most of the cases United Kingdom). Immigrants belonging to national minorities usually make strong efforts to stay permanently in Hungary.

Table 2 gives an overview about the population by national affiliation and sex. Obviously the Hungarian population represents the vast majority (94%). Diverse Gipsy groups officially counted about 190,000 persons, so the Roma population is significantly the biggest minority group in Hungary (about 2% of the total population).

One should keep in mind the important fact that on the one hand immigrants in Hungary came from about 136 different nations,³ but the vast majority of them arrived from neighbouring countries and many of those can profit from already existing (family or friends) social networks which makes it much more easier for them to settle down in the country. Furthermore, for many of them the language barrier, which is really very important in the case of a language which is so complicated as Hungarian does not exist. Because of these good starting positions of Hungarian-speaking migrants for example from Slovakia, Romania or Croatia there are clear differences in the integration level between various groups of immigrants and/or ethnic minorities (Fassmann & Görgl 2008).

The Chinese and the Roma minorities are without any doubt the two largest groups being poorly integrated in the Hungarian society. In addition to their ethnic and social stigmatization Roma often suffer from socio-economic marginalization in the form of unemployment and an absolutely insufficient, ghetto-like housing situation. In 1971, about 60% of all Roma people lived in highly segregated and slum-like settlements. After several housing-improvement programs which showed positive effects, the respective share decreased to 14% in the mid 1990's, but still nowadays, thousands of Roma live under very bad conditions (without electricity, running water etc.).⁴

Hungarian Statistical Office⁵ data counted 166,030 foreign nationals living in the country in 2007. The majority of more than 40% (66,951 persons) migrated from neighbouring Romania, 9.6% (15,866) moved from the Ukraine, 7.6% came from Serbia (12,638) and

³ TÁRKI (2005: 411).

⁴ Office for National and Ethnic Minorities, Budapest 2005 (selection of News: 11).

⁵ Experts, as well as officials working in the Hungarian Statistical Office, have informed the authors of this report that Hungarian migration statistics are not completely accurate. There are problems in acquiring immigration statistics as the Hungarian Statistical Office receives its data from various ministries, who do not report data accurately. This happens despite Hungarian law and European Union law (EC 862/2007) requiring Member States to provide accurate statistical information on immigrants.

2.6 % (4,276) were citizens of Slovakia. Altogether, immigrants from Eastern European countries composed 84.8 % (140,827) of the whole stock of immigrant population.

Regardless of the large numbers of Chinese immigrants only 11.9% (19,733) of the official immigrant population came from Asian countries. 45.5% of this group (8,979 persons) had their origin in the People's Republic of China. 1.8% (3,075 persons) migrated from the United States or Canada, and 1% (1,783) came from Africa. Men compose more than a half (50.6%) of the population with foreign citizenship (Hajduk et al. 2008).

2.2 National policy⁶ context

National immigration policy is a relatively new phenomenon in Hungary. Since the late 1980s three periods corresponding to specific characteristics of the policy can be identified:

- The *first period* (1988-1992) was characterized by the birth of a legal and institutional framework on immigration matters. It started with a Constitutional Amendment and ended before the drafting of the first Acts on Immigration and Citizenship.
- The *second phase* (1993-2000) can be described as a period of consolidation and stabilization of the migration regime, when the core legal texts were drafted and the institutional system developed into the present structure, comprising a central implementation body with single ministerial supervision.
- The *third*, from 2001 onwards, is related to the legal and institutional harmonization with the existing or assumed standards of the Common European Migration and Asylum Systems (Hárs et al. 2009).

In socialist Hungary the goal of a maximum of assimilation of foreigners had been the guideline of national policy. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, integration and minority policy changed fundamentally towards integration-based approaches and the strengthening of diverse cultural and ethnical identities. During the early 1990s, in the period of the democratic transition in Hungary, migration increased rapidly and became a hot issue. Hungary definitely turned into an immigration country and local and national authorities tried to find a suitable way for the new state of affairs. There was hope that a migration policy would emerge and manage successfully with the new situation. The result of those efforts was a mixture of concern and rejection, organisational improvisation and imitation, postponement and quasi-solutions. The early driving forces of the increasing migration disappeared and the situation started to stagnate. The debate about migration and migration policy was no longer a key issue (Hárs et al. 2009).

⁶ The following text is based on: Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (Selection of News 5/2006 and 11/2006).

The minority act (Act LXXVII of 1993 on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities) can be seen as the legal basis of that new policy. It ensured several individual and collective minority rights like self-government, use of language, public education and culture. Compared to some other Eastern European countries, the institutional framework concerning migrant and minority rights is relatively well developed in Hungary. First of all, there is the Standing Committee for Human Rights, Minority and Religious Affairs, an institution of parliamentary commissioners including a regular ombudsman who is concerned with the protection of rights and interests of the minority groups.

Following Hungary's accession to the European Union on 1st May 2004, the Government of the Republic of Hungary made preparations for renewing inter-Hungarian relations between the mother country and the Hungarian communities in the neighbouring countries. There live an estimated 5 millions ethnic Hungarians outside Hungary, more than half of them in the neighbouring countries. Approximately 1.7 million live in Romania (Transylvania), 500,000 in Slovakia, 300,000 in Serbia (Vojvodina), 200,000 in Ukraine (Transcarpathia) and other significant minorities in Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria.

On 5th December 2004 a nationwide referendum was organised as the result of a petition submitted by the World Federation of Hungarians. Hungarian voters were asked whether ethnic Hungarians living abroad (Papademetriou & Cavounidis 2006) should be offered the Hungarian citizenship. Within the popular initiative, the President of the Republic of Hungary put the following question as the basis of a referendum:

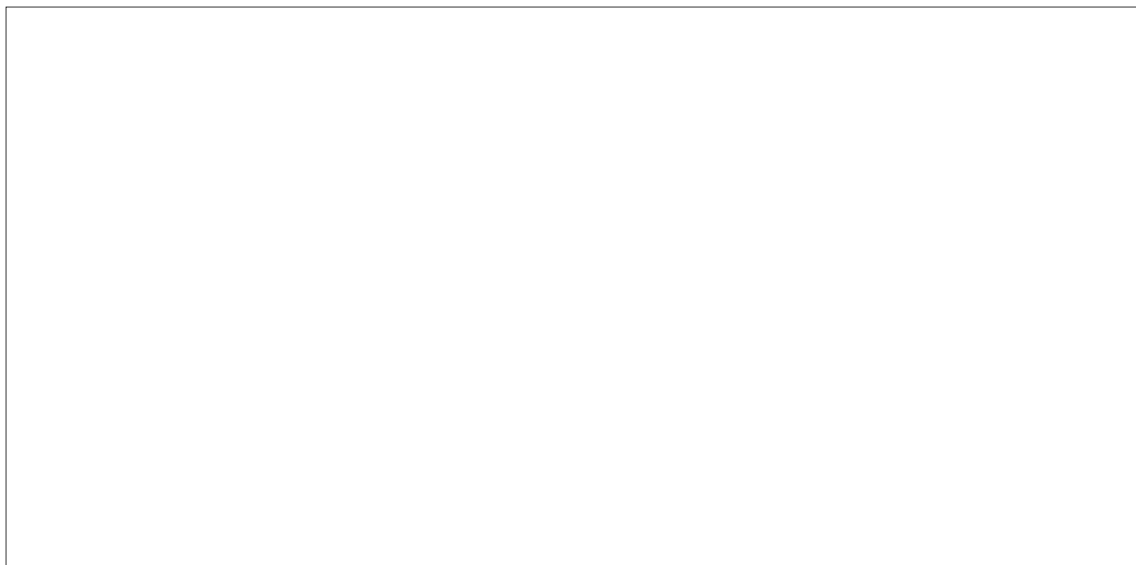
"Do you want the National Assembly to legislate a law on offering – upon individual request – Hungarian citizenship, by preferential naturalization, to non-Hungarian citizens, living outside Hungary, declaring themselves to be of Hungarian nationality, proving their Hungarian nationality either by a "Hungarian Certificate" under Art. 19 of the Act 62/2001 or in another way, defined in the law requested for legislation?"⁷

According to the relevant law, a referendum is valid only if the turn-out is at least 50%, or if 25% of the eligible voters vote for or against. In the double referendum 51.57% approved the proposal on citizenship, but this represented only 18.9% of the electorate. As it had to be supported by at least 25% of eligible voters, the initiative failed. The failure of the referendum evoked tensions between Hungary and its neighbouring countries.⁸

In Hungary, local minority self-governments represent minority interests on a local level. These self-governmental structures shall result in full responsibility concerning specific, minority-orientated local educational and cultural institutions. Integration policy also includes aspects of minority education and of strengthening the cultural life. The vital use of the mother language and dealing with specific thematic issues (in school as well as in media) shall be ensured in different ways, for example in a new concept of complementary minority education.

