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Migration – Prejudice – Xenophobia
Study on Xenophobia in the Area of Home Affairs

Annotation: If we want to take steps against discrimination and adverse treatment in Hungary, we need to know where and how the ways of thinking and the courses of action legitimising discrimination in the public eye develop and live on. I conducted research on xenophobia among the staff of the Police, the Prison Service and the Office of Immigration and Nationality. After summarising the results of the research conducted in the sector of internal affairs, I defined short-term tasks and long-range objectives.

Keywords: Migration, prejudice, xenophobia, aliens, xenophobic, xenophile, considering, police, Office of Immigration and Nationality, Hungarian Prison Service

„Prejudice is like a children's disease having lifelong consequences as polio or rheumatic cardiac disease; adults are hardly ever developing these diseases."[1]

Methodology of the study

While working on the publication, I analysed documents. I used the methods of analysis and synthesis for the systematic arrangement of the material. From among the data collecting methods, for the primary collection of data I did an independent survey by conducting questionnaire-based investigations. The secondary collection of data was mainly based on the data of the TÁRKI Social Research Institute. I used mathematical methods to analyse the gathered statistical data. I indicated the sources of special literature referred to in the study, which are also listed at the end of the paper.

Introduction

The phenomenon of migration is of the same age as the history mankind. Migration as a pressure and opportunity for the survival of a particular community, combined with the aspiration to conquer other territories, escape disasters has been present already in the prehistoric times. Ernst Georg Ravenstein was the first in the beginning of the 20th century drawing up the theory of the migration of the modern age recognizing the fundamental role of the „push" and „pull" factors evoking people's movements.[2]

The two main types of migration are the external, i.e., migration among countries and internal, i.e., migration within a country. As for the consequences of migration it has to be taken into consideration what negative and positive processes are generated by it.

According to Samuel P. Huntington „if demography is the fate itself then the migration is the engine of the history".[3] In other words migration is unavoidable and is an issue tightly related to the history of the mankind; it has been there in our life for centuries, sometimes in an aggressive at other times in a peaceful form. The process cannot be stopped but by way applying reasonable demographic and migration policies, long term concepts the risks can be mitigated while the advantages are getting stronger. .

In Europe in almost every country parallel to the decreasing population the society is aging, the age tree is taking a negative shape: always less people have to provide always for

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[1] Géza Simon: The failure of integration. Népszabadság, November 6 2013.

[2] Delfs, Silke: Ursachen und Fornen menschlicher Wanderungs Dewegungen in historischer Perspektive - 1993. 42-45. o.

[3] Huntington, Samuel P.: The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking the World Order: Európa Kiadó, 2006. p 237.

more and that can lead to the collapse of the social provision systems. The population of the developed world partly due to the migration has doubled in the past 100 years while that of the underdeveloped countries has quadrupled, without any immigration. This means the demographic reserves of the developed world are the underdeveloped countries as the immigration seems to be the only means to counterbalance the decrease of the population, to make up the active generation, ready to work (until 2050 about 13,5 million immigrants are expected to arrive to the European Union).[4]

The disadvantages that are mainly experienced at macro level include security risk factors (terrorism, organised crime) as well as negative impacts on the social conditions and national economy.

In the 21st century one of the major globalization factor is migration, a complex phenomenon generating simultaneously economic, social, ethnical, and religious problems threatening the national and regional security but could be also the source of the wealth, sustaining the demographic situation, improving the statistics, humanitarian solutions.

In summary: a category hard to deal with but has to be dealt with. „In the everyday world of our modern times the international migration can be sensed more and more. It is organically related to the social processes both in terms of volume and pace as it is gradually growing, its shape and ways are gradually transforming.[5]

The national diversity can enrich the receiving countries but the receiving countries have to provide a safe environment where the diversity is respected, where those most exposed are protected from discrimination, racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and xenophobia.

A key of the successful integration of the migrants is the attitude of the receiving society vis-a-vis diversity and „different" people. In other words the success of the integration is not only up to the efforts of the migrants but also to the open-minded society of the receiving country.

However, the migration influxes result in social tensions in the receiving countries. The reasons and shapes evoking these tensions are multi-layered. In the first place we have to mention the prejudices amid groups of the society.

„The *prejudices* amid the groups of the society carry the risk of discrimination based on categories (i.e., not based on individual aspects) that can result in interactions seriously disturbing the co-existence of the people.

These will be the endless source of impatience, violence, and discrimination generating hidden and open conflicts in large groups of people."[6]

The most frequent reasons of conflicts related to the migrants and this is not an exhaustive list - are the following:

- the most frequent one is the miscommunication (it is a general truth that 80% of the conflicts are due to miscommunication); lack of information; the good decisions are information-based. if we want to manage the conflicts we first have to manage the communication system, the information flow; non-conscious prejudices: these generate non-conscious attitude, gradually distort information resulting in bad decisions (e.g., in relation with Arabic people);
- lack of knowledge concerning the traditional written or unwritten rules deriving from the religion, origin, ethnicity followed by the aliens participating in a conflict;
- different cultural values, rules of the parties to a conflict. It often happens that a group of people, a nation is following different rules than the „native" people, this being the

[4] Póczik Szilveszter-Dunavölgyi Szilveszter: International Migration – International Risks. - Bp.: HVG-ORAC Lap- és Könyvkiadó Kft., 2008. p. 34-41. o.
[5] Melegh Attila: Globalisation and Migration. Korfa, 2002. 1. issue.
[6] Social psychology. Editor.: Csepeli György, Bp., Osiris Kiadó, 1997. p. 491

cause of a conflict;

- conflict of interest: one can beat the other only by causing damages to the other. This is often causing conflicts because the conflict is seen as a winner-looser situation. It would be more reasonable to deploy a problem solving strategy.[7]

A proper tool to manage the prejudices developing as a result of the migration in the countries of destination are the integrative social policy, the education, the utilisation of the power of media shaping the public opinion.

As in most of the countries learning, hearing about empathy to be felt with the migrants is missing from the educational system, is not part of the shaping of the opinion thus the *disapproval of the migrants* based on prejudices is almost guaranteed and with the globalization of the migration is getting closer to the *xenophobia*.

The concept of *xenophobia* is a feeling, is an approach that is not based on rationality, on objective facts but on images, ideas created by the society (image of the migrants – e.g., „refugees aboard a raft"). While in Central and Eastern Europe the primary victims of xenophobia are the local minorities in Western Europe these are the migrants, refugees including those arriving from the Eastern-European countries.

Although the fear from the aliens is morally unacceptable and goes against everything we understand by the culture of human rights the xenophobia is still not illegal thus is not punishable. Consequently only the practical manifestations of xenophobia can be punished in case the law considers them a crime (e.g., uncovered or violent actions based on xenophobia as racist attacks, negative discrimination at the work place, verbal abuse, ethnic cleansing, genocide, etc.).

The everyday experiences illustrate that quite often the disapproval of the aliens, the xenophobia is not without a reason as the habits, behaviour of the migrants coming from developing countries and those of the inhabitants of the developed countries are significantly different. Beyond the disapproval of the eventually deviant behaviour the fact that the migrants receive public money, social welfare services thus endangering the situation of the population of the receiving country is adding to that feeling.

In the times of crisis the external forms of migration carry more than usual irritating factors. Irritating can be the unexpectedly high number of the migrants, the masses of refugees arriving. It can be also irritating for the population of the receiving country if the newly arriving people are extremely poor, if the civilization and cultural, religious gap between them and the migrants is too deep.

II. Xenophobia researches

Both the international and domestic studies provide evidence for the strengthening of the prejudices, xenophobia or disapproval of the migrants in the countries affected.

The international studies related to the aliens/foreigners are rooted in different social political historical past, country by country, region by region. Probably because of the different traditions there is not a single national „xenology", an independent discipline to study the relations between the aliens and the receiving society. One explanation why an independent discipline cannot take shape is that „xenos", the movement is generated by the migration in the social structure and in the discourses while the migration is such a complicated social phenomenon that its scientific laws are difficult to define.

