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Lisbeth Beddari

The Migration Crisis and European Identity

A case study of Hungary and Germany's reactions to the migration crisis of 2015

Bacheloroppgave i European studies
Veileder: Anna Brigevich
Mai 2021

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Department of Historical Studies

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Abstract

This thesis has as its objective to explain how Germany and Hungary reacted to the migration crisis of 2015, and how these reactions can be understood. Germany welcomed many refugees during the crisis while Hungary closed its borders, and it is my hypothesis that this can be explained by looking at identity and if the two countries feel connected to a European identity. Identity will be brought forward as a defining variable with trust in the EU and relationship to the EU as controlling variables. In my analysis I distinguish between ethnic/exclusive and civic/inclusive identity and use these terms to separate Hungarian and German identity. While I find substantial differences in their identities this does not have an impact on how European or national Hungarians and Germans feel. Identity cannot be said to directly dictate how the two countries reacted, and I find that what kind of relationship they have to the EU and what they think the EU should be had a more important effect on how they relate to EU's policy on migration. However, identity also have a small effect on these variables.

Sammendrag

Denne bachelor oppgaven har som formål å forklare Ungarn og Tysklands reaksjoner til flyktningkrisen av 2015 og hvordan de forholdt seg til den Europeiske Unions (EU) migrasjons policy. Under krisen fulgte Tyskland EUs policy mens Ungarn reagerte med å stenge grensene sine. Her vil jeg bruke identitet som en avgjørende faktor, men samtidig se på tillit til EU og forhold til EU som kontrollerende variabler. Ved å skille mellom 'ethnic' og 'civic' identitet vil jeg vise forskjellene mellom Tysklands og Ungarns nasjonale og europeiske identitet. Selv om det er substansielle forskjeller mellom Tyskland og Ungarns identitet kommer dette ikke frem i hvor nasjonale eller europeiske de to landene føler seg. Denne oppgaven konkluderer med at identitet ikke kan forklare reaksjonene i sin fullhet, men heller at hvilket forhold de to landene har til EU, og hva de mener EU burde være, hadde en større effekt på hvordan de forholder seg til EUs migrasjonspolitikk. Samtidig er det viktig å påpeke at identitet også har en påvirkningskraft på hvilket forhold landene har i EU, og at identitet spiller en viktig rolle selv når det ikke direkte påvirker beslutninger.

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1.Introduction

In the summer of 2015, hundreds of thousands of migrants moved through Hungary on their way to Central- and Northern-Europe. Italy and Greece were flooded with asylum seekers who had made their way across the Mediterranean. The refugee flows were a result of unrest and civil war in the Middle East and Northern Africa. This created a crisis for the European Union (EU) in that the EU struggled to control their borders and accommodate the refugees that arrived. The crisis had very different impacts on EU countries and the countries in turn had very different responses. The EU also struggled to keep a consistent migration policy in place, which resulted in disagreements within the EU.

While there are substantial differences between EU countries' capacities to take in refugees, there was also a stark difference in their willingness to show solidarity and comply with EU policy. The debate around migration policy is often coloured by identity politics. During the migration crisis the identity, and especially the religion, of the refugees was an important talking point (Hafez, 2015, p.19). In the EU there are many national identities as well as a European identity and the connection between these varies in each member country. How important is a country's identity when it comes to their stance on migration policies? And it is possible that a strong connection to European identity will make a country more positive towards EU's migration policy?

Germany and Hungary's response to the migration crisis will be the main focus of this thesis, as their reactions were very different. While there are substantial disparities between Hungary and Germany's capacity to take in refugees, what is more interesting is the differences in their willingness to do so. The politics behind the formation of migration policy is comprehensive, but there seems to be an element of identity at play here. Hungary had to deal with masses of refugees moving through the country and were not willing to give them asylum, while Germany willingly took in a huge number of refugees. The two countries response to the migration crisis will be analysed by how open they are to helping refugees, their actions during the crisis and their relationship to the EU. Their definition of national and European identity will be used to explain these differences, With Hungary exhibiting an ethnic identity and Germany exhibiting a civic identity.

Eurobarometer surveys will be central to this analysis and will be used to show the strength and content of national and European identity. As I explain below, identity is not a tangible thing and the best way to measure how many people are a part of a community/identity, or how they define that identity, is by using public opinion surveys.

I will represent three hypotheses to analyse the reason for the difference in Germany's and Hungary's response to the crisis. The first is that differences between the two countries' identity, in civic and ethnic distinction, affects how they responded to the crisis. Behind this argument lies the assumption that those who have a civic identity are more likely to take in refugees and respond to the migration crisis with solidarity, while those who have an ethnic perception of identity are more likely to have a negative response. The second hypothesis is that what Germany and Hungary value about their EU membership, and consequently what they think the role of the EU should be, dictates how they responded to the migrant crisis and EU's migration policy. Thirdly I will try to explain their different reactions by looking at their level of trust in the EU, with an assumption that a high level of ethnic nationalism will result in little trust and vice versa.

This paper is structured as follows: first the migration crisis, EU migration policy and the reactions of Hungary and Germany will be explained. Secondly, I will define collective identity, introduce ethnic and civic distinctions connect this to European and national identities and introduce the hypotheses. Then I will explain the empirical framework and analysis. Lastly the two case studies will be introduced and analysed according to the theory of collective identity and trust.

2.Migration crisis

This thesis focuses on the EU's handling of the migration crisis and the importance of migration policies at the EU level. To understand the politics of migration, the history behind a common immigration policy in the EU, as well as public opinion towards immigrants and refugees in the EU, will be evaluated.

