

MIRA MILADINOVIĆ ZALAZNIK – DEAN KOMEL (HRSG. | EDS.)

# Europa<sup>e</sup>

## Östlich des Westens East of West

30 Jahre Transition  
Years of Transition



## Quo vadis?

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Europa östlich des Westens. 30 Jahre Transition. Quo vadis?  
Europe East of West. 30 Years of Transition. Quo vadis?

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**EUROPA ÖSTLICH DES WESTENS. 30 JAHRE TRANSITION.  
QUO VADIS?**

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QUO VADIS?**



INSTITUTE NOVA REVILJA  
FOR THE HUMANITIES

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*Erfahrung – 30 Jahre Transition*  
*Experience—30 Years of Transition*

ISTVÁN TARRÓSY

## Migration Tendencies and Policies in Hungary, 2015–2020

*Abstract:* This contribution offers an overview of the major features of migration tendencies and policies in Hungary between 2015 and 2020, put in a historical context. It focuses particularly on the European ‘refugee crisis’ of 2015–16 and what policy options Hungary has favoured since 2015. As a special case study, it also looks at the Stipendium Hungaricum scholarship programme, which fosters inbound migration with a study purpose at Hungarian universities.

*Keywords:* anti-immigration policy, Balkans Route, protection, pragmatic foreign policy, scholarships

### *Introduction*<sup>1</sup>

The migratory events of 2015 and the unfolding ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe changed both the political landscape and societal perceptions about international migration all across Central and Eastern Europe—and basically in the entire European Union (EU). Among the responses of the Member States—despite their many different positions on numerous issues connected with migration—the question of border control and the enhanced protection of the territory of the EU gradually crawled high on all political agendas. One of the evident signs of this change in dealing with ongoing migratory pressures was the broadened mandate of Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, launched in October 2016. In addition to a closer monitoring function of the EU’s external borders by the agency, improvement of the Schengen information system, together

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1 The author wishes to thank the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) providing him with the Bolyai Research Fellowship between 2018–2021.



with extended cooperation with third countries, as well as temporary internal border controls have also been applied for the sake of safeguarding European security. By the first decade of the twenty-first century Hungary became a popular entry point to the European Union, which is by no surprise as its location on the Balkans migration route has served as a direct connection for a long time. “The Hungarian perception of the southern border, the memory of three centuries of fighting with the Ottoman Empire, has appeared in Hungarian public discourse during the migration crisis of 2015”.<sup>2</sup> Although Hungary does not belong to the Balkan region from either geographical or cultural perspectives, its geopolitical significance is interrelated with the proximity of the Balkans, therefore, for those on the move intending to enter the EU, the country presents a potential gateway. For them, as Póczik and Sárík underlines, however, Hungary “could have become the ‘entrance’ to the ‘land of promise’ [...] but it has become the barrier instead”<sup>3</sup>. Hungary’s immediate response to the increasing flow was to protect its own borders by erecting a physical barrier in the form of a fence (today it is a double border fence). Concerning this physical obstacle, as pointed out by Pap and Glied, “government messages strongly built upon the historic concepts of ‘Hungary the bastion protecting Christianity’ and ‘the bastion of Europe’, which are still strongly present in Hungarian political thinking.”<sup>4</sup> Statistics confirm that this particular external border region of the EU was hit really hard – according to Tétényi et al.:

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- 2 Pap, N., V. Glied, P. Reményi, eds., “Two Faces of the Migration Crisis in Hungary”, in Paradiso, Maria (ed.), *Mediterranean Mobilities. Europe’s Changing Relationships* (New York 2019), 56.
  - 3 Póczik, S., E. Sárík, “Law and (B)Order: Will Border Fence and Transit Zones Stop the Asylum Seekers’ Wave on the Balkan Route?”, in Kury, H., S. Redo, eds., *Refugees and Migrants in Law and Policy. Challenges and Opportunities for Global Civic Education* (New York 2018), 76.
  - 4 Pap, N., V. Glied, “The Hungarian Border Barrier and Islam”, *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 6, no. 1 (2017), 124.

