A comparative analysis of the factors determining the immigration policies of Germany and Hungary

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS DETERMINING THE IMMIGRATION POLICIES OF GERMANY AND HUNGARY

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ABSTRACT

Dominika Kleinova: A Comparative Analysis Of The Factors Determining The Immigration Policies Of Germany And Hungary
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Currently, the European Union struggles to deliver a united response to the immigration issue. In order to bring forth a framework for its improvement, it is important to consider the reasons for individual member states' behaviors. This study attempts to examine the factors influencing the immigration policies of Germany and Hungary, whose policies appear to differ the greatest and should thus encompass most of the spectrum a majority of other member states fall under. The thesis will describe the effect of the economy, history, previous contact with foreigners, shaping of national identity, as well as education on the populations' attitudes towards immigrants and the countries' policies. This study concludes that all these factors are essential for understanding the countries' immigration policies and should be considered when constructing common European asylum and immigration policies.

Contents

Introduction

      With deeper integration of the European Union, its bodies have moved away from considering the uniqueness of each country when constructing common policies. Moreover, the EU member states are expected to adapt to these policies, eventually leading to a fusion resulting in one sovereign governing body. However, the EU states are far from being willing or able to forget their differences. This can be seen on the most recent challenge that the EU faces – the inflow of refugees from the Middle East, especially Syria. The current Syrian refugee crisis is considered to be the greatest mass movement of people since the Second World War.[1] The civil war between the President al-Assad's regime and the opposition has been taking place since 2011 when the first 50,000 Syrians fled to Lebanon. Displaced Syrians have found themselves in refugee camps in Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan. Besides the Syrian civil war, the threat of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) contributes to the rising number of refugees from the Middle East. These refugees have been crossing the Mediterranean to seek refuge in Europe (for the most part in Germany) and, eventually, the USA since 2015. A unified response from the EU on how to deal with these immigrants is most essential. When it comes to this challenge, the EU is divided on policies towards amending the crisis. Each country handles the inflow of refugees very differently.

      It is therefore important to address how the countries' attitudes towards immigrants differ. Through a comparative analysis of Germany and Hungary, I claim that history, economy, and culture are the main factors directing the behavior of EU countries in regards to immigration. Considering the uniqueness of each factor on the specific country leads to a better understanding and can improve the European Common Immigration and Asylum policy. This thesis analyzes

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[1] "The EU and the Refugee Crisis," *European Commission,* last modified July 2016, accessed June 12, 2017, http://publications.europa.eu/webpub/com/factsheets/refugee-crisis/en/.

the differences between German and Hungarian immigration policies from economic, historical, and cultural points of view in order to provide a critique of the EU immigration and asylum system. Moreover, this should stress the importance of considering each country's history, economy, and culture when constructing policies.

Before addressing the determinants of countries' behaviors towards immigrants, it is important to understand the asylum and immigration system of the whole EU. The first chapter, therefore, provides an overview of the EU Common Asylum and Immigration Policy and its shortcomings. In the second chapter, the focus shifts towards the impact of history and economy on German and Hungarian attitudes and immigration policies. The third chapter analyzes public attitudes towards immigrants and refugees. These attitudes are explained in the fourth chapter through contact theory, quality of education, and notions of identity in each country. In the fifth chapter, suggestions are presented on how to facilitate closer cooperation within the EU in the field of immigration.

Chapter 1: EU Common Asylum and Immigration Policy

As a supranational organization, the EU faces the challenge of determining the extent of a member states' obligations to the organization. The Schengen Area, created by the Schengen Agreement[2], is based on the obligation that most of the EU member states (plus Norway and Iceland) abandon border controls, which results in a loss of control over migration flows to and from these countries. On the other side, however, the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty established the 'Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice,' in which member states are required to provide protection to third-country nationals (TCNs).[3] Azoulai and de Vries argue that the abolition of internal boundaries on the one hand, and the responsibility of member states to ensure fair treatment of TCNs (monitored by the EU, which has the right to act if these rights are violated) on the other hand, "is likely to generate tensions within the structure of EU migration law."[4]

Moreover, the integration of asylum and immigration policies has not been an easy task because most member states have been signatories to international conventions related to refugees for decades[5] and have exercised their own policies towards refugees and immigrants. However, Collett points to a connection between the immigration system and the economy when she claims that defining immigration, integration, and asylum policies directly impacts the EU's economic competitiveness.[6] It can then be claimed that as the EU's level of economic and political integration increases, it is necessary to create a common asylum system in order to keep these shifts from failing.

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[2] The Schengen Agreement became effective in 1995. Today it is a part of a larger body of rules that must be implemented by every EU member state.

[3] Third-country national is an individual whose nationality is different from the host country.

[4] Loic Azoulai and Karin de Vries, introduction to *EU Migration Law: Legal Complexities and Political Rationales,* ed. Loic Azoulai and Karin de Vries (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

[5] The first document establishing the responsibilities of states to provide protection to refugees, 1951 Geneva Convention on the protection of refugees, has been signed in 1951 by almost all EU member states.

[6] Elizabeth Collett, "Facing 2020: developing a new European agenda for immigration and asylum policy," *Migration Policy Institute Europe* no. 1 (February 2013), accessed January 31, 2016, www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MPIEurope-Facing2020.pdf.

a) Historical development of the EU immigration and asylum policy

The first phase of the common asylum system started with a session of the European Council in Tampere in 1999. During the session, the European Council adopted a five-year towards a common European asylum system and a joint European immigration policy. The European Council adopted basic harmonizing policies and created institutions such as the European Refugee Fund.[7]

After the first phase, followed by a reflection phase, the European Commission introduced three pillars that create the Common European Asylum System: increased harmonization of the states' immigration policies, increased cooperation among member states, and increased solidarity and sense of responsibility within the EU as well as between the EU and non-members.

b) Current EU immigration and asylum policy

Today, the following rules have been generally agreed on regarding refugee protection and are being used while dealing with the current refugees: the revised Asylum Procedures Directive, the revised Reception Conditions Directive, the revised Qualification Directive, the revised Dublin Regulation, and the revised EURODAC Regulation.[8]

i) The revised Asylum Procedures Directive (2015)[9]

The 2005 Asylum Procedures Directive sets out rules for applying for asylum; however, it has been argued that these rules are too vague and not sufficiently enforced. The European Commission claims that the revised Asylum Procedures Directive (2015) sets out clearer rules

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[7] The European Refugee Fund provides financial support to EU member states in dealing with people seeking protection.

[8] "Common European Asylum System," *European Commission*, last modified June 23, 2015, accessed February 12, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/index_en.htm.

[9] The European Commission has proposed a new Asylum Procedures Directive as part of the Common European Asylum System in July 2016. However, the new Directive has not been approved yet.

and fosters faster and more efficient procedures and asylum decisions, limiting their periods of time to six months. According to the European Commission, "the new Asylum Procedures Directive is much more precise. It creates a coherent system, which ensures that asylum decisions are made more efficiently and fairly, and that all Member States examine applications with a common high quality standard."[10]

ii)   The revised Reception Conditions Directive (2013)

The revised Reception Conditions Directive is the first directive setting out detailed rules for the detention of asylum seekers (which should only be used as a last resort) in conjunction with respecting their fundamental rights. By establishing a list of detention grounds, limiting the time of detentions, establishing restricted cases, and providing legal assistance, the directive protects the rights of asylum seekers. This directive also ensures common living standards for applicants and establishes the maximum time period for decisions regarding access to employment for an asylum seeker.[11]

iii)   The revised Qualification Directive (2011)

The revised Qualification Directive specifies who qualifies for protection, determines the scope of protection, and provides integration measures for refugees granted asylum. The directive provides an important step towards a common asylum policy because it harmonizes the criteria for providing protection throughout the EU (the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland are exceptions and are not bound by this directive).[12]

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[10] "Asylum Procedures," *European Commission*, last modified February 2, 2016, accessed February 12, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/common-procedures/index_en.htm.
[11] "Reception Conditions," *European Commission*, last modified June 26, 2015, accessed February 12, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/reception-conditions/index_en.htm.
[12] "Qualification Directive," *European Council on Refugees and Exiles*, last modified February 14, 2014, accessed February 15, 2016, http://ecre.org/topics/areas-of-work/protection-in-europe/92-qualification-directive.html.

iv) *Dublin Regulations (2014)*

As a predecessor to Tampere, the Dublin Convention of 1990 is considered to be the first step towards a common asylum policy within the EU. This convention determined a state, which was responsible for asylum examination and prevented multiple asylum applications in multiple EU states, allowing for effective and speedy access to asylum procedures. The rules for the application of the 1990 Dublin Convention are further laid out in 2003 Dublin Regulation (Regulation (EC) No. 1560/2003), amended by 2014 Dublin Regulation (Regulation (EC) No. 118/2014), entered into force in 2013, and applied to asylum application as of 2014. Moreover, the 2013 Regulation (Regulation (EC) No. 603/2013) establishes a system for the comparison of fingerprints – Eurodac. According to European Council on Refugees and Exiles, the regulation "contains improved procedural safeguards such as the right to information, personal interview, and access to remedies as well as a mechanism for early warning, preparedness and crisis management."[13]

v) *The revised EURODAC Regulation (2015)*

The revised EURODAC Regulation allows national governments to access the central EU fingerprint database of asylum seekers in order to prevent crimes of terrorism and improve investigation procedures. In addition, the regulation imposes time limits on collection and transmission of fingerprints in order to prevent delays regarding data processing and improve measures related to data protection.[14]

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[13] "Dublin Regulation," *European Council on Refugees and Exiles*, last modified February 14, 2014, accessed February 15, 2016, http://ecre.org/topics/areas-of-work/protection-in-europe/10-dublin-regulation.html.

[14] "Eurodac Regulation," *European Migration Network*, last updated 2016, accessed February 3, 2016, http://www.emnbelgium.be/sites/default/files/publications/eurodacupdate_oktober_2013.pdf.

vi)   *Frontex – EU border protection agency*

Frontex is an agency first established in 2004 as the European Agency for the Management of the Operative Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of European Union, and replaced in 2016 by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency. The main purpose of Frontex is to protect the EU borders from illegal immigration. According to its official webpage, "Frontex promotes, coordinates and develops European border management in line with the EU fundamental rights charter applying the concept of Integrated Border Management."[15] Frontex has been helping to manage the refugee crisis by speeding up deportations and deploying crews to the middle of the Mediterranean, rescuing about 900 migrants stranded in the water during the bad winter weather.[16]

vii)   *Solidarity and responsibility principle*

In addition to the above directives and regulations, the European Commission has taken a number of long-term actions to maintain the balance between solidarity within the EU and a sense of responsibility in terms of assisting member states in the implementation of the common asylum system.

In regards to assuming responsibility, the European Commission has been assisting member states in the application of the EU's common asylum policies in three ways: firstly, the European Commission has published guidelines that set out the best approach for fingerprinting new refugees so that it is more effective. Secondly, the Commission has proposed a regulation establishing a list of 'safe' countries as a part of EU legislation helping the member states to fight against abuses of asylum policy and facilitate quick returns to the country of origin. Lastly,

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[15] "Mission and Tasks," *Frontex*, last updated 2016, accessed March 2, 2016, http://frontex.europa.eu/about-frontex/mission-and-tasks/.

[16] "Migrant Crisis: EU patrol ship saves 900 migrants off Greece," *BBC News*, February 18, 2016, accessed March 1, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35609815.

the Commission has taken responsibility for monitoring the implementation of these mechanisms.

Besides assuming responsibility, the Commission is also executing the solidarity mechanism in multiple ways. The Commission is providing funding for migration and security challenges; in 2015, the Commission provided over €8.4 billion to this purpose. In addition to the funding, the Commission is assisting in the relocation and resettlement of refugees by providing foundational recommendations for resettlement plans to be adopted by the member states. The Commission is also sending migration management support teams to aid national authorities. Among these teams is the Civil Protection Mechanism, which was created to provide humanitarian assistance in emergency situations. This humanitarian assistance includes "providing tents, sleeping bags and bedding, personal protective items, heating and lighting equipment, and electricity generators."[17] Currently, humanitarian assistance is still active in four member states: Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Greece.

c) Shortcomings of the current EU asylum policy

Although the Commission assists member states in many areas in dealing with refugees, its report states that "there are requests for assistance from Member States, which remain outstanding."[18] This means that although the Commission provides a number of supportive actions, these actions do not meet the needs of member states. Currently, there are 70 infringement cases that include violations of the instruments of the Common European Asylum System (see Table 1).

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[17] "Managing the Refugee Crisis: Balancing Responsibility and Solidarity on Migration and Asylum," *European Commission*, accessed February 12, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/balancing_responsibility_and_solidarity_on_migration_and_asylum_20160210_en.pdf, 2.
[18] Ibid.

Table 1: Open Infringement Cases within the Common European Asylum System

Asylum Procedures Directive 2005/85/ EC and 2013/32/EU (recast)	**8 bad application or nonconformity cases**: Greece, Italy (3 cases), Cyprus (2 cases), Hungary (2 cases)
	18 non-communication cases: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Greece, Spain, France, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Slovenia
Reception Conditions Directive 2003/9/EC and 2013/33/EU (recast)	**7 bad application or nonconformity cases**: Greece, France, Italy (2 cases), Cyprus (2 cases), Hungary
	19 non-communication cases: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Greece, Spain, France, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Austria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Slovenia
Qualification Directive 2004/83/ EC and 2011/95/ EU	**1 bad application or non-conformity case**: Italy
	13 non-communication cases: Slovenia, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Portugal, Poland, Malta, Italy, Hungary, France, Finland, Spain, Lithuania, Romania
Dublin III Regulation 604/2013	1 case: Italy
Eurodac regulation 603/2013	4 cases: Greece, Croatia, Italy, Cyprus
Directive 2011/51/EU amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection	**7 non-communication cases**: Germany, Greece, France, Italy, Latvia, Slovenia, Austria

Source: "Managing the Refugee Crisis: Balancing Responsibility and Solidarity on Migration and Asylum," *European Commission*, accessed February 12, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/balancing_responsibility_and_solidarity_on_migration_and_asylum_20160210_en.pdf, 2.

It can be seen that almost every member state is involved in an open infringement case (with the exception of Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, Slovakia, and the UK), with the most infringement cases open against Italy, Greece, and Cyprus. This contributes to the questionable effectiveness of the Commission's funding. However, it must be noted that many internal issues within these countries unrelated to EU asylum law may contribute to such high number of infringements. In order to support the claim that the Commission's funding is not sufficient, we shall look at the announcements of member states: the Greek government, for example, has announced that Greece is not financially capable to bear such a high influx of refugees and asked for additional contributions from the EU.[19]

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[19] "Refugee Crisis: European Leaders demand urgent support for Greece," *The Guardian*, March 1, 2016, accessed March 3, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/01/refugee-crisis-european-leaders-demand-urgent-support-for-greece.

As explained above, the mechanisms for dealing with immigration are in place. However, the refugee crisis is of a greater scale than the immigration patterns that were being considered at the time when the EU immigration policy was established.