In 2014 the number of immigrants arriving in Europe saw an immense surge. Migration flows reached their height in 2015, and while the number of new arrivals has gone down dramatically since then, the crisis is still not resolved. The migration crisis is one of the most complicated and challenging events Europe has faced since World War II (Metcalfe-Hough, 2015, p.2). The immigrants arriving at Europe's border were fleeing war and conflict and in search of a better home (Metcalfe-Hough, 2015, p.2). The EU and other European countries were faced with the challenge of accommodating them. The migration crisis was a pivotal point for the EU and put EU immigration policy and the member countries' solidarity to the test. The migration crisis was caused by conflict and political unrest set in motion by The Arab Spring. In Syria, the protest quickly turned violent and led to a civil war (Kinninmont, 2014, p.1). The general unrest caused by the Arab Spring also caused people from Northern Africa and the Middle East to venture across the Mediterranean. In 2015 there were 1,8 million irregular border crossings into the EU, which was an increase of 546% compared to 2014 (Buonanno, 2017, p. 102). From July 2015 to May 2016 1 million people had applied for asylum in Europe (Buonanno, 2017, p.102). A big part of what made this a crisis was the ineffectiveness of the immigration policies, border control and the overall cooperation within the EU.

EU migration policy took form in the 1990's when the abolishing of internal EU borders, with the establishing of the Schengen agreement, posed new challenges for external migration (Basile & Olmastroni, 2020, p.670). As the border controls were removed people entering the Schengen area could now move unhindered, making a common policy on how to control the border a priority. The EU's first attempt at establishing a coherent migration and asylum policy was the Dublin regulation, which sets a framework for how refugees should be allocated (Basile & Olmastroni, 2020, p. 670). But the Dublin regulation also depends on national governments finding a common way to implement it, which they had not successfully done at the time of the crisis (Basile & Olmastroni, 2020, p.671). The Dublin regulation states that someone applying for asylum should/can be returned to the first EU country they entered or were registered in. This effectively unloads some of the pressure of the 'favoured destinations', while the countries of entry get a higher share of refugees.

The crisis caused pressure in the places the migrants entered Europe and the EU (Metcalfe-Hough, 2015, p.2). Countries like Italy, Greece, Turkey and Hungary had to deal with vast numbers of migrants in need of shelter and food, but the pressure was also high in the countries that were 'favoured destinations' for migrants (Basile & Olmastroni, 2020, p.669). These favoured destinations were countries that had a good reputation among migrants, places that were known for taking in refugees and where the

migrants thus saw the best opportunity for a better life. Countries that are particularly favoured by migrants are Germany, Sweden and France. Some countries are favoured because cultural networks channel migration to a particular destination, or because migrant 'societies' are already established in the destination country, which motivates further migration to the destination (Thielemann, p.68, 2017). Asylum seekers are also drawn to destinations because of high recognition rates (Bauböck, 2017, p.152). The asylum seekers were thus spread over almost all of Europe as they tried to get to their destinations.

The EU attempted to stop the migrants from coming to Europe. However, this effort failed and caused uncontrollable reactions (Handler, 2018, p.2). The burden-sharing principle of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) was not working, and the countries where people were entering the EU were in practice responsible for most of the border control (Wallaschek, 2020). In September 2015, the EU Council approved a plan of relocating 160 000 asylum seekers from first entry countries to other Member States, however this plan has not been successful. As of November 2016, only 6925 people had been relocated (Bauböck, 2017, p. 152). Most member states did not react positively to the concept of burden sharing, rather some of the countries of transit and destination put up their own border controls inside the Schengen area (Bauböck, 2017, p.152). It seems to have been a "lack of shared norms" when it comes to asylum procedures and classification of refugees in the EU, despite the established EU directives that dictate asylum procedures (Bauböck, 2017, p.151).

Hungary was one of the countries that voted against the relocation plan and stated that they did not intend to comply with it (Bauböck, 2017, p.152). Some 350 000 migrants travelled through Hungary in the summer of 2015 (Kallius, Monterescu, Rajaram, 2016, p.25). For a time, the migrants were effectively trapped in Hungary, as the police refused them to let them travel to Western Europe (Kallius, Monterescu, Rajaram, 2016, p.25). Many refugees bought train tickets to Western Europe but were prohibited from boarding the trains and urged to move to migration camps in Hungary (Kallius, Monterescu & Rajaram, 2016, p. 26). As a transition country Hungary benefitted from the Dublin agreement. Refugees do not look at Hungary as a desirable country to migrate to, nor is Hungary a first point of entry into Europe, and with a relocation plan they would get more alyssum seekers than through the Dublin agreement. In 2015 Hungary built a border-fence to neighbouring Croatia and Serbia as part of an 'immobilize strategy' in a bid to stop migrants from entering the country (Kallius, Moterescu & Raharam, 2016, p.27).

Germany, on the other hand, adopted a "willkommenskultur": a culture of recognition where immigrants are valued and sought to be integrated into German society (Heckmann, 2016, p.5). Merkel was one of the first European leaders to call for distribution quotas and solidarity in migration policies (Mushaben, 2017, p.527), which is in their interest as a 'favoured destination'. If migrant flows were left to float freely Germany would end up with a big share of the migrants. Germany welcomed the highest number of refugees in the EU but compared to their population Hungary is only second to Sweden in number of applicants per 1000 inhabitants (Thielemann, 2017, p.68). While Germany did welcome a higher number of refugees, Hungary had to deal with the migration flows coming to their borders and moving through their country. Hungary and Germany thus played very different roles during the crisis.

The migration crisis can be seen as a turning point in European integration, as problems of migration were a big part of the United Kingdom's leave campaign (Buonanno, 2017, p.100) and sparked division within the EU. The citizens of the EU have had very different reactions to the crisis, and while the EU has tried to maintain a migration policy based on solidarity and burden sharing (Basile & Olmastroni, 2020, p.670), the presence of immigrants in Europe has also worsened people's hostility towards them (p.672). Taking in refugees is an economic 'burden' in that refugee camps and actively integrating refugees costs money. It is then not difficult to see how a large number of refugees may be unpopular in some countries. But there is also another dimension to the resistance towards accommodating and integrating refugees: namely identity. There is a wide spread the opinion that refugees from the Arab World and Africa threaten European identity, and Europe as a whole (Hafez, 2015, p.19).

3.Collective Identity: Theory and Hypotheses

Identity is a term that can include such aspects as traditions, history, values and norms. There is a distinction between individual identity and collective identities. Collective identities are socially constructed and entail that a group of people feel a 'fundamental and consequential similarity' amongst themselves (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2012, p.108). In contrast to an individual identity, which only defines one person, a collective identity is created by a group and sets certain criteria for who can become a part of that group and which qualities that entails. Collective identities are about drawing boundaries, establishing that the group has something fundamental in common and in the process shutting out people who do not share this similarity (Citrin & Sides, 2004, p. 165).