While in the early 2000s, flows of [especially] asylum-seekers were relatively stable, a sizeable increase is observable between 2010 and 2016. This increase has not only affected the traditional Western European destination countries, but also the Central and Eastern European (CEE) EU members, most notably Hungary, which accounted for 82.7% of all applications filed in CEE countries in 2015.<sup>5</sup>

As for society at large, xenophobia has been on the rise, accepting diversity has been on the lowest level in over ten years. A 2016 study by the Social Research Institute Inc. (TÁRKI) concluded that “the level of xenophobia had reached an unprecedented height in Hungary and the number of people who could be referred to as ‘foreigner-friendly’ in the study was close to zero.”<sup>6</sup> Threats and fears are intertwined with a tangible migratory push on the Southern borders of the country, and the promise of protection coming along with anti-immigrant measurements by the government have been probably the number one item on the agenda.

This chapter first aims at giving an historical overview of Hungary’s migratory features. Then, the evolving policy framework will be shown in light of the unfolding events of the “refugee crisis” of 2015–16. In addition to underlining certain crucial elements of the government’s migration policy since the first half of the 2010s, other dimensions of policy and the use of soft power—in a rather contradictory manner—will also be discussed.

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5 Tétényi, A., T. Barczikay, B. Szent-Iványi, “Refugees, not Economic Migrants—Why do Asylum-Seekers register in Hungary?”, *International Migration, Special Issue*, (November 2018), 1.

6 Klaus, Witold, Miklós Lévy, Irena Rzeplinska, Miroslav Scheinost, “Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Central European Countries: Reality, Politics and the Creation of Fear in Societies”, in Kury, Helmut, Slawomir Redo, eds., *Refugees and Migrants in Law and Policy. Challenges and Opportunities for Global Civic Education* (New York 2018), 477.

*A Brief Overview of Hungary's Migration Characteristics*<sup>7</sup>

Although international migration has always been a characteristic feature throughout its history since the foundation of the Hungarian state in the first years of the eleventh century, migration as an issue in post-socialist Hungary has been considered as “a diaspora and security problem and mostly viewed as part of foreign policy rather than economic policy.”<sup>8</sup> When looking at integration of any kind and its connection with the given national migration policy, historic, social, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and foreign relations and human rights considerations also have to be taken into account – as only a comprehensive policy approach can tackle the multi-faceted complexity of migration as such. Policy-making in the field first draws our attention to the obvious issue of security, then, to how useful the given migrant can be for the economy of the receiving country intending to regulate migration flows. At the same time, the trap of over-simplification and narrowing all related issues to security may limit societal attitudes in the long run. Obviously, from a political perspective it is understood that all these depend on the intentions of the incumbent government and political elite.

As Juhász<sup>9</sup> (1996, p. 69.) notes, the first wave of immigration to Hungary—including “scribes, foreign merchants, artisans, and agricultural settlers” – was “primarily motivated by economic considerations, as well as King Stephen the First’s (1000–1038) positive attitude towards immigration.” Since the 1880s for about a hundred years, Hungary had been an emigration country: “between 1881 and

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7 This part is based upon Tarrósy, István, “In Need of an Extended Research Approach: The Case of the ‘Neglected African Diaspora’ of the Post-Soviet Space”, in *Pécs Journal of European and International Law* 6, no. 1–2 (2019): 84–98.

8 Hárs, Á., E. Sik, “Hungary”, in Hőnekopp, E., H. Mattila, eds., *Permanent or Circular Migration? Policy Choices to Address Demographic Decline and Labour Shortages in Europe* (Budapest 2008), 73.

9 Juhász, J., “Hungary”, in T. Frejka, ed., *International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States* (New York 1996), 69.

1900, 370,000 people emigrated to America. In the 15 years that preceded the First World War the total number of emigrants reached 1.4 million.”<sup>10</sup> The Treaty of Versailles signed with Hungary after the world war in the Grand Trianon Palace of Versailles on June 4, 1920, resulted in the loss of more than two thirds of its original territories (72 percent) and 64 percent of the total population of the country (21 million), due to Hungary’s alignment with the defeated central powers led by Germany. Coupled with the consequences of “large-scale forced resettlement movements” after the Second World War,

as a result of all these changes, on the one hand an ethnically highly homogeneous population was created on the territory of modern Hungary, on the other hand an ethnically mixed population with considerable Hungarian minorities emerged in the countries surrounding Hungary.<sup>11</sup>

The total number of Hungarians living beyond the borders of the country, the Hungarian diaspora is about 5.2 million, out of which 2.6 million ethnic Hungarians can be found in Hungary’s present-day neighbours (most of them, about 1.5 million in Romania), 1.8 million in North America (most of them, about 1.5 million in the USA), and the rest all across the world.

