

## **Racialisation in Hungary – the Roma and the Jews**

### **Introduction**

Hungary remains a country ignorant to the racism, fascism and xenophobia that form a major part of the social and political milieu. Instead, Hungarian authorities flaunt its growing immigration and its multicultural status, leaving ethnic minorities disadvantaged and impoverished. This paper will address the situation of two specific ethnic minorities, by discussing particular racialisation processes and using evidence to validate each dimension. The first half of this paper will identify the subordinate position of the Roma, with the second half discussing the presence of anti-Semitism in Hungary.

This essay will begin by examining the history and the origins of the Roma Gypsy in Hungary. The three different strands will be explored, Romungro, Vlach and Beas Gypsies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Budapest, 2004), discussing the significance of assimilation and how this has strengthened the anti-Roma prejudice today. After the consideration of historical events, this essay will discuss the social exclusion of the Roma, with reference to modern-day employment, education, housing and negative police attitudes. This more contemporary stance will illustrate the marginalisation of the Roma, portraying it simply as a result of their race. Thirdly, this essay will move onto identify the problem of anti-Semitism in Hungary. This section will discuss the idea of psychological anti-Semitism, as well as the negative influence that political discourse has had on excluding the Jews.

Furthermore, after researching the social positions of both ethnic minorities in Hungary, a specific theme has become evident. Political ideologies reinforce Hungary's anti-Roma and anti-Semitic rhetoric, with some parties encouraging racial prejudice and violence more than others. As a result, it seems appropriate for the fourth and final dimension to take a detailed look at the right wing, political party Jobbik (Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom). Jobbik remains racist and discriminative in its radical ideologies, making it a desirable discussion point to conclude this essay with. The argument will begin with a more general discussion of the party's fascist principles, and later uncover more specific details about its anti-Roma and anti-Semitic statements.

### **History and Origins of the Roma Gypsy**

The first appearance of the Roma in Hungary dates back to 1416 when the ethnic group escaped the Balkans after the domination of the Turks. The discrimination of the Roma began shortly after their arrival in Hungary, with the Holy Roman Empire labelling them as spies (Kemény, 2005a). However, history suggests that the Roma Gypsies did not always experience the level of exclusion that persists so greatly today. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Budapest (MFAB) (2004) highlights the significant economic contribution that the Roma made during the fight against the Turks between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. They specifically participated in military preparation, fortification and construction works, horse-trading and postal services.

However, the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw a rapid shift from positive to negative attitudes of the Roma in Hungary. Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790), through their means of enlightened absolutism, demanded the assimilation of this particular group of Roma Gypsies (MFAB, 2004). They prohibited Gypsy marriage, language and restricted the practice of any form of Gypsy culture. This initial group of assimilated Roma became known as the 'Romungro Gypsies' (Tanulmányok, 2008). Furthermore, the emergence of capitalist development in Hungary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw a second wave of Gypsy immigration, the 'Vlach Gypsies'. This group denied assimilation and held onto their traditions, values and culture, evidently leading to multiple conflicts between both Gypsy groups and the Hungarian majority. The third and final wave of Roma immigration into Hungary was from the 'Beas Gypsies'. Similar to the Romungro group, they lost their language through processes of

integration and assimilation, however they kept their distinct identity, much like that of the Vlachs (Tanulmányok, 2008).

Despite the identification of three different Gypsy classifications present in Hungary, it is important to highlight the fact that racism predominantly targets the Roma as one singular group, unfazed by their cultural differences. The racism, discrimination and xenophobia discussed in this paper is therefore based upon the idea of the Roma label as one, targeting anyone with Roma heritage, no matter how strong or visible.

### **The Social Exclusion of Roma Gypsies: employment, education, housing and policing**

Having identified the origins of the Roma presence in Hungary, the Gypsies today “account for around 5 per cent of the country’s population and over 50 per cent of its non-Magyar citizens” (Cordell, 2006:134). Despite their large and growing population, one of Hungary’s most significant social problems is the xenophobic and racist attitude held against the Roma. Many Roma Gypsies predominantly have a lower socio-economic capital than Hungarian nationals, experiencing disadvantage in the employment, education, housing and law enforcement systems. Out of 750,000 members of the Roma community in Hungary, 500,000–600,000 live in disadvantaged regions and in conditions of extreme poverty, mainly due racial prejudgement (MPAJSSSI, 2011).