Thomas Risse defines collective identities, also known as social identities, as something that cannot exist in an "objective reality", but is rather formed when people, either alone or together, try to define who they are (2010, p.20). Benedict Anderson (1996, p.6) highlights another part of collective identities by calling them 'Imagined Communities'; by this he puts emphasis on the fact that most identities consist of people who have never met each other but are still able to connect over their shared identity. By Anderson's definition all communities that consists of people who have not interacted face to face are imagined communities.

One useful distinction when talking about collective identities is the ethnic versus civic distinction, which are two different ways of categorising requirements for "membership" in a community. To be part of an identity or a community on an ethnic premise one must share similarities such as ethnicity, religion, culture, and traditions (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2012, p. 112). Civic identity, on the other hand, puts emphasis on following national laws and rules (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2012, p.102). This is an important distinction in that it enables us to say something about the content of the identity. Generally, a civic identity is more accepting than an ethnic identity. Since the ethnic identity usually demands that you were born into it, a civic identity is much easier to become a part of later in life. By an ethnic standard it is nearly impossible for migrants to assimilate into the identity of the country which they have moved. Civic-based identities are dependent on people respecting rules rather than adhering to cultural practices and makes it easier for people to change identity or become a part of an identity which they were not born into. Civic and ethnic identities can also be called inclusive and exclusive identities, respectively.

European identity varies a bit from a national identity – Europe is bigger than most nations and within the continent there is a multitude of nations and languages and therefor also a lot of other identities. National identities are typically created out of nation states where inhabitants share a language, religion, history, norms, and values. In cases where nations are states/countries the national identity can also be implemented and expressed at the highest political level. A widespread European identity has long been a political goal within the EU, which is seen in the creation of an EU flag, common currency, or the EU anthem (Jakubowicz, 2011, p.289). A strong European identity and weak national identity is proven to be good for European integration (Jakubowicz, 2011, p.272). It is hard to gain support for EU policies without a feeling of belonging and solidarity towards the EU. In other words, a strong European identity gives the EU legitimacy for its rule. This type of legitimacy is harder for the EU to obtain than for most national states, as it is easier to gather small communities around certain values or norms. The EU consists of many different countries and trying to connect them into a collective identity can be quite daunting.

While there is a distinction between a European identity and national identities, they can to some extent coincide. People can hold several identities simultaneously. In addition to a national identity one can also have a regional identity or an identity connected to your city (Risse, 2010, p.23). European identity establishes itself alongside national identity in that all citizens in the EU have dual citizenship, one national and one European (Citrin & Sides, 2004, p.164). While a regional identity is smaller than a national identity – both in terms of members and area - a European identity is vast. Encompassing all of Europe in one collective identity can seem impossible. However, the Eurobarometer survey in 2012 show that 55% of the EU population felt a mix of national and European identity, and merely 38% of respondents reported feeling connected exclusively to their national identity (European commission, 2014, p. 1).

Though many people may feel connected to a European identity there are different ways of defining it, and two people may consider themselves part of the same identity while having completely different ideas of what that entails. As Anderson states the community is imagined, with no set values or attributes; however, that does not make the identity any less real. European identity is in its most basic forms a set of characteristics that the people of Europe have in common. However, there are some restrictions to what a European identity can be. A strong ethnic national identity is harder to reconcile with a European identity. The European identity established by the European Union is clearly civic, but there are also those that would define European community on the basis of ethnicity, religion and history, thus creating an ethnic European identity.

One of the goals of this thesis is to evaluate whether Hungary and Germany's European identity presents itself as either ethnic or civic. In the next section, I develop my hypotheses and anticipate that Hungary is more likely to exhibit an ethnic European identity, while Germany is more likely to exhibit a civic one.

3.1 Hypotheses

My first hypothesis is that a *strong sense of civic European identity makes a country more likely to accept refugees*, because a civic understanding of identity focuses on solidarity and humanitarian values. How one defines identity has an important effect on who can become a part of 'your' community. It also has an effect on policies and politics, for example in the requirements of gaining citizenship in a state. National identity has a tendency to be more ethnic that European identity. Identities that contain many requirements, or very specific requirements, are harder to fulfil and will generally not admit a lot of people – which is often the case for national identities. This is particularly true for ethnic identities. European identity, on the other hand, strives to include a multitude of people. In the way it has been constructed by EU elites, its characteristics seek to connect people without excluding anyone.

On the other hand, if one has a more ethnic view of identity, and defines European identity as something exclusive by focusing on common history and religion, the response to refugees is unlikely to be positive. An ethnic understanding of Europeanness excludes immigrants from the European community. People with an ethnic definition of identity are therefore less likely to be positive towards refugees and migrants. Germany has taken a stance against nationalism and in the process also ethnic definitions of identity. German identity today is civic and focuses on preserving democracy and freedom and has a greater emphasis on adhering to official rules rather than cultural norms. Hungary, on the other hand, uses ethnic definitions when defining their identity by putting emphasis on culture, language and norms. I will explore this in greater detail in the case studies section.

The second hypothesis is that the differences in the two countries' identity and values condition what they *value about EU membership* and which situations they feel the EU should intervene in. This in turn causes differences in how the two countries responded to EU's policies during the migration crisis. A common distinction is that some countries value the EU primarily as a driving force for economic advancement and have less appreciation for policies that focus on other aspects, while others value the EU as a peacemaker and a driving force for equality and freedom. These different views on what the EU is have existed since the establishment of the European Coal and Steel community (ECSC) in 1951. The EU was envisioned as a peace-making institution, political union and economic community, and it is all of those things. As the EU has evolved in size and scope it has become apparent that countries join the EU for different reasons. Identity also plays a role in how countries define the boundaries of the EU. Germany has, as a consequence of its history, a great focus on promoting peace and democracy - and because of that looks for those functions in the EU. While Hungary, who only became independent in 1990's has been in need of economic-advancement and social advancement, looks to the EU to provide that. My hypothesis is that these differences will become apparent in the countries' handling of the migration crisis. Where Germany who looks at the EU as a peacemaker will welcome liberal migration policy and Hungary who looks at the EU as an economic union will be more hostile to burden-sharing policy.