The main obstacles towards a more effective asylum system on an EU level are as follows: 1) it is difficult to keep national immigration frameworks consistent with the EU immigration system; 2) immigration directives and laws are not adequate; their revisions do not improve existing laws in practice; 3) the EU fails to acknowledge change in immigration patterns over time; 4) there are limitations of Frontex that are not being addressed; 5) the lack of transparency about the EU immigration system persists in individual member states.

i)   National immigration framework versus the EU immigration system

In addition to being a part of the Common European Asylum System, all the member states keep their own national immigration framework. This can often result in clashes between the two frameworks. Pascouau further supports this claim by saying that the EU migration policy is impossible to understand. He summarizes it as follows: "There are specific rules defining different conditions of entry for specific categories of migrants … and allowing in specific cases each of the Member States to maintain their national system in parallel."[20] Keeping their national systems then prevents harmonization policies to take place, making it more difficult to achieve an effective immigration policy.

ii)   CEAS directives and their revisions

The second flaw of the CEAS is that the directives and revisions of these directives are not adequate. Statewatch, a non-profit voluntary group comprised of professionals, monitors these policies and subsequently publishes its own comments and suggestions. As a part of

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[20] Matthias Mayer, Yves Pascouau and Shada Islam, "Three Challenges for tomorrow's EU migration policy: fairness, mobility and narratives," Brussels Think Tank Dialogue, discussion paper, January 28, 2015, accessed January 28, 2016, http://www.egmontinstitute.be/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/BackgrounderMigration.pdf, 4.

Statewatch analysis, Peers argues that the revised Asylum Procedures Directive (2015) allowed member states to keep their standards low, meaning that the second phase of the Common European Asylum System looks very much like the first phase. Moreover, he claims that the changes adopted by the revised Asylum Procedures Directive are "largely cosmetic changes to the current inadequate standards, to the extent that adopting the new rules would be like putting 'lipstick on a pig.'"[21] According to Peers, the changes which aimed towards significant improvements had been removed by the European Council; these include "the cut-back of the grounds for accelerating proceedings, the number of exceptions from the right to remain in the territory during an appeal, the exemption from limits on procedural rights for unaccompanied minors and persons with special needs, other new rules regarding persons with special needs, early access to country-of-origin information and reports on interviews (in light of the possible denial of an in-country appeal)."[22] Peers claims that by introducing a 'super-safe' third country rule, the Directive violates multiple international treaties.[23]

In regards to the revised Reception Conditions Directive, Peers argues that although the number of detentions will most likely decrease, the time limits for detention of those falling under many possible remaining cases have yet to be determined. Moreover, the Directive does not prevent member states to "derogate from the rules on female asylum-seekers' safety and the privacy of detained families."[24] Peers summarizes the revised Reception Conditions Directive as "a missed opportunity to ensure that asylum-seekers in the EU are fully treated with dignity and

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[21] Steve Peers, "Statewatch Analysis – The Revised Asylum Procedures Directive: Keeping Standards Low," *Statewatch*, May 2012, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-178-asylum-procedures.pdf, 2.
[22] Ibid., 12.
[23] Peers refers specifically to Geneva Convention, international human rights law, and the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights.
[24] Steve Peers, "Statewatch Analysis – The EU Directive on Reception Conditions: A weak compromise," *Statewatch*, July 2012, accessed February 23, 2016, http://www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-184-reception-compromise.pdf, 6.

fairness in all respects while waiting for a decision on their application, given the many possibilities which remain for Member States to detain them, provide them with low levels of benefits, delay their access to employment and make it difficult to challenge any of these decisions."[25]

iii) Failure to recognize changes in immigration patterns

Another one of the fundamental flaws of the Common European Asylum System has been the failure to recognize that immigration patterns to and within the EU change over time. Therefore, building on and revising existing legislature from before the 2004 enlargement, rather than creating new legislation, results in a system that cannot effectively respond to the current refugee crisis, as well as any future crises. Collett[26] claims that the implementation of EU immigration policy is for many small newer states an abstract process because they have experienced a relatively small number of immigrants in the past. Additionally, an obstacle for effective immigration policy is the effort of the EU to develop it in pursuance of an ever-closer union. Collett claims, "This can … obscure real policy needs in favour of the formalistic desire to expand the reach of EU immigration policy."[27]

Additionally, Boswell and Geddes[28] criticize the current immigration policy that builds on the policies adopted in the 1990s because the first phase of asylum policy integration was based on two assumptions: firstly, the prevailing perception in the 1990s was that refugees were abusers of the European system and the policies should be tightened. Secondly, cooperation in regards to external immigration was necessary in order to disable any easy access to EU territory and adopt restrictive measures across the EU states. It was also assumed that non-EU states on

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[25] Ibid., 7.
[26] Elizabeth Collett, "Facing 2020: developing a new European agenda for immigration and asylum policy."
[27] Ibid., 8.
[28] Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes, *Migration and Mobility in the European Union* (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

the borders of the EU would collaborate with the EU on protecting its borders. Since these views have changed, it is unreasonable to build on past legislation regarding EU immigration policies.

Collett lists three major changes in immigration patterns: firstly, the immigrant communities are more diverse in terms of country of origin, motivation for immigration, and length of stay than at the time of a five-year plan development in 1999. Collett claims that the current policies treat spouses, refugees, and dependent children as 'non-economic' migrants and, therefore, misunderstand "the potential and motivation of a large swathe of the immigrant population."[29] The second change is that the number of second-generation immigrants increases, which has to consequently lead to debates about their social inclusion. Finally, immigrants are changing the nature of their settlements by moving beyond cities to locations less familiar with such diversity. This means that a higher number of local authorities have to become involved in the management of these diverse communities as they spread beyond urban cities.

It is therefore clear that the common European asylum and immigration policy cannot simply be a culmination of previous revisions to immigration and asylum plans, but it should reflect the current changes in immigration patterns. However, the most recent plans have been exactly that. The Stockholm Programme, adopted in 2010, in which the establishment of the Common European Asylum System by 2012 had been among the highest priorities, "has focused on reviewing and reforming existing legislation, rather than on developing new policy frameworks."[30] If the EU is to respond to the current refugee crisis effectively, it must abandon the old rules and come up with a new and effective framework grounded in recent events and developments.

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[29] Ibid., 2.
[30] Ibid., 4.

iv)   *Limitations of Frontex*

Frontex has also suffered criticism. Since the agency was founded in the discourse of immigration being a suspicious activity linked with crime and criminal activity, Frontex's joint operations are claimed to often violate fundamental rights of migrants as the physical protection of the EU's borders includes use of force. The European Ombudsman has also criticized Frontex for not complying with human rights mechanisms.[31]

Despite all the regulations, the EU immigration and asylum policy grants the member states with exclusive responsibility in terms of immigration law maintenance in their territory. Since Frontex works similarly to an intergovernmental agency, Trevisanut[32] argues that 'compulsory solidarity' among the member states has been standing in the way of Frontex's success. Trevisanut also claims that "member states need help in managing their external borders, but are still reluctant to accept the intervention of any other actor on the basis of an institutionalized mechanism."[33] Finding the balance between security and protection of rights is therefore difficult, and some argue that it is impossible due to an ongoing interest of member states to maintain the integrity of their borders.[34] Since the EU-led agencies rely on Member States and the Commission in terms of their competencies and funds, agencies such as Frontex are quite limited in enforcing the implementation of these policies.

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[31] "Special Report of the European Ombudsman in own-initiative inquiry OI/5/2012/BEH-MHZ concerning Frontex," *European Ombudsman*, last updated 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.ombudsman.europa.eu/en/cases/specialreport.faces/en/52465/html.bookmark.

[32] Seline Trevisanut, "Which borders for the EU immigration policy? Yardsticks of International Protection for EU Joint Borders Management," *EU Migration Law: Legal Complexities and Political Rationales,* ed. Loic Azoulai and Karin de Vries (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[33] Ibid., 147.

[34] Richard Barnes, "The International Law of the Sea and Migration Control," *Extraterritorial Immigration Control,* ed. Bernard Ryan and Valsamis Mitsilegas (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010).

v)   *Lack of transparency and solidarity*

Starting with the new century, the EU has come to be generally blamed for the increase in unwanted immigration by member states and their populations. However, this claim is based on an assumption that immigrants' final destination is Europe, and fails to recognize the fact that immigration is highly inter-regional and that the EU as a supranational organization has little or no effect compared to national governments. Member states refusing to claim responsibility leads to a decrease in solidarity and an inability to deal with the refugee crisis effectively. It is therefore necessary for the public to better understand the actions of the EU. That is why many experts argue for higher transparency of the EU's role on immigration.[35] Once the statistics are translated into human narratives and become more transparent and accessible, the EU can connect with the public in a real sense. So far, however, the EU has not recognized the inter-regional feature of current immigration flows. As long as the EU fails to acknowledge the increasing role of regional actors that are responding to the needs of their communities, the lack of public support will result in the absence of much needed solidarity. Transparency can be difficult to achieve if there is a high number of organizations involved in the policymaking and each of them have different goals and priorities. The beginnings of the EU common asylum and immigration policy were influenced by new institutionalism, which presents the idea that institutions are political and partisan. Each of the institutions involved in the immigration policy shapes the knowledge and preferences, many times even creating the momentum for policy change. The immigration policy created by these institutions then lacks coherence, and therefore its effectiveness decreases. As Boswell and Geddes claim, the different strategies of the European Council, the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament, and the European

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[35] Elizabeth Collett, "Future EU policy development on immigration and asylum: Understanding the challenge," and Simon Hix, *What's Wrong with the European Union & How to Fix it,* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2008).

Commission impact the policy, which then "proceeds in a rather disjointed and inconsistent fashion."[36]

d) Suggestions for improvement

In addition to the transparency of the EU's role on immigration, the immigration and asylum policy should undergo changes that reflect the changing nature of EU immigration patterns. As Collett says: "If leaders are unable to dispel the belief that an established policy should never be questioned, then any future agenda will be doomed to both a narrow vision and repeated mistakes."[37] Questioning established policies, including the EU immigration and asylum policy is a key aspect of successful and effective responses to conflict situations. Collett argues for proactive and forward-looking immigration strategies but also for acknowledging the increasing complexity of immigration patterns and trying to "avoid approaching the topic in a one-dimensional manner."[38] She claims that the EU should adopt a long-term strategy "that doesn't just incorporate the needs (and limits) of its individual Member States, but encapsulates their hopes, fears, and aspirations."[39] This should be accomplished through consultations between policymakers and representatives (experts, politicians, stakeholders) in every country. Taking into account the opinions of these representatives will certainly contribute to the effectiveness of immigration policies, as opposed to a "one-size-fits-all" approach, which makes the immigration policy less responsive to countries' needs and therefore less effective.

Another important factor to consider is the length of the planning cycle and flexibility of these policies. Although a long-term agenda could definitely create a framework for immigration policies, it is important to mention that long-term plans can be quite ineffective in the context of

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[36] Christina Boswell and Andrew Geddes, *Migration and Mobility in the European Union,* 167.
[37] Elizabeth Collett, "Facing 2020: developing a new European agenda for immigration and asylum policy," 6.
[38] Ibid., 2.
[39] Ibid., 3.

an ever changing globalized world. The example of the current refugee crisis might come into mind; it would be questionable to assume that the EU would be ready to respond to the high number of refugees based on policies created more than 10 years ago. This is not to say that reflecting on the next 10-15 years is invalid, but it must be acknowledged that these policies should be flexible enough to adjust to changing events.

In her latest policy brief, Collett[40] stresses the need for leadership and coordination in terms of political and technical commitments, as well as change in investments envisaged by EU leaders in order to provide the resources to effect this change. Since the current immigration mechanisms for implementing EU policy are not capable of being carried out effectively and in a timely manner, Collett provides several suggestions aimed at their improvement. Firstly, she argues for a strong investment in leadership in order to create more diplomatic power capable of carrying out policy goals within and outside of the EU. Secondly, coordination within the EU should be improved on the level of the European Commission and the European Council. The Commission should come up with coordination mechanisms and identify realizable, but, most importantly, common goals across the Union. This is an important point, building on Boswell and Geddes's criticism of different priorities across EU's organizations. Thirdly, Collett recommends investing in human resources in terms of staffing the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion and External Action Service with experts with on-the-ground experience. Fourthly, Collett highlights the need for evaluation mechanisms which would monitor the success of proposed legislation not only in the European Council but also on the ground. Lastly, she argues for a need to identify benchmarks for success, which take into

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[40] Elizabeth Collett, "The development of EU policy on immigration and asylum: Rethinking coordination and leadership," *Migration Policy Institute Europe* no. 8 (March 2015), accessed January 31, 2016, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/development-eu-policy-immigration-and-asylum-rethinking-coordination-and-leadership.

account national contexts. Although the EU unites its member states, their policy investments differ. Therefore, the immigration policy constructed on the EU level must reflect the different contexts of each individual state.

Monitoring the implementation of immigration policies is one of the biggest challenges because when a state fails in the implementation of these policies, it weakens the EU as a whole. Collett[41] argues for a more in-depth and robust approach to the monitoring of states' implementation of these policies. However, member states might not accept deeper monitoring, especially if they are under the assumption that they have to give up more of their sovereignty to the EU. Thus, shared responsibility may be the best solution because states would be involved in the monitoring process and, therefore, more interested in the outcome. Consequently, the states would be more likely to undergo the needed reforms.

Similarly as Collett, Peers also stresses the importance of questioning and improving the current directives and regulations. He argues, for example, that in regards to the revised Asylum Procedures Directive, the EU should "raise procedural standards during the second phase of the Common European Asylum System[42] in order to ensure that those persons who are genuinely facing persecution or serious harm have a fair opportunity to prove it."[43]

e) **Conclusion**

The current EU immigration and asylum policy has its roots in 1990s; the nature of immigration however has changed dramatically since then. Building on the existing frameworks and revising previous regulations does not contribute to the creation of an effective policy. New institutionalism that affects these policies decreases transparency and cohesion of immigration

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Second phase of the Common European Asylum System represents various proposals and revisions of the directives that were created during the first phase.

[43] Steve Peers, "Statewatch Analysis - The Revised Asylum Procedures Directive: Keeping Standards Low," 13.

policies. The number of infringement cases points to an ineffectiveness of these policies as well as to the fact that the needs of member states are not being properly addressed. The immigration policy is not responsive or flexible, and does not reflect changes and developments of new events. Moreover, mechanisms evaluating the implementation of these policies are not in place mainly because of the refusal of certain member states. Finally, Frontex, an agency established to protect EU borders, takes part in the violation of fundamental rights, being responsible for the highest number of refugees drowned in the Mediterranean Sea to date.

Multiple suggestions to improve the immigration policy have been mentioned, such as leadership improvement and better coordination within the EU, investment in human resources, and establishment of more in-depth evaluation mechanisms. Trevisanut argues that "member states' particular self-understanding, their relationships with neighbouring countries, and their powers in controlling their external borders have so far stood in the way of a level of European integration that would allow for a coherent and much needed management of external borders."[44] This claim reflects the real political climate within the EU, which has resulted in an ineffective management of the refugee crisis.

The above mentioned suggestions should increase the EU's ability to effectively deal with the current refugee crisis, but also avert similar crises in the future. If the EU does not, however, figure out a way to improve its policies to effectively respond to the current situation, the crisis will negatively affect the region in multiple ways. In the short term, the crisis will create instability at economic, political and security levels and "add pressure to an already shaky

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[44] Seline Trevisanut, "Which borders for the EU immigration policy? Yardsticks of International Protection for EU Joint Borders Management," 106.

regional security landscape."[45] Moreover, poorly managed migration will contribute to wage-dumping and skeptical public opinions, which can be then exploited by populist politicians. The poor treatment of refugees also diminishes the EU's influence in their countries of origin. Islam claims, "When Muslims are targets of racist attacks and discrimination, the EU's role and influence in helping to stabilize a very volatile Arab and Muslim world is diminished."[46] Furthermore, without serious long term investment into policies fostering integration and resettlement, the refugee communities can change into economically deprived and politically marginalized groups negatively impacting the EU as a whole. Therefore, significant changes to these policies and the ways in which the EU has been managing the crisis are most essential.

