



HOME AWAY FROM HOME: THE INTEGRATION OF HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN DENMARK

- MASTER THESIS -

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ABSTRACT

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The wars, revolutions, political and economical crisis in the history of Hungary constrained many people to leave their homeland. Two major events due to which many Hungarians and Hungarian speaking minorities from the neighbouring countries came to Denmark were the two World Wars and the Revolution of 1956. After Hungary joined the European Union and the borders were opened, another wave came to Denmark in hope for a better life.

Placed in a combined- qualitative and quantitative- framework, this research investigates the integration of the Hungarian immigrants in Denmark. The thesis aims to ascertain Denmark's role in the integration of the Hungarian people, to observe its attitudes towards the Hungarian immigrants, and its function in securing their situation. Furthermore, by monitoring the immigrants' life experiences as foreigners, many conclusions can be drawn. The data was collected through four interviews and one social survey. The questions focused on the respondents' personal data, financial and social situation, and their experiences in the integration in Denmark. In addition, a documentary about the soldiers who came to Denmark during the II World War is also analysed. In order to examine the interviews a grounded theory approach is used, while for the evaluation of the questionnaire and the documentary content analysis is utilised.

This study contributes to the existing researches in this topic by highlighting the experiences of the former-soldiers and refugees being involuntary migrants, as well as the new generation's present and future prospects. Finally, this thesis also reveals the reasons behind identity changes and/or identity preservation. Also it opens new perspectives and gives basis for further research to investigate the social and economical behaviour of people changing their home countries.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The history of Hungary provided reasons for immigration many times and made people to leave behind their home country due to wars, revolutions, political and economic crisis or simply because of the desire for better living conditions. The wars of the 20th century, especially the two World Wars (WW) and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, were the major events that forced thousands of Hungarian citizens and Hungarian speaking citizens of the neighbouring countries (for instance Romania and Slovakia) to choose immigration in order to save their own and their families' lives. Denmark was often the destination country.

Hence, the aim of this unique study, having also historical elements, is to answer the research question **“How are Hungarian people, arriving and settling down in Denmark in different times, historical conditions and with distinct purposes, integrated into the Danish society?”** In order to find an appropriate answer to the research question, I will also try **to unfold and follow their situation in Denmark and their attitude towards their compatriots and home country.** The objective of the work is to compare the three different immigrant groups, respectively the former soldiers, refugees and modern age's immigrants, the circumstances of how and when did they arrive to Denmark, as well as the different political and economic environment they had arrived into, to present their life experiences and their integration into the Danish society.

The different Hungarian migration waves to Denmark began with the WWII. In the last weeks of the war around numerous Hungarian soldiers arrived to Denmark, which were forced to serve the German interests. There were civilians among them, women and also children. The German command often used the military forces of the occupied countries as vanguards. Hitler hoped that he can roll back the Soviets from Hungary, hence an estimated number of 12000 Hungarian soldiers were sent to Denmark in training camps. (Sørensen, 2005, pg. 11) His plans were to build up four new Hungarian divisions before sending them against the Soviet Red Army in the beginning of 1945. Another group of Hungarians who came to Denmark as soldiers

during WWII were the cadets of a respected Hungarian military educational institution, "Csaba Királyfi", situated in the city of Marosvásárhely in south-east Hungary (today called Tîrgu-Mureş and located in Romania), to which landowners, priests and other affluent communities sent their sons in order to get an officer's training. They had to leave Marosvásárhely as the result of the threat of the Soviet battalion; the Soviet army pushed them first to Germany, and thereafter to Denmark. (Erdész and Kováts, 2007)

A different group of immigrants were the refugees who arrived to Denmark after the Soviet Red Army violently suppressed the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; around 200000 Hungarian people (Illum et. al., 1998, pg. 22) within and outside the borders of Hungary left their home country. Denmark, according to the Geneva Convention on Refugees, ratified in 1951, also offered shelter to approximately 1400 refugees (Møller, 2003, pg. 5). The Danish Red Cross had a very important role in supporting and helping the refugees after the WWII and the Revolution of 1956, respectively. (Illum et. al., 1998; Møller, 2003)

After the collapse of the Iron Curtain, and especially when Hungary and its neighbouring countries had joined the European Union, a modern exodus started from Eastern Europe towards the West, including Denmark. The reasons for modern age immigration are different than the ones presented above. Mostly economical and educational factors, the open borders and new working, as well as educational rules of the modern Europe made it very attractive for many people to change their home and start a new life in another country. As the recent statistics show, approximately 9000 Hungarian citizens are registered in Denmark after 1990 (StatBank, 2015) and many other Hungarian speaking people might have come from the neighbouring countries with significant Hungarian minority population. This second group cannot be documented officially as Hungarians, because they had arrived with their home country's passport.

Many of these people decided to remain in Denmark and take their chance here. According to statistics, to many newspaper articles and rumours, the life in this country is much easier compared to the living standards in East-Central Europe. It has

to be mentioned that people living in Denmark are generally law obeying (Bondeson, 2011), which is also a requirement for a peaceful and steady life. Not subsidiary, Denmark is on the top among the European countries regarding the rate of happiness. (Helliwell, et. al., 2013, 2014, 2015) Considering all these factors, Denmark is an attractive country with many opportunities.

The integration and life of these people can be monitored and evaluated using different theories. In this study the grounded theory and the content analysis will be used; while the first is a qualitative method, the latter is rather a quantitative one. Grounded theory is dissimilar to the usual research methods as it advances in opposite direction; it aims to formulate theory while analysing the data. After the researcher recognises the repeated ideas or concepts within the data, sorts them into categories, which categories can constitute the ground of a new theory. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) The virtue of this method compared to the quantitative approaches lies in the possibility of adding new information to the data anytime in the process of gathering the data. As one author states: “With grounded theory methods, you shape and reshape your data collection and, therefore, refine your collected data.” (Charmaz, 2006, pg. 15) Content analysis is a synthetic method by keeping count of different elements of the content. Even though it examines written words, the results of the analysis are numbers and percentages (Hardwick and Worsley, 2010); thus, it is an impartial approach, which attribute is crucial for an accurate research. This approach is well applicable in studies concerning the intersection of cultures, social frameworks, social crossroads, as well as to cross-cultural research designs. (Weber, 1990) The combination of these two approaches seems to be appropriate to this study, as while grounded theory guides the researcher to better perceive how people live their various experiences, how they react to certain situations (Charmaz, 2006), content analysis is not investigating people, but their communications made in order to describe their culture and society (Weber, 1990).

This paper is constructed in the following way: after the introduction the methodological choices and the theoretical framework are elaborated. In this section the choice of topic, the selection of the empirical materials, the election of the research methods, as well as the difficulties of the research and the critical reflections

on the methodological choices are presented. These are followed by a short historical presentation of the Hungarian migration, which part is divided into three subsections corresponding to the three major immigration waves provoked by different historical events. The fourth section presents the development of the Danish legislation considering immigration throughout the 20th century. It discusses about the most important legislations which were introduced to ensure the basic conditions the immigrants must have for a better integration. Then, in the data analysis part different case studies are presented, showing the life and the integration in the Danish society of several Hungarian people belonging to different immigration groups. The analysis and discussion section will highlight the different steps in the integration (language, education, job, etc.), several benefits the immigrants have got and obstacles they have met from the beginning until nowadays. The conclusion chapter will summarise the work.

2. METHODOLOGY

This chapter will contain the methodology of the thesis and also the considerations behind the choice of theories. It will be concisely described the choice of topic, the empirical material, the choice of data collection, the difficulties of the research and the critical reflection on the methodological choices.

As mentioned above, the aim of this paper is to investigate the relationship between Denmark and the Hungarian people. As my main theme, I would like to examine what is Denmark's role in the migration of the Hungarian people and their integration; its attitudes to the Hungarian immigrants, and its function in securing their situation. I will focus therefore on Hungarian people living in Denmark and on the Danish laws regarding immigrants. The relevance of this topic is to highlight the living standards of Hungarians far from their native land and Danish perspectives on them. By providing basic information on the history, possible disagreements, the actors' position, as well as significant laws, a general overview on the situation is possible to

be obtained. In the case study section I expect to get a clear idea about the immigrants' possibilities in Denmark, and to understand the position of the actors.

2.1. Choice of topic

This topic was chosen because of my personal attachment to the Hungarian people; I was always interested in their faith. Being a native Hungarian born in another national country - Romania, makes me even more concerned about their situation. After analysing their stance in Romania in a former project, I became curious about their livelihood elsewhere. Denmark was chosen because I live in this country now.

Being an insider-researcher has both advantages and disadvantages. One of the most important advantages is that the insider-researcher has a better understanding of the culture that is being investigated; the insider can comprehend the causes and effects better than an outsider-researcher. Due to this, the abundance of social interaction is not changed strangely. Furthermore, the insider-researcher can easier approach the people; the common voice can be found between them without any special obstacle. Thus, the insider-researcher usually has that kind of familiarity with the medium that is being researched which is difficult for an outsider-researcher to achieve. (Unluer, 2012; Bonner and Tolhurst, 2002) Being an insider has also some drawbacks. Having too much knowledge about the different backgrounds and circumstances may result in impartiality or in losing sight of important details. In addition, the insider-researcher might face the duality between his role in the research topic and the researcher itself. (Unluer, 2012; Hewitt-Taylor, 2002) In case the insider obtains knowledge of delicate information, he or she has to be aware how to process it appropriately; some norms regarding the ethical issues and the anonymity have to be respected. In order to obtain an accurate research, the inside-researcher has to eliminate these threats.

2.2. Choice of empirical material

As primary data I will use interviews and the results of a social survey, and as secondary data I will work with academic articles, books and trusted Internet websites. I will also rely on reports from international organisations (IO), such as the United Nations (UN) or the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), because these organisations are the leader institutions involved with migration. These organisations give substantial information on the important domains of people's biography. The data provided by them is reliable as they have direct supervision over the data gathering. Their advantage is that they possess data for years retrospectively, but they may not concern every category. Besides the written documentation, I will lean on a documentary movie about the Hungarian soldiers coming to Denmark, '*Dániába vet sorsunk...*' [Our fate casts us to Denmark] from 2002. As the research of the migrants' integration and Denmark's role in it cannot be done without analysing the relevant laws, I will also focus on laws and treaties regarding migration. Since there are limited amount of academic articles on this topic, I decided to directly talk to some Hungarians who settled down in Denmark and to collect primary data in connection with their experiences and reflections about living in this country. By using primary as well as secondary data, I will be able to have a broader overview of the topic, which is required since the topic has considerable time extension.

Due to the fact that many soldiers came to Denmark in the last weeks of the II. World War, I was interested in Hungarian soldiers who served in Denmark during the war (and/or their descendants), and who remained in the Danish society. However, people from the earlier generations are hard to be found. Therefore, I contacted the writer of the book '*De Ungarske Soldater*' written in 2005, Søren Peder Sørensen, who gave me the accessibility of one Danish woman, Lone Heyde, whom father was an honorary member of the Hungarian Horse Riding Society and honorary citizen of the town of Fülöpszállás (Hungary, 1938), and due to this she has connection with such people. She contacted her Hungarian friends and with their allowance she shared their brief stories with me. As I felt like some of these people are unwilling to be visited, I decided that instead of face-to-face interviews I would rather send them the interview questions on which they could answer in writing. Hence, they would not feel

inconveniently speaking with a stranger. Some of them never replied, a woman, K. T., and a man, Tamás Barakonyi, answered my questions in writing. Other people, who no longer live in Denmark, but who were willing to help, have sent me various documentations and pictures. Among them was Marietta Zsákodi, whose grandfather worked at 'Csaba Királyfi Military School' in Marosvásárhely, and her parents came to Denmark with the soldiers. The son of one of the people contacted invited me in his father's home to have a conversation with him. The father, Béla Hoyos, who was a student in the same military school, and came to Denmark with other soldiers in the end of 1944, is 87 years old and has Alzheimer now, but he clearly remembers his childhood, the circumstances of their trip to Denmark and his life here. Thus, I interviewed him in Hornsyld. As regard to the modern age immigrants, I interviewed a young woman, Noémi Tolnai, who came to Denmark almost 2 years ago together with her husband in order to work and start a new life. Initially, they planned to return home after some years of work, but now they would like to settle down here definitely. They both have a job and they have a financial background which gives them tranquillity, especially now, that a "second generation immigrant" is on his way.

Interviewing is probably the mostly used method in the qualitative research due to its resiliency; it follows the interviewee's path in the course of the interview. Even though the whole process of interviewing, such as making the interview, the transcription of what has been discussed, and the analysis of it, is time consuming, this method is still an appreciated approach. One of its strongholds is that it concentrates on individuals' "actual experiences more than general beliefs and opinions". (King and Horrocks, 2010, pg. 3) This is particularly important in social researches as they examine and try to comprehend the human behaviour. (Corbetta, 2003) Thus, as the respondents have the possibility to sincerely tell about their observations, about how they sense different actions, which can vary from person to person, it can be seen the different angles of a particular issue. As this study has also historical background, meeting and interviewing an actual witness of the war offered useful details about the events.