In case we would attempt to set up groups of the research areas of xenology three areas should be focused on:

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[7] Tájok Péter: Special Needs Relating to the Measures Taken by the Police from a Different Aspect. Scientific Publications by Pécsi Határőr X. Pécs, 2009.p 406-407. o.

1. migration studies, dealing primarily with immigration, citizenship and integration;
2. racism- and xenophobia-related studies;
3. studies focusing on social coexistence (assimilation, multiculturism, interculturism, cultural studies, ethnicity).

A serious difficulty with all the three areas is that either they have to contribute to the construction of the „xenos" (in sociological sense: the social order/structure is creating the recognizable alien itself) or it has to deeply ethnic/race/origin categories.

A high number of analytical studies were drawn up to explain the fact and the ways of – subject to many variables - disapproving the aliens. Based on all that the facts explaining the disapproval of aliens can be summarized as follows:

- social-demographic variables (educational background, age, domicile, type and regional position of the community, social status, financial situation);
- economic variables;
- political variables;
- cultural variables;
- subjective variables;
- variables of cognitive nature;
- contextual variable relating to migration;
- media.

In the recent years a „European xenophobia discourse" has been taking shape mainly against the migrants, based on the national study traditions and exchange of opinions. This is reflected in part in the joint European studies, mainly financed by the European Union but also in the political discourse using the term „Europa Fortress"[8], either as a goal to attain, or a loathed and disapproved output of an existing and more and more coordinated European policy.

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation from Germany published the results of a comparative study in 2011 covering 8 member countries of the EU. The study was conducted in the following countries: United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy and Portugal. One thousand people were interviewed in each country. The finding of the study was that cohesion, the solidarity among the member states, the perspectives of the democratic development are not only threatened by the institutional and socio-economic crisis but also the general prejudices, different country by country that are actuating disintegration are burdening it.

The findings of the study of 2012 of the Hungarian Political Capital based on the European value crisis show that regarding prejudices and welfare chauvinism Latvia is the most intolerant, Greece is in the third place while Hungary is taking the second place.

The measurable and according to the international standards also high disapproval of aliens among the Hungarian population is not typically structural but rather symbolic. Hungary is not the only country in this respect as the international migration related developments of the last decades have generated the need for a new approach, namely that the migration be primarily not seen as an economic or sociological but rather as a political and communication related issue. The example of Hungary is applicable because of two tightly related reasons.

1. The first reason is that there is no significant migration in Hungary. The great majority of the almost quarter of a million migrants having settled down in Hungary are ethnic Hungarians therefor the often mentioned civilization-cultural conflict in

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[8] Because of its restrictive migration policy is Europe called Europe Fortress

other countries is not – except for the relatively high number of Chinese people – relevant. Consequently the disapproval of migrants is related to the migrants as a group of aliens and not as different groups of people with various ethnic backgrounds.

2. The other reason is that there are no issues or experiences with the migrants on a daily level thus the open discussions concerning the migration are shaping the image of and the attitude vis-a-vis migration. There is a general image of a migrant, and an image drawn by the political discussion and the media.[9]

A key condition of the successful integration of the migrants is that the behaviour, attitude of the receiving society be not hostile. The studies conducted in the field in Hungary let us draw the conclusion that the hostile feelings in the Hungarians vis-a-vis migrants are growing.

The adult Hungarian population has been disapproving with the aliens for decades. The evidence of this is the almost 20 years' timeline of TÁRKI[10]. They ask every year whether all the asylum seekers should be allowed to enter the country or not. In 2011 – just like in all the previous five years – three out of ten (32 %) said no, they would not receive not even one asylum seeker. The additional six people (60 %) would base their decision on the nationality, ethnicity of the asylum seekers but the majority would not let enter the country anyone and only one out of ten said that all the asylum seekers should be received by Hungary. Unfortunately the results of the survey in 2012 were even worse than that.

In contrast to the 29-32 % of the past five years 40 % of the adult population decided to give the xenophobic answer to the question, i.e., no asylum seekers should be allowed to enter this country. In 2012 only 11 % could be considered alien-friendly. They are the ones who answered that yes, all the asylum seekers should be allowed to enter the country. The majority, 49 % would consider whether the asylum should be granted or denied (the proportion of this group was around 60 % in the previous five years). (Figure 1.)[11]
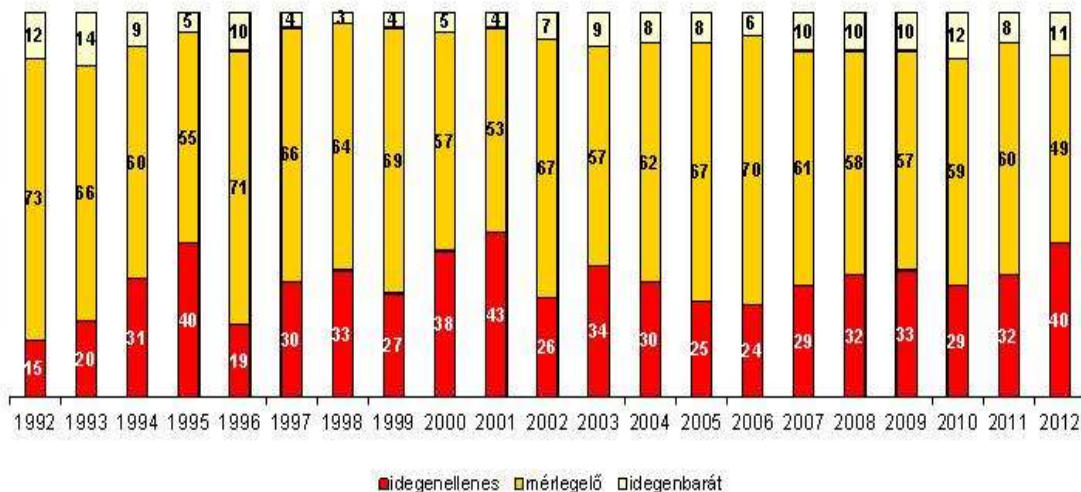
Forrás: TÁRKI Magyar Háztartás Panel 1992-1997, TÁRKI Omnibusz-kutatás 1998-2012

Figure 1.

[9] Látlelet 2008. Kutatási összefoglaló az előítéletesség és intolerancia hazai helyzetéről. Magyar Antirasszista Alapítvány, 38. o.

[10] TÁRKI: Szakpolitikai elemzések, Társadalom- és gazdaságkutatás, Felmérések, Társadalomstatisztika, Adatbányászat 1985 óta

[11] http://www.vg.hu/kozelet/tarsadalom/16- eve-nem-latott-magas-szinten-az-idegenellenesseg-magyarorszagon-375337 2012. május 23.