In his speech, Friedman[47] presented an argument that the EU is capable of handling the inflow of refugees; however, the essential cause of the problem is that the member states cannot decide and agree on how exactly the crisis should be handled. If this is true, then the crisis management will not be improved by just changing the immigration policy. It is then necessary to look for an explanation elsewhere. I suggest exploring the different approaches that two individual countries have had towards immigrants, refugees, and minorities in order to lay a framework for a discussion of policy change.

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[45] Benedetta Berti, "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications," *Strategic Assessment* 17, no. 4 (2015), accessed March 3, 2016,
http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/adkan17_4ENG_7_Berti.pdf, 48.
[46] Matthias Mayer, Yves Pascouau and Shada Islam, "Three Challenges for tomorrow's EU migration policy: fairness, mobility and narratives," 6.
[47] George Friedman, "George Friedman on the Global Crises" (video, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, February 25, 2016), accessed February 25, 2016, http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/event/george-friedman-global-crises.

Chapter 2: Impact of history and economy on different attitudes towards immigrants

The many different ways the EU countries handle the inflow of immigrants to Europe is an important example of an internal incoherence. Two countries whose attitudes towards immigrants appear to differ greatly from each other are Germany and Hungary. The question remains, why are the attitudes and policies of these two countries so different? Or yet, are they? Keeping in mind that the actions of Angela Merkel and Viktor Orban and their policies do not necessarily represent the entire population, it is also necessary to consider the societal views. The history of immigration, role of economy in immigration policy, the role of media and attitudes towards minorities throughout history are all important determinants of contemporary policies and populations' mindsets.

In this chapter, I will elaborate on these factors in order to provide a better understanding of these countries' attitudes and immigration policies.

a) History and nature of immigration to Germany

The changing patterns of immigration to Germany share a couple of common factors. Firstly, the view of Germans and the actions of the German government in defining immigration policies fail, to this day, to acknowledge that Germany is, in fact, a country of immigration.[48] Germany has been one of the recipients of the highest number of immigrants and refugees for several decades. Secondly, the legislature and public views on immigration are embedded in the shadows of the Holocaust.

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[48] Federal Statistical Office of Germany, people with migration background account for approximately 20% of the total population.

Münz and Ulrich[49] recognize six main phases of immigration to Germany after the World War II: 1) The first phase, the post-war period (1945-1949), is characterized by immigration of expelled ethnic Germans, refugees of World War II, and survivors of the concentration camps. Moreover, the government encouraged immigration of foreign labor force, especially from Mediterranean countries, for economic reasons. 2) Once Germany had been divided by the Allies, migration between East and West Germany launched the second phase, followed by bilateral recruitment agreements between West Germany and Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. During this period, the number of foreigners in the country quadrupled. 3) The third phase, framed by the years 1961-1973, is characterized by major recruitment of foreign workers. This period is a major factor in a rapid increase of the foreign population in West Germany, during which the number of foreign workers reached three million (in 1950 there were only 72,000 foreign workers). It is however important to note that these high numbers did not mean that Germany was becoming a country of immigration. Münz and Ulrich provide a useful explanation: "The aim of West Germany's recruitment policy was not to foster organized immigration but to counterbalance cyclical and demographic bottlenecks in the West German labor market."[50] This was further supported by the fact that foreign laborers were getting work and residence permits valid for only one year. 4) Although the oil price shock and the recession in the country forced the government to shut down recruitment completely, the increase of foreigners continued through family reunions. The decision of the government to stop the recruitment of foreign workers had therefore an opposite result. Since guest workers stopped leaving Germany due to the fear that they would not be able to return, the foreign population in Germany increased. 5) Following the fall of the Iron Curtain and unification of Germany,

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[49] Rainer Münz and Ralf Ulrich, "Changing Patterns of Immigration to Germany, 1945-1995," *Migration Past, Migration Future,* ed. Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997).
[50] Ibid., 79.

immigration increased once again due to the war in Yugoslavia which produced many refugees. By 1994, the foreign population in Germany had reached seven million. 6) New restrictions limiting immigration of ethnic Germans and asylum seekers which were introduced since 1992 represent the sixth phase. Although Münz and Ulrich mention only six phases, the creation of the EU common asylum and immigration system and dissolution of internal borders necessarily leads to a new phase.

Despite this rich history of foreigners' presence in Germany, the government fails to acknowledge that these foreigners are no longer temporary workers or refugees, and only slowly changes the citizenship laws and integration policies. However, the high number of foreigners immigrating to Germany throughout history is one of the most differentiating factors between Germany and Hungary.

   b) **History and nature of immigration to Hungary**

The patterns of immigration to Hungary are significantly different than the one to Germany. Firstly, the total foreign population in Hungary is relatively low (1-2% of total population); according to the 2014 Census, there are 145,968 foreign people residing in Hungary, most of which are from Europe (100,501).[51] Secondly, ethnic origin of these immigrants is quite homogenous. While Germany offered refuge to diverse immigrant populations throughout history (as mentioned above), most of the immigrants to Hungary were of Hungarian origin, mainly from the neighboring countries. In 2013, amongst the 9,008 naturalized foreigners, 7,333 were from Europe, and from these, 6,999 were from Romania, most likely having Hungarian ethic origins or linguistic abilities. Although the economic and political situation in their home country has been a pull factor to a certain degree, it has definitely not been as significant as in the

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[51] "Statistical Yearbook of Hungary 2014," *Hungarian Central Statistical Office*, Budapest: 2015, accessed August 9, 2017, https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/evkonyv/evkonyv_2014.pdf.

case of Germany. Gödri[52] refers to "the linguistic-cultural sameness" as the most significant pull factor for immigrants. This is also the main facilitator in their integration to Hungarian society.

According to Gödri, not only the society, but also the Hungarian government has been distinguishing between immigrants with Hungarian and non-Hungarian ethnic origin in terms of privileges. Gödri claims, "Altogether, a paradox situation emerged as although all Hungarian governments stressed the better life of Hungarian minorities in their birthplaces, there was no legal obstacle constraining their immigration into Hungary."[53] This seems understandable in terms of facilitating easy return for members of one nation.

Based on these facts, I suggest that Hungarian population has not been exposed to foreigners as much as German population has. The frequency of contact with foreigners is an important determinant of a country's xenophobia, or tolerance towards immigrants. Therefore, the lack of contact between the Hungarian population and foreigners is a factor that accounts for their negative attitudes towards current refugees; whereas, substantially higher exposure of Germans to foreigners leads to their welcoming attitudes towards these refugees today.

c) Impact of economy on Hungarian and German immigration policies

The evaluation of the past and current economic situations of EU countries is essential in understanding their immigration policies, which have developed throughout history. Noiriel[54] supports this by claiming that there is a connection between state's policies regarding immigration, the economic situation of a country, and the management of asylum approvals. He argues that what the world is facing today is an ideological retreat in the face of global culture. This, together with economic crisis, leads to xenophobia and an increasing importance of

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[52] Irén Gödri, "The Nature and Causes of Immigration into Hungary and the Integration of Immigrants into Hungarian Society and Labour Market," *Hungarian Demographic Research Institute* 49, no. 5 (2005).
[53] Ibid., 177.
[54] Gérard Nioriel, *Réfugiés et sans-papiers : la République face au droit d'asile, XIXe-XXe siècle*, (Paris: Hachette, 1999).

national identity. These facts then result in lower numbers of asylum approvals on the one hand and promote stricter border control and sending refugees to camps on the other hand. Although Noiriel's theory does not explain the openness of Germany, it highlights the interconnectivity between the national economy and immigration policies and can provide an explanation of Hungarian policies.

History plays a role in this issue as well, as post-communist economies changed from centralized to market-based economies since 1991. Therefore, advanced Western economies with strong need for new labor force differ from Eastern economies whose foreign labor force does not account for such a high contribution to the national economy. It is therefore important to ask how the evolution of each nation's economy affects the population's stance towards immigrants. Can the economic situation be in fact the strongest determinant for the countries' actions?

In this regard, the respective developments of both Germany and Hungary's immigration policies differ in their purpose. Hungary's immigration policy developed due to external factors, for the most part following EU harmonization policies, as opposed to developing policy due to its own need for new labor. Additionally, Hungary has not experienced a positive impact of mass labor migration as many other Western countries have throughout history. In 2007, Hungary's foreign labor force accounted for approximately 1.5% of the total labor force, which means that its economy does not depend on foreign workers as much as Germany's does.

Germany, on the other hand, as one of the strongest economies in the EU, does have a strong need for a new labor force. Foreign workers currently represent 8.5% of total employment in Germany. According to International Migration Outlook,[55] refugees and further immigration to Germany will boost the national economy. According to the European Economic Forecast

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[55] "International Migration Outlook 2015," *OECD*, accessed November 29, 2015, http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/social-issues-migration-health/international-migration-outlook-2015_migr_outlook-2015-en#page1.

paper by the European Commission, "the accommodation of refugees will raise social spending over the forecast horizon, while additional funds provided for infrastructure investment as well as for social housing in view of the strong immigration flows should gradually increase public sector investment."[56] Further fostered by the decline in oil prices, the Commission predicts sustainable GDP growth and decrease of government debt by 10% by 2017. The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin) showed a negative impact of migration on the German economy in 2015-2016 which was then followed by a positive impact causing the German economy to grow rapidly (see figure 1). These statistics show how important immigration has been for the growth of the national economy and could explain the open-door policy that Germany has towards refugees and immigration.

Figure 1. Economic impact of migration to Germany

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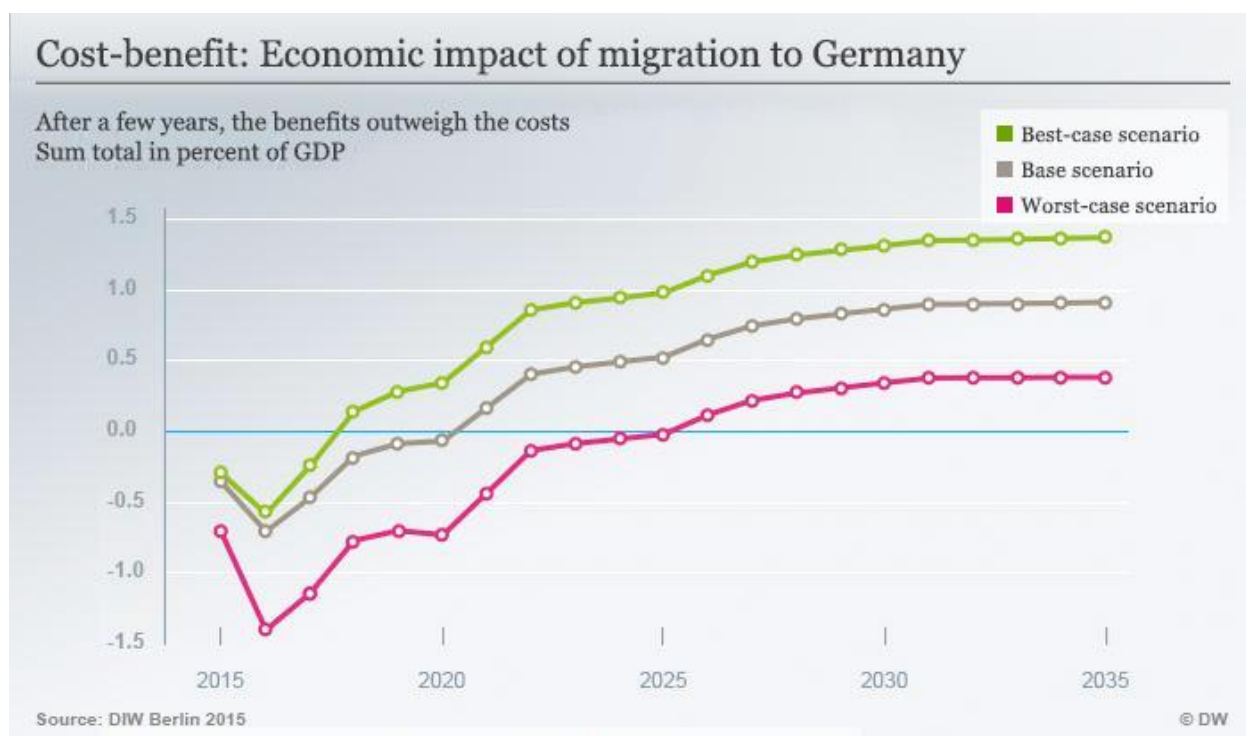
[56] "European Economic Forecast," *European Commission*, accessed November 28, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/eeip/pdf/ip011_en.pdf.

Moreover, demographic factors, such as aging population and low birth rate, are important influential factors of Germany's immigration policy. Germany's fertility rate has been very low since the 1970s when it dropped to under two births per woman. This number has been oscillating between 1.4 and 1.5 since then. Life expectancy however increased from 70 years in 1960s to 80 years today.[57] As a result, the group of people in their working ages narrowed down substantially and the retired population grew (see figure 2). In this respect, refugees and other immigrants provide a solution to Germany's possible economic stagnation caused by aging population, declining number of employed people, and low birth rate.

Figure 2. Population pyramids in Germany for year 1990, 2015, and 2025
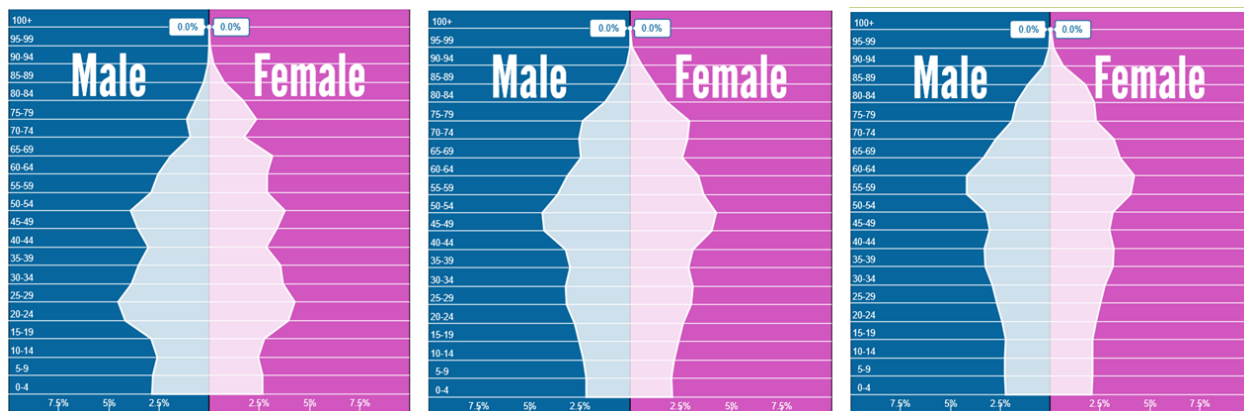
Source: "Population Pyramids of the World from 1950 to 2100, Germany," *Population Pyramid*, accessed December 4, 2015, http://populationpyramid.net/germany.