My last hypothesis is *that trust in the EU has an effect on Germany and Hungary's response* to the migration crisis. While identity can be a deciding factor in how member states adhere to EU policies, trust is also important. Trust can derive from (i) rationality, which is the evaluation of EU performance, (ii) identity, which is based on the citizens attachment to the EU, or (iii) extrapolation, an extension of national trust (Harteveld, van

der Meer & De Vries, 2013, p.542). Trust sparks cooperation and solidarity, and can be very beneficial to the EU as it establishes cohesiveness which is a good foundation for common policy (Delhey, 2007, p.254). It thus follows that countries with little trust in the EU will be less willing to follow EU policies, while countries with high trust in the EU will be more willing. As such, Germany, who was supportive of the EU's relocation plan should have high trust in the EU, while the opposite should be true for Hungary.

The hypotheses are connected to each other: whether one has a civic or ethnic understanding of identity also condition what one values about the EU and what kind of relationship one has to the EU. And a strong European identity can spark trust in the EU. Germany looks at the EU as a peace-making organization, which is both a part of their identity and what they value about the EU. It can be difficult to say if their identity affects what they think the EU should be, or if the EU's role affects their identity. Either way it is important to keep in mind that none of these variables can be studied in a vacuum and that they can affect each other.

4. Empirical analysis

In this section I test my hypotheses using Eurobarometer data. In the process, I explain how European identity, values and trust are measured. Additionally, I provide evidence of how Hungarians and Germans perceive immigrants. Eurobarometer is an extensive public opinion survey that is held twice a year in all EU member state and produces special reports that are held on particular topics that are deemed especially relevant. The Eurobarometer usually contains 'public opinion in the EU' and 'European citizenship' editions which will both be used in this analysis.

4.1 Moreno Question

First, I examine the strength and inclusiveness of European identity. A good way to show how people connect to national and European identity is by using the Moreno question. The Moreno question is predicated on the assumption that people can hold different identities simultaneously, and participants are asked if they feel strictly national, (national) and European, (European) and national, or only European. Originally used to understand Scottish people's connection to Great Britain and Scotland, the Moreno question can help us understand which identities the people of Europe feel more connected to. The option for respondent to answer that they feel (national) and European, with emphasis on national identity, and European identity only as an addition, gives us the opportunity to study those identities that people only feel connected to some of the time or only to some degree. The Eurobarometer surveys have used the Moreno question repeatedly through the years and provide good data on the development of identity.

My hypothesis here is that ethnic identities are more exclusionary (national only) and the prediction is therefore that Hungary will have more respondents stating that they feel 'national only' compared to Germany. By using the response to the Moreno question in Eurobarometer surveys from 2013 until 2018 I have made graphs depicting the general identity of the EU as well as separate graphs for each option to the Moreno question. Figure 2 shows how many percent of Germans, Hungarians or EU citizens favoured each identity definition.

Figure 1: EU average response to the Moreno question 2013-2018

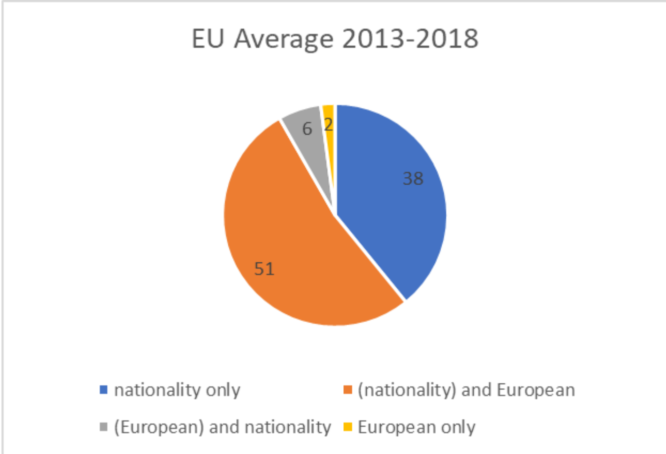

Figure 1 Moreno question: EU average (EB 79, 82, 85 & 89)

