Research in Migration and Ethnic Relations

Series



Ethnic Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Context

A Dutch-Hungarian comparison

Edited by Karen Phalet and Antal Örkény

Ethnic Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Context

A Dutch Hungarian comparison

Edited by

KAREN PHALET and ANTAL ÖRKENY

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations: Utrecht University, the Netherlands and Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

Ashgate

Aldershot • Burlington USA • Singapore • Sydney

© Karen Phalet and Antal Örkény 2001

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

The authors have asserted their moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, to be identified as the authors of this work.

Published by Ashgate Publishing Limited Gower House Croft Road Aldershot Hampshire GU11 3HR England

Ashgate Publishing Company 131 Main Street Burlington, VT 05401-5600 USA

Ashgate website: http://www.ashgate.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Ethnic minorities and inter-ethnic relations in context: a

Dutch Hungarian comparison. - (Research in ethnic relations)

- 1. Minorities Netherlands 2. Minorities Hungary
- 3.Netherlands Ethnic relations 4.Hungary Ethnic relations
- I.Phalet, Karen II.Örkény, Antal 305.8'009439

Library of Congress Control Number: 2001095425

ISBN 0 7546 1870 6

Printed in Great Britain by Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wiltshire

ETHNIC MINORITIES AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN CONTEXT



DAMES

Dansk Center for Migration og Etniske Studier





EUROPEAN RESEARCH CENTRE ON MIGRATION & ETHNIC RELATIONS

List of Contributors

Marcel Coenders is lecturer in social research methodology at the Free University, Amsterdam. His research focuses on prejudice, exclusion of ethnic minorities, and survey methodology. He recently completed his dissertation *Nationalism and Ethnic Exclusionism in a Comparative Perspective* (2001) in the Department of Sociology, University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

György Csepeli is professor in the Departments of Social Psychology (1986–) and Cultural Anthropology (temporarily) Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. He has held visiting professorships in the Departments of Sociology at Yale University (2000) and the New School for Social Research (19997); and in the Departments of Political Science at the University of Michigan (1994-1995) and Oregon State University (1991), where he was Dubach Distinguished Professor. He is on the Editorial Board of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Szociologiai szemle, and Jel-Kep. His publications include: (co-edited with R. Farnen, L. Hagendoorn and H. Dekker) European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives (Ashgate, 2000); (co-authored with A. Örkény and M. Székelyi) Grappling with National Identity. How nations see each other in Central Europe (Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000); and (co-authored with A. Örkény) Ideology and Political Beliefs in Hungary. The Twilight of State Socialism (Pinter, 1992).

Henk Dekker occupies the endowed chair for the social scientific study of German–Dutch relations, Utrecht University. He lecturers at University College, Utrecht and is associate professor at Leiden University (both in political science). He is vice-chair of the IPSA Research Committee on Political Socialization and Political Education. His research focus is on explanations for national and international political orientations and behaviours, including national identities and nationalism, national stereotypes, voting behaviour, and political socialisation. Recent publications include: contributions to and co-editing of Duitsland in Beeld (Swets & Zeitlinger, 1997); Deutschland und die Niederlande; ein besonderes Verhältnis (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999); Democracies in Transition: Political Culture and Socialization Transformed in West and East (BIS, 2000); and European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives (Ashgate, 2000).

Zsolt Enyedi is assistant professor at the Political Science Department of the Central European University, Budapest. His research interests include party politics, pillarisation, religion and politics, and authoritarianism.

Ferenc Erős is deputy director and head of the Department for Social and Cultural Psychology of the Research Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, and professor of social psychology at the University of Pécs, where he teaches undergraduate and doctoral courses. His research areas include: authoritarianism, prejudice and discrimination; minority identity and coping with threatened and traumatised identities; the relationship between psychoanalysis and social psychology. He has published and edited several books. His recent publications include (co-edited with Z. Enyedi) Authoritarianism and prejudice. Central European perspectives (Osiris, Budapest, 1999); in Hungarian: The Labyrinths of Identity. Narrative Constructions and Identity Strategies (Janus-Osiris, Budapest, 2001) and Psychoanalytical Social Psychology. Historical and theoretical studies (Új Mandátum, Budapest, 2001).

Han Entzinger is professor of Migration and Integration Studies at Erasmus University Rotterdam. Before which, he was professor of General Social Sciences at Utrecht University and director of the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER). He has advised the Dutch government on policies for immigrant integration. He is also the President of the Research Committee on Migration (RC 31) of the International Sociological Association.