The proportion of the openly xenophobes, the alien-friendlies and those considering between 1992 and 2012

It is not exaggeration that today every fourth Hungarian adult is openly xenophobic. . The age and educational background is jointly and separately influences this significantly.   Based on the results of the 2011 survey with the raise of the educational level the proportion of the openly xenophobes is drastically decreasing. (Figure 2.)
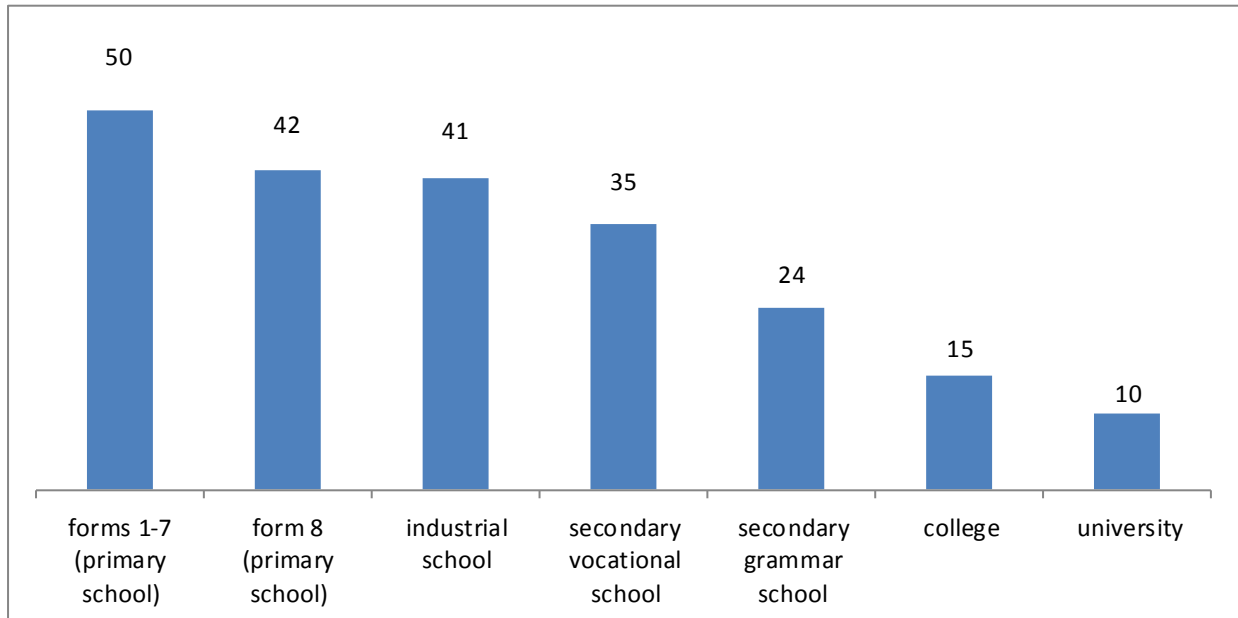

Figure 2.
Proportion of openly xenophobic based on their educational background (%)

The age of the respondents is at least as important in these questions relating to the acceptance of migrants; one fourth of the young adults (18-23 years of age) openly rejects the migrants, almost half of the older aged respondents (22 +) would not accept even one migrant. However, if we examine the combined impact of the age and education of the respondents the effect of the age is not that obvious.[12]

If in case of the study of 2012 we want to see in which group of the society is the proportion of the openly xenophobic higher than the average what we find is that the xenophobia is higher than average (40 %) in the „outsider" social groups (does not vote, plans to work abroad), and among the „loosers" (low level of education, unemployment, unpaid public utility bills, no own home) and Romas (they match with both of the previous groups), as well as those voting for Jobbik and living in Central-Transdanubia.[13] (Figure 3.)

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[12]http://www.vg.hu/kozelet/tarsadalom/idegenellenesseg-a-magyarok-kozt-az-oktatas-bizonyitottan-segit-363863 2012. április 24.

[13] http://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2012/kitekint/20120516-idegenellenesseg.html 2012. május 23.
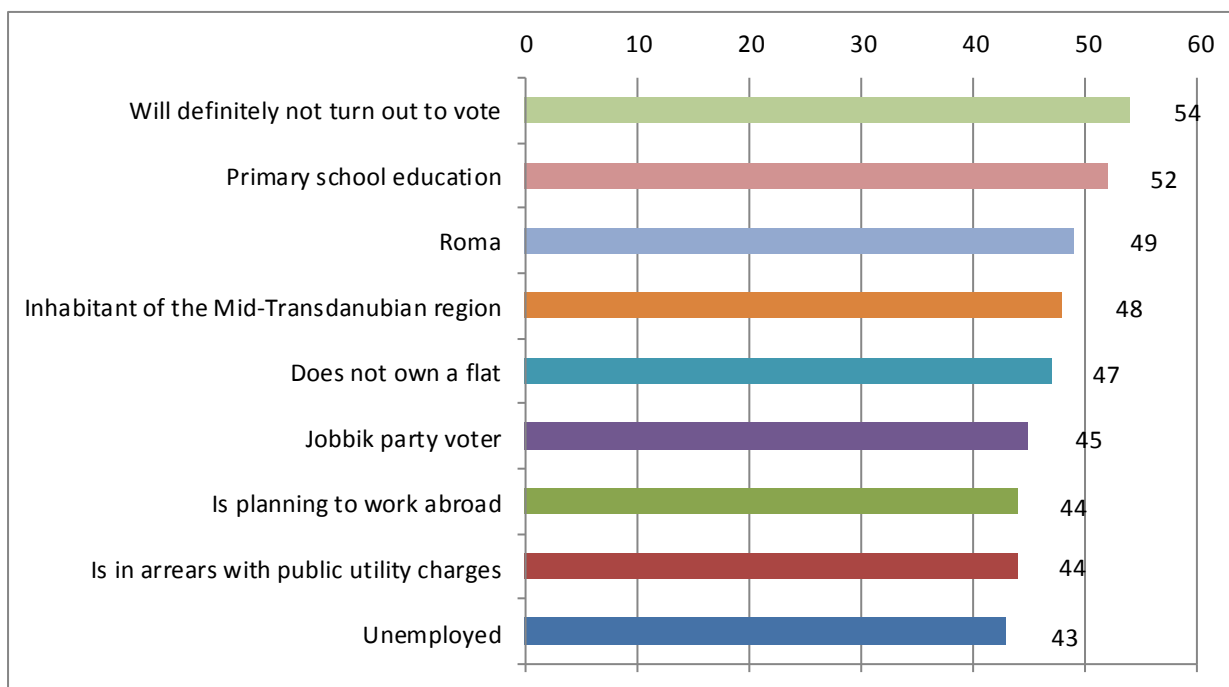
Figure 3.

Groups of society where the proportion of the openly xenophobes is higher than average (2012, %)

The comprehensive sociological study of Corvinus University compared the motives of migration with the attitude of the Hungarian society. Behind the scientific findings of the study it is becoming clear that in Hungary xenophobia is growing although we have very few, only 2000 aliens in the country, representing 2% of the total population. In the other member countries of the EU this proportion is 4%. In the large European countries about 20 million migrants are staying legally while 10 million EU citizens live in other countries. While the estimated number of the illegal migrants in Europe is 4-4, 5 million and about half a million people are arrested because of illegal border crossing Hungary is not suffering from the migration influxes at that degree.[14]

III. Prejudice/Xenophobia Study in the Area of the Home Affairs Sector

In case in Hungary –as in a EU member state – we wish to do something against discrimination, negative attitudes we have to be aware of how those ways of thinking and behaviours are legitimating the discrimination in the eyes of the people.

Based on the this axiom and the findings of earlier research work I have conducted studies with the purpose to find out what the police officers' attitude is vis-a-vis aliens. This was the subject of my thesis – The migration in Hungary, conditions and opportunities of managing it" – in the autumn of 2010 at the Doctoral School of the Zrínyi Miklós University of Defence. Is their attitude different in case of citizens of different countries, do they deploy different methods when taking actions, are they biased and if so how is that manifested? How far and much are those attitudes, behaviours typical of them that are typical - based on the surveys conducted among the civilian population – of the Hungarian society. In my study I wanted to explore whether the law enforcement education is influencing this attitude, approach at all and if yes is it a negative or positive change.

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[14] http://nol.hu/velemeny/20120331-szeret-nem-szeret 2012. április 24.

III. 1. Research work done at the police

The research work focused on those police officers who often have some kind of a contact with aliens and also on future policemen; secondary school and college students. In the sample of 800 used by the study I included the police officers working at the Budapest Police Riot Department, at the Police Directorate of the Airport, border police officers, patrolling officers, first grade and graduating students of the Police College[15], the students of the Secondary School for Law Enforcement of Adyliget. The involvement of those officers was important because they are the ones who regularly meet and work with aliens on a daily basis.