The interview has two principal kinds, namely the unstructured interview and the semi-structured interview; the structured interview is rarely used. The unstructured

interview, as its denomination alludes, does not have an established structure; it is alike a conversation. There is perhaps only one question in the beginning and then the interviewee talks freely. The interviewer replies only to information which is worthwhile to be further explored. When making a semi-structured interview, the interviewer has a list with pre-determined questions and topics; these are a guide for the questioner. The wording of the questions or the order of them can vary; moreover, other questions can also be addressed in course of the meeting. In spite of these, similar questions in phrasing have to be addressed to every interviewee. In either unstructured or semi-structured type, the course of the interview is adaptable. This characteristic is significant as the respondents themselves can reveal further issues that were not incorporated originally in the set of questions. (Bryman, 2008; King and Horrocks, 2010)

In this study the semi-structured interview is used. In the process of preparing the interview questions I paid attention to the basic components of the interview guide. (Bryman, 2008, pg. 442) In conformity with them, I formulated the questions in such way which will help me to answer the research question of the paper. Furthermore, it was important that the phrasing to be understandable, particularly due to the former-soldier's estate. The actual wording and the succession of the questions depended on the responses obtained. The interviews were conducted in Hungarian, as the interviewees were much comfortable talking in their mother-language; moreover, having a conversation with a former-soldier in Hungarian, who speaks very rarely the language, created a familiar atmosphere. The design of the interview involved the main points which are significant to this integration study. The questions were referred to personal information, to the reasons of coming to Denmark, to Denmark's role in their integration and to the personal attitude towards receiving state and the home country. The first interview was conducted on the 1th of March 2015 in Aalborg, with a Hungarian woman from Romania, Noémi Tolnai, age 25, and the second one was on the 28th of March 2015 in Hornsyld, with an 87 years old Hungarian former-soldier from Hungary, Béla Hoyos, both interviewees living in Denmark. The other two interviews were conducted by e-mail due to the distance. Although some authors argue that it is better to send the questions divided up

(Bryman, 2008, pg. 642), I sent them all at once as my concern was that the process would have lasted longer if due to their age they would have replied infrequently to the interview questions. For the sampling of the respondents I used a selective strategy because the target was a specific group, namely Hungarian people in Denmark. As I did not know any soldiers or refugees, I chose the snowball sampling method, which means that current participants denominate other possible subjects. (Schuh and Associates, 2011) After contacting the writer of the above mentioned book, he named the woman, Lone, who has relations with the elder Hungarian generation living in Denmark. She gave me the accessibility of the former-soldier I finally interviewed, Béla Hoyos, and of the other former-soldier, Tamás Barakonyi, and a refugee's daughter, K. T. These latter mentioned people responded my questions in writing. The two men knew each other, so they also referred to one another as further subjects.

I also contacted the Hungarian Embassy in Denmark, but they replied that they do not possess any information about the II World War's soldiers, neither about the 1956 Hungarian Revolution's refugees. They suggested contacting Denmark's Home Guard (Hjemmeværnet) because the organisation has had an exposition about the Hungarian soldiers and they might have information about them and their families. After the second e-mail I sent they replied only that I should write to the Tøjhus Museum instead of them. The Museum replied that they do not have any documents about the soldiers.

Simultaneously, I have made an online social survey with 20 questions about the integration in the Danish society. The questionnaire was posted on one social networking website and was filled out by 70 Hungarians living in Denmark. These people are mainly from Hungary, but among them are also persons belonging to the Hungarian minority from Romania and Slovakia. The questionnaire contained both closed and open questions; while closed questions are those where the respondent can choose from predetermined answers in form of radio buttons or pull-down menus, for the open questions there is a box area where the respondent types the answer himself/herself. (Bryman, 2008, pg. 645) Similar to the interview, these questions

were also formulated in such way which reveals why people came to Denmark, how are they integrated into the society, what is their relationship with their homeland.

2.3. Choice of research methods

Qualitative methods are concerned with the research of new structures, and with the analysis of the people's perception of a certain phenomena. The data collection for this approach generally requires direct interaction with individuals, as in the case of the interviews, for instance. While this method principally requires an inductive approach to the relation between theory and research, it can be also applied paired with the deductive perspective in the interest of confirming or contradicting the hypotheses. (Bryman, 2008) As opposed to the qualitative methods, the quantitative research pores over measurements and their analysis; its methods are the social survey, experiment, official statistics, structured observation and content analysis. Both research methods are valuable from distinct points of view; while quantitative methods are considered objective, qualitative methods can be complemented with the researcher's subjectivity. (Silverman, 2010)

In light of these I decided to use a combination of these two methods, as I will need some numerical data knowledge as well. This mixed approach aims to apply the stronghold of each method, identifying the real world and the effect of human experience. (Niglas, 2000; Östlund et. al., 2011) Some scholars (Bryman, 2008; Greene, 2007, Denzin 1970) argue that merging the methods gives wider opportunities towards the efficiency of the research. By joining the approaches "sociologists can hope to overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies." (Denzin, 1970, pg. 313) Therefore, in order to give a broad overview of the researched situation I will be using triangulation. This method means, thus, the union of different methods and data sources in consideration of raising the authenticity of the findings. (Greene, 2007) According to Norman Denzin, a distinguished research professor of Communications, Sociology and Humanities, there are four kinds of mixed methods: data-, investigator-, theory- and methodological triangulation. (Bánki, 2009) There is a difference between the two

types of methods that triangulation can be used with; while the ‘within-method’ “involves the use of varieties of the same method”, the ‘between-method’ “involves contrasting research methods” (Bánki, 2009, pg. 17). In this thesis I will employ the between-method triangulation as through this approach it can be justified the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods; it is needed in order to get a broad and clear overview about the Hungarian people living in Denmark and their integration in the country, the state’s attitude towards the Hungarian immigrants, and its function in securing their situation.

As regard to my epistemological position, I think interpretivism is crucial in this topic, as it considers that the subject element of the social sciences differs from the natural disciplines. Therefore, the study of the social world demands a distinct research process, which has to indicate that the individuals are in opposition with the natural precept by means of their human peculiarity. Interpretivism identifies the experiences or beliefs of social actors. The intellectual tradition of phenomenology will help to comprehend how people percept the new life in a new country, the challenges of the integration, as it deals with people’s conceptualisation of the world. As my ontological perspective I have chosen constructivism because it declares that social phenomena are in permanent alteration, hence, the social reality has several renditions. (Bryman, 2008, pg. 3-33)

2.4. Choice of theoretical framework

For the collected data I have chosen a multi-method examination; for the interviews I will use a grounded theory approach and for the survey and other documents I will apply content analysis. The combination of these paths seems to be appropriate for this research because while grounded theory involves the observation and analysis of individuals’ life experience and their manifestations towards various situations (Oliver, 2012), content analysis is a technique used to interpret the content of a text and which helps to study society (Bryman, 2008).

Alan Bryman, a well-known scholar who is engaged in research methods, believes (2008) that there are two general strategies of qualitative data analysis, namely the grounded theory and the analytic induction. By using the latter method of analysis, the researcher tries to explicate a certain phenomena by searching for consistent data. The moment that a contradictory data occurs, the researcher reconsiders the theory in order to foreclose the incongruous example or it rephrases. As it can be seen, this strategy is a very strict one; it requires the re-investigation of the data each time a contrary datum appears. Furthermore, it does not determine after how many cases can the legitimacy of the assumption be approved. (Bryman, 2008) Considering the aforementioned, I decided to use grounded theory, which is a more opened approach.

Grounded theory aims to develop new theories based on systematic data collection and analysis (Oliver, 2012). This theory derives from the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and it is now known as one of the mostly used qualitative research method in social sciences (Oliver 2012). The approach is valuable for intercultural researches, such as this thesis, as it intends to alienate the research worker from his/her preconceived ideas or stereotypes and, thus, inspires the researcher to take into consideration all the possible significations of a phenomenon. The researcher has to constantly compare the data in order to perceive the characteristics of each theme and to examine how they are altered under the influence of various circumstances. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) Grounded theory pays attention to ethical questions; “while the final theory is rooted in participants’ experiences, it is constructed by the researcher and contains the researcher’s words and thoughts, not those of participants.” (Oliver, 2012, pg. 384) This approach is able to create theory that reflects the subjects’ treats and observations, to disclose those connotations which were taken for granted, and to assist individuals to define what they experience. (Oliver, 2012)

When it comes to analysing and interpreting documents, the principally prevalent approach is content analysis. Semiotics and hermeneutics would be two other possibilities. As semiotics is concerned with signs and symbols, this approach is not appropriate for this study. Analysts using hermeneutics are trying to translate the documents and texts from the point of view of their author. (Bryman, 2008) In this

study I seek for general explanations, and not for personal equations. The background of the documents is important, so it will be taken into consideration, but with a broader approach; hence, I will use content analysis.

Content analysis is a research method “with great potential for studying beliefs, organisations, attitudes, and human relations” (Woodrum, 1984, pg. 1); thus, appropriate for this paper as well. The method supposes the discovery and analysis of significations and connections between various frequently occurrent words and concepts in a given text. These documents are broadly understood, from essays, newspaper articles to historical documents, informal conversations or even theatre. (Mayring, 2000) Another important source of data represents the media contents (Bánki, 2009), such as documentaries, which will also be analysed. After embracing the messages, the researcher associates them with the writer, the attendance or the culture and the era when these occurred. In order to manage a content analysis, the text has to be divided first into different levels, such as words, phrases, sentences or themes and then construed with one of the two sub-methods: conceptual analysis or relational analysis. (Mayring, 2000) In conceptual analysis, as its name suggests, a concept is selected for observation, then it is marked and quantified. The aim is to check the presence of the elected terms or concepts inside the text. These words can be explicit, thus, simple to recognise, or implicit, which requires an in-depth examination of its occurrence. Relational analysis, in turn, aspires to go further than the connection between the terms, and examine semantic coherence. Concepts, of their own, are considered not having intrinsic signification; the ‘meaning’ is given by the concepts’ relation to other emblems within the text. (Busch et. al., 1994-2012)

2.5. Difficulties of the Research

First of all, my primary intention was to seek out those soldiers and refugees whom settled down in Denmark and are still living here, and to write my thesis about their life being forced immigrants. I was curious to find out about how they have been integrated in a foreign country, how they feel about Denmark and their place of

origin. Unfortunately, during my research process I realised that I cannot work only with this topic as the data is limited; the major organisations I contacted also responded that they do not possess any documents regarding the topic or the Hungarian Embassy could not give any information due to the personal data protection. Furthermore, these elderly people are hard to be found, or if found, are located too far away. This is the reason why I decided to include also the modern age immigrants into this research.

Secondly, I encountered obstacles while searching for data regarding the Hungarian soldiers and refugees in Denmark. Although they came during a war and the Danish people welcomed them positively, there are only a tight amount of academic articles which deal with this topic, and only a few historical documents preserve this hospitality and good relationship between Hungarians and Danish society. I was principally seeking English articles, but Hungarian or Danish documents are also limited. Additionally, I did not find many of the relevant laws because they were not marked anywhere in the English texts, and my Danish skills is not developed enough in order to properly search for some of the legislations.

Thirdly, my intention was to make at least five or six interviews, but due to the distance I was able to visit only one former soldier; I do not have knowledge of anybody living in Aalborg's area. Furthermore, the man I interviewed, Béla Hoyos, suffers of Alzheimer disease, thus, it was difficult to configure a fluent conversation with him; he often got stuck in his train of thoughts. I had to repeat some questions several times in order to get a clear image about the happenings. Fortunately, his son was also present at the interview, and he helped out his father with the information he was told in his childhood.

Finally, in the course of few e-mail changes it seemed like some of the contacted people were not willing to talk about that period I asked them about; I did not forced the point. This can happen perhaps because of depressing memories and mistrust to share their life experiences with a foreigner. Another possibility is that some of them gave up their national identity and 'became Danes' or being born as second

generation of immigrants, they do not feel attracted to Hungarians and their place of origin.

2.6. Critical reflection on the methodological choices

I am aware of some critical reflections in the selection of the methodology within the thesis. As I use existing empirical material, I am conscious of some bias that might occur. Furthermore, some repetitions will occur in this thesis, which are needed in order to get a whole and comprehensive picture of the stories behind the integration.

Furthermore, I realised that it would have been useful having more interviews; my aim is to focus on this for the future researches.