Figure 2: Answers to the Moreno question from 2013-2018

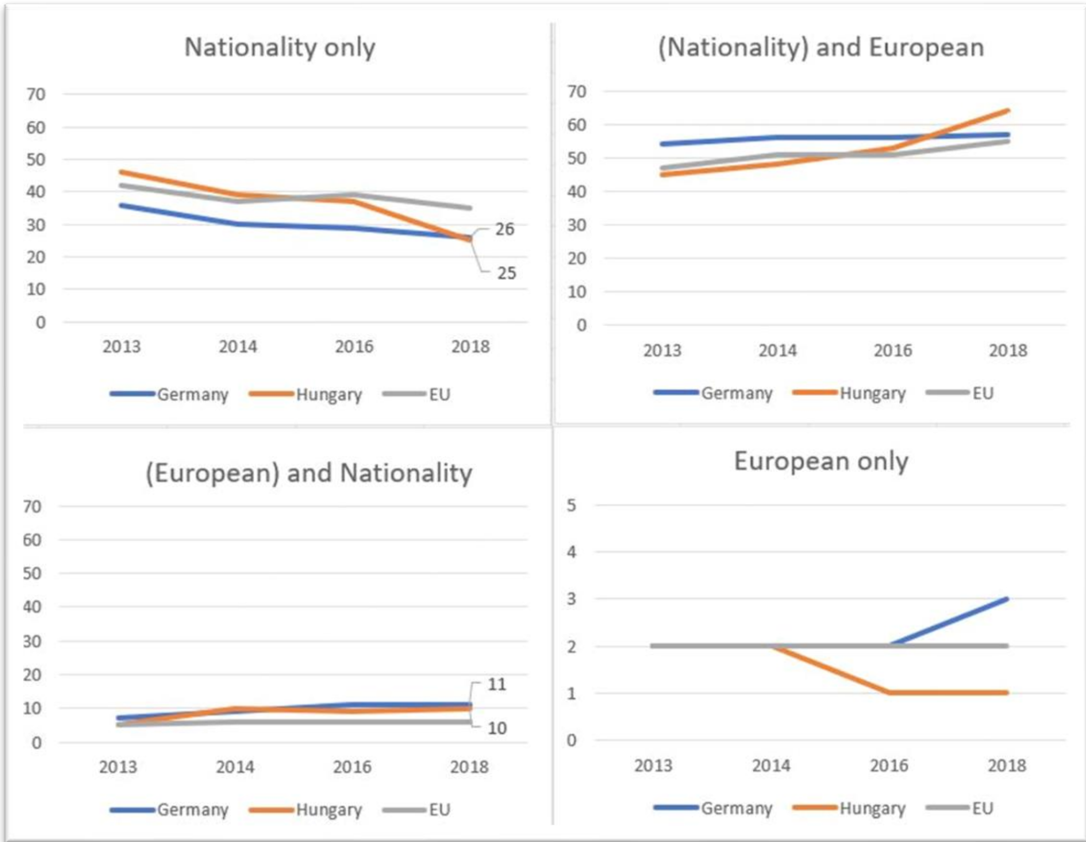

Figure 2: Moreno question: different answers (EB 79,82, 85 & 89

In 2013 my hypothesis holds true: Hungary has more exclusive nationalists than Germany by about 10% (figure 2). However, after 2016 the number of Hungarians reporting that they feel 'nationality only' drops to 25% compared to 46% in 2013. In

2018 the amount of people feeling only national was nearly the same in Germany and Hungary, which is surprising since Hungary is predicted to have a much more exclusive national identity than Germany. However, 64% of Hungarians reported feeling National first and European second, compared to 57% of Germans (figure 2), resulting in Hungary having more people subscribing to a national identity than Germany in 2018. Germany has, as expected, more respondents stating that they feel 'European only' (figure 2). Germany, Hungary, and the EU average were at 2% in 2013 but by 2018 Hungary is down to 1% and Germany up at 3%.

Even though Hungary has a more exclusive ethnic identity this does not seem to have had an effect on the amount of people who feel 'nationality only' compared to Germany who has a much more inclusive identity. Thus, the hypothesis of the impact of an ethnic or civic identity is somewhat weakened. The differences between the two countries are not particularly significant and not as drastic as expected.

Overall, the decrease in those who only feel connected to their national identity seems to have resulted in more people feeling connected to '(Nationality) And European' and 'European only'. The number of those who feel exclusively European is far lower, but with 35% of EU citizens feeling nationality only in 2018 (Figure 2) there is a substantial amount of people feeling European to a certain extent. The number of members of each identity says something about how the EU population define themselves, but to be able to point to differences in identities one also must look at how they would define the identities they report to be a part of.

4.2 Values in European identity

In the special citizenship edition of the Eurobarometer, respondents are asked what they value about EU membership. By categorizing the responses as ethnic or civic one can get a better understanding of how Hungarians and Germans define their identity.

European identity, as defined by most Europeans encompasses features such as 'democracy and freedom' (Parlemeter, 2016, p.35). But there is also a more ethnic version of European identity which has shared history and religion as main features of the identity. EU symbols that have been created to establish an European identity such as: the European anthem (5%), The European flag (11%) and The EU motto "unity in diversity" (15%) had generally low support among people (Parlemeter, 2016, p.37). Ethnic values such as common history and culture scored around 28-32% showing some support for defining European identity as exclusive. Germany generally answers these questions with civic definitions while Hungary answers with ethnic definitions, which will be shown later in the analysis.

In Eurobarometer 83 in 2015 participants were asked to choose the 3 values that were most important to them on a personal level out of a selection of 12. Germany had the highest number of people who chose 'peace' as a main value (60%) while the EU average was at 45% (European Commission, 2015, p.56). After 'peace' the two most answered values for Germans were 'Human rights' and 'Democracy', suggesting that their personal identity builds on civic values. These three values are characteristic of German people when we look at their history, and they have based their national identity on these values.

When it comes to European identity Germany also seem to value civic features. In a Parlemeter from 2016 participant were asked to mention 3 of the most important

elements that make up European identity. 66% of Germans chose 'the values of democracy and freedom' as one of their 3 answers, with the EU average being at 50% for the same category (European Parliament, 2016, p.37). The other 2 most answered elements were the Euro and Culture, which was an element that 30% of Germans chose compared to the EU average of 32%. 25% of Germans chose 'history' as an important element which was below the EU average of 28% (European Parliament, 2016, p.37). Germans seem to have a civic understanding of European identity with these values, as they put great emphasis on democracy and freedom and are slightly below the EU average in ethnic elements such as culture and history.

When asked what which three values that are most important to them personally, Hungarians put peace (42%), respect for human life (40%) and individual freedom (34%) as the most important values (Eurobarometer 83, spring 2015, p.56). However, their score for 'Human rights' were the lowest of all respondents at 33%, but this is not drastically lower than the EU average at 35% (ibid). Hungary also scored relatively high in valuing 'self-fulfilment' with 15% and the EU average at 9% (ibid). The value least favoured by Hungarians was 'Respect for other cultures' which got a score of 5% while the EU average was at 9% (ibid). The categories that respondents could choose from were to some extent overlapping and results cannot be trusted blindly. Nonetheless compared to the other EU countries Hungary has more focus on individual freedom and self-fulfilment and not as much focus on human rights and respect for other cultures. This is also highlighted in their dealing with refugees.

When asked which three elements are the most important to European identity Hungary tends to put focus on more ethnic identity features. 42% of Hungarians mentioned 'history' as an important element, which was the third highest score with the EU average being at 28% (Parlemeter 86, 2016, p.37). Hungary has a significantly lower amount of people who chose 'The values of democracy and freedom' at 38%, compared to the EU average which was at 50% (Parlemeter 86, 2016, p.37). Highlighting that also when it comes to European identity Hungarians have an ethnic definition.