The Hungarian national economy, however, is not dependent on immigrants as much as the German economy. Drbohlav claims that "the Hungarian economic structure features rather a low demand for migrant workers."[58] The European Commission supports this fact by stating that

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[57] "World Development Indicators," *The World Bank*, accessed December 4, 2015, http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=DEU&series=&period=.

[58] Dušan Drbohlav, "Patterns of Immigration in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland: A comparative perspective," *European Immigrations: Trends, Structures and Policy Implications,* ed. Marek Okólski (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 202.

the arrival of refugees would not significantly affect the Hungarian economy.[59] Consequently, the importance of state integration policies is very low to almost none.[60]

Hungary, as a member of the EU, is required to share the responsibility of accepting, relocating, and assisting in the current refugee crisis and represent the united continent. Hungary (together with Slovakia and Czech Republic) however strongly opposes rules and regulations coming from Brussels, for which we may account certain historical events. In what way have Hungary's struggles against territory losses and Germany's struggles for nationhood and transformation of citizenship impacted each country's attitude towards non-nationals?

d) Impact of history on Hungarian and German immigration policies

The struggle for state sovereignty has a great impact on whether a country is inclined to comply with EU law or has a tendency to rebel against it. The examination of special historical events can point to reasons why these countries act the way they do. These may include events such as the oppression of Hungary under the Ottoman Empire and its loss of territories throughout history as a result of negotiations led by Great Britain and France, or experience of communism. Likewise, Germany's struggle for nationhood and unification, its reunification, memories of Holocaust, and attempts to deepen European integration certainly play an important part in its current attitudes. For the purposes of this thesis and in an attempt to address the most recent generations, I will focus on the following: firstly, I will analyze the impact of the Trianon Treaty, socialism and shifts in the Hungarian citizenship on past and current policies towards immigrants and refugees. In order to analyze Germany's behaviors, I will elaborate on the impact of the Holocaust, the reunification of Germany, and the 2000 German Nationality Act.

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[59] "European Economic Forecast," European Commission, accessed November 28, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/publications/eeip/pdf/ip011_en.pdf.
[60] In 2012, Hungarian integration policy was almost non-existent and it applies only to specific immigrant groups and covers only limited elements of the integration process.

i) The Treaty of Trianon and its impact on Hungarian mindset

When evaluating the impact of historical events on Hungary in terms of shaping its attitudes towards immigrants, but also in terms of its behavior in basically any international affair, the effects of the Trianon Treaty cannot be overlooked. The peace treaty that was signed almost a century ago, marking the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Empire, and determining territorial and population losses of Hungary in favor of Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, has been considered a trauma for the Hungarian population that lasts even today. Newspaper articles and the announcements of Hungarian politicians today still refer to the Treaty. By the end of 20th century, Romsics, a Hungarian historian, wrote:

> "… the Peace Treaty of Trianon is still one of the most neuralgic points of historical consciousness for the Hungarian society but at least for Hungarian intellectuals, and many are still unable to think and write about it in an objective manner."[61]

In regards to its 95th anniversary in 2015, Hungarians reminded themselves of the famous words of poet Atilla Joseph: "Our land won't be smaller, no, not with an inch. You will shine like long time ago. A shout is running across the Hungarian mountains and plains: We won't let Never! Never Arpad's country!"[62]

Many scholars claim that the biggest problem of inter-war Hungary after Trianon has been the inability to accept the reality and direct its attention to solving economic problems of the time. This might be mainly because, as László[63] claims, Hungary suffered collective trauma.

Based on claims of multiple scholars, this trauma however does not necessarily start with the Treaty of Trianon. The occupation of Hungary by the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century

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[61] Ignác Romsics, *Trianon es a Magyar politikai gondolkodas 1920-1953 (Trianon and the Hungarian Political Thought)* (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 11.

[62] András Horváth, "Today – 95th Anniversary of the Treaty of Trianon," *DailyNews Hungary*, June 4, 2015, accessed May 15, 2016, http://dailynewshungary.com/95th-anniversary-of-the-treaty-of-trianon/.

[63] Janos László, *Historical Tales and National Identity: An introduction to narrative social psychology,* (London: Routledge, 2014).

could also be taken into consideration, as an example of Muslim-Christian conflict. However, Schweitzer[64] claims that the occupation was not a religious conflict, which is supported by the fact that Hungarian politicians have until recently cooperated with Muslim nations. Schweitzer argues that the closed-door attitude "is caused by a succession of national traumas of historic proportions."[65] In this aspect, the Treaty of Trianon plays a significant role since its influence spans to the present day, impacting refugees and humanitarianism, or lack thereof, connected with them. Besides the external effects, the Treaty influences Hungary from within in terms of shaping the collective identity and identifying Hungarians as a collective victim which results in maintaining solidarity amongst themselves. László provides a valuable addition to this explanation by claiming that the trauma that Hungarians to this day experience and which stems from the Treaty of Trianon is a chosen trauma: "It conforms as well as it contributes to the collective victim role which proved to be the core organizing principle of the Hungarian national identity..."[66] It is in this thought that Hungarian attitudes towards refugees must be considered and analyzed. This ideology then explains Schweitzer's claim that "[Eastern European countries, including Hungary] perceive themselves second-class citizens in Europe, and are determined to keep their sovereignty vis-à-vis the forced quota system. They live in incurious, insular societies to which an African or a Middle Eastern population is incurably foreign, even more so than the Roma, whom they also failed to integrate."[67]

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[64] Andras Schweitzer, "Eastern Europe's hard attitude to refugees is born out of trauma," *The Guardian*, October 22, 2015, accessed May 25, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2015/oct/22/refugee-eastern-europe-trauma-governments-bigotry.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Janos László, *Historical Tales and National Identity: An introduction to narrative social psychology,* 135.
[67] Andras Schweitzer, "Eastern Europe's hard attitude to refugees is born out of trauma."

ii)   Socialism in Hungary

Similarly as the Trianon Treaty, the communism in Hungary has influenced the Hungarian view on foreigners and contributed to its isolationist tendencies. Communism created a mentality of dependency on state in Hungary, and homogenized the population to ensure that everyone is equal. Although Hungary has undergone a transformation since the communist rule, this kind of mentality has not completely faded away yet. Bollobas also claims, "People still think in terms of a zero-sum game, as they did during communist days: one person's gain is another person's loss."[68] Additionally, the lack of democratic education during the years after communism sustained this perception. Therefore, immigrants and refugees are many times seen as a threat, wanting to benefit from the state at the expense of the population. Another impact of socialism is that Hungary was closed to immigration during this period and started to meet new cultures only recently. Therefore, these generations have only a little experience with foreigners.

iii)   Transformation of Hungarian citizenship

The Hungarian citizenship criteria strengthened considerably after the fall of communism. Since Hungary was closed to migration during communism, restrictive citizenship laws were not necessary. However, acquiring Hungarian citizenship became more difficult in 1993 by increasing permanent residence requirement and introducing additional conditions such as clean criminal background, sufficient financial means, or having a place to live.[69] Further de-liberalization of citizenship acquisition occurred in a family-based acquisition. Dual and quasi-citizenship criteria have undergone ethnicization[70] aimed at providing citizenship to Hungarian diaspora. According to the 1993 citizenship law, the conditions for the loss of citizenship were

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[68] Eniko Bollobas, "The Future of Our Past: Hungary's Cultural Struggle with it Communist Legacy," *Macalester International* 2, no. 14 (December 1995), accessed November 18, 2017, http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1036&context=macintl, 166.

[69] Aleksandra Maatsch, *Ethnic Citizenship Regimes,* (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 69.

[70] The current law makes it easier for persons to acquire Hungarian citizenship based on ancestry.

liberalized. The law states that no one can be arbitrarily deprived of their citizenship, and the only way one can lose the citizenship is by voluntarily renouncing it.

The criteria for acquiring Hungarian citizenship necessarily reflect the political and social climate towards foreigners. Moreover, the shifts in citizenship laws shape the perception of who belongs to the nation by using a strictly ethnic framework.

iv) *Holocaust*

When analyzing any aspect of German politics, society, or culture, the impact of the Holocaust must be considered. The end for World War II symbolizes not only the physical devastation of Germany, but also a moral crisis. Germany was deprived of an army – a right of every recognized nation state, collectively blamed for the acts of the Nazis, and faced with reparations in terms of reeducation propaganda and Nuremberg Trials. The post-Holocaust period therefore poses pressures and demands on German population through multiple ways.

The question of collective guilt for the Holocaust was very ambiguous during the early years of the Federal Republic, since many Germans rejected this concept while emphasizing their own victimhood. Olick and Levy claim that the rejection of collective guilt "was not simply a rational attempt to avoid burden, but reflected Germans' inability to understand their own implication in what had happened."[71] The topic of the Holocaust had only been a set of taboos and prohibitions and the discussion about it opened up in late 1960s due to the younger generations' rejection of the history. German policies were thus being constructed in this discourse, as demonstrated by former West German Chancellor Schmidt announcing in 1981 that their policy should not be "held hostage"[72] by Auschwitz. However, even the refusal to associate

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[71] Jeffrey K. Olick and Daniel Levy, "Collective Memory and Cultural Constraint: Holocaust Myth and Rationality in German Politics," *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 6 (December 1997): 928.

[72] Michael Wolffsohn, *Ewige Schuld? 40 Jahre Deutsch-Jüdisch-Israelische Beziehungen* (Perpetual Guilt? Forty Years of German-Jewish-Israeli Relations), (Munich: Piper, 1988), 42.

with this part of German history is, in a way, a response to the Holocaust. As Olick and Levy say, "Virtually every institutional arrangement and substantive policy is a response, in some sense, to Germany's memory of those fateful years."[73]

Is it then possible to free the German mind completely from its past and construct future-oriented policies and discourse without the shadow of the Holocaust? Olick and Levy provide a partial answer to this question:

> "The possibility of removing the Holocaust as a focus for Germany's self-understanding (and for the way Germany is perceived by others) is thus located in a contested terrain on which mythical[74] and rational[75] images of the past sometimes work together and sometimes do battle, but these images always shape identity and its transformation."[76]

It is therefore necessary to reframe these cultural constraints (both mythical and rational) in order to reconstruct the relationship between past and present, which is all the more challenging as Germany plays a central role in the EU and faces new types of self-identification. Olick and Levy also claim that Germany is held hostage to its collective memory (rather than the taboo of the Holocaust), and the new policies and attitudes towards refugees reflect the changing shapes of collective memory. While it is true that the Holocaust is associated with Jewish minorities and most of the incoming refugees today are Muslims, this distinction does not necessarily change the feelings of sympathy unconsciously developed throughout the years of shaping and re-shaping collective memory and liberating citizens from the once assumed or rejected collective guilt.

Holocaust also has an enormous impact on the Hungarians. While Germany has dealt with anti-Semitism during the post-World War II, Hungary has not addressed this issue, even

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[73] Jeffrey K. Olick and Daniel Levy, "Collective Memory and Cultural Constraint: Holocaust Myth and Rationality in German Politics," 921.
[74] Olick and Levy refer to moral types of cultural constraints, such as taboos.
[75] Olick and Levy refer to strategic types of cultural constraints, such as prohibition.
[76] Ibid., 934.

though 600,000 Hungarian Jews were destroyed in 1944.[77] As opposed to Germany, where anti-Semitism was attached to a political platform and declined with the demise of the political party, Hungarian anti-Semitism was rooted in nationalism and Christian identity. Moreover, the communism in Hungary and the lack of democratic institutions empowered the role of state in sustaining this ideology. As a result, not claiming responsibility for the role that Hungary played during the Holocaust and the absence of the post-Holocaust reconciliation in Hungary has affected its current negative attitudes towards immigrants and refugees.

v)   Re-unification of Germany

Similar to the memories of the Holocaust, the reunification of West and East Germany plays an important part in the change of policies regarding immigrants and asylum seekers. Substantial changes in German immigration law have taken place in the early 1990s with the departure Soviet and Western occupational forces. Furthermore, the reunification had a significant impact on the transformation of German citizenship and the discourse surrounding it. Challenging the German naturalization law prior to 1990 is a step towards admitting that Germany is a county of immigration and therefore must take measures to reflect that. Public discussions about foreigners or the discourse alone were basically absent before 1980. The reunification period however sprung the discourse to life in not always positive forms. Although the reunification period is characterized by protests against foreigners, the government's efforts were directed towards creating a multicultural society. As Klopp says, "The years from 1989 to 1993 definitely marked a time of considerable upheaval, but the legal, political, and social events

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[77] Vera Ranki, *The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Jews and nationalism in Hungary,* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1999), 189.

of this period have not decisively derailed local and federal efforts towards multiculturalism and integration."[78]

This is also reflected in the liberalization of the citizenship. Until the unification, Germany was a country with one of the strictest naturalization laws in Europe, and naturalization rates were very low because of a lack of desire on the part of foreigners. Liberalization of naturalization laws took place due to many historical determinants rooted in the decades prior to unification: Firstly, the arrival of guest workers in the second half of 20th century required the government to change these laws in the 1990s because of a changing nature of stay to long-term residence of these workers and unification of their families. Secondly, the asylum crisis during the dissolution of Yugoslavia exposed the negatives of their generous asylum laws when too many refugees filed asylum applications. Thirdly, the *jus sanguinis* became impractical and outdated thanks to reunification of Germany, prior to which this principle was used to attract immigrants from and put pressures on East Germany. Lastly, the German legal system played a substantial part in this liberalization by ruling out local voting by foreigners in exchange for liberalization of citizenship.

Although the naturalization became a little easier, it was still a complicated and lengthy process. Nevertheless, the number of granted naturalizations rose dramatically from 18,645 in 1972 to more than 300,000 in 1995.[79] The German government however introduced and enforced new citizenship laws until the public, to which this discussion had been closed, became involved. Howard says, "As soon as the public got involved, …, the full extent of liberalization was

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[78] Brett Klopp, *German Multiculturalism: Immigrant Integration and the Transformation of Citizenship* (London: Praeger, 2002), 24.
[79] Ibid., p. 44.

blocked, and additional restrictive features were inserted."[80] It is then possible to say that the path towards multiculturalism originally stemmed from the government and that it has taken many additional years to be accepted by the public.

vi)   *German Nationality Act of 2000*

The gradual liberalization of the citizenship law resulted in a new Nationality law that came into force in 2000. The new law has reduced the residency requirement, implemented the principle of *jus soli,* and allowed for dual citizenship until adulthood. This act demonstrates the shift in a citizenship law based on specific ethno-cultural factors to one based on an ethnically neutral form of identity. Although the law still contains many restrictions, mainly in terms of dual citizenship, it represents a significant liberalization of the previous laws and changes the perception of what it means to be German. Moreover, it represents an attempt for increased integration of non-nationals into the German society.

e) Media

When evaluating public opinions, the role of media should not be overlooked. The media coverage of the refugee crisis differs greatly between Germany and Hungary. While the media in Germany stressed the concept of "welcome culture," the Hungarian press was used to emphasize the political agenda of Viktor Orban's party – Fidesz. Research shows that the Hungarian media reinforced the government's anti-refugee propaganda, omitting the humanitarian side of the crisis. Instead, it focused on highlighting the security threat that led to the rising levels of xenophobia.[81] German media, on the other hand, praised Angela Merkel's decision to open doors

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[80] Marc M. Howard, "The Causes and Consequences of Germany's New Citizenship Law," *German Politics* 17, no. 1 (March 2008), accessed January 15, 2017,
https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a294/a42ea070656906418be300b4f7e38246e59e.pdf, 58.
[81] Bernath Gabor and Vera Messing, "Infiltration of political meaning-production: security threat or humanitarian crisis?," *Center for Media, Data and Society* (July 12, 2016), accessed November 17, 2017,
https://cmds.ceu.edu/sites/cmcs.ceu.hu/files/attachment/article/1041/infiltrationofpoliticalmeaning.pdf.

to a high volume of refugees, and used the *Wilkommenskultur* "to turn ordinary people into good Samaritans and encourage them to carry out acts of kindness towards newcomers."[82] This positive coverage changed as a result of the Cologne assaults in 2015, when news became more skeptical in the description of refugees. This might have contributed to the decrease in support of Angela Merkel during the 2017 elections.