In this second chapter the research methods of the thesis were presented. Furthermore, the explanation of the topic choice, the theoretical framework and the collection of the empirical material were described. At the end of the chapter the difficulties of the research, obstacles and restrictions, as well as the critical reflection on the methodological choices were highlighted.

3. SHORT HISTORY OF THE HUNGARIAN MIGRATION

This chapter will contain the reasons behind the Hungarian migration. First, a short overview of the concept of migration will be presented, and then the general presentation of the Hungarian migration will follow. Lastly, the three groups of Hungarian migrants in Denmark will be introduced.

Before presenting the three groups of the Hungarian immigrants, it is necessary to define what migration is. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the term ‘migration’ refers to:

“the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.” (IOM-a, 2011, pg. 41)

From this definition it can be noticed that there are two types of migration, namely the voluntary and the involuntary migration. The voluntary migration means that people move to another place of their own free will, in contrast to the involuntary migration, where people are forced to leave. While the push factors¹ for the soldiers and refugees were political (war and revolution), the pull factors² for the modern age immigrant are economical (work), cultural (education) or social (follow family or partner). As regard to the involuntary migration, there are international laws which enact that countries have to receive a definite proportion of refugees, thus governments have to act in the light of the ordains. In contrast with this, when it comes to voluntary migrants, governments have more resiliency in shaping policies. (Slothuus, 2011; National Geographic Society, 2005)

3.1.General presentation of the Hungarian migration

In the past 200 years many unfortunate social events happened in Hungary’s history which made millions of people to flee. One root cause for immigration was the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. The so called “Fourty-Eighters” fled from the Austrian retribution and repression to America (now USA) and South America (Brazil and Argentina). (Tóth, 2014) Another event that gave rise to a second refugee wave

¹ Push factors are those disadvantageous reasons due to which people have to leave their home. (National Geographic Society, 2005)

² Pull factors are those advantageous reasons which attract people to move to another place. (National Geographic Society, 2005)

was the WWI and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With the Treaty of Versailles-Trianon, when Hungary lost 72 percent of its territory, almost 6.6 million Hungarians were left outside the borders of the country. The repression against the Hungarian minority in the neighbouring countries started a massive wave of immigration towards Australia and the New World (The Americas). (Huseby-Darvas, 2012; Urmenyhazi, 2012) A third massive immigration movement was raised from central Europe, among them Hungarians, towards America, South-America and Australia prior and after the WWII due to the Nazi discrimination, the destructions, economical collapse and the communist dictatorships; a significant percentage of these people had Jewish origins. (Pálmai, 2009)

After the Soviet Red Army crushed the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, a mass exodus of the so called “56-ers” began and around 200000 Hungarians fled and found new home in America, South-America, Australia, New Zealand and other countries in Europe, such as Denmark. (Huseby-Darvas, 2012; Némethy, 2012; Ruddock, 2001) Since most of the countries from the Carpathian basin having significant Hungarian minorities joined the European Union, the Hungarian population of the Western countries (Germany, United Kingdom, Scandinavia, etc.) has grown significantly due to education and better working conditions and wages. (Urmenyhazi, 2012)

3.2. Hungarians in Denmark

During the 20th century different waves of Hungarian immigrants reached Denmark lead by many different reasons. One group was the mass of Hungarian soldiers brought to Denmark by the German army for training, mentioned in the book of Søren Peder Sørensen (2005). Here should also be mentioned the story of a small group of young (15-19 years old) cadets from the military school of Marosvásárhely (Târgu-Mureș - România). They had been repositioned due to the fast advancement of the Soviet troops and the sudden side-change of the Romanian army firstly to Germany and then to Denmark. Most of these soldiers went back to Hungary or immigrated to other countries after the war ended, but few of them settled down and lived in Denmark until today. (Vécsey, 1998) Another group is considered to be those

immigrants who fled Hungary after the Revolution in 1956 due to the communist strafe. (Zieck, 2013) The last group studied in this work represents the immigrants of the modern age, the beginning of the 21th century, who came to Denmark with education purposes or with the hope for a better life, better working and earning possibilities.

3.2.1. Soldiers in the II World War

The above mentioned book represents one of the most important publications about the Hungarian soldiers sent to Denmark, as the author explored deeply the archives and the record offices of both countries in consideration of giving a good overview about this military history. In February 1945, Hungary was already under Soviet occupation. Hitler wanted to create new Hungarian divisions in order to expel the Soviets from the country, but the training was impossible in Hungary due to the advancing front. Thus, these units were conducted towards Germany for the drilling. However, a great number of these Hungarian soldiers from these corps arrived in Denmark and took the positions of the German soldiers who were transferred to the Russian and Western fronts. (Sørensen, 2005; Eby, 2007; Illum et. al., 1998)

As stated in the registers regarding the Hungarian army, in the spring of 1945 there were three regiments, 12 battalions, two artilleries with four batteries in Denmark. The number of them was approximately 12-15 thousand, and they were spread all over the country. It was typical, however, that they have often moved from one place to another within the country, even after only a few days spent in one place. These migrations had strong effect on the relationship between the two nations; while in some places the Danish people did not notice the presence of the Hungarians, in other places they have become close friends. (Sørensen, 2005, pg. 35-39)

The Hungarians did not know much about Denmark; many of them were not able to place the country on the map. One company commander, however, had some knowledge about the Danish people. He assured the trainee that Danes are honest and right. Contrarily, the German leaders warn the soldiers not to get in touch with the

Danish people because they might be resistant or saboteur. The Hungarians did notice that some sabotage happened, and yet, they were not very surprised. They were rather amazed because of the high standard of living compared to where they came from; the people were healthy and good-looking, the houses were intact and the shops were full of goods. One soldier wrote the following about village Borris, near Skjern:

“I cannot compare it with any village I know. The houses are built of raw brick, the village is like a fabled city, even though there are only 80-100 houses, three stores, one hotel and some other shops. I wish we could have similar villages at home! (...)” (Sørensen, 2005, pg. 24)

The corps was composed by various age-groups; the average age was 20, but there were older men, as well as children. This was possible as the consequence of the Act of Defence from 1938 which adjudged that every 12-18 aged were required to be member of the Levente-movement, a paramilitary youth organisation. In October 1944, the organisation was set under military leading and the children were threatened and separated from their parents. They were deported in Germany in the winter of 1944-1945. (Gosztonyi, 1969) The parents were standing and crying next to the train, some of them even tried to stop it in order to rescue their children. The children suffered from hunger and illness, but the worst was for those who got under the SS-command; they were sent in war. They were tattooed and their life was stigmatised even after the war; they were thought to be SS-voluntaries. At a rough guess, there were around 500 children who came in Denmark. There is almost no information about the living conditions of these children, but probably they had a better life as in Germany. (Kovács, 1993)

The Hungarian soldiers thought that they will take part in a 3 months long drilling, and then they will be sent to the frontlines. But their situation changed in Denmark; they had no longer to go to the battlefields. As it turned out later, they were marked out for labour services. For instance, they had to pull out a crashed airplane around Lønborg-Vostrup from the spongy ground and to impose it on a truck. They had to dig anti-aircraft trenches at the edge of Vordingborg or to collect the weapons and munitions threw out from airplanes at Præstø. At other occasions their task was to

guard the territories on the west coast of Jylland, as well as to patrol along the railway lines, for example between Holbæk and Roskilde, or Odense and Nyborg. In the last few weeks of the war the Hungarians were sent to East-Jylland in order to build up the Kreimhildstellung, the southernmost German defensive line, which crossed Sønderjylland. In the opinion of the Hungarians, the reason why the drilling was protracted was that the German instructors also wanted to avoid the frontlines. According to a wing colonel, in turn, they were not able to execute the military training because they could not cooperate with the Hungarians; the commissars were afraid to give them weapons as they did not trust them. The colonel said: "Except guarding their own accommodation, they [the Hungarians] were not divided to military serving, and they were not given military training of any kind." (Erdész and Kováts, 2007, n. pag., parenthesis added)

As stated above, another group of soldiers who came to Denmark was the Hungarian soldier-pupils from "Csaba Királyfi" Cadet School, Marosvásárhely. As the school's location close to Hungary's eastern frontier was a problem since the Soviet-Russian army in early autumn 1944 roared forward and penetrated across the border from Romania, the cadet school was rapidly moved away from the war zone to more secure regions in western Hungary. The Red Army continued its march, and soon the Cadet School was in danger also in western Hungary; thus, in December 1944, the Germans decided to move the school to Germany. It was said that the young cadet-students can continue their officer training in Germany. The truth was, however, that the Germans were conspiring to send the students to the pressed fronts, which was desperately lacking manpower. Shortly before Christmas 1944, the Hungarian students were put on a train to be sent to the city of Bromberg (currently Bydgoszcz in Poland), where they were subjected to German Reconnaissance and Cavalry School. (Sørensen, 2005, Illum et. al., 1998) From Bromberg the group covered about 900 kilometres on horseback until Münster, Germany, and from there by train to Næstved, Denmark. According to information from the Danish authorities, after the war they counted around 150 people belonging to the cadet school. Out of this number, just half were students, while the others were officers, vicarious officers and family members, among them 19 women and children. (Sørensen, nd., n.pag.)

3.2.2. Refugees after 1956 and Communist times

On November the 4th, 1956, 2500 Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary's capital, Budapest, and about a week later, the Soviet troops took over the control. The invasion was a response to the decision of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Imre Nagy, to pull the country out of the Warsaw Pact and to declare Hungary as neutral. The Soviet invasion contributed to the fled of more than 200000 Hungarians to the neighbouring Austria and Yugoslavia. Soon, the congestion in the Austrian refugee camps became so dramatically high that other countries had to lend assistance to Austria; the Danish Government promised to provide shelter for 1000 Hungarian refugees. (Illum et. al., 1998, pg. 18-22)

Most of the refugees knew nothing about the conditions in Denmark, they only got short information what was distributed with a metallic voice through the platform speakers:

"The climate in Denmark corresponds to Middle-England. The winter is much milder than in Hungary, summer is not so hot. Hungarians who want to Denmark will in the beginning going to live in smaller camps. Soon there will be organized activities in all the disciplines they want." (Møller, 2003, n. pag.)

This information formed the basis for many refugees to make the decision of staying in Austria or taking the chance of a new life in Denmark. Hungarians stood in line to get to Denmark, the refugee train was loaded in record time and many were left disappointed on the platform. In the night of 30th of November, the refugee train that had been named "Danica Express" left through Europe towards the Danish-German border. The refugees were given a hearty welcome at Padborg; policemen, customs officers and state railway personnel approached the train with open arms to say welcome to the refugees in Danish language. At the station they were awaited with Hungarian rhapsody, welcoming speeches and hot tea. In other places, they were greeted with cakes and flowers. After the refugees had arrived in Denmark, they were divided into groups and sent to refugee homes spread throughout the country. The Danish Refugee Council had quickly established 16 refugee homes for

accommodating the Hungarians. Folkekuren (People care) in Hald and Hald Hovedgård (Hald Menor) decided to receive the largest part of the Hungarian people; a total number of 272 out of the 1000 refugees were accommodated in these two camps. (Møller, 2003; Schmidl and Ritter, 2006)

3.2.3. Modern age immigrants

According to the Unicef's international migration profile in 2013, the percentage of immigrants stock in Denmark was the highest among those aged between 25-29, both males and females. The second biggest group is the category of those who are over 65 years of age. This is illustrated in Table 1 and Figure 1. (Unicef, 2014)

Age	Male	Female	Total	Males %	Females %
0-4	4366	3993	8359	0,78%	0,72%
5-9	7395	7151	14546	1,33%	1,28%
10-14	8423	8514	16937	1,51%	1,53%
15-19	12646	12956	25602	2,27%	2,33%
20-24	27279	28510	55789	4,90%	5,12%
25-29	33084	35941	69025	5,94%	6,45%
30-34	29693	33236	62929	5,33%	5,97%
35-39	26727	30351	57078	4,80%	5,45%
40-44	26424	28506	54930	4,75%	5,12%
45-49	25655	25406	51061	4,61%	4,56%
50-54	21313	20478	41791	3,83%	3,68%
55-59	15187	15141	30328	2,73%	2,72%
60-64	10754	11920	22674	1,93%	2,14%
65+	20432	25344	45776	3,67%	4,55%
Total	269378	287447	556825		

Table 1. Migrant stock by age and sex, 2013

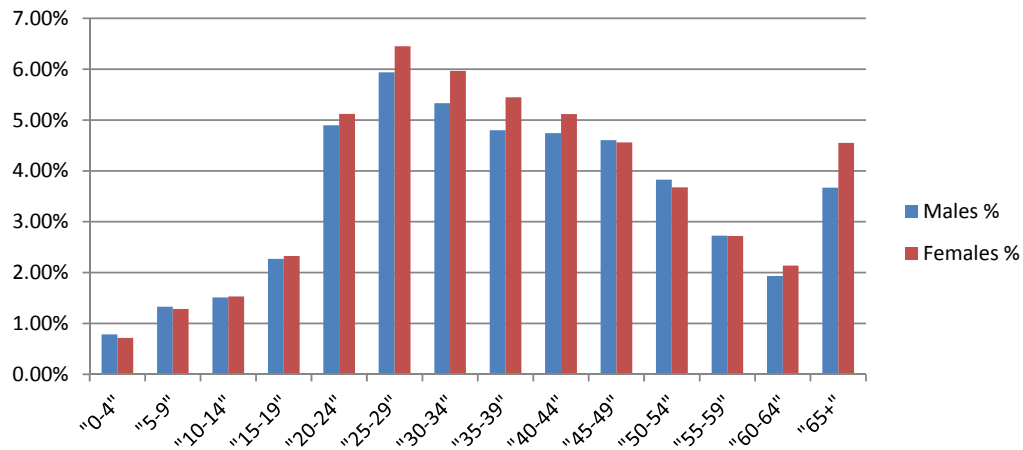


Figure 1. Migrant stock by age and sex, 2013

As the recent statistics show, approximately 9000 of the above presented number of immigrants are Hungarian citizens, registered in Denmark after 1990. (StatBank, 2015) Before the fall of the communist regime the migration from Central and Easter European countries, such as Hungary, was tightly restricted; those who have managed to emigrate asked for political refugee status in the hosting countries. After the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989 this situation became different and more free possibilities opened for emigration towards the western countries, including Denmark. As Figure 2 shows, there is a visible increase in number of immigrants in Denmark after 1990 compared to communist times. The number of immigrants from Hungary's neighbouring EU member countries, Romania and Slovakia, is also presented as they have a significant Hungarian minority population and there must be Hungarian speaking people registered in Denmark from these countries, but without Hungarian passport.