#### **Discrimination in employment**

One way to understand the racialisation process surrounding the Roma in Hungary is through their mistreatment and exclusion in the workplace. “Concern is expressed that three quarters of Gypsies are unemployed, with almost no prospect of entering the labour market” (CERD, 1996:3). Furthermore literature from Havas et al (1995) cited in Cordell (2006) proposes that only 30% of Roma men are employed with the figure being even lower for woman.

Discrimination in the labour market for the Roma can be divided into two main forms. Firstly, a large amount of Roma unemployment reflects a lack of skills and qualifications needed to attain a long-term, secure job. The transition from Communism to Post-Communism in Hungary in 1989 saw a shift to a market based economy. As a result, the Roma today lack the power to engage in the labour market on an equal level to their non-Roma equivalents. The restructuring of the economy led to changes that devastated a vast amount of Roma employment with 55% losing their previous employment at the beginning of the 1990s (MPAJSSSI, 2011). This therefore means that unemployment for the Roma is likely to be a long-term phenomenon, unlikely to change or improve for the better (Cordell, 2006). Its structural nature has resulted in a situation of crisis for the Roma, with many people having no option but to work for an ‘invisible income’ (Kemeny, 2005b). Undertaking illegitimate work has become the only option for much of the Roma living Hungary, which puts themselves, their families and their income at great risk, purely as a result of racial discrimination.

Secondly direction discrimination (Law, 2010) is widely acknowledged within the labour market in Hungary. “The unemployment rate for Roma is estimated at 70 per cent, more than 10 times the national average” (Minority Rights Group International, 2012:no pagination). Turner (1986) understands four different types of inequality, the most relevant here being equality of opportunity. The Roma are directly discriminated (Law, 2010) against in terms of accessing employment, particularly through the recruitment process, with many Roma never making it to the interview stage. Furthermore, if they become successful in an application, discrimination in pay, working hours and holiday hours is prominent (FRA, 2013). Exclusion and elimination from such practices, therefore shows how the Roma evidently remain dependent upon their employers, reinforcing their subordination in the labour market and in greater society.

#### **Discrimination in Education**

Secondly, the racialisation of the Roma in Hungary can be seen through their educational experiences. The future economic success of Hungary essentially depends on how educated and qualified the citizens are and therefore improving schooling for the Roma should be a key policy. However, it has become common practice within the education system in Hungary to place Roma children in schools specifically for those with special needs (Law, 2010). ECRI (2015) describes how the over-

representation of Roma children in this segregated form of education perpetuates the cycle of poverty, marginalisation and under-education. Furthermore, the Roma Education Fund (2012) estimated that Roma children make up between 20 to 90% of the students in Hungary's special needs schools. In addition, female Roma children are particularly disadvantaged in the Hungarian education system. MPAJSSSI (2011) discusses particular reasons for Roma girls having a higher school drop out rate than non-Roma girls, identifying loss of motivation, socialisation differences, early motherhood and a rise in family roles as key reasons (pp.26). Evidence therefore suggests that children born into Roma families are vulnerable to discrimination in education as a result of their race. The social exclusion in schools remains a barrier to accessing good quality education and this will later reflect on their position in the labour market.

One thing that is particularly noteworthy in Hungary's education system is the high level of internal segregation within mixed schools (Farkas, 2014). Though the number of Roma children attending schools with their non-Roma peers is slowly increasing, the in-school segregation remains the same, if not worse. Non-Roma wealthier families often put pressure on schools to disproportionately segregate children, with the Roma being taught a simpler and less valuable syllabus in a separate classroom (Havas, 2002). Furthermore Amnesty International (2010:7) identifies the "white flight": non-Roma parents removing their children from schools that are perceived as having too many Roma pupils". Roma children are therefore unlikely to receive the same level of education as their non-Roma peers and this will evidently impact their social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 2010) later on in life. In addition, Roma children are less likely to be given the opportunity to study special-ability subjects in school than their non-Roma peers, for example Physical Education. Hungary's anti-Roma culture regularly prevents Gypsy children from participating in sports events, in order to protect the reputation of a school (Havas, 2002). This therefore demonstrates the high level of prejudice endured by the Roma children in education, assuming that they are unable to participate and achieve what their Roma peers can. Furthermore, the distribution of both Roma and non-Roma children in schools shows how ethnic segregation is encouraged and pressures are placed on non-Roma children to not familiarise themselves with their Roma peers.