⁷ Compare <http://www.kettosallampolgarsag.mtaki.hu/english.html>.

⁸ Compare <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2005/01/inbrief/hu0501101n.htm>.

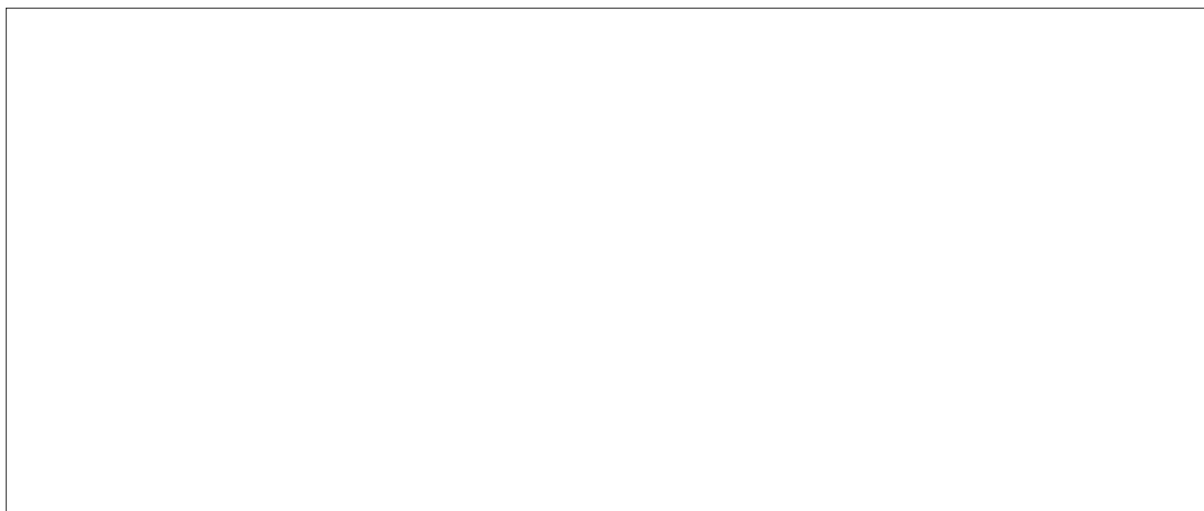
Figure 2: Applications for residence permits (Hungary 1994–2006)

Source: Hajduk et al. 2008.

Now, what about the stocks and flows of migration in Hungary? The official statistics provided by the Central Statistical Office show that in 2006, immigrants outnumbered the emigrants by 16,118 persons. Concerning the migration purpose the biggest sub-group of immigrants are those, who move for the intention of finding an employment to the country. These labour migrants have usually newly issued or renewed residence permission. This group represents 46.76% of the total stock of official immigrants. 23.06% moved for the purpose of family reunion, 16.99% came to Hungary for studying on a university, 2.51% declared that they wanted to visit the country, 0.71% didn't indicate any official reason, 0.11% came for medical treatment and 8.06% stated diverse other reasons (Hajduk et al. 2008).

During the decade from 1996 to 2006, the absolute number of people who applied for a temporary residence permit has been considerably growing from 15,468 in 1996, to 59,414 in 2006. The numbers of those immigrants who apply for a short-term stay has increased significantly during the last 10 years. For short-term residents, permits are assigned for a period of one to five years and are renewable. During recent years, the number of those immigrants who wanted to stay for a longer period, and in consequence applied for a settled immigrant status has also increased gradually. Nevertheless, the absolute numbers of immigrants who want to stay in Hungary as long-term migrants is now not as high as during the first two years after the fall of the Iron Curtain, when about twice as many people as nowadays wanted to settle down permanently (see figure 2).

Figure 3: Applications for settlement permit (Hungary 1990-2006)

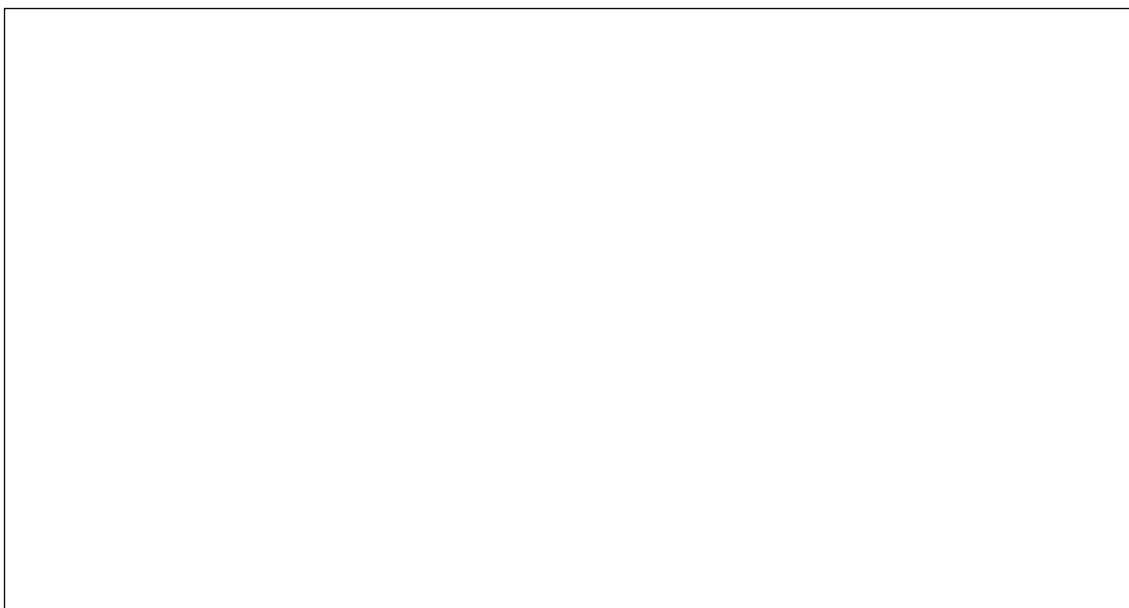


Source: Hajduk et al. 2008.

A considerable share of Romanian citizens is evident in the naturalisations of ethnic Hungarians from Transylvania. Among 6,101 people who were naturalised in 2006 more than 70% (4,326 persons) were former citizens of Romania. 97% of the immigrants who were granted the Hungarian citizenship came from European countries. The main reason for this is that generally it is much easier for ethnic Hungarians to become a Hungarian citizen. The Citizenship Test must be passed in Hungarian language and, moreover, ethnic Hungarians have to wait a shorter time to become entitled to the citizenship. Thus, ethnic Hungarians hold an obviously privileged position compared to other immigrants.

Currently, there live not more than several hundred people in Hungary who have a protected status (refugees, asylum-seekers or some other protected status because of humanitarian reasons). Vietnam, Serbia-Montenegro, and the People's Republic of China are the most important sending countries of people who asked for a protected status in 2006 (see table 3), despite the fact that a lot of Chinese and Vietnamese are not refugees according to the internationally accepted meaning of the term. They are rather immigrants who could not get a visa or a residence or settlement permit, and therefore asked for refugee status in order to be able to remain in Hungary. The top countries of origin whose citizens were granted refugee's status in 2006 were Somalia (29), Iraq (15), and Palestine (10). It is obvious that the number of people to whom refugee or humanitarian protection status was granted is still quite small compared with Western European countries. Altogether 198 people were successful to get such a status in 2006 and 219 in 2007 (Hajduk et al. 2008).

Table 3: Asylum seekers, by main countries of origin 2004-2006 (absolute numbers and proportions)



Source: Hajduk et al. 2008.

3 Background information on the City

3.1 Brief description of the city

The city structure of Budapest as we know it today is the outcome of the administrative establishment in 1873 and the incorporation of neighbouring municipalities in 1950. The city's administrative territory tripled and this had been the basis for large satellite-towns. Budapest is by far Hungary's biggest city and is the political, the economic and cultural centre of the nation. Some statistical data illustrate this geographical situation: About 17% of the country's total population lives in Budapest (1,695,814 inhabitants).⁹ More than 60% of all foreign investments are executed in the capital.