Zoltán Fábián is sociologist concerned with research are authoritarianism, ethnic attitudes and social stratification. He is the director of the databank of the Social Research Informatics Center (TÁRKI), Budapest.

Albert Felling is professor of methodology and a member the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences. His Research interests include the broad field of empirical sociology and political sciences; in particular social network analysis and policy analysis.

Louk Hagendoorn is professor of social sciences at Utrecht University and academic director of the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER). His interests are in the field of inter-group relations, cross-cultural and political psychology. He publishes on inter-group stereotypes, ethnic conflict and nationalism. He is currently involved in research on racism in the Netherlands and comparative research on ethnic relations in Central Europe, former Soviet countries, and the Russian Federation. His recent publications include (co-authored with S. Tumanov and H. Linssen) *The Perception of Russians* (Psychology Press, 2001) (coedited with R. Farnen, G. Csepeli and H. Dekker) *European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives* (Ashgate, 2000).

Gábor Kardos is associate professor in the Department of International Law at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. He has published three books and numerous articles on the international protection of human rights. He is a member of the Expert Committee of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe).

Ruben Konig is a researcher at the University of Nijmegen in the Department of Communication Science. He has conducted research on prejudice and Dutch television news about Germany and Germans. Previously, while working in the Departments of Sociology and Research Methodology he coordinated the national survey 'Social and Cultural Development in the Netherlands 1995', and conducted research on Christian religion and antisemitism in the Netherlands.

András Kovács studied philosophy and history, completing his Ph.D. in sociology at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (ELTE). In the early seventies he worked as editor at publishing company and as lecturer in social philosophy at ELTE. Between 1977 and 1990 he was banned from professional activity in Hungary because of clandestine (samisdat) publications. He taught in West Germany (1980–1984) and has participated in various research projects in France, the USA, and the Netherlands. In 1990 he took up a position as senior researcher in the institute of sociology at ELTE. Since 1997 he has taught in the Nationalism Studies Programme at the Central European University (CEU) and he is the academic director of the Jewish Studies Project at the CEU. His research interests include: identity, prejudice, political attitudes, antisemitism, Jewish identity in post-war Europe. His most recent empirical research projects were on antisemitism in post-communist Hungary; Jewish identity in Hungary and on national identity and European integration.

János Ladányi is professor of sociology at the University of Economics and Public Administration in Budapest. He is an expert in urban sociology and the sociology of education. His recent work focused on the question of ethnicity and poverty, with particular emphasis on Roma.

Sako Musterd studied urban geography at the Free University of Amsterdam. He is currently professor of social geography in the Department of Geography and Planning, Faculty of Social Sciences, at the University of Amsterdam (UvA). His research focus is on international comparative urban analysis, particularly in the fields of ethnic and socio-economic spatial segregation, social exclusion and the welfare state, and on analyses of neighbourhood effects upon social mobility.

Gijs van Oenen holds an M.A. in political science and a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Amsterdam (UvA), where he taught in the Department of Political Science, the Law School, and the Department of Phi-

losophy. Since 1994 he is assistant professor of philosophy at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Among his fields of interest are identity formation, citizenship, and the rule of law.

Antal Örkény is professor of sociology at the Institute of Sociology of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, chair of the ELTE-UNESCO Minority Studies Department (1986–), and director of the Minority Research Institute, Budapest. His major research fields are cross-national surveys on popular perceptions of social justice, national identity and national stereotypes, and inter-ethnic relations. His publications in English include the co-authored books: (with G. Csepeli and M. Székelyi) Grappling with National Identity. How Nations See Each Others in Central Europe (Akadémiai Kiadó, 2000) and (with G. Csepeli) Ideology and Political Beliefs in Hungary. The Twilight of State Socialism (Pinter, 1992).

Karen Phalet is assistant professor teaching cross-cultural studies at Utrecht University. She is a permanent research fellow of ERCOMER (European Research Centre On Migration and Ethnic Relations) where she conducts comparative research into migration and education in multi-ethnic schools and on minority identities, stereotypes and political values in multi-cultural cities. She has published extensively on acculturation and school careers of immigrant youth and on ethnic identities and politics in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany and Central Europe.

Péter Radó is assistant director of the Institute for Educational Policy in the Open Society Institute, Budapest (1998–). He also teaches educational policy analysis and education of minorities in several university programmes has consulted on educational policy, government educational strategy development projects, capacity building projects and for various institutions and development agencies in Eastern-European and Central Asian countries. He has published more than 30 studies.