With the Soviet bloc disintegrating at the end of the 1980s, Hungary had to face a substantial inflow of refugees and asylum seekers from the neighbouring countries, but mainly from Romania and former Yugoslavia as a result of the ongoing conflicts and war on their territories. This migratory push then turned into another flow of migrants with economic and study purposes from the same countries surrounding Hungary. “The annual number of immigrants between 1988 and 1991 ranged between 23,000 and 37,000, and about 80 percent of them were ethnic Hungarians from Romania, Ukraine and Yugoslavia.”<sup>12</sup>

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10 *Ibid.*, 70.

11 Hárs and Sik, “Hungary”, 73.

12 *Ibid.*, 74.

One of the most unique features of Hungary's migration scene derives from the above tendencies, the country's historic heritage and geographic location: "the overwhelming majority of immigrants are from neighbouring countries and mostly have an ethnic Hungarian background."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, Hungarian society at large does not really have experience on a greater scale with people of faraway lands and cultures, which the population considers different "enough" from the majority society, as they had got used to receiving immigrants of European origin – mainly from the larger Hungarian cultural context. These immigrants speak no different language than the one the citizens of the motherland do, i.e., Hungarian. Up until the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century the proportion of the immigrant population – that is "foreigners who stay in the country over a year"<sup>14</sup> – compared with the native population shows a stable 1.5 to 2 percent according to the statistics of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO) on an annual basis.<sup>15</sup> This is considered as rather low in a country with a total population of 9.778 million, according to the 2018 HCSO data. Since 1981 Hungarian population has been steadily decreasing (see Figure 1 for the last 15 years). The current population of Hungary is 9,654,915 as of September 19, 2020, then, 9,633,026 as of August 13, 2021, based on Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data (worldometers.info).

The fall in the population number due to natural decrease was somewhat moderated by the positive net international migration in the last two and a half decades. However, in the last decade, immigration surplus could compensate only less than half of the natural decrease.<sup>16</sup>

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13 Kováts, A., E. Sik, "Hungary", in Triandafyllidou, A., R. Gropas, eds., *European Immigration. A Sourcebook* (2007), 158.

14 *Ibid.*, 159.

15 The *International Migration Outlook 2012* of the OECD also confirms this figure. Cf. OECD, *International Migration Outlook 2012*, OECD: Paris 2012, 236.

16 Vukovich, G. et al., eds., *Population Census. 1. Preliminary data* (Budapest 2012), 7.

Since the breakout of the 2015 “refugee crisis”, the Hungarian government favours a strictly anti-immigrant policy, with nation-wide campaigns including slogans such as: “If you come to Hungary, you must respect our culture!”, or “If you come to Hungary, you cannot take away the jobs of the Hungarians!”. As Drinóczi and Mohai underline:

The billboard campaign and the “national consultation” were successful political tools used to make the Hungarian population fearful of migration, or at least develop increasingly negative attitudes thereto due to economic and security reasons.<sup>17</sup>

After the latest landslide victory of his party at the national elections in April 2018, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán clearly stated that he strives for a country of the ‘magyars’ that remains the land of Hungarians. Among the few central messages, the billboard campaign transmitted the notion of “protection” against the threat of immigration with all its fearful dimensions. This is an ongoing rhetorical element up to the present day when in September 2020 the migration threat is interconnected with the global COVID-19 pandemic as, according to the government, migrants potentially carry the virus with them into the country, and therefore, they should not be allowed to enter.

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17 Drinóczi, T., Á. Mohai, “Has the Migration Crisis Challenged the Concept of the human Rights of Migrants? The Case of Ilias and Ahmed v. Hungary”, in Kuzelewska, E., A. Weatherburn, D. Kloza, eds., *Irregular Migration as a Challenge for Democracy* (Cambridge 2018), 99–100.