The Mayor of Budapest decides on issues of public administration; there are several deputies to the Mayor who are elected by the General Assembly upon the Mayor's recommendation. Besides them the Chief Clerk of the city (appointed by the General Assembly) is responsible for the operational tasks within the municipality. The General Assembly is the governing body of Budapest, directly elected by the citizens.

Besides the municipality of Budapest which is responsible for issues concerning the whole city, the 23 autonomous districts have their own administration structures, funds and decision-making authority, which mirrors the highly decentralised structure of urban government. Concerning many questions of urban development, the districts play a very important role since nearly all initiatives intervening in urban development need authorisation and support of the district administration.

⁹ Compare Hungarian Statistical Office, Microcensus 2005.

During the last 15 years, a significant process of suburbanisation took place and as a consequence the capital's population decreased by a significant 300,000 inhabitants. As an outcome of this suburbanisation trend the city has to deal with some socio-economic and infrastructural challenges.

Some aspects that can be called more or less "typical" for the transformation of post-socialist cities during the last ten years also influenced Budapest's urban development: illustrative examples are a significant decline of the secondary (industrial) sector and the rise of the tertiary (service) sector which had great influence on the inner-city development. Furthermore suburbanisation and intensified social segregation within the city on district or block-level can be observed. During the past ten years the gap between the rich and the poor, or one could also say, between "traditionally prosperous and favoured" (e.g. 2nd or 12th) and "traditionally poor and unpopular" (e.g. 8th) districts widened.

In addition to the Municipality of Budapest which is responsible for issues concerning the whole city, there are 23 autonomous districts with own administrative structures, funds and a decision-making authority, which shows the highly decentralised structure of the local urban government. Concerning many questions of urban development, the districts play a very important role since nearly all initiatives intervening in urban development need authorisation and support of the district administration. This is a fact which has a lot of implications on migration-related political decisions and measures.

3.2 The city's migrant population and its characteristics/main groups

Concerning the history of migration detailed statistical data for Budapest is available for the past 70 years. Thinking of diversity today, it is worth to mention that Budapest hasn't had distinct "multicultural" structures or traditions at any time. Nevertheless there were some clear changes in the composition of the city's national minority population: While people with German mother tongue were the biggest majority in 1930, their number diminished drastically after World War II. The number of Roma people increased vice versa and since the Fall of the Iron Curtain this group represents the numerical majority among all minority groups (see table 4).

Regarding the national background of the immigrants, it is noteworthy that about 80% of the immigrants come from Europe, so that the cultural and religious differences between the local and the migrant population are neglectable in comparison to other capitals of the European Union. The most important foreign communities were, the ethnic Hungarians from the neighbouring countries, who formed over half of the immigrant population in the city.

According to official data the migrant population is overrepresented in the capital which is a magnet for social services, private house constructions, shops, restaurants and other

services, etc. Budapest is also a strong economic centre. The GDP and the unemployment rate of the metropolitan region are far above the national level.

Table 4: Population of Budapest by mother tongue and nationality, 1930, 1960 and 2001 compared

Year	Mother Tongue			Nationality		
	1930	1990	2001	1960	1990	2001
Budapest total population	1,442,869	2,016,681	1,777,921	1,804,606	2,016,681	1,777,921
Hungarian	1,355,129	1,997,518	1,617,717	1,791,543	1,993,030	1,603,511
African	..	83	78	..	..	118
Arab	..	884	789	..	..	792
Bulgarian	1,072	782	755	..	..	784
Gipsy, Romany, Bea	143	3,643	3,056	1,583	8,123	12,266
Greek	73	1,047	1 185	..	..	1,522
Croatian	1,756	811	630	513	409	769
Chinese	11	19	1,945	..	..	1,827
Polish	3,927	1,762	1,059	..	..	1,185
Modern Hebrew (Ivrit)	..	9	219	..	..	524
German	62,613	2,887	3,505	1,765	2,609	7,014
Armenian	61	23	162	..	..	364
Romanian	882	572	1,173	383	1,263	1,205
Ruthenian	233	..	382	..	..	430
Serbian	786	343	893	308	369	996
Slovakian	10,647	934	1,513	970	802	1,528
Slovenian	151	82	393	..	71	359
Ukrainian	..	212	1,341	..	..	1,425
No answer	–	–	128,309	–	–	135,924
Unknown	..	..	11,232	..	..	11,151

Source: Hungarian Statistical Office 2003.

Trends of extreme ethnic segregation cannot be found in Budapest, but some districts (e.g. 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th) show concentrations of ethnic groups which are considered to be socio-economically marginalized or poorly integrated like Roma or Chinese. In some districts (e.g. 2nd, 12th), which are regarded as “good” middle-class residential areas, only a few successful members of such ethnic groups have been settled (see table 5).

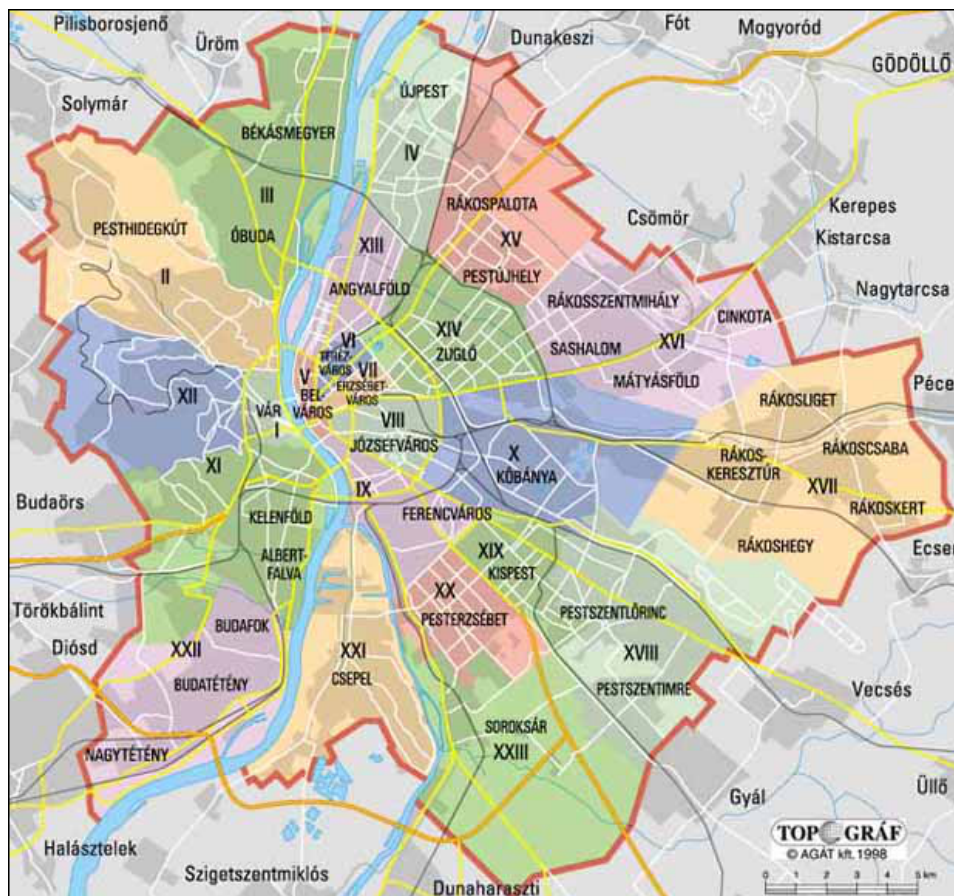
Table 5: Population of Budapest by national/ethnic groups and districts