Media has therefore a great impact on shaping the attitudes of populations towards immigrants. The coverage varies from humanitarian narratives, inciting the responsibility to help, to emotionless framing, supporting the propaganda of right-wing parties. In this way, the media influences policy decision-making and shapes immigration policies in every country.

f) The role of elite politics

Closely connected to media, elite politics has shaped public opinions in both countries throughout the history. The idea of collective victimhood in Hungary (as explained in following chapters), for example, is being sustained by the political elites in schools and in public in order to maintain the nation's integrity.[83] The liberalization of the German citizenship as well as the 2000 German Nationality Act is also a result political elites that occurred without consultation with the general public.[84]

As previously shown on an example of the refugee crisis, governments' campaigns appeal to public's emotions and shape the population's attitudes according to their agenda. In Hungary, media outlets emphasized the anti-immigrant political agenda of the ruling political party and contributed to maintaining and increasing of xenophobia. In Germany, Angela

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[82] Guy Chazan, "German media accused of one-sided coverage of refugee crisis," *Financial Times* July 24, 2017, accessed November 17, 2017, https://www.ft.com/content/23e02b76-7074-11e7-93ff-99f383b09ff9.

[83] Janos Laszlo, *Historical Tales and National Identity: An Introduction to Narrative Social Psychology*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 96.

[84] Marc M. Howard, "The Causes and Consequences of Germany's New Citizenship Law," *German Politics* 17, no. 1 (March 2008), accessed January 15, 2017,
https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a294/a42ea070656906418be300b4f7e38246e59e.pdf.

Merkel's open door policy and its media coverage have led to the society's higher acceptance rates. Therefore, the impact of history is closely related to the ways in which the elite politics has shaped it.

g) Conclusion

History is an important factor to consider while analyzing actions of every nation. The impact that the Treaty of Trianon and communism had on Hungarian population lasts until today and is visible not only in the attitudes of the society, but also in its effects on policymaking. The Holocaust, reunification of Germany, and the 2000 German Citizenship Law had significant impacts on the actions of Germany as well. While German citizenship criteria liberalized, the rules for acquiring Hungarian citizenship strengthened. Additionally, the higher level of exposure to foreigners in Germany (as opposed to Hungary) throughout history accounts for its attitudes towards current refugees, which are considered friendlier than the attitudes of most countries in the EU.

Moreover, the size of the national economy has an enormous impact on the decision-making of every country. Actions are often taken in order to strengthen the national economy. Germany as one of the strongest economies in the EU does have a strong need for new labor force, but the importance of new labor force is not necessarily the same for Hungary.

Finally, media and elite politics shape public opinions towards immigrants and refugees in every country. While the Hungarian press reinforces the right-wing government propaganda, the German media emphasizes the concept of humanitarianism advocated for by Angela Merkel.

For all these reasons, it is understandable that the attitudes of these two countries differ. Differences in their internal immigration policies and experiences with foreigners, as well as in the size of their economies hamper the concept of shared responsibility of incoming refugees

amongst all the EU members on the governmental level. What role then does a society play in this concept? What are the current attitudes of individuals within these societies towards the refugees and how do they contribute to the immigration policies of each country and the EU overall? How exactly does an experience of cultural diversity and multiculturalism affect the overall image of the country on an international level?

Chapter 3: Public Attitudes towards Immigrants

Public policy and public opinion are among the most important factors determining national attitudes towards foreigners. Moreover, these two factors influence each other. Public opinion is shaped by the policy in place, and public policy is based on the opinions of the public. It is therefore important to consider these two factors while analyzing national attitudes towards refugees in Germany and Hungary. In this chapter, I describe public attitudes towards immigrants and Islam in Germany and Hungary in order to provide better understanding of the countries' policies towards immigrants.

Cagla E. Aykac illustrates the weak spot of the EU by saying: "Europe today is not uniform or homogeneous in terms of its relation or vision for its identity in general terms."[85] If Europe's vision for identity is not homogenous, then how can its relations to other nations, cultures, or religions be clear-cut? The EU's perceptions of Islam have been negatively shaped by historic events, representing mainly terrorist acts triggered by 9/11. Historical analysis of this anti-Islamist discourse is absent in the EU and the discourse is maintained and reinforced. Historical analyses and critiques of deep-rooted discourses are essential mainly because in their absence these discursive forms transform into canons which remain unquestioned. These canons then "blur the need to recognize the highly political significance of the ways in which history is told."[86] Recent terrorist attacks therefore reinforce xenophobic attitudes and ethnic stereotypes hindering EU's ability to adapt to the multicultural reality.

National feelings of EU member countries are framed in this context. Research shows that approximately 23.80% of Hungarians did not want foreigners for neighbors in 2009,

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[85] Cagla E. Aykac, "Islam and the European Union: Exploring the Issue of Discrimination," *Perceptions of Islam in Europe: Culture, Identity and the Muslims "Other,"* ed. Hakan Yilmaz and Cagla E. Aykac (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 90.
[86] Ibid., 97.

whereas in Germany statistics estimated only 13.30% responded similarly in 2009, figure that climbed to 21% by 2014.[87,88] These statistics must however be evaluated against the contextual background; these numbers may not represent the general opinion towards other cultures but may be just a reaction to events taking place in recent years. Political unrest in the Middle East, creation of ISIS and its imminent consequences for Europe, as well as the refugee crisis can explain these numbers.

a) Germany

In Germany, the acceptance rate of minorities in general is largely influenced by post-Holocaust discourse. I argue that three factors shaped the discourse of collective guilt: international environment, generational change, and changing interest of elites. International environment refers to the post-war reconstruction of Germany in the setting of the Cold War. After World War II, three quarters of Germany were occupied by the Allies, which started the process of German re-education. The impacts of this occupation on education in Germany will be mentioned in the next chapter. The process of shifting from the narrative of victimhood to the contrition narrative has been further promoted by generational change. This factor is based on the claim that Germans born after the World War II "are less compromised by their complicity in Nazism and better able to examine it critically."[89] Lastly, ideational change is a result of shifting interests of elites. The Nazi past has become a tool for achieving concrete goals in election campaigns or public debates. Thus, the combination of international influence and reconstruction of Germany, the generational change (specific only to Germany), which led the public debate

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[87] Heather Horn, "Is Eastern Europe More Xenophobic Than Western Europe? Investigating A Stereotype Of The Refugee Crisis," *The Atlantic*, October 16, 2015, accessed October 17, 2016, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/xenophobia-eastern-europe-refugees/410800/.

[88] Unfortunately, the survey from 2010 to 2014 did not include Hungary.

[89] David Art, *The Politics of the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 22.

and provided foundation of the shift from the victimhood mindset, with support of elites all resulted in the creation of the "culture of contrition."[90]

This culture is reflected in Germany's current public policy relating to minorities. The public policy contains legal framework for inclusion of minorities in political representation as well as social benefits. Immigrants' interests in politics are represented by joint advisory councils at the state level and by Federal Immigration and Integration Council at the federal level.[91] Immigrants' issues and complaints are addressed by the Commissioners for Issues Relating to Foreign Populations who work at both the federal and municipal level. Direct participation in political life is however limited due to the fact that only German citizens are allowed to vote or hold public office. EU citizens can vote in German city and municipal elections.[92] This has been slightly alleviated by lowering the threshold for naturalization to eight years of permanent residence. Since public policy has direct impact on public opinion and vice versa, such inclusive policies lead to a public opinion that is more accepting towards minorities. Donovan also adds, "Shifts in elite opinion and public policy on the question of citizenship and immigration that have been taking place for decades now, suggest that Germany has been moving, however slowly, in the direction of more formal acceptance of greater cultural pluralism and political inclusiveness."[93]

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[90] Karl Wilds, "Identity Creation and the Culture of Contrition: Recasting 'Normality' in the Berlin Republic,*" German Politics 9,* no 1 (April 2000), 83-102.

[91]"Integration councils and advisory councils," *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees*, accessed June 15, 2017, http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/LebenInDeutschland/Integrationsbeiraete/integrationsbeiraete-node.html.

[92] "Political involvement and parties, "*Federal Office for Migration and Refugees*, accessed June 15, 2017, http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/LebenInDeutschland/PolitischeBeteiligungParteien/politischebeteiligungparteien-node.html.

[93] Barbara Donovan, "'Minority' Representation in Germany," *German Politics* 16, no. 4 (November 2007): 476.

i)   *Attitudes towards Islam and immigrants in Germany*

The statistics representing the German public's views of Muslims have shown that in 2015 the majority of Germans perceived Islam as a threat and danger. The Bertelsmann Foundation survey[94] published the following findings:

- 57% of Germans thought that Islam posed a threat;

- 61% of Germans agreed that Islam was incompatible with the Western world;

- 40% of Germans felt like strangers in Germany because of the presence of Muslims;

- 24% of Germans claimed that Muslims should not be able to immigrate to Germany.

These results however differ among different age groups, as only 30% of younger people (16-24 years old) agree with the above statements, as opposed to 60-65% of older people (30 years and above).

A more recent study[95] in 2017 was conducted on attitudes towards immigrants in general, and showed that Germany is more accepting than most other EU countries:

- 42% of Germans (as opposed to only 9% of Hungarians) thought that immigrants contributed to the economic growth of their country and general prosperity;

- 45% of Germans (as opposed to only 10% of Hungarians) thought that immigrants were needed to improve the demographic development of the country;

- 58% of Germans (as opposed to only 20% of Hungarians) did not agree with the statement that immigrants were dangerous to public safety;

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[94] "Religion Monitor: Understanding Common Ground," *Bertelsmann Stiftung*, 2015, accessed November 20, 2015, http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/51_Religionsmonitor/Religionmonitor_Specialstudy_Islam_2014_Overview_20150108.pdf.

[95] "Flashlight Europe: Love it, leave it or change it?" *Bertelsmann Stiftung,* February 2017, accessed July 3, 2017, https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/flashlight-europe-022017-love-it-leave-it-or-change-it/.

- 73% of Germans believed (as opposed to only 27% of Hungarians) that their country should grant asylum and protection to refugees.

Building on these numbers, it is then not surprising that Germany has had a welcoming attitude towards new refugees. I suggest that at the state level, the main factor in welcoming refugees is the need for a new labor force; whereas at a societal level, a reason for this acceptance is that Germany has in fact become more accepting towards different cultures and religions. According to multiple studies, anti-Semitic feelings in Germany have decreased, and Laurence also argues that "Germany is growing into its status as a multicultural democracy."[96] One determinant for this shift may be the emphasis on post-Holocaust reconciliation. A particularly important piece of evidence supporting this statement is the fact that physical attacks on Muslims in Germany automatically trigger a debate about right-wing extremism.[97] A failure to uncover neo-Nazi groups in Germany is often blamed for these attacks. Thus, any event related to right-wing extremism is met with major precautions to quell its development. Because of the history specific to Germany, this might not necessarily be a reaction in other countries. According to many experts, German reconciliation is an ongoing process and will not stop in the next few decades to come.[98]

b) Hungary

The discourse and public policy regarding minorities and refugees in Hungary is largely based on the nation's homogeneity, which is a result of a reshaping of Hungarian boundaries after World War I and anti-immigration policies during communism. The current prime minister

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[96] Jonathan Laurence, "(Re)Constructing Community in Berlin: Turks, Jews, and German responsibility," *Transformations of the new Germany,* ed. Ruth A Starkman (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2006), 228.

[97] Norbert Cyrus and Dita Vogel, "Germany," *European Immigration: A Sourcebook,* ed. Anna Trandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007).

[98] Lily Garner Feldman, *Germany's Foreign Policy of Reconciliation: From Enmity to Amity*, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2012).

builds on the idea of Hungarian traditions and importance of ethnic cultural traits in order to restrict immigration from outside of the EU. The fact that the public policy goes hand in hand with the public opinion is clearly visible in the case of Hungary as public attitudes towards current refugees reflect the negative discourse maintained by Orban and his government.

i) Attitudes towards Islam and immigrants in Hungary

Hungarians' views of immigrants from other ethnic groups explain their current attitudes towards refugees. I will elaborate on Hungarian attitudes towards immigrants as I did with Germany. This is important mainly because Hungary is considered to rank the lowest in terms of attitudes towards immigration in general; Bart Meuleman et al.[99] claim that based on their study of 17 European countries, negative attitudes in Hungary were the most widespread. According to the report conducted in 2010,[100] the following findings represent the public opinion of Hungarians:[101]

- 60% of Hungarians thought there were too many Muslims in the country;[102]

- 53% of Hungarians claimed that Islam was a religion of intolerance;

- 60% of Hungarians believed that Muslims in Hungary were too demanding;

- 76% of Hungarians believed that Muslim's attitudes towards women contradicted their values.

A more recent Pew report (conducted in the spring of 2016)[103] showed that 72% of Hungarians still had unfavorable views of Muslims in the country. Moreover, 86% of

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[99] Bart Meuleman, Eldad Davidov, and Jaak Billiet, "Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach," *Social Science Research* 38 (2009): 352-365, accessed July 25, 2016, http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0049089X08001051?_rdoc=1&_fmt=high&_origin=gateway&_docanchor=&md5=b8429449ccfc9c30159a5f9aeaa92ffb&ccp=y.

[100] Due to the report being conducted before the refugee crisis, some differences in data might occur.

[101] Andreas Zick, Beate Küpper, and Andreas Hövermann, *Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination: A European Report*, (Berlin, Germany: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), accessed June 13, 2016, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf.

[102] Muslims account for 1% of the total population.

Hungarians believed that Muslims wanted to remain distinct from the host society and did now show a desire to assimilate.

These negative feelings are well reflected in the current refugee crisis. The fact than less than a half of Hungarian population has a sufficient knowledge regarding the refugees makes government propaganda a factor in promoting distrust towards refugees. The Medián poll[104] (conducted in October 2015) estimated the following:

- 79% of Hungarians believed in further restrictions against refugees;

- 58% of Hungarians thought that refugees were aggressive, violent, and did not obey the laws and customs of the country;

- 68% of Hungarians supported the decision to build the fence (a poll conducted by Republikon[105] however estimated that only half of the Hungarian population completely agreed with the ways the government handled the refugee crisis.);

- 34% believed that the borders should be completely sealed;

- Only 26% of Hungarians thought that immigration was important for demographic reasons.