The data collection was performed by way of using structured questioners, with closed end questions. According to the concept the relations to the aliens is determined by the attitudes developed in institutional and personal correlations.[16]
The dimensions of the study were the following:
- power attitudes (authoriter power: questions 16, 18-20, 26-29; power of the majority: questions31-32.)
- solidarity attitudes (question 30.)
- interpersonal attitudes (questions 33-35.)
- receiving-rejecting attitudes (questions 12-15., 17. 21-25.)

The first eleven questions of the questionnaire are helping with the determination of the social-demographic variables (age, gender, function at the police, etc.). The further question were aiming at the attitudes, relation to the groups of aliens (Chinese, Arabic, Afghani, African, Turkish, „Pirez", Kosovar, EU citizen, Ukrainians).

The representativity of the study is provided by the age, rank and place of duty of the active police officers (440) – 56, 3% of the sample.

The questionnaire was answered by 763 individuals. There is a male dominance (77, 5% male, 22, 5% female) found. Due to the age structure of the police force almost half of the sample (47, 3%) was under 25 years of age, while 16, 1% was above 36 years of age. 94, 3% of the respondents work in an urban area, more than a half of them in Budapest.

The police officers accept more the economic reasons behind migration than political persecution. In case of political persecution the dispersion of the answers seems to be accidental: 35, 8% of the respondents are dismissive, 34% are responsive, 30, 2% are irresolute. 57% of the respondents are responsive to the „better life" explanation and only 21% are dismissive. It is very interesting that concerning education, health care and better housing conditions the answers were random meaning the respondents do not attach a great importance to these reasons. In other words: they can express their opinion only in terms of „better life". Broken down the answers by age, gender, education, urban/countryside the same proportion is found.

The willingness to receive aliens is selective, there is a significant difference among the three categories considered; ethnic Hungarians living outside Hungary, everyone in need, every migrant ready to be integrated) The 46,9% of the respondents would receive the ethnic Hungarians, 45,2% the migrants ready to be integrated, and 14,3% would receive all those in need. There is no correlation among these groups, i.e., the ethnic Hungarians would be received regardless their willingness to integrate, those wanting to integrate would be received without considering their origin. When asking about accepting - dismissing relating to

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[15] At the time the article was published the name was: Facultyt of Law Enforcement, national University of Public Service

[16] The study in this respect follows the study conducted by Ferenc Krémer in 2004 at the Police College. The assessment of the study results was supported by Professor Krémer.

concrete groups it turned out that the acceptance rate is very low, or rather the rejection is almost evident. Only the group of the EU citizens is a possible exception.

These answers mean that the police officers do not want to receive almost anyone. Not even the ethnic Hungarians reach the 50% (47%) while only 14, 3% of them would accept those in need.

These data demonstrate that the willingness to receive is very low. The indices are the means of the variables asked in the different questions that exclude the values of the answers given to the questions relating to the EU citizens, those are grouped separately thus cannot be assessed together with the opinions relating to people coming from other countries or from outside the EU. The average of the indices relating to the receiving and integration of the aliens reflect, combined with a relatively low dispersion rejection. The most dismissive are active police officers; the least dismissive are the college students.

Although the students of the Police College are the least dismissive there is a significant difference between the opinion of the first-year and third-year students; the first-year students are much more responsive than the third-year students. As it seems the closer the students get to the start of the work the more they become similar to the active police officers. Probably this is also due to the cognitive dissonance, the psychological status when the individual is experiencing a contradiction between his/her own attitudes, beliefs, thoughts and acts.

The college students have to be compared to the police officers and not to the active policemen in general. The fresh graduates have to be more „intolerant" in order to reach the level of the active police officers. However, the difference between the officers and NCOs is also obvious. What this means is that the secondary school students have to move a long way away from their initial standpoint in order to become average police officers – seen from the aspects of the survey.

In case we examine jointly, for all the groups the willingness to receive what we find is that there are only a few factors determining it. The dependent variables have always a negative effect, i.e., they reduce the willingness to receive if the respondent is a man or if he thinks that the aliens do not respect the law or if, in his opinion they underestimate the Hungarians. The strongest effect has if he believes the migration harms the interest of the country.

Excluding the EU citizens about 60% is the proportion of those who believe that the aliens would integrate into the Hungarian society. They strongly believe that the not even existent „Pirezes" would be able to integrate least (77%).

If we look at the relation between the integration index and opinion about the aliens it becomes obvious that all these are negatively correlated with expectations related to the integration. This is even stronger in case of the variables strongly related; „the aliens do not respect the law", „the aliens underestimate the Hungarians

The inclusion is influenced by suppositions and beliefs. Turning around the question; it is worth asking what does determine the opinion related to the aliens. The integration index, in order to avoid tautology was left out from the sample.

The opinions on the aliens are mainly determined by those variables that relate to them being dangerous, harmful, and to the force that has to be applied with them. There is correlation between being dangerous and the opinion on the aliens, but no correlation with being harmful. The aliens are mainly judged to be dangerous because they believe they have to be forced and the other way round. There is also a correlation between believing them to be dangerous and that they have to be coerced. Apparently there is a close system of opinion; according to that aliens are dangerous, they have negative characteristics and they have to be coerced to do things.

Three sets of opinion are taking shape form the data of the questionnaire. The three

factors combined explain 52, 9% of the dispersion of the variants in the model:

1. Factor: impersonal, dismissive attitude

The first factor reflects the opinion that rejects the receiving of the aliens based on generalized judgements. This latent variable explains 19, 4% of the model's dispersion. The aliens carry negative characteristics, are presented as dangerous, aggressive criminals, and migration is considered to be detrimental.

We may call this factor impersonal because the variables relating to the interpersonal relations are hardly correlating with it but even these weak correlations are negative in their nature.

This opinion is quite dangerous because without any personal experiences are the migrants graded and this is why we can consider it to be a prejudice. The obvious consequence is that it would not protect the aliens in need and that working together with aliens would not be desired.

2. Factor: interpersonal, receiving attitude

This factor is almost as strong as the previous one and explains 18, 1% of the variables of the model. As it is shown by the correlation of the variables with the factor the most important attribute is the acceptance of the personal contact with the migrants. However, it is also typical that it remains in the private sector, i.e., it has no relation with the operation of the police, the public sector and is not interested in the general opinion concerning aliens, in the integration willingness to integrate.

3. Factor: impersonal receiving attitude

This factor explains 15, 4% of the dispersion of the model, i.e., it is weaker than the previous ones. It can be considered the inverse of the previous factor. This is also receiving but the functions of the personal relations are minimal – therefor the solidarity is also weaker. Much stronger is, on the other hand the impact of the public sector, that the police shall protect the aliens in need and the level of education offered shall be of the same standard as the education of the Hungarians. The expectations that related to the personal relations in the interpersonal receiving attitude – children in the same class, health care provision in the same institutions – here relates to the operation of the institutions, to the openness of the public sector. The positive opinion on the integration of the aliens has to be understood also in this context; it should be considered rather a system integration and less social integration. Probably this can be the meaning of it also in the Factor 2.

Factors 2 and 3 are relatively well separated; they do not constitute one joint factor. They are related only at a few points but the variables are different in their meaning in each of them.

The conclusion of the results of the study conducted by me in the police is that in general there is no relevant difference between the opinion, attitude, position of the civil population and the officials working directly in the area of migration management concerning the receiving and integration of the migrants. Another conclusion of the study could be that the attitude of the respondents is negatively changing subject to the length of education, to meeting and working with migrants on a daily basis.

In order to mitigate the prejudices against migrants, the xenophobia typical for Hungary and higher than the international average I extended my research work outside the police force. In 2011 I continued my research work at the Office of Immigration and Nationality among the officials dealing with enforcement and case administration.

In order to have a more comprehensive image of the attitude of the officials working in the area of home affairs I continued my studies in 2012 at that group of staff of the Prison Service who work with aliens sentenced to imprisonment. .