#### Discrimination in Housing

It is unsurprising that Roma vulnerability in education and employment leaves many people living in poverty. There remains a long history in the Hungarian housing market of segregation between the Roma minority and Hungarian majority, purely because of racism. ERRC (2005) identifies how forced evictions for the Roma in Hungary have dramatically increased in recent years, with rarely any justice being received. This is the result of a weak housing rights framework and the common denial of access to social housing. The arrangement of housing is also greatly segregated in Hungary, with Roma settlements being less developed than those inhabited by the non-Roma population. This is all the result of stigmatisation, purely because of the Roma race label and their presumed alien culture. Furthermore, a programme to reduce segregated neighbourhoods faced funding-related delays (FRA, 2014), demonstrating the lack of importance and urgency in political agenda to improve the situation for the Roma. The housing crisis for these communities is thus unlikely to improve and the marginalisation is likely to remain.

#### Police Attitudes and Crime

Finally the mistreatment and lack of protection by Hungarian law enforcement agencies plays a huge role in maintaining the oppression of the Roma. Institutional racism and violence circulates Hungary's criminal justice system, with bias, violence and direct discrimination being evident. One example is that "police in the Hungarian town of Gyöngyöspata violated the right to equal treatment of Roma citizens by not protecting them from extremists" (HCLU, 2015:no pagination). Furthermore, a member of the Roma who was held in custody in Hungary faced discrimination through unreasonably severe detention measures, purely because of his Roma origin (CERD, 2002). This therefore demonstrates how the Roma in Hungary are often wrongly criminalised and subjected to harsh and demeaning attitudes by authorities. It also suggests that when they are on the receiving end of criminality, police are often ignorant to assist.

Furthermore, it remains ironic how similar patterns emerge when considering both the harassment of the Roma in Hungary, alongside the level of negative attention received by authorities. The Roma continue to have one of the largest rates of criminal victimisation, with around 34% of Roma Gypsies in Hungary being a victim of theft, burglary, assault, threat, or serious harassment in the last 12

months (EU-MIDIS, 2009). Ironically, despite the Roma's increased likelihood of being a target for criminal behaviour, they are also subject to the highest level of stop and search policing. 41% of those who were stop and searched by authorities in the last 12 months were of Roma origin, in comparison to just 15% of the Hungarian majority (EU-MIDIS, 2009). As a result, the Roma are likely to be fearful of and have little trust in the police because of the differential and discriminative treatment that they are subject to. Institutional racism therefore fuels the oppression of the Roma minority, limiting their access to equal opportunities further.

## **Anti-Semitism**

Anti-Semitism became a familiarised concept around the 1870s, introduced by Germany to describe the widespread hostility and antagonism towards Jewish people (Katz, 1980). Hungary remains one of many countries in Europe where Jews are being majorly targeted for systematic annihilation (Goldberg, 2006:342). Formal emancipation of the Jews in Hungary was established in 1867, however the prejudice and widespread hostility towards them continues to the present day. The exclusion of Jews from mainstream Hungarian society stems from a range of ideological beliefs – racial, religious and even secular movements (Katz, 1980). Both direct and indirect forms of discrimination are present, with Jews being prejudged as a result of their culture, values and respective histories.

The idea of the Hungarian anti-Semitic ideology perhaps undermines the traditional notions of racism. Anti-Jewish views traditionally held by Hungarians stemmed from religious intolerance and was mostly targeted at Judaism as a religion. However, contemporary animosity in Hungary has adopted the idea of the 'anti-Semite' rather than the 'anti-Jew' (Katz, 1980). This idea highlights the fact the racial intolerance towards Jewish people in Hungary is much more than just a difference in religious behaviours and practices. Even the Jews that have converted to Christianity still receive some form of racial prejudice. This therefore shows how the discrimination of the Jewish people has become much more of a race issue than a religious one, perhaps due to modernity and secularisation. Cultural differences rather than the traditional notions of religion has widely increased the oppression of Hungarian Jews, the prejudice occurring simply because of their ethnic label.