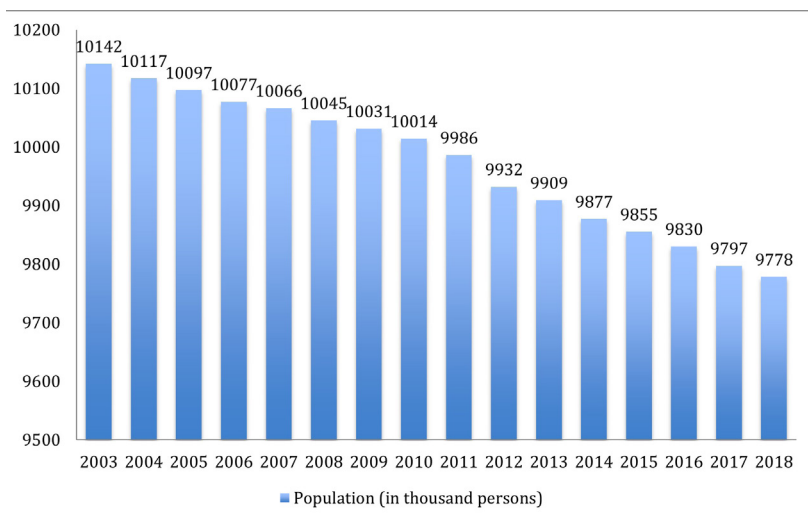


Figure 1. Demographic changes in Hungary between 2003 and 2018

Source of data: Hungarian Central Statistical Office

Hungary's ageing and shrinking society, however, might also need immigrants—similarly to other European countries. However, in the last four years the number of legal immigrants (mainly foreigners who stay in the country for over a year, but also labour migrants who come for shorter periods) has not been on a painful increase. When the stock of this community of foreign nationals is looked at closely, for instance as in 2018, according to the figures provided by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, most of the migrants came from Europe (64.4 percent), while 27.6 percent were from Asia (44.5 percent of the Asians are Chinese), 3.6 percent from America (57.3 percent of the Americans are from the U.S.A.), 3.6 percent from Africa, and 0.4 percent from Australia and Oceania (Central Statistical Office, 2018).

With regard to irregular migration, as Kováts and Sik note about the tendencies of the first years of the new millennium: “most undocumented immigrants are weekly or monthly commuters from the neigh-

bouring countries [working] in the seasonal sectors (agriculture, construction) of the informal economy.”<sup>18</sup> Concerning refugees and asylum seekers, 2015–16 tendencies indicated an ever so heavy push on the borders Hungary shares with Serbia in the south and with Ukraine in the north—apart from the constant push on Italian, French, Spanish or British EU-borders. These are borders of the Schengen area of the European Union (EU), meaning the external border of the community, and therefore, here border control is the most comprehensive. Those member states—thus Hungary, too—with external EU borders had to face more challenges in recent years. The 2013 data of Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union, showed that the number of those asking for asylum in the EU has risen by 50 percent compared with the year before. “The number asking for asylum has increased almost ten-fold compared to last year: some 17,000 by the end of October.”<sup>19</sup> As the article of EUrologus on the news portal index.hu of November 12, 2013 also suggested that experts can only guess why it is Hungary where such a huge increase had happened.<sup>20</sup> As of August 2015, more than 100,000 people reached Hungary, which was statistically the highest number ever. It seemed rather obvious that more people traveling from the Near East and North Africa decided to take the earlier mentioned “Balkans Route” via Turkey, Greece, Romania, and even more Serbia, ending in Hungary. However, these migrants did not consider Hungary as their country of destination, but more as a transit territory toward Austria and Germany, and even farther towards the Western parts of the old continent. Hungary can still be considered not a “major

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18 Kováts and Sik, “Hungary”, 163.

19 Euronews, “Hungary struggles with huge rise in asylum demands”, *Euronews.com*, November 15, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqgSQ0ATB-A>, (accessed August 17, 2021).

20 Index.hu: “Robbanás előtt a Magyar menekülthelyzet” [Exploding refugee situation in Hungary], *Index.hu*, 2013, [https://index.hu/kulfold/eurologus/2013/11/12/robbanas\\_elott\\_a\\_magyar\\_menekult-helyzet/](https://index.hu/kulfold/eurologus/2013/11/12/robbanas_elott_a_magyar_menekult-helyzet/), (accessed August 30, 2020).



destination for international migrants”<sup>21</sup>. According to the study investigating the refugee situation in Hungary by Tétényi et al. (2018, pp. 15–16.) offered a conclusion that:

Factors such as income, unemployment, trade or aid did not influence asylum-seekers in their choice of Hungary, nor did the increasing harshness of the Hungarian border, at least until the end of 2015, when the government started building a fence and significantly increased patrols along the border, nor in 2016.<sup>22</sup>

The authors of the study agreed with other scholars that many of these asylum-seekers “despite lodging their applications in Hungary, most likely view it as a transit country along their route.”<sup>23</sup> The Hungarian government has been consistent in its anti-immigrant position rejecting all forms of migration and doubting that migration can have positive aspects; this is the reason why they left the UN’s Migration Pact as well: “Hungary has zero tolerance for migration” – said Péter Szijjártó the day the Hungarian government vetoed the EU–Arab League agreement in February 2019.<sup>24</sup>

### *The Policies of Opening in a Pragmatic Way and the Use of Soft Power*<sup>25</sup>

“To adapt our foreign policy to the new realities across the world”<sup>26</sup> became the new mantra for Hungarian foreign-policy makers by the

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21 OECD: *International Migration Outlook 2012*, OECD: Paris 2012, 236.