Figure 3: trust in the EU

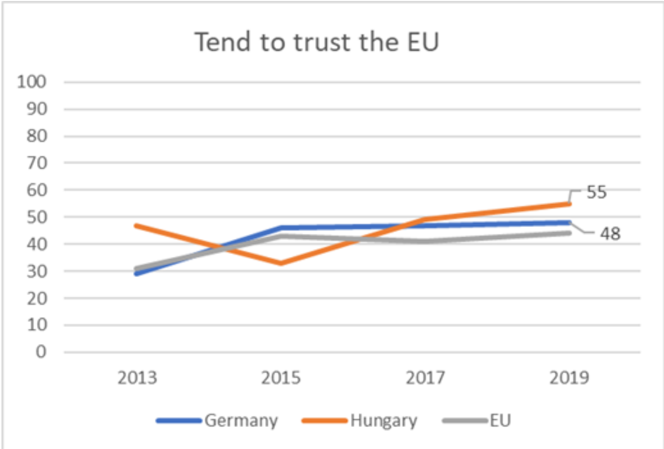

Figure 3 Trust in the EU (EB 79, 85, 88 &91)

4.3 Trust

Figure 3 presents the levels of trust in the EU in Hungary and Germany as well as the EU average. Germany is close to the EU average, while Hungary is more of an outlier. Hungary had a drop in trust levels in 2015 (about 15%) but trust levels recovered and rose above the EU average and Germany in 2017 and 2019. Hungary (47%) also had a lot more trust in the EU in 2013 when Germany and the EU average were at 29 and 31%.

What is interesting here is that Hungary has not acted as suspected. The disagreement with the EU on migration policy did not permanently decrease trust levels to the EU. A possible explanation for this is that Hungary did not receive any backlash for their opposition to EU's migration policy. The de-democratisation process in Hungary can also be to 'blame' for the rise in trust in the EU. As citizens are dissatisfied with their national government but pleased with how things are going at the EU level their support for integration is likely to rise (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2000, p. 148).

4.4 Attitudes towards immigrants and refugees

Policies are established at the national and EU level, but they do not exist in a vacuum. Policies on migration are limited by each country's capacity to accommodate refugees, but also by their willingness to do so. Attitudes towards migrants is an important part of why the EU and its member states have reacted differently to the migration crisis. Eurobarometer 469 special opinion survey on immigration, asked several questions relating to EU citizens attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. Respondents were asked: "Would you personally feel comfortable or uncomfortable having an immigrant as your …." Followed with a range of relations like doctor or neighbour. In Hungary 17% of respondents felt comfortable in all social relations while 73% felt uncomfortable in at least one (Report 469, 2017, p.38). In Germany, however, 55% felt comfortable in all social relations with 35% reporting feeling uncomfortable in at least one social situation (Report 469, 2017, p.38). Feeling comfortable in different relationships to an immigrant can measure how accepting one is, and the fact that 73% of Hungarians report feeling uncomfortable in at least one situation suggests that they are less tolerant and accepting than Germans.

Germany and Hungary have vastly different numbers of refugees, 1 455 000 in Germany and 6006 in Hungary (Flyktningehjelpen,2020) and questions about relations to immigrants like: "How often do you talk to an immigrant" is not the best way to show difference in attitudes since people in Hungary has less of an 'opportunity' to do so. A large part of the difference in opinion in the two countries can be derived from the fact that there are very few refugees in Hungary, and that 'exposure' to refugees is what caused the more positive attitude in Germany. It has been documented that in places of entry, like Lampedusa, the locals have begun to show more sympathy for refugees as they live close together (Ammaturo, 2018, p.557). At the same time, the differences between Germany and Hungary in attitudes towards migrants seem to be deep-rooted. While the number of refugees can have an important effect on the integration process and how the refugees are welcomed, attitudes towards immigrants is also coloured by the national identity of the host country. My argument here is that the history of Germany and Hungary has given them two vastly different understandings of identity, which creates the foundations for how they perceive refugees.

5.Germany case study

Germany has been at the centre of European integration since the beginning. As a big country in the middle of Europe with a steady economy, it is and has been an essential country to include in the European integration process. Germany was established as a national state in the 17th century. Otto von Bismarck founded the German Empire in 1871, which lasted until the first World War (Berghahn, 2004, p. xi). The identity established during the Bismarck era was not organically created but rather "forged in the heart of battle" and "imposed by force" (Evans, 1997, p.44). It was a dividing identity that did not include all ethnic Germans, but it instilled a "dream of a German nation-state" (Evans, 1997, p. 44). However, it did not take long before this dream was diminished by war and extreme nationalism.

During World War II Germany was on the losing side, and as a part of the war settlement Germany was split four ways between the main victors France, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Shortly thereafter, it was divided into West- and East Germany. West Germany went on to help found the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which in addition to kickstarting the post-war economy also had high hopes of bringing peace to the continent by making former rival states dependent on each other (Schuman declaration, 9.may 1950). East Germany was a part of the Soviet Union at the time, which lasted until the fall of the Berlin wall and the subsequent reunification of Germany in 1990 (Evans, 1997, p.213).

In the 1990s German identity and the "re-nationalisation of Germany" was a highly discussed topic (Berger, 1995, p.187). The reunification was relatively peaceful, but did cause a lot of anxiety, as the calls for a unified Germany reminded some of the "nationalist enthusiasms of the past" (Evans, 1997, p.213). Exemplifying that, expressing 'national belonging' to Germany has been heavily stained by World War II and Nazism. Nationalism and national identity have a different meaning in Germany than other European countries, and Germans are wearier of expressing such sentiments. The nationalism of Nazi Germany established an extremely ethnic identity, caused the Holocaust, and stands as a horrific example of nationalism gone too far. Because of their past Germany has been quite cautious of establishing a strong national identity, and while this is certainly not true for all of Germans, it is a trend that has shaped the country. Their history also results in Germany having a more civic identity, their points of departure are freedom and democracy. The identity they established after the war can be seen as a response to the atrocities Germany was guilty of during the war. Rather than continue with an ethnic identity Germany put great emphasis on an inclusive identity accepting of all religions and ethnicities.