The growth in race science in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries arguably encouraged the social exclusion of Jews through the degeneration argument. De Gobineau's (1915) idea of degeneration describes Jewish descent along with other races besides the 'Aryan race' as demonising and a threat to the nation-state. He divided the human race into three categories: black were the lowest in the hierarchy, yellow were superior to the black but not civilized enough to form a complete society themselves and white were the ideal race. The intermixture of such races was believed by traditional thinkers to create incomplete and imperfect humans that remained subordinate to even the black race.

“Whose blood is adulterated and impoverished by being made to suffer this dishonourable change...when the mediocre men are once created at the expense of the greater, they combine with other mediocrities, and from such unions, which grow ever more and more degraded”  
(De Gobineau, 1915:210)

The emergence of hybridity and the constant growing of interracial communities in the eyes of De Gobineau (1915) reduced the purity and perfection of the white race, asserting ideas that mixture is bad and harmful. The breakdown in social cohesion was therefore blamed on the communities that were characterised by racial intermixing, for example the Jews. Contemporary Jewish prejudice and racism may therefore stem from such traditional racist theories.

Furthermore, understanding the political and social change that has occurred throughout Hungarian history can help to explain the current Jewish exclusion. Both contemporary and historical political agenda in Hungary demonstrates how despite the emancipation of Jews in 1867 (Patai, 1996), anti-Semitic positions still very much exist. Hungarian politics in the 19th century institutionalised anti-Semitic ideology into all areas of society. Gyozo Istoczy led an anti-Semitic political party, launched in 1880 known as “a Central Association of Non-Jewish Hungarians”. He had aims of limiting Jewish immigration and reducing their overall presence in Hungary, through racist propaganda and discriminative speeches (Chirot and Ried, 1997). “In the Hungarian elections of 1884, Istoczy's newly-created National Anti-Semitic Party...won 17 out of 257 seats” (Aberbach, 2013:79) a

worrying number considering how openly discriminative the party was. This therefore demonstrates the strength of political supremacy and its powerful influence on segregating Jews in Hungary at this time. The racist attitudes and beliefs held by parliamentary leaders were reflected onto mainstream society, limiting the integration of Jewish communities. The influence of Istoczy can be further seen through the 1881 anti-Jewish student riots in the country's capital city, Budapest. Istoczy became a symbol of anti-Semitism in which many of the students followed, encouraging violence and other forms of protest. The riots in the University of Budapest were a reaction, mainly from Christian pupils, to the growing number of Jewish students enrolled at the university, "36 per cent of medical students and 26 per cent of law students" (Katz, 1980:274). The reason for such widespread discrimination of Jewish communities was due to a lack of assimilation and integration shortly after emancipation.

In addition, from the 1800s onwards it has been a clear theme in Hungarian politics to grant Jews with specific human rights, however a backlash has always followed. Legislation aimed at equalising the political and social position of Jews is very rarely passed without hostility and anger from varying oppositions. One example of this is the People's Party, a right-wing Christian party (Lomaz, 1995) in which promotes anti-Semitism and encourages the exclusion of Jews from both social and economic spheres. With aims of achieving social integration, in 1885 a law was implemented that enabled the civil partnership of Jews and Christians without the Jews having to convert to Christianity (Gyani, 2004:169-70, cited in Aberbach, 2013). Prior to this, affluent Hungarian Jews would often convert and this caused great concern for the Catholic Church. Therefore, the People's Party, as a response to such assimilation, passed a law "stating that Jews intending to convert had to make a declaration in the presence of a rabbi" (Aberbach, 2013:80). This therefore suggests that the subordinate position of Jews in the country's social hierarchy limits the security of their political and social rights. Assimilation of Jews in Hungary may be thought of as a desirable outcome for the country's citizens, particularly those of a Christian faith, however even this was discouraged. Jewish communities were therefore unable to survive without some form of racist oppression, and this has clearly been reflected onto Hungarian society today.

Moreover, psychological anti-Semitism forms a large part of Jewish discrimination and hate-crimes. There are between 80,000-100,000 Jews in Hungary however the actual amount is unsure (European Jewish Congress, 2016). As this figure is significantly smaller than other ethnic minorities, such as the Roma, there must be other reasons besides the threat of a growing population of Jews that causes so much resentment. Dorfman (2016) describes how a large proportion of anti-Semitism in Hungary remains symbolic and theoretical with many anti-Semites actually having very little contact with the Jews they prejudice on a daily basis.