22 Tétényi, A., T. Barczikay, B. Szent-Iványi, “Refugees”, 15–6.

23 Ibid., 16.

24 Tarrósy, I., Z. Vörös, “Hungary’s Pragmatic Foreign Policy in a Post-American World”, in *Politics in Central Europe* 16, no. 1S (2020): 130.

25 More about the policy of Global Opening in: Tarrósy, I. and Z. Vörös, “Hungary’s Global Opening to an Interpolar World”, in *Politeja* 2, no. 28 (2014), 139–62.

26 Takács, Szabolcs: “Strategic Cooperation and Diverse Relationship.” *Diplomacy & Trade*, January 31, 2013, <https://dteurope.com/diplomacy/strategic-cooperation-and-diverse-relationship/>, (accessed September 10, 2020).

beginning of the 2010s. There was an apparent change and adaptation in governmental communication claiming that Hungary felt it had duties, but at the same time opportunities in different parts of the interconnected world, even in seemingly faraway regions of Asia, Latin America or Sub-Saharan Africa. Hungary's declared "value-based foreign policy" wanted to fulfil the country's prime aims from two angles: to pursue the strategic goals of the European Union as one of its members states, and to advance its national interests "in all aspects that go beyond Hungary's borders."<sup>27</sup> First, the "Turn towards the East", then, the "Opening to the South" chapters were defined. In 2015, the government of Hungary took some convincing steps in order to revitalize relations with Sub-Saharan Africa as part of its "Opening to the South". As a follow up, a new initiative was published on April 2, 2019, as the government announced a 22-point "Africa Strategy", which in a number of instances, clearly calls for more cooperation with both a circle of partner countries as well as their citizens.

Hungary also has several serious and direct security policy and geopolitical concerns and interests, as far as migration, peacekeeping or NATO duties are taken into account. In the spring of 2013, the Hungarian government took part in the French-led military operation 'Serval' in Mali with experts of the Hungarian Armed Forces.<sup>28</sup> Certain challenges of global nature such as organized crime, international terrorism, AIDS and tropical diseases – and as of today, the COVID-19 global pandemic – can all obviously reach Hungary, too. Therefore, to contribute effectively to the stability of its wide macro region and to reduce poverty together with fostering human security

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27 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary: *Hungary's Foreign Policy after the Hungarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union*, 2011, 3, [https://brexit.kormany.hu/admin/download/f/1b/30000/foreign\\_policy\\_20111219.pdf](https://brexit.kormany.hu/admin/download/f/1b/30000/foreign_policy_20111219.pdf), (accessed September 5, 2020).

28 HVG: *Magyarok Maliban: megjelent a kormányhatározat* [Hungarians in Mali], 2013, [https://hvg.hu/itthon/20130308\\_Magyarok\\_Maliban\\_megjelent\\_a\\_kormanyhatar](https://hvg.hu/itthon/20130308_Magyarok_Maliban_megjelent_a_kormanyhatar), (accessed September 4, 2020).

in the long run across the Mediterranean and beyond is in Hungary's best interest, while at the same time, presents a crucial moral obligation as well.

As an additional element, building up future connections, soft power can play a role also in the case of Hungary. Education and research are key factors in the reshaping of Hungary's global presence, which can be a basis for further cooperation with countries of the world in the long run. Bilateral educational, cultural, and scientific agreements have been of great importance for Hungary for decades. The new *Stipendium Hungaricum*<sup>29</sup> public scholarship programme, thus represents one of the most significant tools for the pragmatic foreign policy of Hungary and for the evolving policies of opening as well. It is basically a revitalisation of the scholarship programme of the immediate Socialist past. It was presented that a number of developing and emerging countries (countries of the Global South) Hungary's relations had become loose after the regime change at the end of the 1980s, but according to the government, these are

easy to rebuild, as nowadays young people [from] Africa [and other developing regions] who have done their studies in Hungary keep good and extremely pleasant memories of the country and are more than ready to engage in cooperation.<sup>30</sup>

By developing the *Stipendium Hungaricum* programme as a soft-power tool, Hungary's main goal is to be able to develop economic relations and increase its economic strength. At the Hungarian embassies, special commercial auxiliaries and experts have been pursuing targeted activities to increase the volume of trade.