Although the last statement might be valid due to the small Muslim population in Hungary, the poll also lists fear of contagion in terms of infectious diseases and terrorism as main factors of the above statistics. Moreover, more than a half of Hungarians feared that Muslims would become a majority in Europe due to declarations of government officials. The majority of these fears are unsupported by facts since the medical community clearly denied

[103]Richard Wike, Bruce Stokes and Katie Simmons, "Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs," *Pew Research Center,* July 11, 2016, accessed May 15, 2017, http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/.

[104] "The Attitude of Hungarians to the Refugee Crisis," *Hungarian Spectrum,* October 8, 2015, accessed September 20, 2016, http://hungarianspectrum.org/2015/10/08/the-attitude-of-hungarians-to-the-refugee-crisis/.

[105] "New polls challenge fidesz's political and ideological hegemony," *Hungarian Spectrum,* October 8, 2015, accessed September 20, 2016, http://hungarianspectrum.org/tag/public-opinion-polls/.

threats of diseases. Furthermore, the 1% that the Muslims constitute within the Hungarian population hardly presents a threat of becoming a majority in the country. These fears therefore derive from general unfamiliarity with facts and lack of contact with Muslims.

c) Conclusion

German and Hungarian attitudes towards immigrants are well reflected in their public policies. Germany has adopted multiple legal frameworks addressing minorities, while Hungary has taken a firm stance against the reception of the current refugees. Since public policies and public opinion shape each other, Germany's inclusive attitudes lead to more inclusive policies, while Hungarian negative attitudes are reflected in their negative public policy. It is therefore important to address the determinants of these attitudes, in order to understand the adopted public policies and to construct a framework for a change towards a more united EU.

Chapter 4: Determinants of intergroup attitudes

In this chapter, I argue that besides public policy, previous contact with immigrants and formation of national identity are also important factors influencing attitudes towards refugees. I will elaborate on the important role that contact plays in the shaping of anti-immigrant attitudes. Moreover, I explain how more frequent contact may lead to a decrease of prejudice and how a reshaping of the concept of national identity may lead to more inclusive societies. Interaction between host societies and minorities, formation of friendships, and a higher level of diversity within a society may all lead to a decrease in prejudice and xenophobia, and eventually decrease anti-immigrant attitudes.

a) Contact and prejudice

Research shows that contact is one of the main determinants of attitudes between host societies and immigrants. This research was triggered by Robin M. Williams in the second half of 20th century, who held that contact between diverse groups decreases prejudice and their mutual dislike.[106] His survey presents findings that growth of extensive contact in an industrial society leads to decrease in intergroup problems and, moreover, results in lower physical separation.

Although Williams was first to introduce the contact hypothesis, it has since been developed and built on in more detail by other scholars.[107] Contact, as the intergroup determinant, is a very broad term and must be specified in terms of its frequency, nature, or capacity in order to have sufficient effects on the attitudes of societies. Ulrich Wagner et al. state, "… it can be assumed that contact experiences are especially effective in changing intergroup

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[106] Robin M. Williams, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions,* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947).
[107] Such as Sherif and Sherif, Allport, or Pettigrew.

attitudes if they are of some personal relevance for the participants in the contact situation."[108]

Besides personal relevance of contact, Gordon W. Allport[109] lists other factors that have to take place in order for the contact to have positive effects: equal group status within a situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support of authorities, law, or custom. Thomas F. Pettigrew,[110] however, refuses these conditions as necessary and considers them facilitative rather than essential.

i)   Limitations of the contact hypothesis and the importance of quality of the contact

There are, however, also a few limitations of the contact hypothesis. Firstly, it does not take into account the fact that host societies may choose to avoid contact with minorities completely. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the direction of causality is not absolutely clear. This means that it is difficult to determine whether contact reduces prejudice, since those with an already low level of prejudice are more likely to seek contact. However, research shows that although it is true that prejudice affects the frequency of contact, contact by itself does in fact positively reduce prejudice.[111] The third limitation is that for the effects of contact to be positive, it should take place under favorable conditions. Therefore, instead of the above mentioned conditions, Pettigrew emphasizes cross-group friendship as the most essential condition for creating contact experiences with positive effects. He argues that friendships imply "close interactions" and "potential for extensive and repeated contact."[112] With their research on

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[108] Ulrich Wagner, Rolf van Dick, Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Oliver Christ, "Ethnic Prejudice in East and West Germany: The Explanatory Power of Intergroup Contact," *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 6, no. 1 (2003), accessed July 10, 2016, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rolf_Dick/publication/247720473_Ethnic_Prejudice_in_East_and_West_Germany_The_Explanatory_Power_of_Intergroup_Contact/links/54358d6a0cf2643ab9867afd/Ethnic-Prejudice-in-East-and-West-Germany-The-Explanatory-Power-of-Intergroup-Contact.pdf, 24.
[109] Gordon Allport, *The nature of prejudice*, (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954).
[110] Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology* no. 49 (1998), accessed July 25, 2016, https://serendip.brynmawr.edu/oneworld/system/files/annurev.psych_.49.1.65-2.pdf.
[111] Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory."
[112] Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," 76.

the effect of contact between Germans and Turks, Wagner et al.[113] also proved that a decrease in

the levels of prejudice was only found among Germans and Turks in leisure time contact. Jorg

Stolz's[114] findings during his research in a Swiss town support this hypothesis by confirming that

personal contact with foreigners leads to reduction of Islamophobia and xenophobia in general.

*ii)   Contact hypothesis applied to Europe*

In considering how this applies to the EU and the current refugee crisis, we must look at

how this theory applies to European countries. Lauren M. McLaren[115] claims that contact does

play an important role in terms of lowering threat perceptions, mediating threatening

environments, and reducing hostility towards immigrants in the European context (as opposed to

U.S., where studies delivered conflicting results). This is true without necessarily considering the

quality of contact, although contact under positive circumstances (friendships, leisure time, etc.)

decreases prejudice and perceived threat to a greater extent than contact itself (see figure 3).

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[113] Ulrich Wagner, Miles Hewstone, and Uwe Machleit, "Contact and prejudice between Germans and Turks: A correlational study," *Human Relations* 42, no. 7 (1989), accessed July 30, 2016, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/001872678904200701.

[114] Jorg Stolz, "Explaining Islamophobia: A test of four theories based on the case of a Swiss city," *Swiss Journal of Sociology* 31, no. 3 (2005), accessed August 12, 2016, https://www.academia.edu/3578146/Explaining_Islamophobia._A_test_of_four_Theories_Based_on_the_Case_of_a_Swiss_City_2006_SZS_31_547-566?auto=download.

[115] Lauren M. McLaren, "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants," *Social Forces* 81, no. 3 (March 2003), accessed July 20, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3598180.

Figure 3: Percent foreign/Minority Friendship Interaction in the West European Context
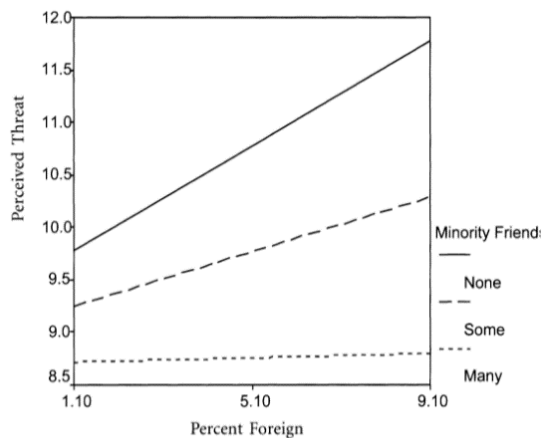
Furthermore, McLaren adds that the historical context of immigration to Europe is an important aspect to consider when evaluating contact between minorities and host societies. Most of the minorities emigrated to Europe during the post-Holocaust period when open contact was made more possible thanks to "…increased tolerance and respect for human rights, and a legal system that promotes these values, all resulting from the horrors of the Holocaust…"[116] Since Western Europe was the main destination for most of the immigrants post-Holocaust, this explanation might not apply to Hungary to such an extent like it applies to Germany. Nevertheless, McLaren's theory provides general support for the importance of contact.

iii)   *Positive effects of intergroup contact*

Reducing prejudice by increasing contact occurs through several stages. Building on the importance of contact, Pettigrew[117] lists four processes through which attitudes towards other groups change positively: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior towards the outgroup,

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[116] McLaren, "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants," 930.
[117] Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory."

generating affective ties, and reappraising the ingroup. Pettigrew claims that learning about other groups and their culture can reduce negative attitudes towards that group, but also adds that this process alone is not effective and therefore has to be done in conjunction with the other three. Secondly, he claims that the change of behavior often leads to attitude change and is essential in this process. Thirdly, affective ties are generated through continued contact experiences, which eliminate the initial anxiety and invoke empathy. During this process, however, bad experiences can further increase mutual dislike and lead to worsening attitudes. Lastly, frequent intergroup contact can reshape the perspective through which one sees their own group and cause an individual to reevaluate their attitudes towards the outgroup. It is, however, still important to add that contact is not a panacea for negative attitudes among different groups, because specific conditions for contact (positive contact, development of friendships, etc.) apply in order for it to be effective.

Slightly less important for positive effects of contact is the level of immigration to a country and the size of preexisting minorities. This theory is, in a sense, based on group conflict theory, which states that the attitudes of one group towards the other are shaped by the perception that the prerogatives of that group are necessarily threatened by other groups. Although this contextual variable contributes significantly to the level of perceived threat, according to McLaren,[118] it affects the levels of wanted expulsion from the country only indirectly. Surveys on this subject show that host populations with established friendships with immigrants have the same level of threat perception, regardless of levels of immigration. Furthermore, data to support this hypothesis are not credible enough as the number of minorities are based on government figures, and every country has a different definition of a "foreigner."

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[118] McLaren, "Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants."

The differences in citizenship and naturalization laws between countries then result in a varied number of foreigners.

Meuleman et al.,[119] however, conducted research that concluded that suddenly growing immigrant populations lead to restrictive attitudes towards the immigrants on behalf of the host societies. They offer an explanation of "subjective perception of competition," which means that the host societies get the impression of more intense economic competition and more difficult struggle for scarce goods. Rising unemployment in conjunction with higher levels of immigration then contribute to stronger resistance and negative attitudes towards immigrants. Marcel Coenders and Peer Scheepers[120] also refer to competition for employment in this context, but claim that is it more often the "perception of rising unemployment" than the actual levels of unemployment that create more negative attitudes towards immigrants. Based on the research above, however, these findings should concern only the parts of populations without established friendships with immigrants.

If the perceived competition in terms of employment and scarcity of goods leads to more restrictive attitudes, then the economic situation of a country necessarily represents another determinant of these attitudes. One hypothesis stated by Meuleman et al. was, "In countries with a suddenly improving economic situation, attitudes towards immigration become less restrictive."[121] Ira N. Gang et al. also claims, "It is hypothesized that in countries where economic strain is present, with stagnant or collapsing income and/or employment opportunities, immigrants will be partly blamed for the economic stress, thus generating the resentment of the

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[119] Meuleman, Davidov, and Billiet, "Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach."

[120] Marcel Coenders and Peer Scheepers, "Changes in Resistance to the Social Integration of Foreigners in Germany: Individual and Contextual Determinants," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34, no. 1 (January 2008), accessed September 11, 2016, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13691830701708809.

[121] Meuleman, Davidov, and Billiet, "Changing attitudes toward immigration in Europe, 2002-2007: A dynamic group conflict theory approach."

native-born population."[122] However, they also add that the reality of such a hypothesis is still open for debate, because attitudes of host societies are for the most part shaped by perceptions rather than facts.

The governments of these countries then play an essential role in directing the discourse. Research has shown that inter-group competition strengthens solidarity within specific groups and therefore governments may create the perception of competition in order to achieve their own objectives. This is true in Hungary, where far-right government officials often make racist declarations in order to increase their popularity. Orban's speech, for example, included remarks such as, "Muslim refugees breed faster than Europeans, and so they'll wipe us out."[123] Emphasizing competition, which is not necessarily real, shapes the attitudes of the Hungarian population in a negative way. According to Kim Lane Scheppele, these attitudes are historical and are necessarily connected with deep-rooted anti-Semitism and anti-Roma feelings. Furthermore, she adds: "All of it is about the notion that Hungarians are a small tiny ethnic group which is shrinking in size, that is particularly threatened by all of these groups that seek to masquerade as Hungarians, take away their territory, take their away their jobs — take away everything that belongs to Hungarians."[124] Creating a perception of competition remains one of main characteristics of the contemporary Hungarian government which represents the Hungarian population. It is therefore necessary to decrease xenophobia in Hungary through positive intergroup contact.

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[122] Ira N. Gang, Francisco L. Rivera-Batiz, and Myeong-Su Yun, "Economic Strain, Ethnic Concentration and Attitudes Towards Foreigners in the European Union," *IZA Institute of Labor Economics,* Discussion paper, September 2002, accessed November 14, 2016, http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf, 6.
[123] Zack Beauchamp, "Why Hungary is so awful to refugees," *VOX*, September 18, 2015, accessed September 13, 2016, http://www.vox.com/2015/9/18/9349081/syrian-refugees-hungary-viktor-orban.
[124] Ibid.

To conclude, a specific kind of intergroup contact under specific conditions remains the most effective factor in attitude change by reducing levels of prejudice and facilitating close ties among participants that remain stable, regardless of changing levels of immigration to the country. The questions that still remain are whether the states encourage this contact and if they put contact supporting policies into place, or whether their agenda is the exact opposite. In the case of Hungary, it seems that the leaders do not encourage interethnic contact, but instead use immigrants to strengthen solidarity within the Hungarian nation. Germany, however, as described in the following section, puts policies in place in terms of education that lead towards more positive attitudes towards immigrants.

b) Education

i)   Germany

Education in Germany is one of the factors maintaining the nation of contrition, reminding the public of the importance of the Holocaust in Germany, and supporting higher acceptance rates towards foreigners and minorities. After the end of World War II, the Allies began a process of reeducation and denazification. Prior to this process, German textbooks reflected the National Socialist worldview and had a sense of victimhood from loss of territories in World War I. The purpose of this program was to eradicate militarism and aggressive nationalism.[125] The new discourse in Germany held that the German people bear the guilt for World War II and needed to be directed towards the right path. The postwar education system has been shaped by several landmarks and events in modern history. One of the most important moments was in 1959, when swastika graffiti, painted by youth, appeared throughout West Germany. This started a reaction of many critics and attacks on the education system in order to

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[125] The politics of the Cold War however impacted the process, as the education slightly differed in the East and West Germany.

issue a new range of textbooks, eliminating any moments in history that might seem to glorify National Socialism. Furthermore, other education activities, such as mandatory trips to Holocaust memorials, were introduced. In the late 1970s, however, the Broßmann survey revealed that many students still lacked sufficient knowledge about Hitler and the events of World War II. Since then, The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany (KMK) issued a number of resolutions emphasizing the need for basic knowledge of the Nazi period and general enlightenment. KMK has been at the forefront of ensuring that German schools address the nation's historical responsibility. The German educational system still faces criticism from many German scholars in regards to post-Holocaust education; however, this criticism can be considered a positive sign of constant evaluation leading to its improvement.

Intercultural competency in Germany

The level of intercultural experience within German society certainly plays a role in the country's ability to engage in cross-cultural communication, mainly because the lack of cross-cultural communication can result in tremendous cultural misunderstandings. Therefore, I will elaborate here on the ways that intercultural competency is embedded in education in Germany; the difference between Germany and Hungary in this aspect should provide a partial answer to their differing attitudes.