Peer Scheepers is associate professor of empirical sociology as well as special professor of social prejudice at Nijmegen University, the Netherlands. He has published extensively, predominantly empirical studies on (longitudinal developments and explanations of) ethnocentrism, political and moral attitudes and religious beliefs.

Endre Sik holds a Ph.D. in sociology and is a senior advisor to the Central Hungarian Statistical Office, project manager at the Social Research Informatics Centre (TÁRKI). He is also director of the Centre for Migration and Refugee Studies, and chair of Menedék (Refuge–Hungarian Association for Migrants).

Ildikó Szabó is a sociologist. Her major interest is political socialisation, political behaviour and attitudes, educational sociology, and sociology of

the younger generations. Her books and articles appeared in Hungarian and French.

Maria Székelyi is associate professor occupying the Chair of Ethnic and Minority Studies, at the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest. Her research interests include: social, individual and political justice; national identity and sociology of nationalism; coexistence of minority and majority groups in the Carpathian Basin; inter-ethnic relationships in Eastern Europe. Her publications include the co-authored books: (in Hungarian with G. Csepeli, A. Örkény and T. Szbados) Válaszúton a magyar oktatási rendszer [Dilemma of Hungarian education-system] (Új Mandátum Kiadó, 1998) and (in English with G. Csepeli and A. Örkény) Grappling with National Identity. How Nations See Each Other in Central Europe (Akademiai Kiadó, 2000).

Justus Veenman is professor of economic sociology at the Erasmus University Rotterdam, Department of Economics. He is the general director of the Institute for Sociological and Economic Research (ISEO) in the same Department. He specialises in the field of social inequality, with an emphasis on the socio-economic position of ethnic minorities, and has published 22 books, 5 volumes and numerous articles in Dutch and international journals.

Geneviève Verberk studied sociology at the University of Nijmegen and attained her Ph.D. degree in 1999 for a research project on the conceptualisation, measurement and modelling of attitudes towards ethnic minorities. She is currently working as an assistant professor in the Department of Methodology. She is responsible for several courses in general methodology for students in sociology and communication science. Her main research interests are prejudice and exclusion of ethnic minorities, in which her special interest is in the methodological aspects of these domains.

Maykel Verkuyten is a social psychologist and anthropologist by training. He is an associate professor at Utrecht University and a senior researcher at the European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER). His research interest is in ethnic identity and inter-ethnic relations.

Herman van der Wusten graduated in geography in 1967 and gained his Ph.D. in social sciences from the University of Amsterdam (UvA) in 1977 with a dissertation on the geographical support patterns of Irish protest movements in the nineteenth century. He was professor of political geography at UvA (1984–1997), and has been Dean of the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at UvA since 1987. He has done fieldwork in Morocco and has published extensively on labour migration. He has studied ethnic and regional movements, processes of state formation and security

problems in Europe, and he is currently working on the comparative study of the architectural symbols in European capital cities and a general theory of territorial claims.

Acknowledgements

The book is based on selected papers on ethnic minorities and inter-ethnic relations in Hungary and the Netherlands, which were presented and discussed in three Dutch-Hungarian conferences and a series of expert meetings in the period from 1997 to 1999. The conferences and meetings were the initiative of the Dutch-Hungarian Study Centre for Minority Issues, which was co-sponsored and hosted by NIAS (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study).

We would like to thank our colleagues on the steering committee, György Csepeli (Eötvös Loránd University), Louk Hagendoorn (ERCOMER, Utrecht University) and Herman van der Wusten (UvA, University of Amsterdam), who have played a constructive role, sharing with us their critical comments and academic networks. We are grateful to Wouter Hugenholtz for the institutional support and the generous hospitality of NIAS. Last but not least, without the professional assistance of Frances Britain, Katherine Hodkinson, and Pam Park at Ashgate, as well as the competent and committed editorial management of Rachel Kress (ERCOMER) this book would never have made it into print.