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29 Cf. <http://studyinhungary.hu/study-in-hungary/menu/stipendium-hungaricum-scholarship-programme>, (accessed September 5, 2020).

30 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Hungarian Parliament [Országgyűlés Külügyi Bizottsága]: "Jegyzőkönyv, 2015. május 20. Ikt.sz.: KUB-40/72-2/2015", <https://www.parlament.hu/documents/static/biz40/bizjkw40/KUB/1505201.pdf>, 7 (accessed August 30, 2020).

Important actors of the foreign-economy government machinery include the Hungarian Export-Import Bank Ltd. (Eximbank), the Hungarian Export Credit Insurance Company Ltd. (MEHIB), and the Hungarian Investment Promotion Agency (HIPA), backing all these efforts. This particular scholarship scheme represents just the other range of the policy spectrum, as it encourages and supports regular and legal migration (with a study purpose) to Hungary. As shown above, this is a forward-looking and constructive tool of foreign policy and contributes to inbound migration – just the opposite of which is echoed constantly by the government about migration in general.

### *Concluding thoughts*

Hungary offers a unique case for migration research. The country's rather closed (due to the former socialist era among others) and homogenous society did not accumulate experience and knowledge about foreigners from faraway lands, for instance, from China, Vietnam, or Sub-Saharan African countries. However, with the change of the political system at the end of the 1980s, the country has been encountering different flows of foreign nationals—but most of the immigrants are from Europe, and with a Hungarian ethnic background from neighbouring countries. Not only the majority population, but also institutions of Hungarian public administration need to become more prepared for new groups of immigrants. This is of prime importance as the push of irregular migration, especially refugees and asylum seekers since 2015 has grown along the Schengen borders of the country. Apart from this new push, however, and as opposed to false perceptions, Hungary is still not a target for immigrants; rather a transit country. In addition, since 2004 Hungary has been member of the European Union, a community which

is essentially founded on a double principle of inclusion and exclusion [with its approach to mobility [showing]: while most of the Union, through the

Schengen area, has become a space for freedom of movement across national boundaries, entry from outside is highly regulated, especially with respect to citizens of poor countries.<sup>31</sup>

As many have said already what Kofi Annan (2004) formulated as: “there can be no doubt that European societies need immigrants,” the majority of whom are

industrious, courageous and determined. [...] They are not criminals. They are law-abiding. They do not want to live apart. They want to integrate, while retaining their identity.<sup>32</sup>

The two policies presented in this chapter, i. e. the one which welcomes students from over 60 countries, therefore, encouraging migration to Hungary, via scholarships, and the other overarching framework which takes a staunchly anti-immigrant approach when the discourse is focussed on refugees do not seem coherent.<sup>33</sup> Hungarian society at large surely does not understand the two different ways, and what probably would be needed the most is to communicate a clear total picture. The education of young people and efforts to include relevant information about international migration and the immigrants themselves in school curricula, therefore, in the long run can be a key to better understanding of the complexities of migration, and to be able to accept diversity—according to the latest OECD report, Hungarian communities are the least accepting diversity.<sup>34</sup> All

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31 Gaibazzi, P., A. Bellagamba, S. Dünnwald, “Introduction: An Afro-Europeanist Perspective on EurAfrican Borders”, in: Gaibazzi, P., A. Bellagamba, S. Dünnwald, eds., *EurAfrican Borders and Migration Management. Political Cultures, Contested Spaces, and Ordinary Lives*, (New York 2017), 5.

32 Annan, K., “Migrants can help rejuvenate Europe”, in *Financial Times*, January 29, 2004.

33 See more in Kovacs, K., “Hungary’s African immigrants hope for BLM reckoning”, in *Politico*, August 6, 2020, <https://www.politico.eu/article/hungary-african-immigrants-hope-for-black-lives-matter-reckoning/>, (accessed August 7, 2020).

34 OECD: *All Hands In? Making Diversity Work for All*. OECD Publishing: Paris

these are especially relevant, as the Hungarian government has been firmly advocating a country without immigrants in the future, and based on the confident speeches of members of the government we can see a scenario in which “the government does not wish to change its migration policy”.<sup>35</sup>

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