In Germany, intercultural competency is a part of the German education curricula which partly explains higher acceptance rate of immigrants. According to Kristin Lange, "'Interkulturelle Handlungsfähigkeit', is the ability to communicate and act in intercultural settings, and is a prescribed goal according to most of Germany's curricula (Rahmenlehrpläne

RLP) for the teaching of foreign languages."[126] Lange distinguishes between two approaches which are used in the German education system when teaching a new language: the traditional approach (Landeskunde) and the intercultural approach. The traditional approach distances language and culture: the language is taught in a declarative way and gives students merely a basis for basic conversations. The intercultural approach, however, teaches intercultural competence and does not separate language and culture as two unrelated aspects. A result of the intercultural approach is a speaker who not only acquires sufficient communication skills, but "is able to negotiate, to analyze, to interpret, and to reflect the socio-cultural aspects of intercultural communication and secure intercultural understanding."[127]

Although the traditional educational approach is still present in Germany and limits the intercultural competency of new generations, the presence of the intercultural approach in the German educational system *together* with increasing contact and specific identity formation[128] contribute to the increasing acceptance rate toward other nationalities among the younger generations.

ii)   *Hungary*

Similar to the German education system being influenced by the Holocaust, Hungarian education is influenced by the trauma of being stripped of its territories. Immediately after World War II, Hungarian intelligentsia and scholars focused on revising history books to reflect the irredentist tendencies that prevailed in post - World War I Hungary. Vardy claims that this irredentist activism that translated into literature and education was based on "emotional

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[126] Kristin Lange, "Perspectives on Intercultural Competence*,"* (master's thesis, Free University of Berlin, 2011), accessed November 15, 2015, http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/docs/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDOCS_derivate_000000001804/Perspectives_on_Intercultural_Competence.pdf, 4.
[127] Ibid., p. 11.
[128] As explained later in this chapter.

nationalism [intended] to save whatever could be saved and restore whatever could be restored."[129] The notion of irredentism, as well as the sense of collective victimhood sustained by the educational curricula in Hungarian schools therefore necessarily contributes to negative attitudes towards refugees, especially coming from outside of the EU. Arrival of these new populations might have awakened a sense of self-defense due to the previous occupation by the Ottoman Empire or the emotional implications of the Trianon Treaty.

Intercultural competency in Hungary

While intercultural competence is being nourished through new educational approaches in Germany, this is not the case in Hungary. While teaching foreign languages, Hungarian professors use the traditional approach that understates meaning and context, paying closer attention to translations and grammar practice.[130] Although professors understand the importance of intercultural competence, they do not integrate it in their teaching practices mainly because their teaching practices are to a large extent influenced by their own experiences as students.

The absence of the intercultural approach in the Hungarian curricula partly explains negative attitudes towards other cultures, namely those of current immigrants. However, its absence does not provide a complete explanation for these attitudes and we must also look at other factors influencing them.

Lack of intercultural competence and unfamiliarity with facts, which allows government propaganda to influence the population's opinions even more, are both determinants of these negative attitudes towards immigrants. Additionally, as mentioned in a previous chapter,

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[129] Steven B. Vardy, "The Impact of Trianon Upon Hungary and the Hungarian Mind: The Nature of Interwar Hungarian Irredentism," *Hungarian Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (1983), accessed March 24, 2017, http://efolyoirat.oszk.hu/00000/00010/00008/pdf/HSR_1983_1_021-042.pdf, 31.

[130] Ildiko Lazar, "Teacher's beliefs about integrating the development of intercultural communicative competence in language teaching," *Forum Sprache,* May 2011, accessed October 18, 2016, https://www.hueber.de/media/36/978-3-19-506100-1_FS052011_AT7_lazar.pdf.

practically no state integration policy exists in Hungary, and a legal framework for immigrants' civic participation is relatively limited because of the small portion that Muslims (and immigrants in general) constitute within the Hungarian population. Therefore, the minorities interact with host societies only minimally. This lack of contact may explain the xenophobia and negative attitudes during a crisis such as the recent one.

c) Identity

Social scientists suggest a number of solutions to anti-immigrant attitudes. Most of them include interreligious and intercultural dialogue, education in order to increase knowledge about cultures and their traditions,[131] or positive contact between immigrants and host societies. These suggestions, however, construct only a partial solution as they are organized and planned actions, not instinctively induced by individuals. Actions that come naturally from individuals are based on their identity, including the historical formation of it. Identity therefore becomes the most important determinant of anti-immigrant attitudes and the single most effective tool for their change. According to the Transatlantic Council on Migration statement, one of the drivers of immigration anxiety is a fear of loss of culture and identity: "Most publics fear that the common norms and values that bind societies will be weakened."[132] The statement also emphasizes the fact that host societies perceive large groups of homogeneous immigrants more threatening than multiethnic waves of immigrants. Identity and immigration attitudes are therefore inherently interrelated. For these reasons, it is important to evaluate the impact of identity on attitudes towards immigrants in both Germany and Hungary.

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[131] Aykac, "Islam and the European Union: Exploring the Issue of Discrimination," 100.

[132] Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Ulrich Kober Papademetriou, introduction to *Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration,* (Bertelsmann Stiftung), accessed August 8, 2016, https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/imported/leseprobe/LP_978-3-86793-475-6_1.pdf, 4.

i)   *Germany*

Nationalism and national identity is certainly a very sensitive topic for the Germans because of their past. After 1945, a discourse that Hitler and the Nazi regime had destroyed the idea of nationhood and nationalism prevailed. Prior to World War II, national identity was based on anti-Jewish attitudes, the idea of German superiority, and authoritarianism. Moreover, nationhood has been linked with National Socialism. Therefore, reforming the concept of national identity after 1945 meant breaking away from essential elements of German nationhood. Moreover, the fear of nationalism returned during the unification of East and West Germany. While the Left opposed the idea of nationhood, the New Right highlighted national identity in its political framework. The new concept of nation, however, was brought by Liberals when they "situated the concept of the nation in a new conceptual context, arguing that, for the first time, freedom, democracy and a unified nation could exist at the same time, and that Verfassungspatriotismus [trans. constitutional patriotism] and a 'heterogeneous nation-state' might go together."[133]

The significant changes and new consensus on immigration took place after the reunification of Germany in 1990s. As a result of reunification, "the new German republic dismantled or moved away from exclusive self-conceptions"[134] dating back to the nineteenth century. Prior the reunification, East Germans (similarly to Muslims) were associated with the "other" in order to maintain the stability of the nation by providing security for those who belonged by defining who did not. This phenomenon, however, constructs "… a static concept of

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[133] Jan-Werner Müller, *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 268.
[134] Hermann Kurthen, "Germany's Coming Out: Citizenship and Immigration Reform since Unification," *Transformations of the new Germany,* ed, Ruth A. Starkman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 193.

the nation that implies inflexibility…"[135] Therefore, in order to strengthen the civil society necessary for responding to the challenges of globalization and growing interdependency, Germany moved towards a pluralist and open society, eliminating concepts of who belongs to the nation. The perception of national identity shifted from being based on ethnicity to being territorially based in the beginning of the 21st century, at the same time the 2000 Citizenship Act[136] was introduced. Although xenophobia and issues with the depiction of Muslims still exist in Germany, the nation has come a long way to develop a different notion of national identity and accept citizenship based on *jus soli.* These historical developments, although still incomplete, have pushed Germany to become a more accepting society than Hungary.

ii)   Hungary

The shaping of Hungarian identity has also had a tremendous impact on Hungarian attitudes towards immigrants and minorities. Their current attitudes may seem odd when described against the historical background; as Antal Szantay and Marta Velladics claim, "Since the beginning of Hungarian history, to be a 'stranger' or 'foreigner' has never been a rarity."[137] This trend changed during the 20th century, when Hungary's size was substantially reduced, and when the idea of nationalism began to emerge. White[138] illustrates the importance of this moment in history by stating that Hungarian identity is framed by its historical territory, the Hungarian Kingdom. This is furthermore supported by the fact that since the loss of two thirds of its territory, Hungary's alliance with other European countries has been changing based on the anticipation of gaining an ally that would return parts of territories to Hungary. It is essential to

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[135] Nora Rathzel, "Aussiedler and Asulander: Transforming German National Identity," *Transformations of the new Germany*, ed, Ruth A. Starkman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 174.

[136] The 2000 Citizenship Act alleviated many criteria for citizenship and introduced the elements of *jus soli.*

[137] Antal Szantay and Marta Velladics, "Hungary: strangers Thou Shouldst Kindheartedly support and respect…," *New Xenophobia in Europe,* ed. Berndt Baumgartl and Adrian Fawell (London: European University Institute), 180.

[138] George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe,* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000).

mention that many territories that were awarded to other countries after World War I represent important landmarks in Hungarian history. Cities in present-day Slovakia or places in Transylvania (today part of Romania), for example, used to be political-cultural centers of the Hungarian Kingdom for centuries. Other places represent victories of battles and struggles for national independence during the invasion of the Ottoman Empire. Historical maps and images of the empire remain on public display even today. White claims, "The Kingdom of Hungary, and its full territory remain at the root of Hungarian national identity."[139] Therefore, stripping the nation of places essential to its history has had an understandably devastating impact on its national identity and sustains the feelings of resentment.

With the loss of its territories, Hungary has lost its diversity of languages and nationalities, and become a mostly homogeneous country. The Hungarian national identity is still tied to Hungary's glorious past, but the recurring traumas pose a threat to the nation's integrity. Janos Laszlo's research reveals that collective victimhood provides a solution to this issue by interpreting "past identity-threatening events in a way that serves the maintenance of a positive identity."[140]

Moreover, "A permanent war … against the civilian population,"[141] that has been taking place between 1938 and 1963 in form of collectivization, World War II, nationalization, the revolutions of 1950s, and other injustices, has strengthened the idea of collective victimhood even more, while obstructing the appreciation of demands for justice by the current minorities. Therefore, the current diversity of political cultures defining the new Hungarian identity creates

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[139] White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe,* 71.
[140] Janos Laszlo, *Historical Tales and National Identity: An Introduction to Narrative Social Psychology*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2013), 96.
[141] Laszlo Keri "An Avalanche of minorities: Some Unexpected Consequences of Regime Changes on Hungarian Political Culture," *Nationalism, ethnicity and identity*, ed. Russell F. Farnen (New Brunswich, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 350.

more challenges to the perception of new immigrants. As Laszlo Keri says, "… it seems highly unlikely that liberalism and a new political definition of a Hungarian national identity will replace old-fashioned, traditional notions of Hungarian nationality. State socialism might be dead, but the ghosts of ethnonationalism are older and still haunt the present, as well as the past, and most likely the future as well."[142]

In order for Hungary to change the perceptions of nationalism, which are tied to traditions, history, and language, to a new collective identity linked with multiculturalism, the concept of multiculturalism must be introduced in a positive way. Orban has been condemning multiculturalism and calling it a "failed West's experiment."[143] It can be seen that the Hungarian statesmen maintain the static concept of the Hungarian nation by nourishing the concept of who belongs to it. In this way they are attempting to construct a certain image of the nation. In order to change the attitudes towards immigrants, Hungary has to first overcome these obstacles.

d) Conclusion

The attitudes towards current refugees and immigrants in both Germany and Hungary are influenced by the frequency of past and present contact with immigrants, the characteristics of the formation of national identities, and public policies in place. Both countries went through significant moments in history resulting in the construction of collective victimhood. These historical events are fundamental in the construction of national identity and public policies. Each country, however, approached these events differently. In Germany, the positive opinion of immigrants is a result of post-Holocaust reconciliation. This opinion is upheld mostly by younger

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[142] Zoltan Bekes and Gyorgy Csepeli, "The Impact of Class, Ethnicity, and Nationality on the Identity of Disadvantaged Young Hungarians," *Nationalism, ethnicity and identity*, ed. Russell F. Farnen (New Brunswich, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 368.
[143] Colin Freeman, "Hungary to EU: migrant quotas will repeat Western Europe's 'failed' attempts at multiculturalism," *The Telegraph,* September 26, 2015, accessed November 15, 2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/hungary/11893375/Hungary-to-EU-migrant-quotas-will-repeat-Western-Europes-failed-attempts-at-multiculturalism.html.

generations with higher levels of contact with immigrants and foreign nationalities, who are the main agents of the shift in German identity. It is important to mention that there is also a negative opinion, founded on the fears stemming from terrorism, which is common among the older generations. In Hungary, the traumas of the past, lower levels of contact with foreigners, and strong rhetoric from Hungarian statesmen based on the idea of collective victimhood, contribute to the negative attitudes.

The public and political discourses in both Germany and Hungary have to undergo certain changes, namely in the construction of identity based on exclusion. Moreover, public policies should reflect these changes. Certainly, there are many implications of such changes if the policymakers decide to enforce them. These include, as listed by Foroutan:[144] reviewing school books, diversifying collective symbols, developing media guidelines for representation of minorities (especially Muslims), and communicating positive integration achievements and the potential value of migrants to the entire country. Once they are implemented on a state level, the EU's identity can begin to take its form and unite EU's populations while being flexible enough to integrate Muslim minorities. Although many scholars believe in the creation of post-national identity, we should instead be looking for the fine boundary between post-national society and *Kulturnation,* which will not cause an absence of cultural belonging on one hand, but support inclusive policies on the other hand. The above listed changes will be difficult to fulfill especially if far-right parties are in power. If these changes however will not take place, Islam (and other cultures and religions) will continue to go hand in hand with xenophobia, making it difficult for the EU to successfully handle the current refugee crisis and any other future crises

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[144] Naika Foroutan, "Identity and (Muslim) Integration in Germany," *Migration Policy Institute* (March 2013), accessed August 8, 2016, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/identity-and-muslim-integration-germany.

while remaining united. For now, although significantly more in Hungary than in Germany, "Islam seems to be the counterfoil to what European identity is perceived to represent."[145]

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[145] Foroutan, "Identity and (Muslim) Integration in Germany," 9.

Chapter 5: New Framework for European Immigration and Asylum Policy

Comparing Germany and Hungary and the factors determining their attitudes towards immigrants explains the internal incoherence when it comes to the EU immigration and asylum policy. Each country has a specific history and reasons for their actions and opinions. These beliefs are based on the historical events and experiences. Therefore, it is important to consider the uniqueness of each country when constructing an effective and sustainable policy that every member country complies with. Moreover, it is important to address the concept of heterogeneity within the EU in order to investigate how it could become a beneficial characteristic of the Union. After analyzing the issue of heterogeneity, this chapter outlines ideas for a new immigration framework, while taking into account the differences outlined in the previous chapters. It is essential to recognize the differences of these two countries because they are on opposite sides when it comes to the immigration. Constructing a framework based on bridging the gap between Germany and Hungary will thus encompass most of the diverse needs of the rest of the EU countries. Therefore, incorporating the differences of Germany and Hungary into a new immigration policy should provide a framework for a conflict-resolution mechanism within the EU. The proposed new framework embodies not only immigration policy, but is also connected to changes in education, public policy, and populism. All these aspects must be addressed simultaneously in order for an effective immigration policy to take place.

a) **Asymmetry as a problem or an advantage**

The current refugee crisis is an example of an immigration policy that is not able to flexibly react to the current situation. One of the main obstacles hindering the EU from successfully handling the refugee crisis is the asymmetry among nation-states. The current EU immigration and asylum policy allows for unequal distribution of refugees and unequal costs for

their protection. The Emergency Response Mechanism that the EU adopted in order to distribute refugees, takes only the economic and demographic factors into consideration and leaves out other factors, such as past experiences with immigrants or integration policies in each country. States have different regulations for asylum seekers while their applications are pending, which results in a higher concentration of refugees in some states while it remains low in others. While cooperation among member states is most essential, member states have been unable to come to an agreement on burden-sharing. The problem with asymmetry is that "highly asymmetric countries have no incentives to join and remain in a stable coalition."[146] Different levels of incentives hinder the EU from functioning as an effective solution mechanism. However, the heterogeneity of the EU is its fundamental characteristic. It is not possible to change it and therefore it must be considered when constructing joint policies.