Area	Total pop.	People of minority in Hungary	Hungarian	African s	Arabic	Bulgarian	Gypsy	Greek	Croatian	Chinese	Polish	Hebrew, Jewish	German	Armenian	Romanian	Ruthen e	Serbian	Slovakian	Slovenia n	Ukrainian
1st district	25,914	834	24,117	3	9	35	53	37	41	8	45	25	415	16	31	3	41	79	14	24
2nd district	92,520	3,429	84,194	12	35	65	151	160	98	42	141	149	1 934	60	141	35	174	311	36	123
3rd district	131,605	3,214	120,589	11	54	112	343	224	73	97	175	55	1 366	32	160	44	116	360	43	166
4th district	103,492	2,787	95,763	9	54	56	782	196	82	86	119	43	698	21	138	48	61	432	22	132
5th district	28,948	1,598	26,728	1	61	33	361	86	51	30	68	102	555	29	155	38	83	72	11	56
6th district	44,137	1,661	39,422	13	44	24	380	124	48	50	58	73	492	26	100	34	135	156	19	65
7th district	64,137	2,661	58,718	11	61	54	1,157	126	95	85	80	117	540	28	113	28	210	102	32	96
8th district	81,787	4,627	73,388	30	112	51	2,771	167	56	443	99	63	659	31	223	48	104	249	41	128
9th district	62,995	2,530	58,618	14	64	59	1,070	225	60	66	44	51	530	29	93	33	65	208	28	86
10th district	80,852	2,271	73,016	14	80	41	812	194	65	504	114	24	484	47	131	33	39	166	36	109
11th district	144,441	3,935	132,041	19	266	115	233	259	145	144	171	62	1,794	80	183	60	175	476	51	193
12th district	61,763	1,926	56,380	6	21	44	81	105	85	45	81	74	1,086	47	55	31	80	154	24	53
13th district	114,353	3,532	103,997	13	93	48	864	267	114	215	132	157	1,074	55	226	86	181	294	61	130
14th district	123,510	4,036	113,581	8	91	119	964	369	181	155	128	75	1,202	43	193	41	138	464	50	144
15th district	85,232	2,046	79,955	1	51	28	755	164	42	68	99	21	492	14	112	25	44	184	21	66
16th district	71,028	1,211	66,553	2	36	42	193	63	44	66	64	24	502	11	69	19	22	92	27	63
17th district	79,989	1,417	73,894	4	20	29	255	89	41	17	86	19	573	3	57	13	27	171	19	54
18th district	96,353	2,124	88,325	–	46	54	491	176	37	50	107	23	627	21	79	33	28	363	24	84
19th district	63,810	1,482	58,173	8	30	30	408	115	51	49	73	6	455	25	85	23	34	89	20	74
20th district	65,295	1,885	59,912	1	38	36	877	59	24	34	48	13	514	10	91	25	26	100	23	52
21st district	80,982	1,860	74,844	5	23	88	578	109	38	24	51	8	590	13	103	20	35	149	19	67
22nd district	52,548	1,533	49,240	7	17	33	185	69	48	10	45	13	774	14	67	12	28	170	15	73
23rd district	20,697	1,047	18,150	–	4	9	155	19	5	1	16	2	706	–	29	3	3	81	6	15
District not defined	1,533	161	1,445	–	2	2	100	8	1	–	–	–	35	–	3	–	2	7	1	2
Capital total	1,777,921	53,807	1,631,043	192	1,312	1,207	14,019	3,410	1,525	2,289	2,044	1,199	18,097	655	2 637	735	1 851	4 929	643	2 055

Source: Hungarian Statistical Office 2003

Statistical data does not mirror the actual numbers. As already mentioned above, there aren't any legal obligations for respondents to provide this information to any administrative body. One has also to face a certain number of illegal immigrants which can only be roughly estimated. However, clear tendencies can be derived from the census data: According to this it is obvious that immigration is very much concentrated in the central regions. Budapest and the surrounding county (Pest) are essential as target regions. Among the 23 districts of Budapest, there are significant differences in the size of population and area. The number of foreigners is relatively low in the central located districts (Fassmann & Görgl 2008).

Map 1: Budapest's municipal districts



Source: www.filolog.com/budapest_districtguide.html

Even if the number of inhabitants of Budapest is decreasing, the population loss has been somewhat compensated by immigration. The real population loss increased to 21,000 in 2007 and the trend could probably get worse in the near future.

The level of integration differs strongly between the different migrant groups. While migrants with Hungarian background or members of the German minority are very well

integrated in the city's civil-society, African, Chinese and Roma people are often "at the bottom" of it. In spite of being a small group in absolute terms, in particular black African migrants or asylum seekers seem not to be integrated at all. Most of them are constantly confronted with a great number of prejudices. The majority of the black Africans living in Budapest are single male persons. There are neither official programs nor established ethnic networks that would make it easier for them to integrate into the labour and housing market. As a consequence their socioeconomic situation is the worst among all minorities.

Photo 1: The so-called "Four-Tiger-Market", Budapest



Source: Mihály Szabó

Unlike the Africans, who are still typical "outsiders" of the Hungarian society, the Chinese people had been able to gain some foothold in the local socio-economic structures during the last 15 years. As a result of a bilateral agreement between Hungary and the People's Republic of China in 1992, Chinese citizens could profit from relaxed immigration rules for some years and for many of them Hungary seemed to be a promising country. In the aftermath, the number of Chinese immigrants was unexpectedly high and so this immigration had been restricted again some years later. Today, the estimated number of Chinese living in Budapest ranges between 25,000 and 60,000. These uncertain numbers clearly show that a considerable number of Chinese moved unofficially into the country. Just like the Africans, the Chinese are not really integrated into the Hungarian society, but over the years they have established an all-embracing social network which makes them a relatively successful immigrant group in economic matters as well as in every-day life. The import and retail of (cheap or faked) textiles or other cheap goods from the Far East is completely dominated by Chinese immigrants and has become an important economic

factor in the meantime: in 1994/95, the Chinese founded about 7,000 (!) companies in the city¹⁰. The economic activities of the Chinese are spatially concentrated around the so-called “Four-Tiger-Market” in the 10th district, where estimated 5,000 Chinese retailers run their (more or less legal) business. There exists a kind of parallel Chinese health care system as well as own travel agencies, supermarkets, bookstores etc. As a consequence of this kind of “parallel society” with a good internal infrastructure only a very few Chinese speak Hungarian fluently, for the majority of them it is simply not necessary to learn the language.

Attitudes towards immigrants or ethnic minorities are often negative and disliking in the broader public, which makes any integration measures difficult. There are obviously no mentionable differences between the local discourse about integration and the discourse on the national level. Since the city can not or is sometimes not willing to take effective influence, for example on the housing market for immigrants or on other relevant fields, urban policies which are relevant for migrant integration are focusing on rather soft measures like promoting cultural diversity (e.g. Gypsy theatre festivals etc.).

3.3 The city’s Muslim population and its characteristics

The basic information which should have been collected by the City Administration through the Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) hasn’t been delivered to our institute. This means that there was also no basic data delivered about the Roma minority. Together with Zoltan Markocsany it was decided to change the focus of this report not on the Roma but on the smaller immigrant communities. One reason for this decision was the actual very precarious political and human right situation of the Roma ethnic minority (on 03-08-2009 in the village of Kisléta the 8th person was murdered by right wing radical groups and the offenders are still unknown), a further reason was that the Roma topic is a very complex and sensitive issue in Hungary, especially in Budapest and needs more information in detail to be researched and collaboration from both sides, the City administration and the Roma community. Unfortunately this was not possible during our field visit.

There is only very few written and statistic material about this topic available in Hungarian or English language. The authors tried to gather as much as possible information during the city visit. Some persons which were contacted refused to be interviewed. Besides, the language barrier must not be neglected. Some Muslim representatives were lacking sufficient knowledge of Hungarian (and of English, of course). Neither among the officially approved national minorities nor within the immigrant communities are Muslims playing any important role. Of course, there are some asylum seekers and labour immigrants from Muslim countries, but according to our informants the absolute number of the Muslim

¹⁰ Compare Die ZEIT, No.37, 2000, Internetarchive.

community is very small and Islam is not very significant in Budapest. Up to now there was no scientific research done about this topic in Hungary.

Regarding the overall size of the Muslim population in the city it is very difficult to get precise official data, since it is not compulsory to provide any information about religious affiliation in the official Census. As a consequence there are considerably diverging numerical estimations. The representative of the City Administration supposed that there live about 1,000 Muslim residents in the city. Following András Kovács, the Director of Menedék, the Hungarian Association for Migrants, which is probably the most active organisation of its kind in the country, the number of Muslims in Budapest is about 5,000 persons of whom a considerable proportion moved illegally to Hungary. This higher estimation can neither take into account their internal differentiation between Shiites and Sunnites nor their individual intensity of religiosity. Furthermore, many of these people merely moved from so-called Muslim countries or countries with a heterogeneous religious structure. This means that nothing can be said about their de facto religious confession. According to Sultan Sulok, the President of the "Organisation of Muslims in Hungary" approximately 30,000 Muslims live in Hungary of whom the majority have been settled in Budapest, but there are also some smaller concentrations in the major cities. In almost every region or even in smaller cities you can find a small Muslim population.