Karen Phalet & Antal Örkény Utrecht/Budapest, September 2001

Contents

List of Figures		V111	
	t of Tables	X	
List	t of Contributors	XV	
Ack	Acknowledgements		
1	Ethnic Minorities and Inter-Ethnic Relations: National Configurations and Cross-National Dimensions Karen Phalet & Antal Örkény	1	
DAI	RT I: ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND STEREOTYPES		
171			
	SECTION EDITOR: LOUK HAGENDOORN		
2	Stereotypes of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands Louk Hagendoorn	43	
3	Recent Dutch Research on Ethnocentrism		
5	in an International Perspective		
	Peer Scheepers, Geneviève Verberk & Marcel Coenders	59	
4	Determinants of Denial and Acceptance of Refugees in Hungary György Csepeli, Zoltán Fábián & Endre Sik	85	
5	Ethnic Minority Identification		
J	Maykel Verkuyten	97	
	The state of the s		
6	Nationalism, its Conceptualisation and Operationalisation Henk Dekker	113	
7	Representations of Minorities among Hungarian Children Antal Örkény & Ildikó Szabó	139	

	SECTION EDITOR: GYÖRGY CSEPELI	
8	The Strength of Antisemitism in Present-Day Hungary András Kovács	161
9	Research on Antisemitism: a Review of Previous Findings and the Case of the Netherlands in the 1990s Ruben Konig, Peer Scheepers & Albert Felling	179
10	Authoritarianism and Prejudice in Present-Day Hungary Zsolt Enyedi, Ferenc Erős & Zoltán Fábián	201
11	Attitudes and Stereotypes of Hungarian Police toward Gypsies Maria Székelyi, György Csepeli & Antal Örkény	217
PAI	RT III: SPHERES OF EXCLUSION SECTION EDITOR: ANTAL ÖRKÉNY	
12	Ethnic Minority Educational and Labour Market Performance in the Netherlands Justus Veenman	231
13	Roma Students in the Hungarian Educational System Péter Radó	249
14	Socio-Economic and Ethnic Residential Segregation in Budapest during Market Transition János Ladányi	273
15	Immigration and Ethnic Segregation in the Netherlands with a Special Focus on Amsterdam Sako Musterd	287

PART II: ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI-'GYPSY' PREJUDICE

PART IV: TOWARDS A POLITICS OF INCLUSION?

SECTION EDITOR: HERMAN VAN DER WUSTEN

16	Verzuiling and Post-Verzuiling Politics in the Netherlands: Coping with Changing Diversity Herman van der Wusten	307
17	Towards a Model of Incorporation: the Case of the Netherlands Han Entzinger	321
18	Legal Protection of Minority Rights in Hungary Gábor Kardos	349
19	Too Close for Comfort: How Immigration Unsettles Political Theory and Practice Gijs van Oenen	359
Author Index Subject Index		377 385

List of Figures

Attribution levels of trait dimensions	48
Attitudes toward immigration in Hungary (1992–1998)	88
Overt, covert and total xenophobia by educational level in Hungary (1998)	93
A model of self-definition	106
Immigrant groups considered eligible for citizenship (%)	150
Tolerance by gender and type of school	152
Agreement with nationalist statements	153
Religious, social-psychological, and social-structural location of prejudice against Jews in the Netherlands	188
Path analysis of the data from 1994 with xenophobia score as dependent variable	209
Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: I	210
Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: II	211
Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: III	211
Ratings of outgroups by the youth and their parents (1997)	212
Attribution of own, colleagues', publics', and media's opinions: anti-Gypsy characteristics	224
Path model to explain level of prejudice	226
A model for social distribution processes	242
Ratio of semi- and unskilled economically active earners: Budapest's enumeration districts, lower and upper deciles	278
Concentration of Roma population in Budapest	279
	Overt, covert and total xenophobia by educational level in Hungary (1998) A model of self-definition Immigrant groups considered eligible for citizenship (%) Tolerance by gender and type of school Agreement with nationalist statements Religious, social-psychological, and social-structural location of prejudice against Jews in the Netherlands Path analysis of the data from 1994 with xenophobia score as dependent variable Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: I Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: II Path analysis of the data from 1994 with the antisemitism score as dependent variable: III Ratings of outgroups by the youth and their parents (1997) Attribution of own, colleagues', publics', and media's opinions: anti-Gypsy characteristics Path model to explain level of prejudice A model for social distribution processes Ratio of semi- and unskilled economically active earners: Budapest's enumeration districts, lower and upper deciles

15.1	In and out-migration to the Netherlands (1953–1997)	289
15.2	Population growth in Amsterdam (1953-1997)	293
15.3	The spatial distribution of Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam (1994)	294
15.4	The spatial distribution of Surinamese and Antilleans in Amsterdam (1994)	295