III. 2. Study at the Office of Immigration and Nationality

The study was a based on a sample of 327, including 26 officials working at the Reception Centre in Bicske and Debrecen, 264 officials of the Regional Directorates of the Office of Immigration and Nationality and 37 officials from the Central Directorate of the OIN. Involving these officials in the sample was important because they are the ones who work on a daily basis with the aliens, with the migrants.

For the sake of facilitating the comparison the research methodology (questioners and computerized processing) was identical with the one used at the police.

The first eleven questions of the questionnaire help with the definition of the social-demographic variables:

- gender of the respondent,
- age,
- family status,
- domicile,
- workplace,
- education,
- foreign language skills,
- reasons of career choice.

By way of using the further question the attitudes relating to Chinese, Arabic, Afghanis, African, Turkish, "Pirez", Kosovar , EU citizen, Ukrainian was assessed, the responses to be given on a scale of 1-5.

In the study the receiving readiness is represented by the following groups of variables:

1. How much do you agree with the grounds aliens leave their own country for?
2. Who do you believe should be allowed to settle down in Hungary?
3. Who should Hungary embrace? (everyone, nobody, it depends...)
4. Do you think Hungary should embrace those belonging to the groups listed here?

The reasons for migration can be in general divided into two parts. The first group includes political, origin, religious, national, social reasons. These can be considered immaterial reasons. The other, the material group includes better life, education, health care, and housing. Based on the types of answers given to the questions the affiliation to a group of the society could be listed under the material reasons but this is not correlating with the variables belonging to the other group therefore I included it into the group of immaterial reasons. From the responses we see that in case of material reasons the respondents are much more uncertain, although a significant difference in refusal is in case of „better housing" only, amounting in total 37, 9%, in contrast with the 16% of the „better life".

The larger part of the respondents would enable the settling down for everyone. However, with the tough condition stipulated by the questionnaire the options of interpretation are very narrow as integration and assimilation are considered to be identical. This had to be taken into consideration at the assessment of the analysis. This becomes extremely important when we see that more than half of the respondents (55,4%) disagrees that everyone in need should be allowed to settle down However, this option would be granted in case the aliens would be ready to be assimilated, i.e., they would not be different any longer.

The receiving is by most of the respondents is bound to conditions. The conditions are identical with assimilations because there is no correlation between the two variables.

In case we look at the willingness of receiving aliens by groups of migrants the first thing to note is that in most of the cases the respondents are hesitant. The other thing to note is that apart from the EU citizens and the Ukrainians they are rather dismissive, i.e., combined proportion of the answers „absolutely disagree" and „disagree" is exceeding the proportion of the answer „fully agree" and „agree". In case of Arabs, Afghanis and Africans this proportion is higher than 40%. The highest it is in case of the non-existent "Pirez", 46, 7%.

The question is why is the proportion of the hesitants is so high and why is it rather dismissive.

As a result of the regression analysis having used the indices generated from possible determinants we found that the inclusion of the groups of migrants is influenced by four factors. The main factor is the presumed integration of the migrants. This is followed by the immaterial reason of the migration, in other words whether the reasons behind the migration belong to this group or not. These two indices have a positive effect, i.e., the higher the chances are for the integration of the migrants, the more the respondents believe that they came for immaterial reasons the more receiving the respondents are. The migrants considered to be dangerous have an adverse effect.

Consequently, the uncertainty of the willingness to receive migrants is caused by the trust in the integration and the level of hazard. Both of these are complex cultural elements.

The willingness to receive migrants is differentiated by gender. age and education.

On the scale of 1-5 used by the questionnaire the average remained close to the mean. It also true, tough, that it is higher in case of men, but the difference is not significant especially in terms of receiving. In case of non-Hungarian migrants men are more dismissive than women.

With the growing age of the respondents the immaterial reasons of migration become more and more acceptable, while the acceptance of the material reasons decreases. The willingness to receive is also growing while the preference for ethnic Hungarian migrants decreases. This is complement with the increasing need for assimilation and the unconditional acceptance of the migrants.

It is interesting that the secondary school graduates show –except for the assimilations and acceptance of the immaterial reasons – higher averages than college graduates. The values of that group in case of receiving different groups of migrants are almost as high as that of the university graduates. We should rather say „low" because in all the educational categories the results are under 3, i.e., in the „dismissive" category. The assimilation is mainly accepted by the college- and secondary school- graduates.

The *administrative power* describes the attitude vis-a-vis target groups considered proper by those having some kind of an official power. A cultural pattern independent from the social status outside the position is generated that is determined by the official status. These patterns are differentiated according to the social-official preferences seen from the offices point of view, i.e., what is the role to be played by the offices in the social processes.

In the study the following questions related to the administrative power: danger to the society from migrants, necessity of forcing them to obey and protecting them. The grade of being dangerous was estimated relatively low – between the average 1, 8 of the EU citizens and 2, 8 of the Arabs. With the exceptions of the EU citizens and "Pirez" one third of the respondents were hesitant when judging on being dangerous.

Although the majority is either hesitant or does not consider the migrants to be dangerous there is a certain proportion who believe migrants are dangerous.

Less than 10% believes that the aliens are maleficent. This is way below the alleged dangerousness of the individual groups. When assessing the correlation what we find is that

dangerousness is correlating both with the undefined hazard and the committing of crimes.

The correlation matrix highlights very interesting connections by drawing the attention to the positive correlation between the qualities of the migrants, their dangerousness and having to enforce them and to the negative correlation with their integration. This means that the more the respondents accept that the migrants have negative qualities the more they see them dangerous and unable to integrate. The relation between danger and coercion is also as tight as that.

Seeing these relations what we find is that not the negative opinion in itself but that combined with dangerousness is determinant. However, the impact of the negative qualities is not identical. In the eyes of the respondents those qualities of the migrants turn out to be dangerous that are disintegrative in their nature (selfishness, lack of consideration, crime, not respecting the law, looking down on Hungarians, stealing their job). The opinion concerning the necessity of coercion is following the dangerousness. It is also obvious that the negative qualities are not originating from the conflicts between respondents and migrants. The correlation coefficients were very low, except for „selfishness". Even more interesting is that not even the disintegrative qualities are correlating with the values of the integration index meaning these determine only at lower level the supposition relating to the integration.

Exploring the qualities by migrants' groups we find low correlation coefficients. There is some correlation in the „selfishness" variables in case of the Africans and Kosovars but even there they are quite weak. The strongest correlations can be found at the „looking down on Hungarians" and „not respecting the law". The first is aiming at the majority power the second one is indicating the speciality of the given administrative power.

To describe the structure of the administrative power in the model the receiving and the integration indices have to be taken into consideration. The factor analysis resulted in two different approaches in the particular model. The first one is dismissive, emphasizing the dangerousness and negative qualities and based on these rejects the receiving. The second one is dominated by the receiving and the integration and this is significantly decreases the supposition of the negative effects. It is also interesting that while in case of the first factor the protecting task of the office is greatly rejected, in case of the second one it does not have any importance.

The *majority power* is showing the opinions relating to the access to the public goods and to the cultural sample models. According to the majority power approach the public goods are owned by the majority. The more limited the access rights are the more room is needed for the majority group. Subject to the way of access to and the types of public goods the recognition of eligibility also varies. The general eligibility is accepted more effortlessly than eligibility that includes some personal contact with the migrants. The bigger the difference between the two the more the segregation is accepted. Those groups of aliens that are denied not only to the non-personal but also to the general eligibility are not segregated but marginalized.

Two-third of the respondents accepts the education at equal standards except the non-existent "Pirez". In their case at least four times more have denied the right to the education at equal standards than in case of the other groups. However, the proportion of those accepting it is close to the others'.

In the distribution of those answers that suppose some kind of a personal contact the proportion of the answers accepting it is lower than in case of the general access and the more direct the relation the more dismissive the respondents are. This is mainly true in case of working together with migrants as jobs are the most sensitive items among the public goods and therefor the access eligibility is also here the tightest.