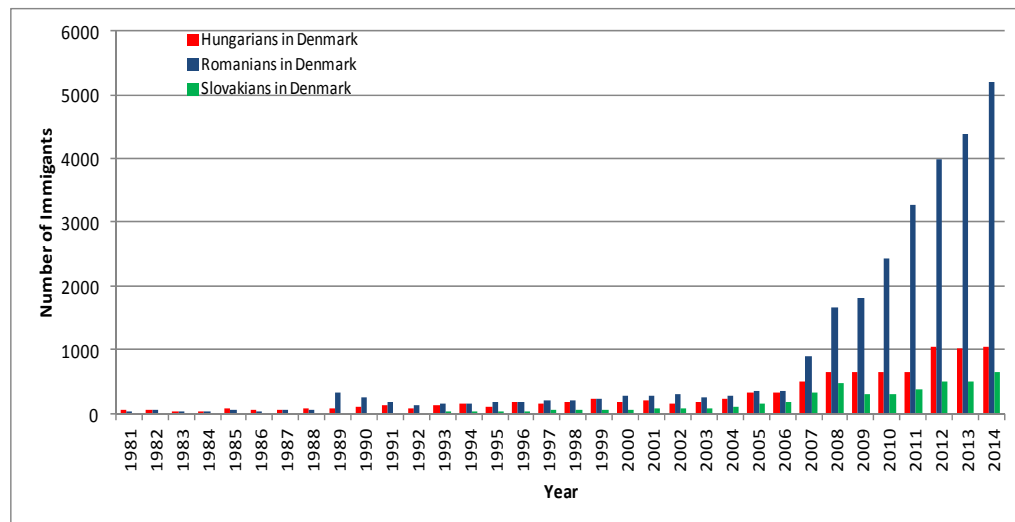


Figure 2. Hungarians registered in Denmark since 1980 (StatBank, 2015)

There is another breakpoint visible in the graph after the above mentioned countries, including Hungary, have joined the European Union and the free labour market – the first EU enlargement in was 2004 and the second one in 2007. (Pedersen and Pytlikova, 2008)

One reason for young people to migrate to Denmark is that in this country there are no administration- and registration fees applied for lower and higher education, only international students from countries outside the EU or the EEA pay tuition fees. (Pedersen and Pytlikova, 2008) As Denmark was considered many times the happiest country in the World (Helliwell et. al., 2013), it makes this state very attractive among the young Hungarians especially after the country has joined the EU. Many of them are determined even before graduating high school to continue their university studies in Denmark. One key reason is the difference between the two education systems: while in Easter Europe in general the education systems have major focus on the theoretical knowledge transfer, the students graduating the university have difficulties entering the labour market because they are lacking practical experiences. At the same time, in Denmark the education is built on giving the chance to the students to get practical experience within their field before graduation. (Takács, 2012; Sik, 2012) Having international education and experience is on the individual student profit, but the whole society gains from it. Most of the students asked in different statistical

about their decision to go abroad surveys were attracted by the higher standards of living and the better earning possibilities, but many of them are home sick and deliberate on moving home, yet not in the near future.

There is visible tendency of leaving the home country among the lower educated hand-working class and the highly specialised people with high education; both categories change their country for better working and living conditions. One example is that the better wages have huge attracting force on the young and specialised medical doctors from Hungary; they were earning the fraction of what their colleagues from western part of the EU or Scandinavia obtained. The Danish healthcare system is lacking the well specialised medical personnel (EURES, 2014) and through different forums and head-hunter companies advertises and brings young physicians to Denmark especially from Central and Easter European Countries, like Hungary. (Komuves, 2008)

In the beginning of this 3rd chapter a brief overview of the migration concept was introduced, followed by a general presentation of the Hungarian migration. In addition, the three groups of the Hungarian immigrants in Denmark was elaborated, namely the group of soldiers of the WWII, the refugees after the Revolution of 1956 and Communist times, and the modern age immigrants. The soldiers and the refugees had to emigrate involuntary from their homeland, while the new-comers are voluntary migrants. In the first two cases the reasons behind the migration were political, but for the third group were economical, social and cultural.

4. THE DANISH LEGISLATION CONCERNING IMMIGRATION

This chapter will contain the relevant laws and regulations concerning migration and the status of migrants, as well as the laws and regulations regarding integration. Furthermore, the benefits guaranteed by the Danish state for a better integration will be introduced.

In order to analyse the state's role in the Hungarian people's integration in Denmark, it is necessary to examine the relevant Danish laws on this topic. It has to be mentioned that the Constitutional Act of Denmark from 1953 is the supreme legislative document and every law has to be in concordance with it. The legal frame which allowed the Hungarian soldiers to stay in Denmark was the result of treaties between some Hungarian military leaders, the Danish civil society and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Sørensen, 2005) In 1954 Denmark ratified the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees' Rights which is the principal legal act regarding the status of the refugees, their rights and the norms and rules for the states. This Convention had geographical and temporal restraints concerning the term 'refugee' which were eliminated by the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Correspondingly, the term 'refugee' refers, according to Article 1 [A (2)] of the Convention, to any individual who:

“owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

In conformity with Article 7 (1), the state has to accord to the refugee the same treatment as for the foreigners in general if the Convention does not stipulate otherwise. Accordingly, if one meets the conditions of being an immigrant in pursuance of the law, the settlement is possible. Between 1956 and 1959 the country received around 1400 immigrants (Zieck, 2013, Brochmann, 2012) who fled Hungary after the Revolution and also granted scholarships to 39 Hungarian student refugees (Hidas, n.d.).

The member states of the European Union (EU) agreed to have unitary immigration norms Europe-wide. Thus, the EU has a universal immigration policy for Europe. Besides this, every state has its own specific legal framework. The common measures

are formulated in the *Treaty of Functioning the European Union* from 2009, and include *inter alia* rules referring to the residence conditions of the migrants, the rights of migrants living legally in an EU state. The other important legal regulations concerning the migration within the territory of the EU at present day are the *Directive 2004/38/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States* and the *Aliens Consolidation Act no. 863* from 2013. The latter is the country-specific set of rules of Denmark. The Aliens Consolidation Act states in Part 1, Article 2 (3) that “The limitations provided for by this Act only apply to aliens falling within the EU rules to the extent that it is compatible with those rules.” The free movement of the individuals within the territory of the Union is a basic right assured by the Directive 2004/38/EC, and as both Hungary and Denmark is member of the EU, their citizens enjoy this right. Native Hungarians with Romanian or Slovakian citizenship are also entitled to this right for the same reason, they are EU citizens. Article 2 (1) of the Aliens Consolidation Act enunciates that EU citizens or citizens belonging to the European Economic Area (EEA) can remain up to 3 months in Denmark without an EU residence document and up to 6 months if they are seeking for employment. After this period the stay in the country is possible only if the person has a residence document. After 5 years of legal stay in Denmark the permanent residence permit can be solicited. Article 14 [1 (ii)] states that EU citizens are exempt from the work permit.

Denmark guarantees many benefits for the immigrants, and makes efforts to improve the foreigners’ integration in the Danish society, as it is believed that “better integrated migrants become more productive members of society and consequently, contribute more effectively towards the development of their country of residence” (IOM-b, 2011, n.pag.). The state offers Danish language education free of charge for international students or employees who possess CPR number (the Danish ID). These courses are granted by private and public language centres and are completed with a state-approved examination. There are many possibilities of improving the language skills by the courses offered as online long distance learning or the practising sites. The most higher education institutions also have intensive Danish courses in the first

semester of the academic year. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, n.d.) The Danish education system is famous all around the world; students come from every point of the globe. Besides that the courses at the universities are job-oriented, the higher education is free of charge for students from the EU/EEA and Switzerland. Likewise, students enrolled in exchange programmes are studying without tuition-fee in Denmark. According to the Aliens Consolidation Act, non-EU citizens do not pay for studying if at the moment of the application they have permanent residence permit, temporary residence permit which can be upgraded into a permanent permit or “a residence permit for the accompanying child of a non-EU/EEA parent holding a residence permit based on employment” (Ministry of Higher Education and Science, n.d.)

Another benefit for the students is the State Educational Grant and Loan (SU). Besides the Danish students, the EU/EEA students are also supported in their subsistence by the Danish Agency for Higher Education in association with the educational institutions under the Danish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Higher Education. Article 2 of the SU Law stipulates that students enrolled in higher education institutions are eligible for grants on the period of the elected study and one year more with the condition to work between 10 and 12 hours a week, and do not receive any other public assistance, except for scholarship. The grant is divided monthly, and within 70 grants the students have the possibility to transfer themselves from one study to another. Furthermore, studies abroad are also supported in some extent. Then, students who maintain children can apply for extra support. In addition, students can also request other state loans for which the interest is defined by the Parliament. (Young, 2013; Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet, nd.)

For the workers the state offers the unemployment insurance. In order to be entitled to receive the dole, it is necessary that a person to have had at least one year labour relation inside a three years period. Moreover, it is mandatory to have at least one year of membership in an unemployment insurance fund (A-Kasse). Every EU citizen working in Denmark having between 18 and 63 years of age can affiliate to an insurance fund. Students enjoy the right of having five years of free membership in a fund. The financial support can be utmost 90 percent of the previous salary and it is

allocated in every three-four weeks. The members of the fund are eligible for the insurance for four years altogether. (Hasselbalch, 2010; EU Commission, 2013; Hansen et. al., 2002)

Another aid from the state is the cash welfare benefit (kontanthjælp). The support can be requested if the person is not able to maintain himself and his family. Besides this, there are several conditions to be met in order to receive help. One cannot apply for the assistance, if the spouse or partner can provide the subsistence, or the person in question has assets which can cover the livelihood. According to Article 11 of the Act on Active Social Policy (Bekendtgørelse af lov om aktiv socialpolitik) the following circumstances have to be present simultaneously in the interest of the availability of the grant:

- the applicant has experienced changes in its conditions, for example in the form of illness, unemployment or marital breakdown;
- the changes mean that the applicant is unable to obtain the necessary for his own or family support;
- the need cannot be supply through other benefits.

With the reform of the cash welfare benefit in 2013, the Danish Government decided to replace this support with the education aid for people under 30 years of age without an education; this is similar to SU. (Article 23, Kontanthjælp Reform Law) Young people, who do not have the qualifications to start an education, will be eligible for a training assistance with the condition to participate actively in offers. After the local authority has assessed that the individual is activity-ready, he or she gains to right to a coordinator social worker. This worker's tasks are to guide the person across the various administrations and to ascertain that he or she makes multidisciplinary efforts in the interest of receiving the education. In the case when the municipality decides that the situation is so severe that participating in active offers is impossible, the person will have the right to be assigned a mentor to him or her, which helps in stabilising the life. The municipality is always in contact with the people, and supervises if the requirements for the cash welfare benefits are observed; if not, it gives a penalty. People with an education are expected to actively search for an

employment; the job centers verify the job searching procedure. There are councils who arrange meetings and support the procedure. (Kontanthjælp Reform Law, 2013; Beskæftigelsesministeriet, nd.; Wenande, 2013) However, receiving kontanthjælp has a drawback; people who have taken advantage of it are not allowed to apply for the permanent residence permit in the following three more years after the last payment. (Article 9 [12 (iv)] Aliens Consolidation Act)

Nevertheless, the state supports the integration of the foreigners by granting housing allowance (boligstøtte), subsidies during illness (sygedagpenge) or maternity/paternity leave (barselsdagpenge), pension or completely sponsored places for children in the day-care (friplads). (The Danish Immigration Service, 2014)

In this chapter the relevant laws and regulations regarding migration were presented. Firstly, there are the EU laws which have jurisdiction also in Denmark, as they are unitary on the territory of Europe. Then, the country's statute is what must be applied when talking about migration. In addition, as it could be noticed, there are several benefits which are guaranteed by the Danish state in the interest of the better integration of the foreigners. These facilities attract many Hungarians to Denmark. Having resort to these advantages, one can very well integrate in the Danish society and can easily adapt to the new life.