An example of this asymmetry is visible in Hatton's[147] findings on preferred levels for immigration decisions. These findings are based on a survey conducted even before a double-majority voting principle[148] took place. He claims that in 2002, people in Germany preferred to have immigration decisions made on an international or European level; whereas, Hungarians preferred to make it on a national level.[149] Hungary is an example of a country that has now less power in the Council, and a society that prefers the national government to have more decision-making power than the international collective in matters such as the immigration policy.

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[146] Mathias Czaika, "Asylum Cooperation among Asymmetric Countries," *European Union Politics* 10, no. 1 (March 2009), accessed April 18, 2017, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1465116508099762?journalCode=eupa, 89.

[147] Timothy J. Hatton, "Asylum Policy in the EU: the Case for Deeper Integration," *CESifo Economic Studies* 61, no. 3-4 (September 2015), accessed April 18, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1093/cesifo/ifv002, 625.

[148] The EU unanimity principle (74% of member states weighted votes) was replaced by a double majority principle, which requires the approval of 55% of Member States which must represent at least 65% of the EU's population. This change gives less power to medium-size countries like Hungary.

[149] These findings are based on a survey conducted in 2002; therefore, today's results might differ.

Possible solutions

One of the possible solutions may be more central control. Czaika, for example, claims,

> "the implementation of a multilateral asylum (burden-sharing) regime requires a supranational institution that has the competence (i) to guarantee the steady commitment of the participating countries, (ii) to coordinate the allocation of refugee admission numbers, and (iii) to implement, if efficient, an adequate monetary compensation scheme across participating countries…"[150]

Czaika and many other scholars[151] advocate for more EU intervention in the redistribution of refugees. The EU has come close to achieving these factors, especially since enacting the double-majority principle in the EU Council. This voting principle has sped up decision-making in the Council, but has also given more power to large countries such as Germany and less power to small and medium-sized countries such as Hungary. However, deeper harmonization of the asylum policy, which requires strong monitoring system, might not be acceptable by countries such as Hungary. Imposing rules by the EU, which are decided on mostly by larger countries, might lead to non-cooperation by individual nation-states, especially when considering the history and opinions in Hungary. Therefore, more central control seems difficult to achieve in the near future.

Another solution to this problem is to consider a bottom-up approach. Thielemann and El-Enany claim, "rather than leading policy harmonization at the 'lowest common denominator,' EU asylum laws have frequently led to an upgrading of domestic asylum laws in several Member States, strengthening protection standards for several groups of forced migrants…"[152] Thus, it is

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[150] Czaika, Asylum Cooperation among Asymmetric Countries," 109.

[151] Jeroen Lenaers, "How to solve Europe's migration crisis," *Politico,* February 8, 2016, accessed May 22, 2017, http://www.politico.eu/article/solve-migration-crisis-europe-schengen/.
Sergio Carrera, Steven Blockmans, Daniel Gros and Elspeth Guild, "The EU's Response to the Refugee Crisis,"
CEPS no. 20 (December 16, 2015), accessed May 22, 2017,
http://aei.pitt.edu/70408/1/EU_Response_to_the_2015_Refugee_Crisis.pdf.

[152] Eiko Thielemann and Nadine El-Enany, "Beyond Fortress Europe? How European Cooperation Strengthens Refugee Protection," Paper prepared for the European Union Studies Association's 11th Biennial International Conference, accessed April 10, 2017, http://www.unc.edu/euce/eusa2009/papers/thielemann_02G.pdf, 24.

possible to claim that it is easier for member states to construct their own policy as a reaction to EU laws than to accept rules imposed by Brussels. The concept of sovereignty is still very important to member states and their populations and even a slightest idea of its loss would lead to a decreased cooperation. Therefore, it is essential to find out how an effective framework can be constructed in this setting, rather than focus on more central control.

b) New framework

In order to achieve a common goal – in this case, an effective immigration policy – through bottom-up approach, nation-states must have very similar views on immigrants. According to Hatton,[153] the idea of current refugees seen as public good is a best path to states' cooperation. Although this might be hard to fulfill, it would be certainly easier to construct an asylum policy if all member states had a united view on refugees. The question still remains how can this be achieved? It is necessary to consider all the factors mentioned in previous chapters (history, economy, determinants of public attitudes), contributing to a certain view on immigrants. Hatton furthermore supports this argument by claiming that "negative attitudes are associated with economic position, political affiliation, and cultural attitudes."[154]

i)   Economy

First of all, the economy plays a great role in this matter. It has already been explained how the German economy differs from Hungarian economy. Hungary has never experienced a positive impact of mass labor migration as Germany has. Germany, with its strong economy, has a greater need for new immigrants than Hungary, where the economy is not as dependent on immigrants. Moreover, immigration is expected to have a positive impact on the German economy in the long run. However, other characteristics related to the economy (besides its size)

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[153] Hatton, "Asylum Policy in the EU: the Case for Deeper Integration."
[154] Ibid., 632.

are important to consider, such as language. Access to English speaking job opportunities is essential for new immigrants since it might take a long time to learn the host country's language. In order to have a united view on immigrants the nature of these economies must become more homogenous. For example, Hungary does not necessarily need immigrants today, but with increasing globalization and the migration of Hungarian youth, its nature will change. Therefore, Hungary should prepare for and start laying groundwork for a shift towards a more global economy. Increase in jobs that would adjust qualification requirements to refugees and immigrants, together with appropriate hiring techniques would increase the contact between immigrants and the host society, exposing the benefits of diversity in the labor market. Once it is accepted that immigrants are a contribution to a society, states will cooperate more in the construction of immigration policies.

Therefore, conveying the importance of globalizing economies is essential. Globalization will necessarily bring more immigrants into the country and diversify the national populations everywhere. In order to be able to keep up with this transformation, the Hungarian economic structure must be prepared for these changes instead of rejecting them. In order to achieve this, other changes must be adopted as well. Accepting that immigrants may have a positive impact on the Hungarian economy can seem quite difficult to achieve today because of the Hungarian history and the fact that they have not experienced positive impact of mass immigration before. Additionally, the Hungarian history education stresses the period of Trianon and the notion of irredentism rather than the advantages of diversity during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Therefore, it is essential that the changes in the economy are adopted simultaneously with changes in education.

ii)   Education

Education plays an important role through increasing literacy, shaping knowledge, and developing cultural sensitivity. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the impact of history presents several findings. Curricula covering history education differ dramatically between Hungary and Germany. Education in Hungary sustains the sense of irredentism; in Germany, it highlights the nation of contrition. Therefore, trauma resulting from the Trianon Treaty (1921) has left the feelings of collective victimhood among Hungarians alive and they attempt to resist any efforts coming from the EU that do not correspond with their views. Germany, on the other hand, engages in an approach protecting human rights in the first place. This is mainly due to its post-Holocaust reconciliation and education supporting these views. Cultural competency represents another difference. While in Germany it is an important part of education, cultural competency is absent in Hungary, where it would help in the integration of immigrants and decrease xenophobia. Moreover, active engagement of the whole EU would be more effective. In an ideal case, large countries with substantial immigrant populations and history could help smaller, less experienced countries in educational changes. This plan would require the large countries to be extremely sensitive to the history of the small countries. Moreover, an effective, non-commanding framework would be necessary, persuading the smaller states that the involvement of the larger states is beneficial to both sides. These could be examples of the contributions of the refugees to the society and economy, and beneficial effects of diversity.

In addition to the importance of cultural competency, literacy rates affect attitudes towards minorities. Hatton presents findings that "the less educated are concerned about the potential labor market competition from low-skilled immigrants,"[155] whereas "the more educated have greater tolerance towards minorities and are more positive about ethnic and cultural

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[155]Ibid., 620.

diversity."[156] Therefore, it is important that the literacy and public awareness rates increase not only in Hungary, but in all EU member states in order to strengthen the likelihood of achieving a similar view on refugees. Once history education curricula are adjusted to highlight the historical evidence celebrating diversity, the component of cultural competence is added and improved, and literacy rates increase, education together with the changing economy can affect positive change of (but not limited to) Hungarian attitudes towards immigrants.

iii)   Contact

As previously mentioned, contact plays an essential role in decreasing xenophobia and hostility towards immigrants in Europe. It is therefore important to increase the contact between host societies and immigrants. One of the ways that proved effective is cultural exchange programs. Former US President George W. Bush highlighted the importance of studying abroad by saying that students "gain a better understanding of the many similarities that we share and learn to respect our differences."[157] Other scholars[158] also argue for the development of cultural competence during these programs. Moreover, a study conducted on this topic presents evidence that study abroad and cultural exchange programs enhance students' intercultural skills and promote global understanding.[159] Therefore, I argue that cultural exchange programs should be encouraged and available to all students. Since the frequency and quality of contact with foreigners is different in every country, xenophobia prevails in many EU states and is not likely to decrease as long as the contact between host societies and immigrants is absent. It is therefore necessary to find ways to increase this contact among youth in order for the society to accept

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[156] Ibid.

[157] George W. Bush, "International Education Week 2001 Message," (full statement), accessed August 2, 2017, http://globaled.us/now/fullstatementbush.html#3.

[158] Mitchell R. Hammer, "The Intercultural Development Inventory," *Student Learning Abroad,* ed. Michael Vande Berg, R. Michael Paige, and Kris Hemming Lou (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2012).

[159] Anastasia Kitsantas, "Studying Abroad: The Role of College Students' Goals on the development of cross-cultural skills and global understanding," *College Student Journal* 38, no. 3 (September 2004), accessed June 12, 2017, https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ706693.

foreigners is its country. These programs are beneficial because they would encourage travel not only of the youth, but also their families that visit them abroad.

A European student exchange program, Erasmus, is in place and contributes to a higher intercultural awareness among European nationalities.[160] However, cultural exchange programs, facilitating visits to countries not ordinarily visited by European societies (for the most part African and Middle Eastern), are essential in this role. Study abroad programs and cultural exchanges shape students in a way that is beneficial to their personal and professional development, necessarily affecting the international scene. Students create valuable relationships and they also "foster goodwill that develops into vibrant, mutually beneficial partnerships among nations."[161] If study abroad programs are set up in an encouraging way that is accessible to ordinary students, the contact between these students and foreigners will increase. This increase will lead to a decrease of xenophobia and promote positive attitudes towards foreigners.

iv)   Counter - populism

Lastly, it is important to increase the awareness between facts and slogans of extreme right-wing parties related to racism and discrimination. An asylum seeker is many times conflated with an illegal immigrant and this issue is further supported by bad press and extreme right wing parties, which make it a central point of their agenda. According to Hatton, there are "strong links between anti-immigration attitudes and support for extreme right-wing parties."[162] Therefore, as Ritzen and Kahanec rightly claim, "popular sentiments must be weighed in when devising any policy, but false claims by populists must be countered"…"the start of any

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[160] Peter Holicza, "Mobility from the Students' Perspective," (conference paper, Obuda University, 2016), accessed June 13, 2017,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301347787_MOBILITY_FROM_THE_STUDENTS%27_PERSPECTIV E.
[161] George W. Bush, "International Education Week 2001 Message."
[162] Hatton, "Asylum Policy in the EU: the Case for Deeper Integration," 628.

immigration policy is to take a firm stand against discrimination and racism, while actively campaigning for the facts and stepping up integration measures."[163] It is therefore important to educate people on who refugees and immigrants are and what is the context of events they are situated in.

The new framework would have to take all these principles into account when constructing a new policy.

c) Conclusion

First of all, it is important to understand that the EU joint policies are not beneficial for every country and could leave some countries worse off than in the absence of cooperation. Therefore, the overall benefits must outweigh the costs. The heterogeneity of the member states will not change, but a similar view on the subject will contribute to more cooperation. This would furthermore help to remove the variation of refugee policy enforcement in individual countries.

Therefore, the following framework is proposed: 1.) Cultural acceptance should be increased by conveying the importance of globalizing national economies; 2.) Education curricula should be restructured in a way to increase intercultural understanding and literacy; 3.) Cultural exchange programs should be further developed to include more countries in order to increase the contact and decrease the xenophobia; 4.) Stricter measures should be adopted to dispel false populist claims and shape public awareness based on facts and education.

All these principles are necessary in order to create an effective resolution mechanism for the current refugee crisis and to achieve a flexible immigration policy. The cooperation among

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[163] Jo Ritzen and Martin Kahanec, "A Sustainable Immigration Policy for the EU," *IZA Institute of Labor Economics,* Policy paper no. 126, March 2017, accessed June 14, 2017, https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/162537/1/885057392.pdf, 21.

member states will lead to a better formulation and enforcement of the immigration policy on the

EU and nation-state level.

Conclusion

The current EU immigration and asylum policy is not suitable for dealing with an extreme inflow of refugees as we can see on the current refugee crisis. Moreover, building on the current asylum policy does not contribute to its improvement, as the nature of the EU and outside circumstances have changed since it was adopted. In this thesis, I have analyzed the difference between the most opposing countries in regards to receiving refugees, in order to lay a framework for a discussion of policy change. Examining their differences and bridging the gap between these two, encompasses most of the other EU countries as well. This was done by examining their economic structure, history, and past experiences with foreigners. As I have demonstrated, all these factors are essential to consider because they explain why countries act the way they do. The Treaty of Trianon has led Hungary to being a nation of irredentism and sustain the concept of collective victimhood; whereas the Holocaust has transformed Germany into a nation of contrition. The economic structure plays an important role as some national labor markets depend more on foreigners than other. Moreover, the frequency of contact with foreigners is an important determinant of a nation's attitudes. All these are factors affecting the countries' attitudes towards current immigrants.

In order for member states to better cooperate and to construct a framework for improvement of the current EU immigration and asylum policy, EU member states should have a similar view on immigrants and refugees, particularly to view the immigrants and refugees as public good. To achieve this, following recommendations were proposed: Firstly, stressing the fact that the process of globalizing national economies necessarily implies an increase in cultural diversity is essential in order to increase cultural acceptance among host societies. Secondly, education curricula should reflect these efforts by intensifying intercultural awareness. Thirdly,

the contact between host societies and the Middle Easterners should be fostered through cultural exchange programs in order to decrease xenophobia. Adopting all these measures will then lead to the fourth element – dispelling populist claims.

Once these measures are adopted, a more united view on refugees and immigrants in general should be formed. Moreover, EU member states should be able to better cooperate and handle any immigration-related matters more effectively. Cooperation within the EU is essential, especially since many diverse countries are involved. Therefore, appreciating its heterogeneity, but also having a same objective, is important for the EU in order to recover from the chaos that the refugees have created, and avoid similar situations in the future.

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