The demographic structure of the Muslim population and its development is another difficult aspect to state accurately. András Kovács supposed that the Muslim community is growing numerically faster because their fertility rates are usually higher than among other ethnic minorities, except the Roma. Usually Muslim couples in Budapest have more than 1 child, which means at least 2 to 3. Among the immigrants of the first generation the gender proportion is characterized by a male dominance. Contrary to this, the majority of the newcomers and the converts (often Hungarian women, who are married to a Muslim migrant) to Islam are usually women, estimations speak of even about 80%!

The Muslims moved from all parts of the world. One of the biggest communities is Arabs, mostly from Syria and Egypt. A considerable Turkish community can be found as well, but there are also the Muslims from the Chechen Republic, from the African continent, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

There are basically two kinds of Muslim organisations: (1) the merely religious oriented and (2) the ethnically based associations, as for example the Kurdish, the Iraqi or the West Saharian organisations. These organisations mirror the diverging self-identifications among the Muslim communities. Some persons' identity is based more on ethnic affiliations, others define themselves by a stronger religious identification. The two categories of associations have a different legal status. The associations are operating regular prayers and organise community events but are not involved in any official interreligious dialogue, and don't have regular contacts to the city administration. They mainly focus on their activities as an association to provide welfare and social activities to their members. The so-called explicit religious organisations have to work on a broader

scale, because they are officially representing the Islamic faith community and had set up these organisations to act as an official representation toward the government (see SULOK 2009).

Neither in Hungary nor in Budapest exists a federation of Muslim organisations. There is one on the European level, the so called **Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe**, of whom the “Organisation of Muslims in Hungary” is a member of. It is a big federation with more than 400 members with strict rules to fulfill the criteria in order to join this Federation. The Muslim communities maintain a lot of links between themselves and have also contacts with other ethnic and religious communities and organisations.

The activities of the “Organisation of Muslims in Hungary” are manifold: *“We try to focus on Islam as a whole. We provide the opportunity for the people to perform their prayers, organise programs for the fasting periods, like the Ramadan, try to help the members with pilgrimage to Mekka and we do some social welfare activities, education of children, give lectures, [...] we are also involved in interfaith dialogue, we have many kind of activities”* said Mr. Sulok during the interview.

4 Local intercultural policies in general

The question of social integration initially appeared in the early 1990s with the presentation of the draft Citizenship Act to the Parliament proposing the reduction of the waiting period in the case of ethnic Hungarian immigrants before naturalization. In the case of non-Hungarian immigrants, the Act proposes a stronger interpretation of the existing rules: *“The person in question can learn the Hungarian language, can get acquainted with our customs, and can integrate into the community of Hungarian citizens, which should be proven by a new instrument: the passing of an exam on Constitutional affairs. Obviously, the stricter rules do not apply for the ethnic Hungarian former compatriots and their descendants if they want to return to their homeland. It is a moral obligation of the Republic of Hungary to consider the naturalisation claim of these people as a natural claim and judge it differently”* (Hárs et al. 2009).

The topic of social integration of immigrants is controversially discussed. In spite of the higher proportions and the specific composition of foreigners in some areas, the development strategies of the districts do not refer in particular to foreigners. Besides, statements of local officials suggest that the local government does not intend to treat the origin of residents as an important factor either in development or in the operation of local institutions and services. Even on the national level, diversity policy and intercultural dialogue aren't picked out as a central theme yet (Hárs et al. 2009).

Education of immigrant children is one of the few and obviously established and effective means of integration. According to the local school system, immigrant children are obliged to attend school – even those who live in refugee camps or stay illegally.

Migration policy is a complex topic which is determined by other priorities which cannot be decided autonomously by the Municipality or by government authorities. The whole complex of immigration policies in Hungary is additionally complicated by the fact that it is tangled with the politics which consider ethnic Hungarians who live in the neighbouring countries. Therefore, a commitment towards fellow Hungarians is mixed with an aspiration to keep territories once belonging to Hungary and which are still populated by ethnic Hungarians. It is important to note that “intercultural policies” as an elaborated political concept or “local intercultural policies” as a concrete implementation of it doesn’t exist yet. As a consequence of this, neither an office nor a department that would be responsible or deal with “integration” issues can be found in Budapest. Also implemented measures directly concerning that issue are still completely absent.

In 2007, two new laws concerning immigrants were adopted. These laws were created in order to be in compliance with European Union directives rather than in an internally motivated effort to actualise a systematic migration strategy. An important element that is missing from the existing laws is the integration of immigrants. Despite the fact that the numbers of immigrants are still small and even decreasing and that the majority of them are ethnic Hungarians, an integration law is still needed. In the media and in public discourse integration and immigration are treated as political issues of a certain importance and as a kind of ‘implicit consequence’, but as mentioned above there aren’t any concrete measures or special departments dealing directly on that issue.

As a matter of fact, there is not that much information available as maybe in other cities of Eastern Europe. Budapest, including all its political and administrative bodies, is still in a very initial stage concerning the development of local intercultural policies or their implementation or even of an increased awareness of the issue per se.

4.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organisations in the city

Hungary’s migration policy is not decided by a special political actor or ministry; it spans the competences of the Justice and Law Enforcement Ministry (and within it the Department of Cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs and Migration, and the Office of Immigration and Nationality, whose interests do not always align), the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, the Ministry of National Development and Economy, National Development Agency, Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Foreign Ministry. Furthermore, an inter-ministerial Committee on migration was set up in 2004, but so far it has not played a significant role in formulating migration policy measures. Thus, numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community organisations, and associations play an important role in the devising, and especially in the implementation of the policy (for details see Hajduk et al. 2008).

Zoltan Markocsány from the Municipality stated that the Policy of the City is to be multicultural. This principle is not expressed by any explicit act or a tool of any kind. The

official policy of the municipality is that Budapest is a multicultural and diverse European City and the politicians are promoting this as the official image of Budapest.

For the intercultural dialogue in the future it is important to note that there is a strategy of cooperation, between the municipality and NGOs oriented towards issues related to the coexistence of different cultures in Budapest in order to create an Integration Concept of the city which the capital doesn't have yet. Currently it is not one of the responsibilities of the city to deal with migrants' issues or integration. The state has the authority both at the national as well as on the local level. Nevertheless, the leading officials of the City think that it is really an important issue and as a consequence they started to create a Concept for the City last year: *"It is difficult to deal with something that is not ours, it is on national level and we don't have the authority to interfere. What we can do is to cooperate on lower levels, but we don't have the responsibility, the tools, and the matter of reaction in this field. This is an obstacle which kills also initiatives because if the responsibility is not mine, why to deal with it?"* [...] said Zoltan Markocsány.

The objective is not to take away the responsibility from the national level. This is because of pragmatic reasons because it would be a quite complex and difficult issue to remake laws and Acts. The City Administration wants to have a general overview over the actual situation of migrants and integration in the capital. For this purpose there is a need for a new reliable survey and research system on different fields like healthcare, housing, employment, education, accessibility of services, information, security, and interaction with the society. The municipality intends to focus on these fields and also to have a look on European good-practices, which cannot easily be compared, because the situation is quite different in Budapest in comparison to Western European Countries.

With the collected data the City Administration plans to create the "Integration Strategy of Budapest". Within the analyses how the city will be able to react on integration and migration issues also intercultural dialogue will be a major topic. The municipality could be capable to modify e.g. a local Act or to start to initiate the amendment of some national acts in order to improve the multicultural City of Budapest and in order to avoid segregation. "This is the frame of this project, we started last year and want to highlight it to the politicians" said Markocsány.

As most migrants are ethnic Hungarians, national ethnic organisations are very dynamic and their relation to the majority is not exactly the same as that of non-European minority organisations. The Hungarian associations are very active, incorporated and have links with each other, with the municipality and the government, and especially with their sending countries. Actually, being ethnic Hungarians and accordingly integrated in the Hungarian society many of them don't even consider themselves as members of a so called "ethnic organisation". "Menedék" identified about 110 ethnic organizations in Budapest, but when the representatives actually tried to get into contact with them they found only 78 really existing and being active. Almost one half was only registered but not active at all, while the other half are ethnic Hungarian organisations.

The Chinese and Vietnamese organisations represent a quite different type. Their activities are also mainly focused on cultural, economic and religious matters. Their network is not so strong and not open to other ethnic groups. Eventually there are connections to other organisations of the same ethnic community. There are also huge differences between the Chinese from Taiwan and those who moved from the Eastern provinces of China.