Seeing this correlation we find that there is also a strong correlation between the jobs and children going to the same class, while there is much weaker correlation between jobs and

education at the same standard. Looking at the correlations between the indices of the majority power and the receiving what we find is that the acceptance of the access to the public goods goes together with the rejection of the negative opinion on migrants, including their dangerousness and need for coercion while supposing their integration.

Neither the distributions by gender nor by education causes significant changes in the administrative and majority power models. We find the same what we found also at the acceptance, i.e., women are more tolerant.

As for *solidarity* – a special factor of the social acceptance – only one indicator of it was used by the questionnaire; would the respondents accept any help from the groups listed if they were in need.

It is surprising that compared to the variants used by the study so far the rejection rate is quite high. In most cases one-third of the respondents, in case of the EU citizens' group one-fifth would not accept any support. The regression analysis shows that the acceptance of the support is subject to two factors; the willingness to accept and the interpersonal relations. In other words; the solidarity expresses some kind of a personal relation, meaning with accepting the support a personal contact is entered into with the person who offers the support.

The personal sphere of the respondents is quite closed. Both marriages and solidarity are of dismissive nature. Still, solidarity can be found only at the borderline of the personal relations made up by marriage – working together – children in the same class.

According to the respondents the xenophobia is not the aliens' fault, only 16, 4% of the respondents presumed a relation between the two. What this also means is that in the staff of the Office of Immigration and Nationality there are officials who blame the xenophobia on the aliens. It is surprising that 52% of them are women, 74, 5% is below the age of 35.

At all the other questions the respondents were hesitant but inclined to negate. The only exception was the question relating to the applicability of the system of sanctions because there the rejection was quite obvious, 52, 8%. Only two of the variables of the questionnaire explain the applicability of the system of the sanctions; the willingness to accept and the level of education or rather the higher degree of acceptance increases the higher level of the education decreases the acceptance of the system of sanctions. These two variables explain only 7% of the variance, meaning that in the background of the opinion relating to the system of sanctions there is something different, variables that are not included in the questionnaire.

As for the opinion on the aliens, that relates only to the image shown for the public by the media; if it is positive in one of them it is positive also in the other one, if it is true in one them it is true also in the other one. Nevertheless, there is no correlation between the reality and the positivity of a particular image.

The self-image of the officials of the Office of Immigration and Nationality is very positive. They do not consider themselves biased and the proportion of hesitants is low. Comparing this with the variables of the administrative power we find that the proportion of the hesitants was much higher. This variable correlates only weakly with the other ones and interestingly enough correlates negatively with the dangerousness of the aliens and positively with the working together and with children going to the same class that is to say those who believe aliens are dangerous believe that their colleagues are biased and those who like to work with aliens consider their colleagues being objective.

Exploring the variables determining the bias against aliens brings about interesting results. From among the variables used by the study five have an impact on the bias and these combined explain 36% of the variance. Dangerousness, lack of solidarity and denying interpersonal relations all strengthen the assumption that the officials working at the Office of Immigration and Nationality are biased. The consequence of this is that they interpret bias as

a positive bias towards the aliens.
III. 3. Study in the Hungarian Prison Service

The study conducted in 2012 covered a sample of 485, 18 penitentiary institutions, and prisons. The methodology applied and the method of processing the data was identical with the previous studies. The grade of acceptance was examined based on the aforementioned groups of variables.

Just as in case of the staff of OIM the immaterial and material reasons of migration are separated but in case of the staff HPS the preferences are reverse, they prefer the material reasons. The better life and better education are dominant. In this respect the data are similar to those relating to the way of thinking of police officers. The staff working at the HPS refuse the immaterial reasons; the religious (rejection: 55, 7%, acceptance: 15, 6%) and the affiliation to a particular social group (rejection: 51, 5%, acceptance: 14, 3%) are not acceptable motives in their eyes.

The opinion of those working at the HPS is different from that of the staff of OIN also in respect of who should be allowed to settle down in Hungary. Among them nationalism is much stronger or rather they are quite divided relating to the settling down of the Hungarians. About 28% of them agrees that only the ethnic Hungarians should be given that chance, while 22% of them fully disagrees.

About 40% of the staff of the HPS disapproves the acceptance of the migrants, as they believe nobody should be accepted by Hungary. This is a totally new attitude compared to that of seen at the OIN. In that respect there is no similarity between the opinion of the police officers and the staff members of the HPS, moreover the latter ones are greatly different from the other two groups observed, because in the other position the „it depends" answers represented the majority opinion.

The dismissive attitude is dominant also when certain groups of the migrants are examined. High proportion of the respondents rejects the acceptance of all the groups, only 13% would accept EU citizens, and twice as much (26, 2%) would refuse them as well. In case of every other group the proportion of those clearly accepting migrants is below 10%. The Arabs and the Afghanis are largely rejected. However settling down and acceptance are not related at all (no assessable correlation could be found).

An interesting finding is that the answers given to the questions relating to settling down are identical in case of the police officers and HPS staff members, while the officials of the OIN are more tolerant. The most sensitive question in this block was whether all those in need should receive the chance to settle down. Based on the answers received it is obvious that in the different jobs and positions the refusals is almost steady. Seeing the data it becomes obvious how strong the assimilation requirement (only those should be permitted to settle down who are ready to assimilate) is in the different jobs and also that the willingness to assimilate is not enough to settle down. The staff working at the HPS believes that nobody, not even the ethnic Hungarians should settle down in Hungary.

Exploring the factors influencing the way of thinking of the HPS staff what we find is that it is more complex than in the case of the OIN officials. It is similar because of the integration index being the most important factor and that the immaterial reasons are there in the model. It is different because the indices of solidarity and working together play also a role; the place of the dangerousness is taken over by coercion.

As it turns out from the data the material reasons of migration are more accepted than the immaterial ones, although the latter ones influence positively the acceptance. These factors explain up to 63% the variance of the acceptance index.

The breakdown by gender shows the usual results; men are less tolerant than women. Although we find differences in the index values there are no differences in the structure, i.e., women at the HPS prefer the same factors than those at OIN. At both groups the only

variable preferred by men is that only ethnic Hungarians should be allowed to settle down in Hungary.

Comparing the officials of the HPS and OIN no significant differences can be found in terms of age groups. The count is always lower in case of the OIN staff. At both groups the younger individuals prefer the material values, the elderly are more tolerant. The only difference is that in case of the index relating to the groups (who should be accepted) and the variable „all those in need should be granted the right to settle down" the staff members 45 + years of age are more intolerant, moreover in the latter case the level of intolerance grows with the age.

The level of education shows a bigger difference than the previously mentioned factors. In case of the HPS staff the higher the level of education the higher the level of tolerance is, but this is not true at the OIN. The exclusive preference relating to the ethnic Hungarians is rather typical in both groups to those with a lower educational level.

We can suppose that the *administrative power in* case of the HPS is different to the power structure of the police and OIM. In case of the OIM the power is relatively tolerant, non-coercive that is arranged in two groups of opinion. The low level of tolerance of the HPS staff makes us conclude that the cultures of the administrative power are more rigid and dismissive.

In the answers given to the issue of dangerousness we see some hesitation as the counts tend to be in the center (mean=2, 8) but most of the groups are considered not dangerous by more respondents. The exceptions are the Arabs and the Afghanis. So we can say that for them dangerousness is a less understandable category, than for the police officers where the mean is 3, 1. In case of the OIN the dangerousness is even less important (mean = 2, 5)

A more sensitive question is whether the migrants harm Hungary. From among the staff members of the HPS 42, 8% answered yes, although the yes-answers were not equally determined. For the sake of comparison; 9, 6% of the OIN answered positively to this question. The way of thinking of the police officers is similar to those working at the HPS; 42, 6% believes that the migrants harm Hungary. The opinion of the wardens and the police officers is surprisingly identical in respect of the question whether the aliens commit more crime than the Hungarians (HPS = 23,2%; police = 24,0%), or rather in both organisations there is a groups members of which think this way.