Germany has a good relationship with the EU, is often at the forefront of its integration initiatives, and is seen as a powerhouse within the EU. Generally, Germany follows EU policy. While trust in the EU is only slightly above the EU average and there is Euroscepticism in the country – anti-EU actions are not frequent. Compared to Hungary Germany does not show a clear opposition to the EU. Germany's perception of what the EU should be is heavily affected by their history. Germany looks at the EU as a keeper of peace and democracy and hold the values of Human rights and democracy in high regard (European Commission, 2015, p.56)

Another important part of German identity is their relationship with immigration. This is important because long-standing attitudes towards migration policy and immigrants also affects the country's identity. Germany has a tradition of 'allowing' immigration and

recruiting workers from other countries (Borkert & Bosswick, 2007, p.2). Migration law in Germany is not built upon a principle of letting everybody in, but there has historically been a need of migrant workers and a certain level of tolerance of immigration. In the 1950-60s Germany actively employed foreign workers from Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey, these workers were importantly included in the country's social security programmes in 1955 and thus gained rights alongside German citizens (Borkert & Bosswick, 2007, p.4). This shows Germany as a relatively migrant friendly country, even if their society's acceptance of migrant workers are built on a cost-benefit analysis. However, Germany has shown a reluctance to form migration policy on the national level and has relied on the EU, to a certain extent, to dictate migration.

Germany has welcomed big migration flows before the crisis in 2015 (Borkert & Bosswick, 2007, p.4). Between 1991 and 1995 Germany took in over 870 000 refugees (Mushaben, 2017). In 1949 Germany's article 16 proclaimed that everybody that is subject to political prosecution had the right to asylum, which was one of the most liberal asylum laws at the time (Mushaben, 2017).

Recently, there has been a shift in German identity to a more ethnic one. Mulitulturalism, which is the idea that people can live together despite vastly different cultures and respecting these differences, was declared a failure by Angela Merkel, thus providing a turning point in Germanys integration policy (Barker, 2017, p.68). She stated that multiculturalism had failed, implying that immigrants had not been properly integrated into Germany, highlighting that immigrants must follow national rules, "accept the country's cultural norms" and strive to learn the German language in order to be integrated into society (Barker, 2017, p.68). This opposes the multiculturalist idea that different norms and languages can coexist. With this Merkel seems to advocate for a civic understanding of identity, in that her criteria are obtainable for foreigners, but at the same time respecting other cultural norms may involve giving up or abandoning your own cultural norms. This is in line with an ethnic understanding of identity, quite different to the understanding of identity that was previously established.

When the migration crisis hit in 2015 Germany had already established a tradition of taking in refugees and work migrants. The situation in 2015 was quite different from anything the country had experienced before with a far larger number of refugees under different circumstances, but the already established traditions of showing solidarity shaped the country's response.

6.Hungary case study

Hungary has a long history as a national state and Magyar settlements can be dated back to around year 900 AD. The Magyar are a people who are widely considered to have originated form the Ural and Volga area in Russia (Sulyok, 2020). The Magyar are considered to be ethnically Hungarian, but while they constituted most of the power positions in the country in the 19th century the term "'populos hungaricus' referred to all free men in the country" and no privileges were denied on the basis of ethnicity (Janos, 2012, p.11). In the mid-19th century Hungary and Austria join together and formed the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (Janos, 2012, xxxiii). While Hungary was not a particularly homogeneous state at its establishment, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the peace treaty of Trianon in 1920 resulted in a much more homogenous Hungary. With the peace treaty came new borders and Hungary lost 2/3 of its territory as well as

one third of ethnic Hungarians to other countries (Schafft & Kulcsar, 2015). In Trianon Hungary as much as 90% of the population had Hungarian as their mother tongue (Schafft & Kulcsar, 2015). The number of ethnicities in Hungary were even more diminished by World War II, which saw the internment and murder of many Jews and Roma. After the war there was also an expulsion of ethnic Germans, which at that time was the largest national minority in Trianon Hungary (Schafft & Kulcsar, 2015).

During World War II Hungary was a part of the Axis Powers and Hungarians suffered huge losses during the war (Kenez, 2016, p.12). Hungary was liberated from German occupation by the Red Army, and they subsequently fell under Soviet influence after World War II (Kenez, 2016 p.12). After the fall of the Soviet Union Hungary again became an independent country in the sense that Hungarians had the opportunity to elect their own government without Soviet influence, and the democratisation process went better than many would have thought, for not only Hungary but also other Eastern European countries (Bogaards, 2018).

However, after the 2010 election, democracy and freedom in Hungary deteriorated at an alarming rate, and it now has the lowest 'freedom house' score of the EU member states (Bogaards, 2018). The election of Viktor Orbán as Prime Minister and the coalition between Fidesz and the Christian Democrats is defined as a 'sharp u-turn' away from democracy as Orbán is in control of both the executive and legislative branches (Kornai, 2015, p.34-35). While Hungary's membership in the EU was supported by popular referendum in the country in 2004, the scepticism toward 'western-rule' has grown in the country (Kornai, 2015, p.43). Orbán has never suggested that Hungary intend to leave the EU: they draw huge benefits from EU's financial support and the EU has not managed to punish member states that neglect democracy and human rights (Kornai, 2015, p. 44-45). Because of this Hungary's government faces no real consequences by staying a member of the EU.

While mixing of ethnicities has been quite normal in Hungary from the 19th century the country has become much more homogeneous. And during this process there has been a rise of conflict between the residing ethnicities in the country. Hungary as a national state can be dated back to 900 AD, but it has lost its sovereignty several times since then, the most recent only ended in 1989. While the post-communist era was relatively peaceful in Hungary, they still had to build up their political institutions and structures, and it has now become evident that these structures were not persisting as many thought. Hungarian society is heavily affected by political polarization and the de-democratisation process that is happening in the country. This thesis does not seek to explain the causes of this shift, but rather highlight it is as a reason for the country's actions and perceptions. The country that closed of its borders in 2015 is also a country that has enough to deal with on its own. Compared to Germany that sees it as its mission to help whoever it can, Hungary has a much more individualistic perspective and seems to take the stance to protect its own.