Another characteristic group is the Africans. They are probably one of the most active communities. Although their number is modest, they have a lot of connections with other organisations and charity associations. Many of them are refugee oriented and maintain good relations with “Menedék”.

Generally speaking, with the exception of the ethnic Hungarian organisations, mainly from Transylvania, most of the ethnic associations are not very active and have only a few members with just some people organising maybe only one cultural event per year: *“Actually the community is unfortunately completely ignorant and don’t have really an emblematical representative who is a strong enough to make their voices being heard”* said Kovàts.

4.2 Issues, demands and interests

The problems which ethnic Hungarians, national minorities and immigrants belonging to other ethnic groups than the recognised national minorities have to face are completely different. This makes any cooperation difficult and is also a constraint on the path to an established intercultural dialogue. The main issues for those ethnic and religious organisations which don’t belong to the national minorities are the access to relevant information and the barrier of learning the Hungarian language. Furthermore many immigrants have to face the problems which result from their illegal residence in Hungary. The larger parts of the migrants usually spend most of their energy to gain a visa and a work permit, which are the most important issues. This is still the theme since the very beginning, when basic issues haven’t been solved yet. There are some NGOs counseling in English and also in some other languages than Hungarian, but many migrants don’t know about their existence or do not trust them enough.

Ethnic and non-ethnic Hungarian immigrants alike feel that the system of obtaining residence and labour permits is too bureaucratic. Some informants said that the municipal authorities should do more to inform and to provide services to immigrants. A major issue is the recognition of the immigrants’ qualifications. Their (positive) impact on the labour market is one of the most controversial and often misunderstood topics. As a result the official procedures cannot be said to be friendly towards those persons thinking about the advantages of labour migration to Hungary (Hajduk et al. 2008).

4.3 Forms of relations and dialogue

Many non-governmental organisations have a lot of experiences of how immigrants in Hungary live, and thereby are involved in the policy debate, as well as in its implementation. The municipality doesn't maintain any formal or informal regular and institutionalised contact with the ethnic and religious organisations.

The Hungarian Association for Migrants "Menedék" was established in January 1995 as a civil initiative. This Association operates as a non-profit organisation, independent from governmental institutions. It is the largest and most likely the best-known and most knowledgeable non-governmental organisation in the country aiding refugees and migrants. Its main objectives are as follows:

- The representation of international migrants (asylum seekers, refugees, temporarily protected persons, foreign employees, immigrants, and other foreigners in Hungary) in their relations to the major society.
- The promotion of the social, and cultural integration of those refugees and migrants who plan to stay in Hungary by means of targeted programs and projects.
- The representation of the interests and rights of migrants towards the political, administrative, governmental and municipal bodies and in the media.
- The elaboration of sustainable partnerships with other civil societies pursuing similar goals.

Among the ongoing activities one has to mention:

- The organisation and co-ordination of social, informational, mental-health programs promoting the social integration of refugees staying in Hungary.
- The operation of community rooms at refugee reception stations.
- The compilation, reproduction and distribution of information brochures describing the rights of migrants in Hungary.
- The edition, publication and distribution of the monthly newsletter "Oltalomkeresők" ("In Search for Shelter") with a strong focus on migration news.
- The organisation of trainings to strengthen professional competencies of those involved in refugee affairs.

"Menedék" is an NGO with a high public utility which means that it has also a charity status. It further has a high reputation, and provides activities which are focused on the integration of migrants. These activities are very popular among migrants and they really respond to their needs. The main focus is to promote the social integration of immigrants through so called "targeted projects and programs", which in their core activity are providing social counseling and social work in various fields. Besides targeted programs for immigrants and refugees also labour orientation trainings, accommodation projects and programs facilitating employment programs are organised. The Agency is operational on the national level, which is one of the conditions for its special status. There are three offices of "Menedék" in the country: one in Budapest and two other located in Békéscsaba

and Debrecen where refugee reception centers are based. Good relations are maintained with the city which tries to provide as much support as possible. As already mentioned the competence of the city about intercultural policies and intergroup relations is still marginal.

Everything is just a framework and is always dependent on the existing funding which is the main determinant of launching or continuing a project. Menedék estimates that approx. 60% of its funding is financed by the EU (Hajduk et al. 2008). These funds are designed for educational, cultural and publications programs in which ethnic groups can take part through their projects. In 2007, Hungary received about 1 Mio. Euro from the European Refugee Fund (ERF)

The real core activity of Menedék is continuous social counseling. The second pillar are training activities, mostly training for special professions such as social workers, teachers or other people in positions where they encounter with migrants. The programs provide them some sort of professional capacity in order to be able to deal with the issues related to migrants' integration. Other training activities are targeting students, high-school students and pupils and are centered about the transfer of knowledge.

The third pillar is a kind of general lobbying, advocacy and awareness rising, which is communicating the issue of migration and the positive effects and aspects of migration and combating the in general rather xenophobic attitudes in the Hungarian society. It has many layers. One issue is a sort of campaigning, awareness raising advocacy, including projects and programs targeting the general population, information campaigns, social events, public events, intercultural festivals and meetings.

Another layer in this pillar is more about the professional aspects, targeting the decision makers, policy makers and politicians maintaining contact with actors in the local municipality and Ministries: *"Actually we are members of some permanent working groups on migration related to the ministry of Justice and Ministry Education. We officially get all legislation, are consulted. We have this capacity"* said Kovàts.

Research, applied research and evaluation are also parts of bigger projects but there is still no systematic research about migrant communities in Hungary.

Kovàts affirmed that there are two main issues in the context of integration:

- Firstly it would be ideal to create a platform of all the important ethnic organizations in order to become more professional, to enable them to speak with a common voice, because the organizations are still few and their active members too small in numbers. An ongoing project is about creating a "Network of Migrants" and the actual trainings are quite successful.
- Secondly there is a need for special trainings with and for other ethnic organisations. It is important for the local intercultural relations to organise certain events together, with the involvement of the ethnic organisations.

“We have in mind to create, and to provide a framework through which we can help this people to do what they plan and can do without any central, ideological and technical coordination. We are establishing links with immigrant communities in the city and organise social community events in central located places bringing together particular groups. We involve the organisations of the ethnic groups in these events. You have to involve these groups, otherwise it fails, like it did before and has to inform the media about such kind of events” said Kovàts.

Photo 3: The office of “Menedék” in Budapest



Source: Mihály Szabó

Despite several approaches with the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry for entrepreneurs (Budapesti Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara, BKIK), the Confederation of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists (Munkaadók és Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége, MGYOSZ), and the National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions (Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége, MSZOSZ) no representative of the chamber of commerce or the trade unions was willing to be interviewed during our field visit. Thus, instead of face-to-face interviews we made phone contacts with Szilágyi Zsuzsanna from the Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry for entrepreneurs, Klajkó Katalin from the Confederation of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists and Hanti Erzsébet from the National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions.

The résumé of our investigations is that the social partners are not active in intercultural dialogue matters yet. We were informed that on the side of social partners there is some process of thinking over to start a dialogue with immigrant organizations which might

develop into an intercultural dialogue but at the time of our investigations no concrete measures or strategies concerning this topic could be found. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry for entrepreneurs and Confederation of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists has only a webpage and an information brochure in English and German but there is no webpage or information material available in typical immigrant languages. For the future it might be expected that an intercultural dialogue will be started by the Hungarian social partners too.

4.4 Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city

The organisations of the **ethnic Hungarians** maintain a really good cooperation between each others.

The **Chinese organisations** came together several times to organise something together, e.g. to cooperate on certain issues, which brought some results. Other organisations tried similar activities. but there are also political associations. Generally they are in good relation and cooperation with the other organisations and organize together mostly different cultural events, but not only. If they are problems they make a common platform, for example in the case of the Markets.

“They have an economical important position. At the beginning of the ‘90s there were around 30,000 Chinese in Budapest. Nowadays their number is estimated between 10,000 and 15,000 because a considerable number of them left the country. The Chinese minority is very much ethnically defined. It is a closed group, but in a specific way very well integrated. Integrated in a way that it has a necessary and very useful role in the society, like, for instance, in the economy but sometimes it doesn’t contribute with anything to the mainstream society, politically or culturally and that is fair enough because they have a different role. The Chinese are perfectly well integrated when you buy your clothes from them, but probably they are not as much integrated when it comes to hanging out. But than it creates actually an attitude in the mainstream society which is about suspicion, anxiety, fear, angry and all sort of emotions which creates a hostile atmosphere.” said Kovàts.