5. CASE STUDIES

In this chapter the interviews and the social survey will be presented. This part will mainly focus on the journey to Denmark of the three interviewees according to their declarations.

As stated in Chapter 3, three major groups can be separated among the Hungarian immigrants to Denmark. The first group is represented by the Hungarian soldiers who arrived to Denmark together with German forces towards the end of the WWII. The

second group consists of refugees after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and the last group is the collectively of modern age immigrants, who came to Denmark after the collapse of the Iron Wall or the joining of Hungary (and its neighbouring countries with Hungarian population) to the European Union. The integration of these people was monitored through interviews and a social survey. While for the assay of the integration of the soldiers and refugees were used interviews and a documentary, the modern age immigrants were assessed by a questionnaire and an interview.

5.1. Interviews – 3 cases

From the first group three people could be found and were willing to answer to a few questions regarding their life experiences away from their homeland and their integration in a new state. Hereinafter, the story and life of these people who came to Denmark as soldiers or post war refugees, including an interview given for a documentary '*Dániába vet sorsunk*' in 2002, will be elaborated. This group is the most interesting, as their life and connection to Hungary was the most influenced by the different historical events. The above mentioned documentary highlights the memories and stories of five former Hungarian cadets about their life and journey from Marosvásárhely in southeast Hungary (today Tîrgu-Mureş and located in Romania) to Denmark. One of them is the same Tamás Barakonyi, who was also willing to answer to the questions in an online personal interview for this research. The presentation will merge the information from the documentary and personal interviews in order to give a better and more detailed picture.

Tamás Barakonyi and Béla Hoyos were two, fourth and third grade cadets of the Hungarian military educational institution, "Csaba Királyfi" (Vécsey, 2008), situated in the city of Marosvásárhely to which landholders, priests and other affluent communities sent their sons towards getting an officer's training. Tamás Barakonyi was born on the 26th of February 1925 in Kaposvár, Hungary. As his father was an officer in the Hungarian army and changed his position each third or fourth year, Tamás Barakonyi does not have too much memory of the places he had lived together with his family. As he had been familiar with the military life and had liked very

much the horses and horse riding, he applied to the Military School in Marosvásárhely to become a hussar³ officer. Béla Hoyos was born on the 16th of March 1928 in Gyömrő, Hungary, in a noble family. While half of his family belongs to an Austrian noble dynasty, the other half is in affinity with the Hungarian Teleki family⁴. He spent his childhood in the family mansion in Gyömrő together with his parents and grandparents, but since he had been 5 years old he was sent to boarding school; thus, he does not have too many memories of the place he origins from. He remembers only his grandparents and his brother from those ages at Gyömrő. He also remembers: “My parents were in good condition [well-situated] and they always aspired to their children’s prosperity.” (parenthesis added) Similarly to Tamás Barakonyi, he also wanted to become a hussar officer, so he applied and got accepted to the same school. According to Tamás Barakonyi (*‘Dániába vet sorsunk’*, 2002), the school was hard, but gave a good lesson about life, morals and health. Being 78 years old at the time of the documentary, in 2002, he was still feeling youthful. He had good memories about his teachers, mentioning a few names as well, like Major Dezső Szilágyi or Lieutenant Pál Karácsonyi. Béla Hoyos also remembered his company officer, Iván Feleki.

On the 7th of September 1944, Romania declared war on Hungary. The school's location close to Hungary's eastern frontier represented a problem since the Romanian and Soviet-Russian armies in the early autumn of 1944 roared forward and penetrated across the border to Transylvania through the Carpathian passes. The cadet school had to rapidly be moved away from the war zone to more secure regions in western Hungary. Tamás Barakonyi, who has had previously a surgical intervention in Budapest, received the command on the way back to Marosvásárhely to change his direction to Rábahídvég, west of Hungary.

As mentioned above, in December 1944, the Germans decided to move the school to Germany; it was said that the young cadet-students can continue their officer training

³ One of a body of Hungarian light cavalry formed during the 15th century. (Dictionary) In Hungarian: *Huszár*.

⁴ The Teleki family is one of the most significant aristocrat families of Transylvania (a region in central Romania) and Hungary. The family wears the Holy Roman Empire’s rank of count since 1697. (Kardos, 1905)

in there. The truth was, however, that the Germans were plotting to send the cadets to the front line, which were severely in need of manpower. As a result, shortly before Christmas 1944, the Hungarian cadets were put on a train to be sent to the city of Bromberg (currently Bydgoszcz in Poland). The circumstances were bad on the train and the railway carriages were agglomerated. Tamás Barakonyi said: “We stayed around one week in Bromberg under the authority of the German Reconnaissance and Cavalry School (Heeresaufklärung und Kavallerie Schule).”

On the morning of the 21st of January 1945, they got the alert that have to leave Bromberg due to the fast approaching of the Soviet Army. “At this point we had realised that the war was lost and our vision about the future had changed.”-remembered Tamás Barakonyi. From Bromberg the group of 14-15 years old cadets covered about 900 km on horseback until Münster, Germany, of which around 250 kilometers in snow and 15-20 degrees below zero. This is how Marietta Zsákai, the grandchild of one soldier from the documentary who worked as a blacksmith in the cadet school, is acquainted with the story from her parents:

“My family came from Hungary to Bromberg by train. Because of the bombing, from there they had to travel by horses; only women and children were sitting on drays. In order to avoid a bomb attack - and because Russian tanks were stationed just a few kilometres away- they were passing all along on forest roads. The Germans wanted to take the horses and the cadets would have been deployed against the Russian tanks.” (Sørensen, nd.)

Usually, they rode 30-40 km a day and found shelter for night in schools and churches. This journey full of dangers strengthened the relationship between the cadets, as Tamás Barakonyi remembers in the documentary. While being in the school, they had a natural rivalry among them, but on the way to Denmark they were trying more to help one other and to be each other's tower of strength in times of need. When they arrived to Münster, they had also met other cadets from different divisions of the same military school.

On the 3rd of March 1945, all the hussar cadets and their horses were entrained and by the 4th of March the train stopped in Næstved on Sjælland, Denmark; this town was their first contact with Denmark and the Danish people. Tamás Barakonyi also arrived at this time: “I arrived to Denmark on 3rd of March, 1945, as the Cadet School’s hussar student”. Béla Hoyos declared the same: “I arrived in March, 1945. I was 15 years old and I came with the hussar company.” Their accommodation was set up later on in a school in Prestø, another small town not far from Næstved. Here the Germans gave them armour and assigned them guarding duties. The Germans knew that in those times the British Air Force dropped weapons in the bay close to Prestø for the Danish resistance and gave the command to the Hungarian cadets to find these weapons and capture the members of the Danish resistance. In the same time, Hungarian company commander established contact to the Danish resistance and repudiated the German command. In this uncertain environment, close to the end of the war, the Germans did not trust the Hungarians and sent the whole Hungarian corps to the small island near Næstved, called Gavnø, which was operating as a prisoner camp.

On the 4th of May, Denmark was liberated by the British troops from the German occupation. At this moment, the life of the cadets has changed; “It was dead silence and everybody started thinking about their families and how to get back to their home.” – remembered Tamás Barakonyi. The result of being on good terms with the Danish people was that later the Hungarian soldiers were not considered prisoners of war but the guests of the Danish State. Tamás Barakonyi stated: “We quickly came to amity with the Danes; this is proven by the fact that we have not been taken as prisoners, but they recognised us, in agreement with the British troops, as federate refugees.” In the following month the Danish Red Cross took over the island and formed a refugee camp on Gavnø. The cadets fall under the protection and care of the Red Cross. To spend the time, the cadets were entertaining each other and the locals – “even the mayor and police superintendent visited our “Hut Revue Show.” – yarned Tamás Barakonyi with a smile on his face. With time they got permission to leave the island; they quickly took up with local people, and Danish girls also showed interest towards the cadets. After the war the cadets helped in rebuilding the Danish National

Army using their horse-riding experiences and skills in the training of the Danish Cavalry. According to Tamás Barakonyi: “The Danish state had resort to the competency of the boys.” Even though no one was deported, many of them left the country and went back home or to other Western European countries or in the United States. “Nobody was sent home by force.” – said Tamás Barakonyi.

In spite of many endeavouring through different social media channels and personal contacts, there was only a single person to be found, related in some way to the second group, the '56-ers, who was willing to elaborate and answer to a few questions about her experience about fleeing Hungary and settling down in Denmark. K. T. was born in October, 1942 in Cegléd, Hungary. Her mother was Danish and her father was Hungarian. “My mother (Danish) brought me and my big brother to Denmark after the war and remained in Odense for 18 months.” Her father stayed in Hungary, so they returned after some time to reunite with him. In 1951, the family was deported from Budapest to Orosháza, south-east Hungary. This was an established custom in the early '50s communist regime in Hungary to banish families belonging to higher class from their homes and confiscate their possessions. After living in poverty, her mother – as Danish citizen – was given permission to leave Hungary, together with her children, thus, she returned to Denmark. After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, her father fled Hungary to meet his family; he was the genuine Hungarian refugee. K. T. said about her father: “Being 55 at the time [he came to Denmark] he never learnt to speak Danish adequately, but simply LOVED Denmark and everything Danish till his dying day 15 years later. He never saw Hungary again and never missed it.” (parenthesis added)

It was clear from the start that a large part of the Hungarian refugees was here to stay. The teaching was no easy task; teachers and students could not communicate in a common language, so much of the learning took place through pictures in the beginning. But both teachers and students took the tasks with great energy and after a few months most Hungarians were able to hold a simple conversation in Danish. In 1956 the unemployment rate was 11, 1 %. (Møller, 2003, n. pag.) The majority of Hungarians were at the working age, so it was predictable that the work situation may

become one of the biggest problems of the integration. The Directorate of Labour charged the job centres with finding work in the region where refugee camps were located. The first task was to examine within which area the refugees had been employed in Hungary. It turned out that the vast majority of them had been employed in the industrial and craft sector. The next challenge was to find that work which corresponded with the Hungarians' qualifications; this was more than difficult. A conflicting situation evolved: due to the high unemployment rate the Danish people had to take what jobs they could get, but the Hungarian refugees were promised to be employed at whatever job they wanted. Many Hungarians were disappointed when they discovered that the reality was different, but after they had been explained the Danish unemployment situation, most of them took the work they were offered. The Hungarian refugees were, despite the high unemployment, relatively quickly integrated into the Danish labour. On June the 13th, 1959 the Folkekuren refugee home in Hald closed its gates; a successful national and local charity project for the people in need was completed. (Møller, 2003, Illum et. al., 1998) According to K. T.:

“It was my general impression that Hungarians adapted very well and were extremely pragmatic about living outside the old country. But in those days refugees were very well received here; there were not too many of them and their culture was not unlike that of the new country.”

5.2. Survey based on 70 answers and 1 interview

In the past 25 years, with the fall of the Iron Curtain and the opening of the borders, many Hungarian people arrived to Denmark. At the beginning with lower number, but after Hungary and its neighbours joined the European Union and no visa was mandatory for travelling and working abroad, this number has increased. While many were attracted by the free and advanced education in universities after finishing high school or bachelor studies at home universities, others came simply to work for short term as trainees or full time workers in the agriculture, health care, technical area or other jobs.

To monitor the largest group of Hungarian immigrants, the modern age immigrants' group, a survey was prepared and, based on specific questions, different data was obtained; these are illustrated on different charts. The questionnaire sent out on a social media channel to reach the Hungarian people in Denmark. The questionnaire was conducted in Hungarian language. In the focus were mostly those who came to Denmark in past 25 years, but anybody could respond to the questionnaire who had access to it on the page. The questionnaire consisted of 20 questions; among them there were personal data related ones like gender, education, occupation, country of origin and personal opinion related ones, such as what is their relation to the Danish people and Denmark, what kind of help did they get for better integration, etc. In the following the analysis of the questionnaire will be elaborated taking the questions and the answers one by one. In total 70 people answered to the questions.