"Ironically, "most Jobbik voters wouldn't even recognize a Jew," Renyi says. "These voters most likely have never met a Jew, at least not one that they knew was a Jew. Their hatred is more abstract" (Dorfman, 2016:no pagination).

Here he's identifying the difference between the Arab-Jewish conflict and the anti-Semitism that occurs in Hungary today. The Arab-Jewish conflict remains a dispute over something tangible, for example land, whereas Hungarian anti-Semitism does not need actual Jews in order to exist, and therefore the discrimination remains theoretical. An example of this symbolic anti-Semitism was when a pig's foot was placed on a memorial to Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest, someone considered a Jewish saviour during the holocaust (Friedman, 2012). Evidence therefore suggests that the anti-Semitic ideology circulating Hungary is neurotic in a sense that it targets the 'Jewish Label' for no other reason than its name.

## The Case of Jobbik

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the movement from Communism to Post-Communism in Hungary in 1989 greatly increased the presence of far-right wing political activism. Extremist political parties, movements and groups have largely strengthened the anti-Roma and anti-Semitic ideologies in Hungary. These neo-fascist organisations remained mostly on the margins of Hungarian politics, however they have gained strength in the present day (Kovács, 2013). Jobbik remains a concerning popular party in Hungary, having emerged in 2003 as a result of Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja, Party of Hungarian Justice and Life (MEIP) failing to win enough seats in the 2002 national elections (Kovács, 2013). “Jobbik describes itself as a principled, conservative and radically patriotic Christian party” (FRA, 2013:40). The party takes a clear far-right wing stance, describing itself as ‘the movement for a better Hungary’. The ideological and political framework demonstrates branches of fascism and racism, regularly condoning anti-Roma and anti-Semitic statements. Figure 1 demonstrates the dramatic increase in the popularity of Jobbik from 2007 to 2012, posing great threat to Hungary’s current level of immigration, multiculturalism and ultimately racial equality.

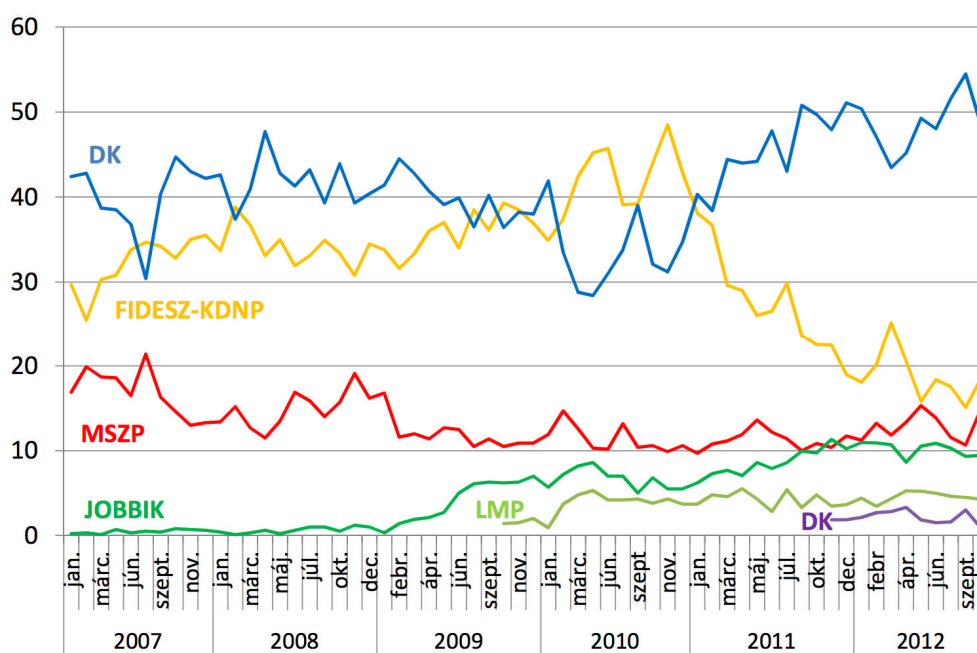


Figure 1: A graph to show the party preferences among all voters in Hungary from 2007-2012 (Bernát et al., 2012:31)

Firstly Jobbik’s Anti-Roma rhetoric will be discussed. As mentioned previously, the repression and discrimination of the Roma minority in Hungary is an on-going and targeted racial issue. The growing prejudice undoubtedly stems from Hungary’s political sphere, with parties such as Jobbik promoting anti-Roma ideas. Even though Jobbik may not currently be the elected Government, their political ideas are spreading at a rate that is very concerning for the future of Hungary’s racial equality. In fact, many argue that the electoral success of Jobbik stems from its anti-Roma rhetoric and its ability to legitimise racism (Zsuzsanna and Fox, 2014).