There is a public Chinese-Hungarian bilingual school; open also for Hungarian children, where half of the children are Hungarian pupils. It is estimated as a very good school in Budapest.

The internal structure of the local **Armenian community** is influenced by the special interests of the different generations and there are some constant conflicts in between them.

In fact there exists no formal cooperation between these immigrant organisations on the local level. Most of the NGOs believe that there can’t be any cooperation between some ethnic groups and the city administration as long as the local authorities are not aware

enough about these groups, their interests and activities. According to some informants there are certain relationships between the Chinese and the Vietnamese community but these contacts take place in particular on business reasons and sometimes even in a criminal context.

Concerning the interreligious dialogue one has to say that the “Organisation of Muslims in Hungary” maintains good contacts with other religious organisations of Christian, Buddhist and also Jewish confession. They already initiated a Forum, a platform where they discuss on different religious topics.

4.5 Public communication

Almost every ethnic group of some size has its own media, mostly a newspaper which is in some cases also available online. The Chinese community for example has six newspapers, one is even bilingual. Some of the newspapers are financed by the Chinese Embassy.

On the national state radio station there is a channel for foreigners where programs in different languages are regularly broadcasted. The immigrant groups don't have their own television or radio stations, except the ethnic Hungarian community which is actually with no doubt fully integrated in the Hungarian society.

Some of the NGOs are in contact with journalists and maintain a good cooperation. “Menedék” organises training courses for journalists about migrants and migration matters. There is actually only one Muslim journalist represented in the local Hungarian media. The main reason is that the Hungarian language is by far not an easy language to learn.

In Hungarian media critical and even explicitly negative and discriminating articles about Muslim immigrants but also about the Chinese group relating a negative attitude can frequently be found. Due to the contemporary general economic crisis foreigners are usually also the first ones who loose their jobs and the number of articles about immigrants increased in general.

4.6 Summary and lessons learnt

A major problem in the process of intercultural dialogue between the city and migrant or religious groups is that the ethnic communities have quite different lifestyles and interests. This makes the idealistic wish to fight together for common issues not very realistic. Besides the Hungarian language represent a huge barrier for many of them. A dialogue would require a common language which is still often absent among immigrants in Budapest. Usually there are no language problems reported among the second generation which mostly grew up in Hungary.

From the perspective of the migrant communities it would be really important to find a way to get relevant general information concerning how the society works in Hungary and which chances can be offered to them.

One of the main reasons why there is no strong and regular cooperation between the City administration and immigrant associations can be found in the fact that the City has not really any instruments in solving the real issues of the migrant and minority groups. If there should be a type of organisation in Budapest dealing with foreigners, most of the NGOs have the main mission to fight for the right of immigrants and their acceptance in the Hungarian society. The general position of the NGOs is to provide social and legal assistance to migrants and make them more trusted towards the different ethnic groups. There is definitely not only a need for an intercultural dialogue but also an urgent need for a clear structured migration policy in Hungary.

5 Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

An important demand of the Muslim community is that no real Mosque exists in Budapest but only some Prayer Houses. Thus, the three major demands of the Muslims are simple as follows: building of mosques, a cemetery and schools.

“We would like to have a normal school, part of the Hungarian educational system, open for everybody, even for non-Muslims with a specialty of teaching the Islamic faith and, teaching an Arabic language. There are also people within the Islam which are not educated enough and don’t know enough about Islam. That’s why the schools are so important. Islam should be understood what Islam is and than the non-Muslims can differentiate who is really representing Islam. Without this information, somebody is unable to judge, or to make a correct evaluation. We don’t think that segregation is a good thing, we are for integration. We don’t think that integration is the same with assimilation. We support integration but we are against assimilation. The competence of the City is very limited. We can’t find the points where we can get access to the administration because we don’t have the lobby and power, we don’t know the channels, like other more historical communities that know already. We don’t have very strong relationship with the municipality or the government but now is starting getting better, it’s improving and we are getting known by the administration, that we are here, we exist” expressed Sultan Sulok in the interview.

Following Sulok and regarding the attitudes of the local population the problem is that there is a lot of distortion about Islam in the media every day. The image of the Muslim organisations is dominated by a high proportion of distortions and that’s why the Hungarian population is really to some extent afraid of Muslims and refuses the building of mosques and Islamic cemeteries.

“I think this problem can be solved and show the community who we are and don’t have to be afraid of us. We asked in the past for financing from the City Administration but

without success. Sometimes we don't even want to get support, but only the opportunity, or the access for example if we need a cemetery we are willing to buy it", said Sulok about the intentions of his religious community.

6 Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Again the basic information which should have been collected by the City Administration in the Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) hasn't been delivered to our institute. Thus, no official information about these topics from the city's side was available. Also during the field visit no clear statements about radicalization could be gathered from the side of the representatives of the Municipality

None of the interview partners mentioned any relevant forms of radicalisation in the local population or among the approved ethnic minorities. Recently some cases of violence and even murder against Roma were reported in the Hungarian countryside but there was not a single case of anti-roma riots in Budapest.

However, the election to the European Parliament clearly demonstrates that there is a potentiality in the Hungarian population to vote for extreme right wing parties. Jobbik has won three seats in the European Parliament, coming close to even beating the ruling Socialist Party. Jobbik is a "Movement for a Better Hungary" (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom, or Jobbik for short) and a radical party with strong elements of nationalism and even accused as neo-fascist. The party's credo is to support the Hungarian minorities abroad to reach self-determination and autonomy and to save "Hungary for Hungarians". Its predecessor was founded in 2002 as the Right-wing Youth Community (Jobboldali Ifjúsági Közösség – Jobbik), which consisted mainly of university students; it was organised as a political party in 2003. Besides MIÉP, which lost most of its voters, the "Movement for a Better Hungary" is one of the best-known far right formations in Hungary.

Hárs states that all forms of xenophobia increased fast and doubled between 1993 and 1997. With some fluctuation, the trend remained similar. Socio-demographic indicators strongly influence attitudes toward foreigners: primarily the education level but also the age and the type of settlement where the respondents live. According to a survey carried out in 2007 younger cohorts are more tolerant, while those in the age group 40 to 60 tend to be more explicitly xenophobic than the average. Those living in villages are rather tolerant, while those living in middle and big size towns would admit foreigners to the country only in lower proportions (Hárs et al. 2009).

7 Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

There is still no consistent migration policy in Hungary, though the process of creating one is still ongoing. There are no explicit principles and directions laid down by a single policy

document or a set of consistent government communication, therefore the actual content of the national migration policy can only be deduced from the existing legal regulations and institutional practices. The EU regulations challenged the previous ambiguous immigration policy concerning ethnic Hungarians, but the basic trends remained more or less unchanged. The main causal factor behind the ambiguous policy is the uncertain economic role of immigrants. This role and the future types of immigration will be largely dependent on the (still uncertain) future of the world economy.

In the population fears about migration are persistent, though the numerical dimension of immigration does not correspond to official expectations. The dilemma of the migration development of the past two decades turned out to be a rather marginal topic for Hungary because of the limited size of migration. Thus, also migration research and data collection is considered as a field of minor relevance.

There is a significant dominance of the issue of ethnic Hungarians in the legislative developments and the debates around them. This fact is not surprising as this group makes the majority of Hungary's immigrant population and to find an optimal solution for dealing with their immigration has been a challenge both in the context of neighbourhood-policy as well as in European legal harmonisation.

One of the key challenges for Budapest is to create an increased awareness concerning local intercultural policies as an important political and administrative issue at all levels of the municipality. The mentioned "Integration Plan Concept" of the city is a promising step in the right direction, but realistically one has to state that for the near future concrete approaches to a systematic local intercultural policy as we know it from many middle or western European cities can't be expected. Concerning the implementation of a "local intercultural approach" neither national nor the local legal frameworks are very progressive at the moment.

The participation of representatives of local government, labor and social welfare offices, schools, health providers and NGOs in the planning, development and delivery of services within local communities where the greater numbers of immigrants live should be ensured by the responsible local authority. Regular collaboration between local authorities, social welfare and labour offices and specialist integration providers to raise the awareness of refugee rights and entitlements, is essential in order to achieve an optimal level of mainstreaming in local integration.