Besides the survey, an interview was also made with a woman who came two years ago. The interview questions were the same as in the previous interviews. It will be interesting to compare this interview with the responses on the survey.

6. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter the integration of the Hungarian migrants in Denmark will be elaborated. The chapter will contain the analysis of the interviews and the evaluation of the questionnaire.

In the recent years, the integration of foreigners in the Danish society has been one of the most discussed issues in the public debate. Opinions are many and varied, but there is shown a broad consensus that the language and employment are the two key elements for the successful integration. It is therefore interesting to see how it went with the integration of Hungarians in Denmark. How quickly they learned the language, and how they managed to get a job? Integration into Danish society

presupposes thus that the Hungarians were able to write and speak the language, and that they got a basic knowledge of the Danish society.

Henceforth, the analysis of the interviews will be presented. Beside the questions how and why did they come to Denmark, the interviews with the former soldiers and refugees focused also on their integration, prosperity and adaptation to the Danish society during the past 70 years. As Tamás Barakonyi remembered about the early period:

“We quickly came to amity with the Danes; this is proven by the fact that we have not been taken as prisoners, but they recognised us, in agreement with the British troops, as federate refugees. The Danes allowed us to settle down and gave us work permit as well.”

Firstly he lived in Næstved, where they have arrived with the troops, and later he moved to Copenhagen. As he got employed and worked during the day, he applied and got accepted into the Economic Evening School.

“It was not like these days, we did not get neither educational nor financial support. The Danish language was very hard to acquire – not the grammar, but the pronunciation was the hardest.”

He was working at the beginning as shop-boy in a bakery; this was his first job in Denmark. Later on he had been working at a warehouse for 40 years as Head of the Service Department (Production Chief) until his retirement. As he wanted to be a military officer, he always liked to work with people - he mentioned in his answers. “The beginning was hard, but slowly everything just developed step by step. I was not unemployed for even a day since the beginning.”

After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 he volunteered to translate in the refugee camps and helped the work of the Danish Red Cross. Through these relations he took part in forming a Hungarian Club. As he sees the today's situation, mostly young people come to Denmark to work and he does not really see the will in the new generation to form a strong connection among the Hungarian communities in Denmark.

According to his statements, the integration should come through the will of a person:

“You should help yourself in the integration process and do not wait for the state’s support. The knowledge of the language and the local habits are really important, otherwise, you will never feel yourself really Danish.”

After his retirement in 1990 they moved up to Nord Sjælland, to Gilleleje in their summer house. His wife came to Denmark with wave of ‘56ers, she is also Hungarian. He considers this the happiest memory of his life. According to the documentary ‘*Dániaba vet sorsunk*’, only his wife is Hungarian, the other former-soldiers in Denmark found Danish wives. He used to meet with his old comrades and friends from time to time and his house used to be the home of the regular goulash⁵ parties.

He was not allowed to go home to Hungary until 1962 and his mother visited him for the first time only in 1963. His father was really shattered by the harsh times of the war and the deportation to Hortobágy Puszta⁶, and unfortunately died one year before the reunion. These were his most sad memories of the past.

As it reveals the other former-soldier, Béla Hoyos’s memories, his adaptation to the Danish society went very easily.

“I was reading a lot about western countries in my childhood and I knew about Denmark that is a pleasant country where people can reach their wishes. This happened in my life as well, here in Denmark.”

He clearly remembered the first contact with Danish people; at the beginning they were very suspicious with the Hungarian soldiers as the colour of their uniform was different from the German uniform and similar to the one the Soviets used to wear. Another difficulty was in communication with the Danes; he was speaking mostly the German language in the early period, which generated dislike in them. In turn, as he spoke many languages from his childhood, learning Danish was very easy to him. This

⁵ “Goulash (Hungarian: *gulyás*) is a soup or stew of meat and vegetables, seasoned with paprika and other spices.^[1] Originating from the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, goulash is also a popular meal in Central Europe, Scandinavia and Southern Europe.” (Wikipedia)

⁶ This is a part of Hungarian lowland, and one of the locations where many well-situated families were expelled by the Communist regime in the late 40’s, early 50’s, just because they were wealthy.

happened in school and also through personal contact and interaction with Danish people. He emphasised many times during the interview the importance of knowing many foreign languages:

“My parents were well possessed and always guided me to learn many languages as quickly as possible. The more languages a person speaks the most useful will this be in his life.”

He also underlines many times that his family was wealthy. This suggests that in spite of the fact that in Denmark he did not have his noble title, he preserved his identity.

His first accommodation in Denmark was on the island of Gavnø. After that he contacted a friend of his father who lived in Copenhagen, who offered him a place in his home. In the beginning he could not go, but he underlined many time during the interview that he could go there whenever he wanted to. This can indicate that he felt safe, he had a place to go. Finally, he accepted it and lived there between 1946 and 1952. Since the beginning it has never been a problem neither to him nor to the community that he was a foreigner, and not Danish. They accepted him and he made all the possible for better integration.

After the war there were no possibilities to go home to Hungary. He could communicate only by post with his beloved family. The means of transport were really ponderous on one hand; on the other hand, it was not allowed and recommended to cross the borders of Hungary being already a Danish-Hungarian citizen. “For my luck, my uncle had been living in Wien, Austria, and through him I could get information about my relatives back home.” He crossed Hungary’s border for the first time in 1961. He never wanted to move home, especially because it was not possible to live the same life as before the war. Because his family belonged to the higher aristocracy and the communist regime was persecuting all the well situated families, their possessions were confiscated after the war. In addition, he could not get a job according to his studies because of his descent.

Here in Denmark he reached all he could obtain by himself, he did not get any support from the Danish State. He studied to be a tradesman and worked as a merchant. He

kept repetitively mentioning the name of the friend of his father (“Mr. Knude Oksen”), meaning that this person was a determining person in his life and he remained in Béla Hoyos’s memory even after 70 years.

During his life in Denmark he managed to get in contact with other Hungarians, but in the beginning this was difficult. Unfortunately, most of his old friends are already died and he does not have any living friends in Hungary anymore. He mentioned few Hungarian names from his age-group, who he knows in Denmark, among others the name of Tamás Barakonyi.

His wife was Danish and she belonged to the small Danish Roman Catholic fellowship. According to his son (present at the interview as well), he learned the Danish language without any accent, thus within the family they did not feel that their father is a foreigner and a Roman Catholic also, so there was no cultural differences in the family. His children, the three siblings were never taught the Hungarian language, as there was never an option to move back to Hungary. His son was also educated as tradesman, so he need the Danish language, as the main language for better emergence in Denmark. Even though his children do not speak a word in Hungarian, Béla Hoyos, after 70 years of being away from his home country, spoke as fluently and elaborately Hungarian as many people from Hungary should be ashamed compared to his speaking. He preserved that clear and noble expression mode that he had learned back in his childhood in spite of not having too many people to speak with in Hungarian in the past 70 years. Occasionally, he spoke with some friends in the past or talks to a cousin in the United Kingdom, whom he often forgets to call due to his Alzheimer disease.

Answering to the question, “*How many times did you go to Hungary and what feelings did you have?*” he mentioned that he went to Hungary each two-three years after 1961, but had never wanted to move back. “I did not feel Hungary as my country anymore, and I considered Denmark my home.” His parents visited him here as well, but only one by one, as the authorities did not give passport to both of the parents in the same time during the Communist times. They never encouraged him to move home knowing the situation back in Hungary; rather they advised him to stay.

As a conclusion for the interview, “I would never leave Denmark!”- said the 87 years old Béla Hoyos, because “Denmark is good place. It has more possibilities than any other European country.”

In contrast to Béla Hoyos and Tamás Barakonyi, K. T. having her native language Danish, does not speak Hungarian at all, even though her father was Hungarian. She is a retired high school teacher, living in Kongens Lyngby, north of Copenhagen. “I started the Danish school right after my mother returned with us to Denmark and she was never willing to speak to us in other language than Danish. This helped me a lot.”

Among the three interview subjects she was the most reserved and her answers reflect that she is not really motivated and not so interested in this topic. According to her answers, after returning to Denmark, the Danish people show great kindness and interest towards her and were very helpful. Her life in Denmark, as she remembered, it was an interesting and challenging journey in a good way. When asked about other Hungarian immigrants and her contacts with them, she answered: “I hardly have any contact with the Diaspora, but have the impression that the great majority have assimilated quite nicely.” This answer also shows her attitude towards the Hungarian people. This can in a way be understood as nothing connects her to Hungary beside the memory of his father who “simply LOVED Denmark and everything what was Danish till his dying day (...). He never saw Hungary again and never missed it.” She feels nothing towards Hungary; “I feel like a tourist” when visiting the country “once every 10 years or so.” They never speak in family about her origin and her children had never contact with the Hungarian language. According to her, the Danish society did not help much in her integration, except “being welcoming and sympathetic”, but as closure to the interview and answer for the last question, she said that she would “never” leave Denmark, as “I am a Dane”.

As a conclusion of the three interviews, it can be highlighted that by strong will and hard work it can be acquired the Danish language and culture, but in the same time the same will can lead to give up totally the national identity where one was born/related to by descent.

Hereinafter, the evaluation of the social survey will follow. From the first question it was found that the distribution of the male and female respondents is almost equal in percentage [52.9% female (37) and 47.1% male (33)]. The age distribution of the respondents is shown in form of percentage in Figure 3. As it can be seen, among the young generation, especially those between 20 and 30 years, Denmark is a popular destination. While these people arrived mostly in the past 10 years, there was one person among them who was already born in this country. Also, one person mentioned that he is a dissident and came to Denmark during the communist times.

Age	Nr.	%
0 - 10	0	0
10 - 20	9	12,85
20 - 30	44	62,85
30 - 40	10	14,28
40 - 50	4	5,71
50 - 60	1	1,42
60 - 70	2	2,85
70 - 80	0	0

Table 2. Age of the respondents

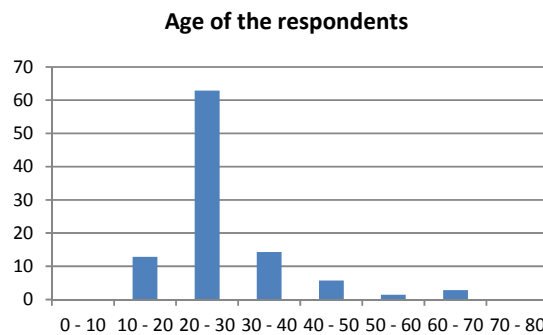


Figure 3. Age of the respondents in percentage

The majority of the respondents came from Hungary, but a large percentage belongs to the Hungarian minority in Romania. There is one person from Slovakia, one from South-Africa and one girl was born already in Denmark. The distribution and numbers are presented in Table 3 and Figure 4.

Country of origin	Nr.	%
Hungary	57	81,43
Romania	10	14,29
Slovakia	1	1,43
Denmark	1	1,43
South-Africa	1	1,43

Table 3. Country of origin of the respondents

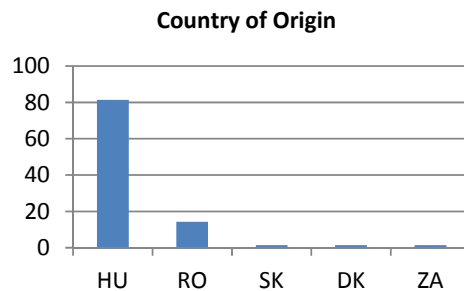


Figure 4. Country of origin (% of the total respondents)

The reasons why people have chosen to come to Denmark are presented in Table 4 and Figure 5. Two major groups can be separated: the one of those who came to

Denmark to get a better living condition, to get a job, and the other group, with even a bigger percentage, of those who came with educational reasons and purposes. Other mentioned reasons were: personal relationships (marriage, following spouse), one person was already born in Denmark and few mentioned political reasons without specific details.

Education	Nr.	%
Gymnasium	3	4,29%
Vocational school	6	8,57%
High school	12	17,14%
Bachelor	39	55,71%
Master	6	8,57%
PhD	4	5,71%

Table 5. Educational background

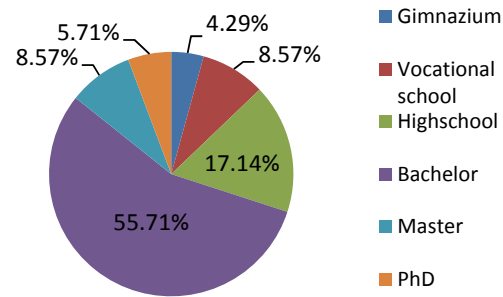


Figure 6. Educational background (% of the total respondents)

In Table 5 and Figure 6 the educational background of the immigrants is presented. The majority of the respondents possess a bachelor (BSc.) degree. The second biggest group has only high school diploma, while the remaining quarter is divided between people with gymnasium studies, vocational school, MSc. (Master of Science) and PhD. (Doctor of Philosophy) studies.