“In its election manifesto, Jobbik referred to ‘Gypsy issues’ as one of the most severe problems facing Hungarian society, with ‘Gypsy crime’ the most pressing issue” (FRA, 2013).

This demonstrates how Jobbik leaders have used the term ‘Gypsy crime’ to encourage the belief that Roma citizens are inherently criminal and therefore a threat to public security. In 2011 a survey demonstrated that an overwhelming number of Hungarians held negative attitudes towards the Roma. 60% of the total Hungarian population blamed criminality on ‘the blood of Gypsies’ (Human Rights First, 2015). An even larger 80% of Jobbik voters felt the same thing, arguing that the Roma Gypsies were prone to criminal behaviour (see figure 2). This therefore shows how Jobbik supporters are seemingly racist, with views most likely strengthened by the party’s political extremism. Further to this, the growth in the popularity of Jobbik has in many cases been linked to the continuing failure to integrate the Roma minority into mainstream society (United Nations, 2011). Jobbik’s encouragement

of ethnic cleansing through the development of its far-right extremist policies is undoubtedly limiting the socio-economic position of the Roma people, excluding them from all areas of society. Furthermore, Jobbik continues to exploit the fact that the population are hostile towards the Roma minority and so gain popularity by encouraging this further (Csiki, 2014). The lack of repercussions that both individual members and the party as a whole receive for being so openly racist, demonstrates the worrying level of anti-Roma acceptance in Hungary.

Further to this, the large number of violent attacks, marches and protests that reflect Jobbik involvement demonstrates the adverse impact that the party has had on integrating the Roma into Hungarian society. The violent march held in Devecser on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2012 (Cain, 2012) is one example of this. Jobbik, along with other far-right and undeniably racist groups held a violent and abrasive march, aimed at Roma settlements. 1,000 neo-Nazi demonstrators threw rocks and made threats towards the Roma, with little done by authorities to intervene or prevent further attacks (Cain, 2012). A similar march occurred shortly after in the town of Miskolc, largely inhabited by Roma communities. Jobbik supporters verbally attacked the Roma, through the chanting of slogans and other racist remarks. Amnesty International (2013) discusses the failure of the police to protect the Roma in this case and instead intervened with the peaceful counter-protest held by the Roma in response. Both marches clearly demonstrate the strength that Jobbik has to revitalise the hostility and racism towards the Roma, threatening the country's democracy. Jobbik, alongside other similar political organisations such as the 'New Hungarian Guard' and the 'Civil Guard Association for a Better Future' present a threat to Hungary's current level of multiculturalism. The empowerment of Jobbik would undoubtedly lead to further violent demonstrations and normalise the racism of Roma communities.

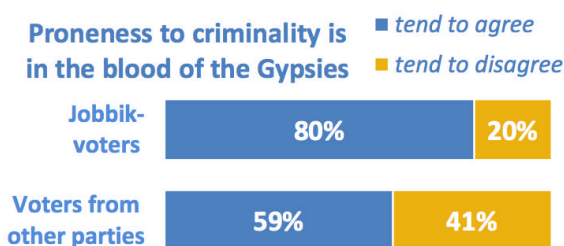


Figure 2:  
of Jobbik  
(Bernát et

showing the selected attitudes  
voters towards the Roma  
il., 2012:8)

Secondly, Jobbik's promotion of Anti-Semitism in Hungary is equally as important to consider. Jobbik, through violence and other forms of antagonistic politics, have not only gained strength in encouraging their anti-Roma rhetoric but also in validating their racist anti-Semitic agenda.

"The speaker said that her political party, Jobbik, would not let "the banks colonise Hungary," to which the group of young skinheads next to me responded: "It's the Jews! It's the...Jews! Stop the Jews!" (Murer, 2015:79).