Many problems which immigrants (especially from "third countries") have to encounter are related to the Hungarian public's in general negative attitude toward foreigners. According to local and international opinion polls the level of xenophobia in Hungary is one of the highest in Europe. Both governmental agencies and the civil society should take more steps to inform the public on the positive aspects of immigration, thus reducing the fears and prejudices. This would also be an important prerequisite for the establishment of an intercultural dialogue.

Nevertheless, the main conclusion is that the existence of immigrants in Budapest is not reflected in local intercultural policies. There is an urgent requirement for a clear integration policy which is acknowledged by all the NGOs and some other institutions dealing with this issue. Most of the activities for the “social” support of migrants are not executed by municipal or governmental institutions but were taken over by NGOs and organisations of the different ethnic groups. Another impediment which blocks the development of a consistent local integration policy seems to be the allocation of responsibilities between different departments of the city administration but also on the national level, in the Hungarian government.

There are still many insufficiencies not only on the side of the local authorities but also among the ethnic groups and their associations, which hamper an intercultural dialogue. What is still clearly missing in Budapest is that there are not enough active associations organized by immigrants themselves which formally represent their own interests within a well organised interethnic dialogue.

Hajduk states very appropriate that there is also “a need for more pedagogical knowledge and methodological instruments regarding an intercultural approach to education”. Hungary is one of only four (!) European Union countries where standard measures for the support of immigrant childrens for a better integration into the education system do not exist. There is neither an orientation program for pupils or training nor even a handbook for teachers available.

There may be not much what other cities could “learn” from the Budapest case, but the other way round. If there is the will to anchor local intercultural policies in the political and administrative awareness, Eastern European cities can profit from long-year experiences and research results of the other CLIP cities.

8 References

BÁH online statistics (<http://www.bmbah.hu/statistikak.php>).

Borkert, M. et al. (2007): Local integration policies for migrants in Europe. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. Luxembourg.

Council of Europe (ed.):

(http://www.coe.int/t/e/social_cohesion/population/demographic_year_book/2002_edition/RAPNA_T2002%20%20Hungary%20e.asp#TopOfPage).

Cross-Border Co-operation/Soderkoping Process (CBCP): www.soderkoping-org.ua.

Csata, Zs. & Kiss, T. (2003): Migrációs potenciál Erdélyben (Migration potential in Transylvania). Erdélyi Társadalom, 1 (2): 7–38.

Die ZEIT, Nr. 37, 2000 (Internetarchive).

Donner, Ch. (2006): Wohnungspolitik in Mitteleuropa. Vienna.

Endre, S. & Dencsô, B. (2007): Adalékok az előítéletesség mértékének és méreteinek megismeréséhez a mai Magyarországon. Budapest.

Fassmann, H. & Görgl, P. (2008a): CLIP Case Study on Housing: Budapest. ISR, Vienna

Fassmann, H. & Görgl, P. (2008b): CLIP Case Study on Diversity Policy in Employment and Service Provision: Budapest. ISR, Vienna.

Fouarge, D & P. Eszter (2007): Factors determining international and regional migration in Europe. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Gödri, I. & Pál, P. T. (2005): Bevándorlás és Beilleszkedés. NKI. 2005/3. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest.

Gyôri, G. & Dessewffy, T. (eds) (2007): Hétköznapi Globalizáció. Demos Magyarország Alapítvány (<http://www.demos.hu/Tevekenyseg/Rendezvenyek/globalizacio>).

Hajduk, A. et al. (2008): Immigration to Hungary: Threat or Opportunity? Demos Foundation. Budapest.

Hárs, Á. & L. Neumann (2007): EU enlargement fuels concerns over free movement of workers.

Euro 26 (2) (<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2007/01/articles/hu0701029i.htm>).

Hárs, Á. et al. (2009): Immigration countries in Central and Eastern Europe. The Case of Hungary. Idea Working Papers. Budapest.

„Hetek” Online Media (http://www.hetek.hu/fokusz/200703/kinaiak_magyarorszagon).

Hungarian Statistical Office (ed.): Microcensus 2005. Budapest.

Kiss, Tamás (2007): Demográfiai modellek és a migráció. Az erdélyi magyarok vándormozgalma a XX. század utolsó negyedében. (Demographic model and migration. The migration of the Transsylvanian Hungarians in the end of the 20th century), Regio 2. Budapest.

Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (ed.) (2005): Selection of News. Budapest.

Office for National and Ethnic Minorities (ed.) (2006): Selection of News. Budapest.

Oktatási Minisztérium (2005): Útmutató az interkulturális pedagógiai program iskolai bevezetéséhez és alkalmazásához (http://www.okm.gov.hu/doc/upload/200506/interkulturalis_pedagogiai_program.pdf).

Örkény, A. (ed.) (2003): Menni vagy maradni? Kedvezménytörvény és migrációs várakozások (To go or stay. Status law and migration expectations). Budapest, MTA, Kisebbségkutató Intézet.

Rédei, M. (2007): A külföldi hallgatók jellemzői, „Tanulási célú migráció” OTKA 4982 (http://foldrajz.ttk.pte.hu/mg/tanulmanyok/kulturalis_foldrajz/redei_maria_2007_4.pdf).

Social Watch Organization (ed.): (http://www.socialwatch.org/en/informelmpreso/pdfs/hungary2008_eng.pdf).

TÁRKI (ed.) (2004): TÁRKI Social Report Reprint Series No. 22. Budapest.

TÁRKI (ed.) (2005a): TÁRKI Social Report Reprint Series No.5. Budapest.

TÁRKI (ed.) (2005b): TÁRKI Social Report Reprint Series No. 24. Budapest.

Tóth, P. P. & Gödri, Irén (2005): Bevándorlás és beilleszkedés (Immigration and integration) NKI kutatási jelentések. 3. Budapest.

Websites

<http://www.kettosallampolgarsag.mtaki.hu/english.html>

<http://www.nemzetpolitika.gov.hu/data/files/135398853.pdf>

<http://www.vk-pecs.bibl.hu/linkkisebbseg.htm>

<http://www.complex.hu/kzldat/t9300077.htm/t9300077.htm>

<http://www.mfa.gov.hu/NR/rdonlyres/CF48B3CE-8F48-4DD1-AB4B-F27155B84927/0/etnimag.pdf>

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/eiro/2005/01/inbrief/hu0501101n.htm>

<http://kisebbseg.lap.hu/>

<http://www.mimi.hu/politika/kisebbseg.html>

www.etnonet.hu/linkek.htm

www.meh.hu/nek/Magyar/12.htm

<http://web.axelero.hu/mnekk/>

www.meh.hu/nek/defhu.htm

<http://www.obh.hu/>

<http://partners.dravanet.hu/mtvpecs/szerk/egyutt.html>

<http://www.romanul.hu/>

<http://www.slovaci.hu>

<http://www.tarsadalomkutatas.hu/kkk.php?TPUBL-A-756/tpubl-a-756.pdf>

<http://www.ukrajinci.hu/>

<http://www.hhrf.org/hhrf/>

Menedek: www.menedek.hu

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/migration.htm>

Eurostat: <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home>

9 Contacts and informants

Aranyos, Viktoria, Media representative, "Kisalfold Magazine"

Boldizsár, Péter, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (MTA) Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Chen Jin Zhe, Representative of "Hagyományos Kínai Kulturális Egyesület" ("The Organization of Chinese Culture")

Hanti, Erzsébet, National Confederation of Hungarian Trade Unions (Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Szövetsége, MSZOSZ), Városligeti fasor 46-48, Phone: 06-1/3232-686, E-mail: mszosz@mszosz.hu)

Klajkó, Katalin, Confederation of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists (Munkaadók és Gyáriparosok Országos Szövetsége, MGYOSZ), Kossuth Lajos tér 6-8, Phone: 474 5154, Fax: 474 5159, E-mail: mkik@mkik.hu

Kováts, András, Director of "Menedék" ("The Hungarian Association for Migrants")

Markocsány, Zoltán, Municipality of the City of Budapest, Deputy Mayor's Office for Urban Development, Management and Social Affairs

Szikra, Csaba, Representative of "Menedék" ("The Hungarian Association for Migrants")

Szilágyi, Zsuzsanna, Budapest Chamber of Commerce and Industry for entrepreneurs (Budapesti Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara, BKIK), Krisztina krt. 99, Phone: +36/1/488-2000, E-mail: mvk.kft@chello.hu),

Sulok, Sultan, President of the "Organisation of Muslims in Hungary"

Wei Yu Ting, Representative of „Kínai női egyesület Magyarországon” ("Association of Chinese Women in Hungary")