In the followings the contrast will be presented between the respondents' education and their actual job in Denmark.

Job	Nr.	%
Student	22	31,43%
Similar as educated	16	22,86%
Different than educated	24	34,29%
Unemployed	5	7,14%
Childcare	2	2,86%
Retired	1	1,43%

Table 6. Job in Denmark compared to qualification

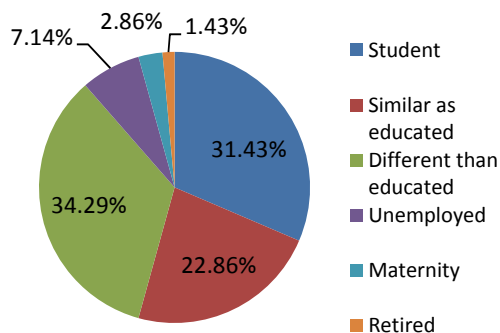


Figure 7. Job in Denmark compared to qualification (% of the total respondents)

As Figure 7 and Table 6 show, around one-third of the people are still studying and less than one-quarter of the monitored group managed to find a job, according to his/her educational qualification: Programmer working in the IT sector, electrical engineer working in research institute, car mechanic working on a farm with agricultural machines, philosophy teacher as philosophy teacher, graphic designer as graphic designer, welder as welder, cosmetician as cosmetician, fashion designer as sewer, medical doctor as psychiatry specialist. Here are some examples from the list of those who could not find a job in their profession: multimedia designer is working as chef, welder as wood cutter, environmental technician as keeper on a cow farm, with high school degree as casual cleaning worker, marketing manager as house maid, system administrator as cleaning worker, professional singer as cleaning worker, police man as cow keeper, dentist as kitchen helper, social worker as warehouse worker, jurist as sport instructor.

There might be different reasons for someone to accept lower level job than his/her qualification. Firstly and mostly the lack of language knowledge: until a person does not speak and write at a certain level the Danish language, there are limited chances to find a job in different areas like social sector, law sector, medical sector, etc. Beside the language problems, there are different regulations in the Danish system that makes life harder for a carrier entrant from abroad: to practice as dentists, 5 years of experience is needed, which is missing if someone just graduated the university. To

practice as jurist the difficulty is that different countries have distinct and specific laws and regulations.

The rest of the answers are divided as follows: among the respondents there were five people being unemployed at the moment of the questionnaire, two people were on maternity leave and one person was already retired.

When asked about their salaries, around 61% answered that they are satisfied with their wages and the remaining 39% answered with not being satisfied with their monthly income. It is visible from the answers that those who are unemployed or are still studying replied negatively to this question. What it can be observed also that mostly who are working in the catering industry and the cleaning business are unsatisfied with their wages. However, this cannot be a generally accepted statement, as others in the same field of work had a positive attitude to this question.

The next question was about how often a person can afford an excursion/trip abroad from Denmark. The results are presented in Figure 8 and Table 7. The purpose of this question was to analyse the financial situation of the Hungarian immigrants. Similar reason was considered when asking the question about the main desire of someone's life. What is the goal, what is someone working, living and collecting money for? The answers are presented in Figure 7 and Table 7.

Excursion/Trips	Nr.	%
3 monthly	12	17,14%
6 monthly	24	34,29%
Yearly	18	25,71%
3 Yearly	3	4,29%
Seldom	8	11,43%
Never	5	7,14%

Table 7. *The frequency of affording a trip abroad*

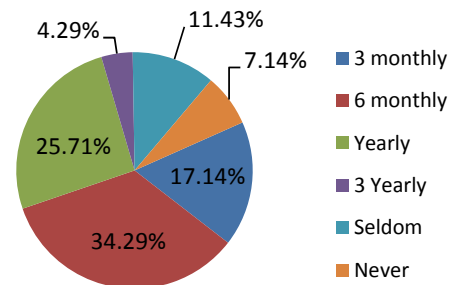


Figure 8. *The frequency of affording a trip abroad (% of the total respondents)*

The next question was about how often a person can afford an excursion/trip abroad from Denmark. The results are presented in Figure 6 and Table 6. The purpose of this question was to analyse the financial situation of the Hungarian immigrants. Similar reason was considered when asking the question about the main desire of someone's life. What is the goal, what is someone working, living and collecting money for? The answers are presented in Figure 9 and Table 8.

Desires	Nr.	%
House	17	24,29%
Apartment	14	20,00%
Car	5	7,14%
Own company	7	10,00%
Travelling	16	22,86%
Job and money	5	7,14%
Happy life	6	8,57%

Table 8. Goals to achieve in life

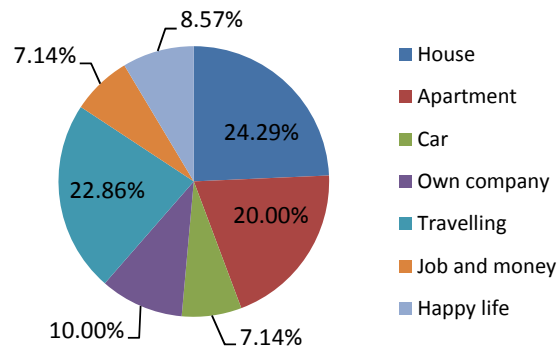


Figure 9. Goals to achieve in life (% of the total respondents)

The answers for this last question reflect mostly the desire of each of us, even though someone might put the accent on reaching one or the other and considering that the most important. By merging the answers of those who consider buying an apartment or a house as a major priority, this adds up the 34% of the respondents. A second group thinks that the most important is to collect enough money for travelling and visiting different countries and places. 10% of the people would like to establish their own company, while 5 people mentioned as their goal to possess a car. A more subjective answer came from 6 people, who would like to live a happy life; that is their goal in life.

The following two questions refer to the interaction between the Hungarians and Danish society, Danish state. The first one: *“What was the attitude of the Danish people towards you?”* The answer for this question was a multiple choice one. The majority, 64.29% answered that the Danes were helpful always with them and it was never a problem that he/she was a foreigner. In the same time it was always

mentioned, that Danish people expect to learn their language after a certain time in Denmark. Some even came in close relationship and friendship with them. 11.43% of the respondents replied that they did not feel any specific attitude from the Danish people and considered neutral their attitude in the questionnaire. Almost a quarter of the respondents admitted that had bad impression, it had happened that they were despised by Danish people just because they were foreigners (24.29%).

The second question: “*What kind of support did you get from the Danish state for better integration?*” Many interesting answers came to this question, as it can be seen in Table 9 and Figure 10.

Support from the Danish State	Nr.	%
Language school	29	41,43%
Free education	12	17,14%
Scholarships and SU	14	20,00%
Unemployment support and finding new jobs	8	11,43%
Other	4	5,71%
No support	18	25,71%

Table 9. Support from the Danish State

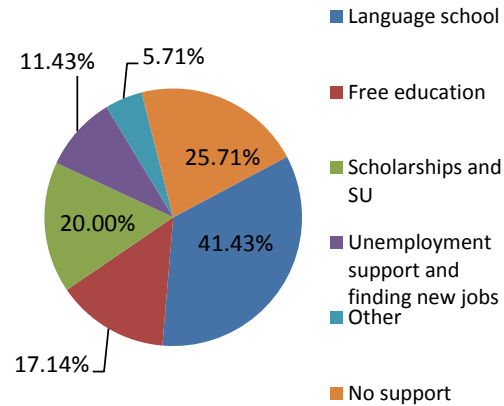


Figure 10. Support from the Danish State (% of the total respondents)

For the majority of the respondents the language school was the most useful support (41.43%). The free educational system in Denmark was very attractive to many young people and was the reason to choose Denmark; this is why 17.4% of the respondents highlighted this benefit from the Danish System. A not negligible 20% of the people – mostly active students mentioned the SU, the governmental support for students as an important form of support. Another form of help is the unemployment support and different solutions offered by the Danish State to find a new job, including various trainings to put the person back in the employment system (11.43%). Various other forms of support were mentioned, like free health care, children support in the kindergarten (børnepenge) and information meetings for better integration. In contrast

to these, around 25% of the people answering the questionnaire did not use any form of support from the Danish society.

In the next few questions the relation between the Hungarians in Denmark is investigated. To the questions: “*Are you in contact with other Hungarians in Denmark? If yes, what kind of relationship do you have with them?*” the majority of the respondents answered that they stay in contact with other Hungarians in Denmark (92%), while the rest (8%) denies this fact. About their relationship the following Table 10 and Figure 11 gives some details. More than 58% has Hungarian friends in Denmark and almost 66% knows other Hungarians (acquaintanceship). 28.57% of the respondents mentioned that he/she is working together with Hungarians, while only a few has relatives (8.57%) and has Hungarian class or roommates (4.29%). A very few percent (2.86%) has a conflict with other Hungarians in Denmark.

Contact with other Hungarians	Nr.	%
Friendship	41	58,57%
Acquaintanceship	46	65,71%
Co-workers	20	28,57%
Relatives	6	8,57%
Class and room mates	3	4,29%
Conflicts	2	2,86%

Table 10. Contact with other Hungarians

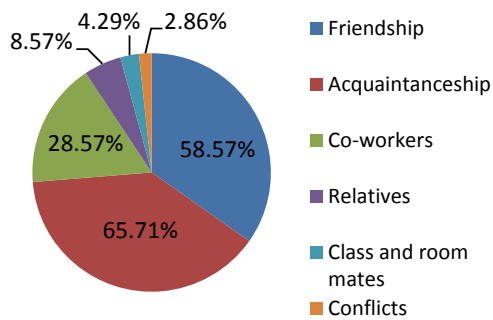


Figure 11. Contact with other Hungarians (% of the total respondents)

Travelling home every	Nr.	%
2 months	3	4,29%
3 months	12	17,14%
4 months	15	21,43%
6 months	30	42,86%
12 months	13	18,57%
24 months	1	1,43%
Never	2	2,86%

Table 11. The frequency of travelling home

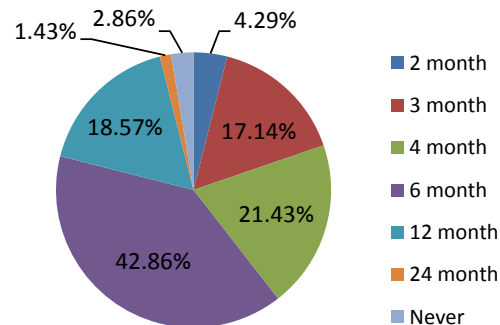


Figure 12. The frequency of travelling home (% of the total respondents)

Transportation modes	Nr.	%
Plane	50	71,43%
Train	7	10,00%
Bus	12	17,14%
Own car	31	44,29%
Other	5	7,14%

Table 12. Means of transport

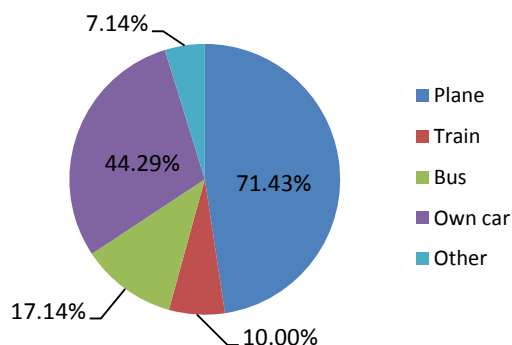


Figure 13. Means of transport (% of the total respondents)

Questions related to the home country: “How often do you visit your home country?”

The majority of the respondents (42.86%) mentioned that he/she is planning to go home at least twice a year. This is followed by the group of people who have the resources to go home at least 3 times a year (21.43%), the ones who plan to go home at least once a year (18.57%) and those people who would go home each quarter of the year (17.14%). This data was processed and shown in Table 11 and Figure 12. Here it should be reminded that 70 people represent 100% of the respondents.

To the question “What means of transportation do you use for travelling?” the majority has selected the plane (71.43%) (Table 12 and Figure 13). This was followed by the option “own car” (44.29%), meaning that many of the Hungarians have possibilities and resources to possess a car. Few respondents indicated as transportation method for going home the bus (17.14%) and the train (10%).

The Hungarian population, according to the survey, is wide spread all over the country. As it is show on the graph (Figure 14 and Table 13) most of the respondents are living in the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen (21.43). That is followed by the three biggest cities, Aalborg (15.71%), Odense (10%) and Århus (8.57%). Other towns like Randers, Vejle, Kolding and Horsense had at least two respondents. To the Other category belong those towns which had only one respondent living in, like Agerskov, Esbjerg, Faaborg, Hadsund, Herning, Hjørring, Grindsted, Hinnerup, Hvidovre, Køge, Krusa, Lyng, Outrup, Rodekro, Sindal, Tappernøje and Varde.