While Hungary has gone against the EU and their migration policies, their trust in the Union is quite strong and surpasses both the EU average and Germany. Hungary's relationship towards the EU is mainly motivated by economic security. Migration policy is therefore not the kind of politics that Hungary looks for in the EU, and something that they do not want to cooperate with. For example, when asked "what does the EU mean to you personally" the second most answered option for Hungarians was "not enough control at external borders" (Eurobarometer 84, 2015, p.T84). This tells us that

Hungarians look to the EU for border proception, as the survey was carried out in 2015 at the height of the crisis.

7.Conclusion

Identity cannot entirely explain the reactions of Germany and Hungary during the migration crisis. By looking at identity, relationship to the EU and trust in the EU I have arrived at the conclusion that identity did not play a very significant role in the direct actions of Hungary and Germany. While my hypotheses mainly hold true for Germany, they do not quite fit Hungary. Hungary has several political problems and the de-democratization process in the country and their financial situation will have a much stronger impact on political decisions than their identity. While it is plausible to say that Germany's willingness to take in refugees stems from their history and the civic nature of their identity, Hungary's opposition to do the same has different reasons. One interesting finding is that while Hungarian identity is perceived as more ethnic and Germany identity as more civic, this does not considerably affect how the two nationalities respond to the Moreno question. What the two countries define the EU as and the values and functions they think the Union should promote, plays a bigger part in how they react to EU policies. Trust in the EU is relatively similar in Germany and Hungary and I was not able to connect level of trust to the response to the migration crisis. Hungary's trust in the EU took a hit during the crisis, most likely since they did not receive the support they wanted as they struggled with a mass influx of refugees. But an argument that trust in the EU results in following EU migration policy does not hold true. Trusting the EU cannot be said to spark trust in all its policy areas.

Attitudes towards immigrants are very different in Germany and Hungary and seem to be in line with a civic understanding in Germany and ethnic in Hungary. But while attitudes play an important part in policy-making, the policies that countries are willing to adopt are also rooted in material concerns. Germany certainly has a more positive attitude to immigrants and refugees, but their willingness to help is also conditioned by their financial situation and the country's ability to integrate such large groups of immigrants. This thesis has not focused on the economic differences between Hungary and Germany, nonetheless it is important to keep in mind that variables that have not been analysed are also present. While attitudes towards refugees are positive in a given country, and the will to help refugees is present in a community, they might not be able to do so with little resources. Taking in refugees is at its core an economic question. The initial feeling of solidarity also has a tendency to wash away as soon as the expenses of helping out refugees affect the country's ability to deliver on other points.

A weakness of this thesis, as with all analyses, is the limitations of the variables.
All variables that can explain the two countries reactions have not been analysed. At the same time it was not the aim of this thesis to fully explain the reactions, but rather look at how identity, trust, and relationship to the EU can explain some of the differences between Germany and Hungary. This analysis is heavily based on Eurobarometer surveys and solely dependent on some of its statistics, which can be seen as another weakness.

European identity is on the rise in the EU, but so is Euroscepticism and the connection between identity and other political views and decision is an important topic of research. Identity can to some extent be the basis of political decisions, and it is not without reason that the EU has made creating and maintaining a European identity a priority. The interplay between identity and public opinion is definitely something worth looking into, but, as stated in this thesis, political decisions are affected by many other factors.

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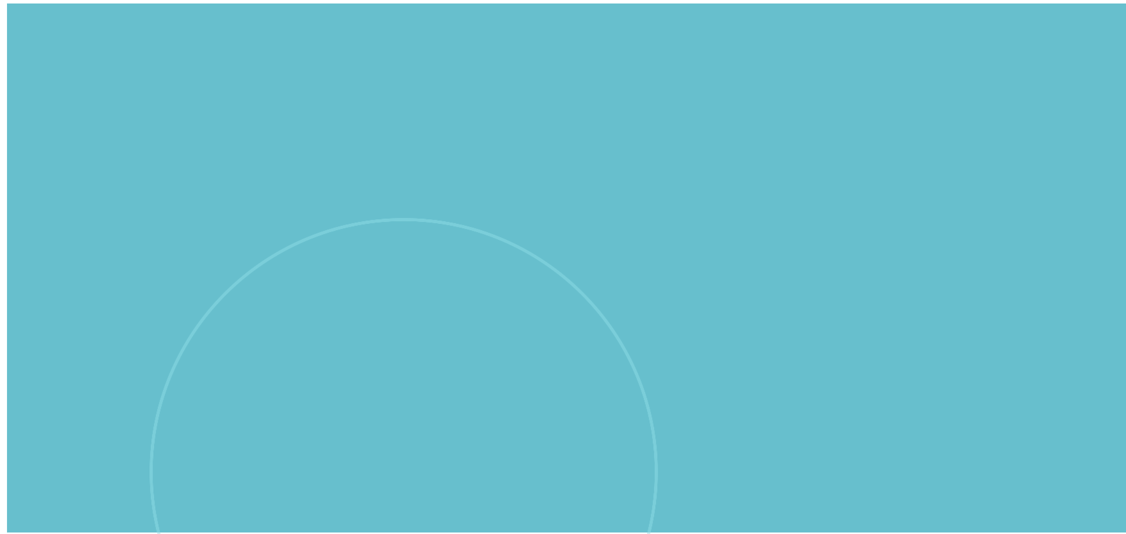

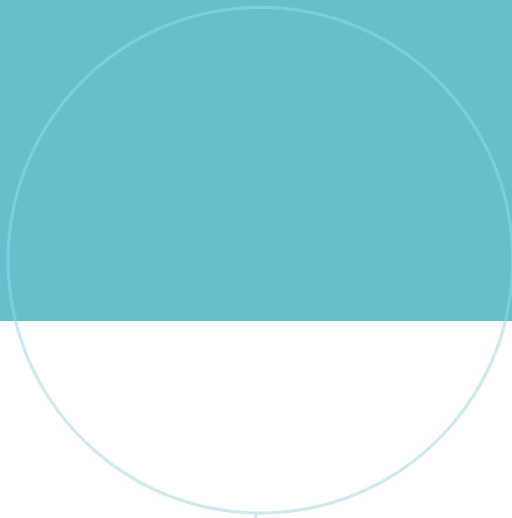

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