Many Hungarians who also hold radical far-right wing political views have a worrying amount of faith in Jobbik to endorse their racist and intimidating attitudes towards Jewish communities. It remains unknown as to whether the people of Hungary initiated the anti-Semitic ideology and therefore Jobbik has used this to encourage widespread support. Alternatively, Jobbik itself may have reinforced anti-Semitic ideas as a result of racist and ignorant party leaders. Whichever the case, Jobbik's extremist views have negatively influenced Hungarian society, many of which have been denied by its party leaders.

Special Rapporteur (United Nations, 2011) demonstrates a growing concern over Jobbik's openly anti-Semitic statements. In 2010 the Criminal Code was changed in order to criminalise the denial of the holocaust, however there are still concerns from the United Nations Human Rights that anti-Semitism in Hungary still persists (United Nations, 2011). The Special Rapporteur (2011) indicates that Jobbik's principles undermine Jewish human rights of equality and non-discrimination. For example, in reference to the Gaza conflict, Márton Gyöngyösi, a Jobbik Member of Parliament criticised Hungary's pro-Israel stance stating that:

"I think such a conflict makes it timely to tally up people of Jewish ancestry who live here, especially in the Hungarian Parliament and the Hungarian government, who, indeed, pose a national security risk to Hungary." (Dunai, 2012:no pagination).

This therefore shows how the strengthening of Jobbik's political status could ultimately encourage further isolation and exclusion of Jewish people. History suggests that such openly fascist political views held by those in power can evidently lead to social disorder and in the worst of cases to genocide. The Holocaust (1933-1945) for example, saw the execution of 569,507 Hungarian Jews (Braham, 2000:252) and was simply the result of blind hatred and the racist views held by those in power. "At one extreme are the Jews of Nazi propaganda; the threat is purely an ideological invention" (Breuilly et al., 2006). Therefore there is reason to suggest that the election of Jobbik poses similar threats to Hungary's social cohesion and ethnic diversity, if such racist ideology continues to exist.

## **Conclusion**

This paper has successfully discussed the processes of racialisation appropriate to the anti-Roma and anti-Semitic rhetoric that circulates throughout Hungary. The recurring theme is the promotion of racism through political ideologies and forms of discriminative propaganda, for example through the growing political party, Jobbik. Racism in Hungary is institutionalised by authorities and in many ways reflects a fear of multiculturalism and the desire to maintain the Hungarian race. There are evidently variations in skin colour across Hungarian nationals, however racism surrounding this is minimal. Instead racism occurs when ethnic minorities, namely the Roma and the Jews, fail to assimilate into Hungarian culture, for example through the adoption of the Hungarian language.

Furthermore, one concluding remark is that the problem of racism in Hungary perhaps differs from the conventional forms of racism that may be found in other similar or neighbouring countries. The racist ideology in Hungary is very much based upon a social construction of race, instead of it being inherently based upon skin colour. As a result, this prejudice is based upon the respective histories, differences in cultural values and the Hungarian desire for ethnic cleansing. The fact that both the Roma and the Jews experience different forms of racism demonstrates how they are targeted purely for their label, instead of the fact that they are an ethnic minority. Furthermore, the racism in Hungary is evidently linked to the ideas proposed by Symbolic Interactionism. "The key to understanding race prejudice, accordingly, is to study "the process by which racial groups form images of themselves and of others"" (Blumer, 1958:3, cited in Esposito and Murphy, 1999:397). Racism in Hungary may therefore be a social construction formed by the negative labelling of both the Roma and the Jews.

To conclude, it is evident that there is still a vast amount of racial prejudice aimed at ethnic minorities in Hungary. Despite a slight change in laws and an increase in anti-discrimination strategies, the problem of the anti-Roma and anti-Semitic rhetoric still exists. The Roma Gypsies face day-to-day exploitation and exclusion in education, housing and employment, with three quarters of them being unemployed (CERD, 1996). This, alongside the negative treatment by law enforcement agencies limits their social mobility and maintains their impoverished status. Furthermore, the key aspect to draw from the discussion of anti-Semitism relates to its psychological form. The anti-Semitic philosophy in Hungary is based upon a symbolic hostility that dates back many years. As a result, the position of the Roma and the Jews in Hungary can only change if political and institutional racism decreases, therefore welcoming multiculturalism as beneficial and advantageous.



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