The opinion of the HPS staff members concerning coercion is halfway between the police officers' and the staff of OIN. The need for coercion applied with aliens is the highest among police officers, the average if the index is 3, 23. The value of this index at the staff of OIN is 2, 5 at the HPS 2, 96.

Turning around our viewpoint this is the issue of the protection. The same level of protection should be applied in case of those in need and in case of Hungarians? Analysing the answers given by the staff of the HPS we may say that the means of the answers – compared to the two other areas are here the lowest (mean = 3, 23). The highest is need for protection in case of the police officers (mean = 3, 51), followed by the OIN (mean = 3, 43).

Although the answers given by the staff members of the HPI are more negative than those of OIN we cannot be sure that the differences in the pattern of the way of thinking are as significant as the two correlation matrix are quite similar. The negative particulars go together both in case of the HPI and OIN staff. Similarly, acceptance of integration goes together with the refusal of the dangerousness, coercion and negative qualities.

Examining the relations between the qualities attributed to the aliens and the administrative power we find two interesting facts. One is that there are no strong negative correlation coefficients; the other is that attributing negative qualities is tightly related to the dangerousness and to the acceptance of applying coercion. The correlation matrix is greatly

similar to that of the OIN and the police. We have to add that dangerousness and protection exclude each other on all the three areas to some extent, i.e., less protection should be granted to those who are considered to be dangerous. As it seems this is one of the particulars of the law enforcement culture.

The culture of those working at HPI and OIN is quite similar, at both of the organisations it can be divided into two groups. One is seeing the migrants as dangerous individuals with negative qualities who should not be protected as strongly as the Hungarians. The other group considers them people who are worth accepting, ready to integrate, who are not dangerous. The culture of the police officers is quite different although there we find also two different approaches. One is extremely disapproving but also the other one is different to that of the staff of the HPI because integration and acceptance are dominant but dangerousness and coercion are not negative either.

The *majority power* regulating the access to the public goods defines the expectations concerning the integration into the society vis-a-vis anyone who does not belong to the majority and decides the degree and way of segregation. At least the segregation approved and set as achievable goal. Obviously integration is impossible if the majority does not provide access for the minorities to the public goods.

About 20-30% of those working at the HPS absolutely disagrees that the education provided for the aliens living in Hungary be at the same standard that the one granted to the Hungarians. If we exclude "Pirez" the proportion at the OIN is 3-5% at the police 20%.

A similar, 20-30% is the refusal rate of the HPS staff in relation with the health care provision. About 4-10% of the staff members of the OIN, 25-27% of the police are unreceptive.

Children going to the same class is rejected by more of those working at the HPS, 30-40%. This is because of the inherent personal relations and the supporters of the exclusion are more sensitive to the interpersonal relations. About 6-13% of staff members of the OIN, 30-36% of the police are unreceptive.

Jobs, access to the labour market are the most sensitive segments of the public goods, i.e., the majority enforces the self-imposed privileges. About 40-50% of the staff members of HPS would not like to work with aliens together. The most disapproved national are Arabs, Afghanis and the non-existent "Pirez" (48, 5%; 49, 6% and 46, 9%). In case of the OIN staff members this value stands at 20% while at the police officers 40-50% meaning that the staff of the HPS and the police tends at similar degree to exercise power over the minorities, in other words would exclude aliens from the use of the public goods.

The data of the study makes us conclude that the way of thinking of the staff working at the HPS is quite one sided meaning there are no ambivalences that are normal in other cases. For example acceptance has a positive correlation with all the majority power indices, i.e., if somebody feels ready to work together with aliens then is going to be receptive in all the other aspects as well. On the other hand if somebody considers aliens to be dangerous all the opinions will be also negative. The consequence of this is that the main component analysis – contrary to the police officers and the OIN staff – resulted in only one group of opinion meaning that the supposed positive qualities of the aliens result in acceptive attitude and the other way round. Subsequently there is only one majority power culture among the staff members of the HPS.

At the police officers and at the staff of the OIN there are two that are not identical. The first main component at both of the groups are identical with that of the staff at the HPS and means that if they do not attach negative qualities to the aliens the indices of the majority power are positive. The second one is very interesting as at the officials of the OIN there are two kinds of acceptance majority power cultures while at the police one refusing one accepting. The difference between the two kinds of accepting majority cultures in case of the

OIN staff is that the second one is contradictive. It refuses the equal standard education and using the same health care institutions, in other words the personal relations when accessing the public goods, accepts the integrations and the aliens in general but does not want to have personal contacts. In case of the police officers the second main component is rejective although is not personal in its nature as all the value of all the three previously mentioned indices are positive and the qualities do not matter. This can be interpreted as the refusals are there among the police officers, irrespective of everything else.

The differences per genders are similar to what we found at the OIN. There is no significant difference, although women are slightly more tolerant and less favour coercion than men do. We see a similar result if we assess the differences per educational level; there is a minor difference among those with a secondary school level of education while college graduates would allow a wider access to the public goods. The university graduates think even more openly.

As it has been mentioned at the analysis of the data collected in the course of the study conducted at OIN solidarity is a special factor of social acceptance showing how the others react to the disastrous situation of a particular social group.[17] The solidarity has two sides to it; the active side (I give to those in need) and the passive side (I accept if I am in need). In the questionnaire we used only one indicator of this i.e., whether those in need would accept support if they were in need, from the members of the groups listed.

Based on all that it is not surprising at all that the passive solidarity of the HPS is at a very low level (the unambiguous level of acceptance is by 10% lower than that of the HPS staff). However, the unambiguous refusal level is not higher than there. The regression analysis shows the same result as in case of the OIN staff; the solidarity is determined by willingness to accept, the personal relations and not considering a particular group dangerous. The situation is that same at the police, moreover dangerousness does not play at role for them. So we can say that the solidarity in the first place is subject to question whether those the public goods (education, health care, jobs) where they could enter into personal contact with them are made accessible for the aliens.

From among the personal relations the most sensitive is the family ties. while the study conducted at the OIN has shown that the privacy is very important for them and even more so for the staff of the HPS. the difference between the two is similar to the solidarity factor; the level of the strong rejection is higher (5-20%), while that of the acceptance is lower (5-10%). The correlation between the interpersonal indices of the privacy show the same picture than in the case of the OIN staff; the „marriage-working together-children in the same class" indices are tightly related to each other and solidarity is attached to them.

Concerning the image of the aliens in the eyes of the HPS and OIN staff is rather negative - except for the origin of the xenophobia. This means that when they speak about the public opinion and the media they see their negative opinion, themselves confirmed. The only exception is xenophobia where the dispersion of the answers is indicating their hesitation.

The current system of sanctions is not considered by the HPS staff to be the right one to manage issues relating to aliens. It also has to be mentioned that the most concerned are the police officers because while 52, 8% of the OIN staff and 44, 4% of the HPS staff disagrees with the system of sanctions this is 63, 6% at the police. In all the three samples the indices included in the regressing model are not quite explaining this while we receive three different results. The police officers and those working at the HPS are closer in this sense because the imaginary or actual personal experiences play an important role at both groups. In case of the police officers this is constituted by the conflict and the coercion (the more they

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[17] For the elaborated version of this part see: Fleck Zoltán-Krémer Ferenc-Navratil Szonja-Uszkiewicz Erik: Technika vagy érték a jogállam? A jogállami értékek átadása és az előítéletek csökkentése a jogászok és a rendőrtisztek képzésében. L Harmattan, 2012. 46. és 79-83. o.

accept coercion and mention conflicts the more they loathe the system of sanctions. However, in case of the HPS staff the acceptance of the family ties is increases the trust invested in the success of the system of sanctions. On the hand, in case of the officials of OIN the low level of education is increasing the acceptance.