Towns of residence	Nr.	%
Other	19	27,14%
Copenhagen	15	21,43%
Aalborg	11	15,71%
Odense	7	10,00%
Aarhus	6	8,57%
Randers	4	5,71%
Vejle	3	4,29%
Kolding	3	4,29%
Horsens	2	2,86%

Table 13. Towns of residence

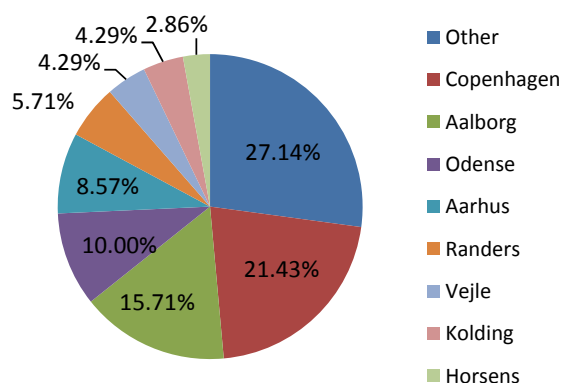


Figure 14. Towns of residence (% of the total respondents)

The last two questions are personal/family opinion related questions: *“What is the opinion of the other family members left behind in the home country about your decision to immigrate to Denmark?”* As this is a subjective question, I will quote few of the answers and summarise the results:

“They supported my higher education here in Denmark, they were happy with this opportunity, but in the same time they can accept with heavy heart my decision to stay in Denmark.” – a 32 years old respondent said.

“My relatives are sad due to this situation, but in the same time they are proud of me.” (21 years old woman)

“I got their full support from the beginning. They are confident about the fact that at home I could not start up my career.” (21 years old woman)

“They support me, but are expecting me to come home soon.” (25 years old woman)

“They were surprised about my courage to take this decision at my age.” (46 years old woman)

“They support me to get new experiences and see other cultures – I do not intend to stay long in Denmark (23 years old woman).”

“They are happy that I have found my spot here and are proud of me, but in the same time they miss me.” (23 years old man)

“They are not happy with it, but if I want to build a house, I didn’t have any other choice.” (21 years old man)

“They became sad.” (48 years old man)

These are just a few relevant answers out of the 70. As it can be seen, on one hand most of the people were supported and encouraged by their family to come to study or work abroad, but on the other hand the answers reflect a hidden sadness from the relatives’ perspective.

The last question: “*What do you think, would you ever leave Denmark? Motivate your answer.*” refers to the future plans and perspectives of the respondents:

“I have homesickness, but I do not intend to leave Denmark as I have a good job, tranquil life and high standard of living.” (32 years old man)

“If I left Denmark, the only reason would be to move back to my family, to my old friends.” (21 years old woman)

“Yes, because Hungary is my home country.” (26 years old man)

“Yes, because in Denmark only the Danes can live a good life, in the same working environment an eastern European gets only the half or one third of the salary a Dane will get. Personal experience.” (26 years old man)

“I would live only if it would be worth changing professionally and economically.” (33 years old man)

“No, it is too good here everything.” (24 years old man)

“I would not like to move home. Firstly, I have a Danish girlfriend and I have learned the language and I would like to obtain another diploma. Due to the knowledge of the language I have better chances to get a decent job and earn enough money to afford to

visit my family many times. At the moment I feel good here, I don't see my future hopeless as I have felt it at home." (22 years old man)

"Maybe for visiting other countries, but I can imagine my aging in Scandinavia." (23 years old woman)

"I consider temporary my stay in Denmark, even though it might take many years. One can live in wealthy conditions, but being a family oriented person, as I am, and being stick to his/her roots, desires to go home; everywhere is a foreigner, an immigrant, outside his/her home country. Regarding my stay in Denmark, the only temptation is the good salary and benefits. One gets easily used to the good." (25 years old woman)

There were presented just few relevant answers. Many similarities can be found among the pro and contra answers regarding leaving or staying in Denmark. The most common negative experiences that might motivate someone to leave are the climate, the language difficulties, foreign environment, missing the family and homesickness. Among the pros there are the pleasant lifestyle, good salaries and benefits, cleanness of the country and better perspectives and atmosphere than in the home country. According to many with pro arguments the contra arguments can be demolished by learning properly the language and earning enough money to be able to travel more home and visit the families and friends. In addition, many people declare that they came only for the study period to Denmark, and they intend to return to their origins and start a career there with their acquired knowledge.

As a last source of data an interview has been made with a 25 years old Noémi Tolnai. She came to Denmark by following her husband, who was already working in Denmark at that time. At the beginning she found it difficult to find a job, but after starting the free Danish classes she gained enough language skills to start working in a half time job. Her desire is to get accepted to the Music Conservatory and for that she is learning the Danish language intensively, as a part of the courses is in Danish. In the same time, they are expecting their first child and she is happy to be pregnant in Denmark, as there is big support from the Danish State for the mother-to-be and the

child as well. She regularly visits her general physician and the gynecologist, which services are free even for foreigners having a civil registration number (yellow card).

His husband is also working and later planning to take an educational holiday to train him and learn another job that is worth to be practiced in Denmark, according to the unions and statistics.

According to her statements, she feels happy now with their new life:

“In the beginning we were thinking that we will have to go home as here we cannot find our prosperity, but after a while slowly many different obstacles disappeared. It was just a matter of communication with others, getting familiar with the Danish language and the system, and slowly we feel that we get all the support that we need to build a new life together with our new family member.”

Comparing this interview with the questionnaire many similarities can be depicted. They also come to work and study, which was encumbered by the language difficulties, but as she mentioned in the quote, this problem gradually evaporates. When asking about the benefits, the free language courses was the first what she mentioned. Beside this, they are glad for all the other help they receive from the state. They are sparing in order to afford a house; this is their prior goal. This is also another similarity with the other respondents. As the others, they also have homesickness, but plan to stay definitive in Denmark. She also thinks that “with a little effort we can be very well integrated, and we can have a peaceful life, even though we are from another country.”

As conclusion to this part of the analysis, today's Denmark is really supportive with the immigrants, students and workers in the same time. The only thing is that one has to take the effort and start learning the language and should not be afraid to practice it in the everyday life. That is the way to open all the gates, get answers to the questions and guide in a good direction his/her life.

There is a clearly noticeable difference between the groups of immigrants which came more than 25 years ago, and those who came in this last period: reclining on what has been said during the interviews, it can be observed that while the former group's

descendants do not know the Hungarian language, the new-comers are concerned with the preservation of the identity and culture and their children are taught Hungarian. This can also suggest that while in the past the integration was much harder, they had to concentrate only on what was Danish; nowadays is different. It has to be admitted that the possibilities today are wide; with the help of the internet children can watch Hungarian cartoons, people can be in constant communication with family and friends, so it is not difficult to maintain the language, the culture and identity. As it can be observed, another distinction would be the help received for better integration. While the soldiers and the refugee's descendant declare that they did not receive any benefits from the state, the new immigrants obtain several assistances from Denmark.

Many people are pride to be immigrants; they consider that they have two homes. They begin to form their lives in such way to include their own culture and elements from the new culture, to celebrate their own holidays, but to pay attention to the new ones as well. They feel that they are 'special' in a good sense among the Danish people, as it is a good feeling being accepted in a new community, and in the same time they feel 'special' at home, also in a good sense, because they have a different life abroad. While the elder generation feel more like a Dane by now, the young generation are adapted to the new country and society, preserving simultaneously their Hungarian identity.

While until this point the analysis was in *micro* level about the life of different individuals in Denmark in the last 70 years until the present, in the followings few details will be presented about the *macro* level organisations of the Hungarians in Denmark. Different NGOs, Associations help the life and integration of Hungarians in Denmark, but also in preservation of the Hungarian Culture such as 'Hungarians in Denmark' (Facebook group), 'The Society of the Hungarians in Aalborg' (NGO), 'Ungarsk-Dansk Forum' (NGO - Aarhus). These organizations are meant to organise different events, keep alive traditional customs and celebrate Hungarian National Days, coordinate Reading Clubs, Indoor play centers and weekend language classes for Hungarian children, etc.

The problem with such organizations is that it is hard to keep a constant member basis, as many students come and go, working people come and go. Many people mostly contact such groups in the hope to get some help finding an accommodation, a job or other problems, but do not support actively these organizations. On one hand, in a way this is not a problem, as such associations are meant to serve the people in need. But on the other hand, if there is no support from those who are willing to keep in contact with other, but not willing to do some work to the benefit of the community voluntarily, than these associations are dissolving with time. In this way, people should acquire the Danish mentality that has no problem with working for the benefit of their community and in different organizations as volunteers. There is also good relationship among these NGOs and the Hungarian Embassy in Copenhagen and the Consulate General of Hungary in Århus.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this work, including also historical elements, was to answer the research question **“How are Hungarian people, arriving and settling down in Denmark in different times, historical conditions and with distinct purposes, integrated into the Danish society?”** In order to find an appropriate answer to the research question, different research methods were used **to unfold and follow their situation in Denmark and their attitude towards their compatriots and home country.**

In the introduction a general description of the problem was presented, followed by a chapter in which the research methods of the thesis were elaborated. Furthermore, the explanation of the topic choice, the theoretical framework and the collection of the empirical material were described. At the end of this chapter the difficulties of the research, obstacles and restrictions, as well as the critical reflection on the methodological choices were highlighted. After a brief overview of the migration concept, a general presentation of the Hungarian migration followed. In addition, the

three groups of the Hungarian immigrants in Denmark were elaborated, namely the group of soldiers of the WWII, the refugees after the Revolution of 1956 and Communist times, and the modern age immigrants. The soldiers and the refugees had to emigrate involuntary from their homeland, while the new-comers are voluntary migrants. In the first two cases the reasons behind the migration were political, but for the third group were economical, social and cultural.

The development of the Danish laws regarding immigrants is also given an important role in this study; it was interesting to study how did the Danish State made it possible in the most effective way to accommodate and integrate the different immigrant categories during the 20th century and nowadays. Firstly, there must be considered the EU laws which have jurisdiction also in Denmark, as they are unitary on the territory of Europe. Then, there are statues of each individual country what must be applied when talking about migration. In addition, there are several benefits which are guaranteed by the Danish law in the interest of the better integration of the foreigners. These facilities attracted and attract even now many Hungarians to Denmark. By using these advantages, one can very well integrate in the Danish society and can easily adapt to the new life.

Different methods were applied to get a better overview about the integration of the different immigrant generations. Three case studies were analysed and the data was acquired through interviews – a qualitative research method- which were made either in personal or online through electrical mails. This was applied for the older generation of immigrants, namely the former-soldiers and refugees of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The interviews reveal the agonising journeys from Hungary to Denmark of the three subjects. It was found out that they did not receive any financial and educational support at those ages from the Danish Government, in contrast to the modern age immigrants, and had to get on in life by their own. Analysing the data with the help of the grounded theory, their life experience and manifestations towards several circumstances could be observed. This theory helped in understanding different actions and dissolved the stereotypes. For instance, it helped to comprehend why the older generation did not teach their descendants the Hungarian language.

Another part of data acquisition was an online social survey made and distributed through social media. The answers to this questionnaire gave an acceptable picture about the life of the modern age immigrants in Denmark. It revealed their educational and family background, desires and hopes from this new life and perspectives in the future. Most of them were seeking a better and more relaxed life by coming to Denmark and many made this desperate decision to escape from their hopeless situation back home. Evaluating these findings and interpreting them through content analysis led to these conclusions. By noticing the significations and connections between frequently occurred word and concepts in their answers it can be stated, for example, that most of the immigrants have homesickness, but they choose to remain in Denmark due to the possibilities.

Considering their integration, the majority of the immigrants is attending language schools and tries to find a job according to their education with smaller or bigger success. The problem they face is still the lack of proper language knowledge. In comparison with the earlier generations, these new groups of immigrants developed and maintain a double identity. While the older people who came to Denmark 70 years ago gave up their Hungarian identity, did not teach their descendants the Hungarian language and do not have any connection to the Hungarian culture, the new-comers have kept the relations with their families and friends from home through the different ways of communication. Also, the newborn children in Denmark have much more chance to learn Hungarian, especially if both parents speak the same language, due to the help of the different books and media platforms which are easily accessible.

The conclusion of the thesis is that while living in a relatively closed Europe or Denmark in the middle of the 20th century, the possibilities did not give the chance or even forced the people to renounce to their former identity and to adopt a new culture for better prosperity. In contrast to this, in our globalized world it is not mandatory to give up ones roots and still can live a sterling life in the new home just by adapting in some extent to the new conditions - learning the language and getting familiar with

the local culture. The choice is in one's hand, the resources are given (books, media, and internet) for maintaining the own culture and adapting to the new one.

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