It is part of the self-image of the staff of HPI and OIN that they consider themselves non-biased against aliens. We have to be cautious with this based on the data available if the regression analysis would not bring the result at both groups that the HPS staff conceives prejudice as an advantage for the aliens.

IV. Conclusions, Summary

Summarizing the findings of the studies in the area of xenophobia when comparing the various countries what we see is that there is quite a wide diffusion of attitudes towards aliens including openness and total disapproval. In that obviously a role is played by the socialization impulses typical of the family and institutional rearing. In the first half of the 20th century in the countries where they were able to face the traumas of WW II., and racism the former authoriter way of rearing was replaced by a more tolerant and democratic system of education. In those countries where dictatorship survived, where the national grievance is tightly related to the feeling of being threated by other powers no tradition of openness to the other peoples' world has evolved. This explains that in the post-communist countries including the respondents of Hungary express the most intolerant, most disapproving views on aliens. In the area of adjudication asylum seekers and migrants in general – one of the best indicators of the democratic society - Hungary together with other post-communist countries and Greece is not preforming well.

The institutional rearing plays an important role in the moulding of tolerance. The Hungarian educational system having sustained its authoriter and selective nature instead of reducing the social differences intensify them. In a structure where based on ethnic affiliation spontaneous and institutional segregation is materializing, where those intellectually or physically being different are separated from the others one has to suppose that this kind of school system is the breading ground of prejudice xenophobia, intolerance. If we confront this with the integrative, accepting, tolerant school system of the Northern - or Western – European countries that have long traditions of multiculturalism we can sense the difference. The statements relating to the socialization at school in the family should not be considered unchangeable facts but rather something that has to be seen and then changed.

The conclusion of the study conducted in the home affairs field; in order to reduce significantly the xenophobia of the officers and enable them positively influence the opinion of the civil society further steps, measures are needed. The root causes of xenophobia have to be explored, they have „to be dealt with" by explaining the officers and the civil staff the real motivation of migrants, the impact of migrants on the country on the different groups of the society.

Knowing and respecting the habits migrants deriving from their ethnic, religious affiliation more human and efficient measures can be deployed. As the majority of the staff has not participated in a training program to help them with preventing conflicts when encountering aliens it is necessary to incorporate in the curriculum the conflict preventive conflict management techniques. In addition to the current training programs if necessary new types of training and educational programs should be started so that the staff working in the area of home affairs be well prepared in terms of communication and foreign language skills thus to deal with issues caused by having to confront aliens. It has to be our intention that the relevant staff know about their specific responsibilities resulting from the multiculturalism and when assessing their performance their behaviour towards aliens should be also a reference point.

Obviously the proper experts are needed to the elaboration of the thematic and the text books. Simultaneously the ways of increasing the standard of the language teaching has to be found as well. The officers and officials have to be prepared to take the proper action when dealing with aliens; not only respecting the legal and other norms but also knowing and tolerating the migrants' habits deriving from the ethnic, religious cultural affiliations thus making the measures more human, less xenophobic.

The risk of a crisis situation is much higher in the police and alien policing detention than in case of patrolling service. A special psychological burden is there on the wardens. For them it is even more important that they not only know the basics of the ethnic, religious and cultural differences but also respect them. The trainings, presentations, discussing case studies thus preparing them for managing general and special situations are extremely important.

A special requirement is the psychology-based selection of those who participate in the readmission by air. There is a need for them to be prepared for the communication with the aliens, to do the escorting in a human way, to be able to handle unexpected situations as well managing stress.

The special psychological unit is able to help the police officers and the prison wardens by providing the necessary psychological stability necessary for preventing or managing and handling crisis situations.

In case of the police officers and the HPS staff learning the techniques of how to control prejudices by way of using the so called restraining techniques. The psychologists can take part in the prevention of the crisis situations, in perceiving irregular behaviours, managing crisis (e.g., taking hostages, hunger strike, and escape). They can also help in form of multicultural consultancy and information provision.[18]

The majority society should also receive continuous, reality-based information concerning the basic principles related to the legal status of the asylum seekers and economic refugees, information on how their integration could be helped by the society. The public can be best informed by way of using the media and the educational system. By showing positive examples in the media the distrust could be diminished, by intensifying the intercultural education at the schools, teaching teachers about multiculturalism the negative attitudes and xenophobia could be mitigated.

Summary

Summarizing the results of the studies conducted in the area of home affairs short and long term objectives can be outlined.

My primary *long term objective is to elaborate and operate a monitoring system* able to measure xenophobia.

The *short- and medium term objectives and tasks* on the basis of the findings of the studies are the following: Just I have already mentioned in my earlier publications I wish to emphasize also here the necessity of taking actions, intervening at sectorial level subject to the level of xenophobia by teaching as part of the curriculum systematized, methodologically elaborated conflict management techniques, ways of behaviour exempt prejudice. In addition to the existing teaching methods new forms of trainings and education, new types of courses, special further trainings should be launched in order to prepare the whole staff of the law enforcement branch to learn about the specifics of the measures to be applied in case of aliens

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[18] Virág László - Vajger Éva - Rigó Éva - Sallai Dóra - Vizinger Erzsébet - Mari Gabriella - Csomós István - Szabó Beatrix - Zsolnai Ágnes - Gáti Szilvia - Somorjai Dezső - Nagy József: A rendvédelmi speciális pszichológiai tevékenység szakmai protokollja. In.: Virág László (szerk.): A rendvédelmi pszichológiai tevékenység protokollja. Rendőrség Tudományos, Technológiai és Innovációs Tanács, Budapest, 2009. 354-357.

to improve foreign language skills and ways of communication.

The afore mentioned objectives and tasks are able to be integrated in the strategic development plans of the National University of Public Service. These are there directly or indirectly in the strategy and could be made part of the achieving the objectives mentioned by me:

- ensure the development of the ideal competencies and character of the staff working in the area of public administration, law enforcement, national security and defence so that the graduates speak foreign languages, are able to solve problems, are creative and innovative has a basic professional culture and cooperation competencies;
- increase the proportion of practice oriented education in every educational area at every level, in all forms;
- develop among others – in addition to teaching subject - competencies, disposition, attitude of the students;[19]
- Continuously adjust, fine-tune the curriculum as part of the content development in every department where migration could be integrated into the subjects such as it has happened in case of sociology and the science of politics.

Taking security a complex concept as a starting point and taking into consideration the international and Hungarian conditions and situation described my conviction is that not only the sociology and the science of politics but also the science of defence and law enforcement has a responsibility for the attitude taken by the future generations towards minorities, ethnic minorities, alien s in general. In other words; in which direction the multiculturalism of the Hungarians is developing.

The citizens of the European Union enjoy the unprecedented liberties of free movement and working within the Union. Hungary as the other member countries has to ensure the enforcement of these liberties and manage the gradually growing migration influxes in a fair and sustainable way. Obviously this requires an open, accepting society, well trained officials in the public administration and law enforcement working according to these standards.

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[19] Institutional Development Plan of the National University of Public Sevice

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Kľúčové slová: migrácia, predsudky, xenofóbia, cudzinci, xenofóbny, xenofil, úvaha, polícia, Úrad pre imigráciu a štátnu príslušnosť (občianstvo), maďarská väzenská služba.

Súhrn

Ak chceme prijať určité opatrenia (realizovať kroky) proti diskriminácii a zlému zaobchádzaniu v Maďarsku, musíme vedieť, kadiaľ vedie najlepšia cesta k legitimácii diskriminácie v očiach verejnosti a ako sa s ňou zžiť. Pre účel odpovede na danú otázku autorka realizovala výskum zameraný na xenofóbiu v spolupráci s príslušníkmi polície, väzenskej služby a migračného úradu. Po zosumarizovaní výsledkov výskumu je potrebné v oblasti vnútorných záležitostí vykonať (realizovať) určité krátkodobé úlohy a dlhodobé ciele (plány).

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Recenzenti: JUDr. Jaroslav Rapčan, PhD., JUDr. Michaela Jurisová