### Citizenship Policies and Identity

### KISS, TAMÁS: Ethnic Hegemony and Transnationalism or, How the Romanian Public Relates to Transylvanian Hungarian Ethno-Political Objectives and Hungarian National Policy

3

The paper outlines the attitude of the Romanian public to minority rights, Transylvanian Hungarian ethno-political ambitions, and Hungarian national policy. The analysis is based on nine national (Romanian) public opinion survays covering the years 1995 to 2014. In addition to presenting the survey results, the author outlines the wider political and institutional context (Romanian minority politics, Hungarian and Romanian citizenship policies) which serves as a frame of reference. The issue whether autonomy aspirations or dual citizenship is more acceptable for Romanians is central to the paper. The most important general conclusion is that while Romanian ethnic hegemony within the country enjoys overwhelming support, the public is becoming more tolerant of transnational loyalties, even Hungarian citizenship.

### KÁNTOR, Zoltán: National Politics and Citizenship

36

The paper focuses on certain aspects of Hungarian national policy and the extension of citizenship in 2010. The author identifies five tiers that form the backbone of Hungarian national policy: the conceptual level, the legislative level, the administrative level, the level of Hungarian-Hungarian relations and the level of programs. The author argues that a concerted national policy is designed to integrate—via institutions—the individual in the community of the nation, and to integrate—possibly through autonomy—the community in the political system of the country.

### ILAREVA, Valeria: Migration, Asylum and Citizenship Policy in Bulgaria 49

The paper provides an overview of policies and legal frameworks for migration, asylum and citizenship matters in Bulgaria. Due to the unprecedented number of refugees, new challenges are confronting the institutional and conceptual framework of migration and asylum at the global level, in the Balkan region and the European Union. In this context, the paper outlines the strategic

priorities of relevant Bulgarian policies such as international protection, irregular migration, legal migration, and the conditions for acquiring Bulgarian citizenship. Also, it briefly discusses the issue of emigration from Bulgaria noting that while the number emigrants still exceeds that of immigrants, the strategic vision for Bulgaria is that of becoming a transit country rather than one issuing emigrants, and then developing into an attractive country with regard to immigration.

# DANERO IGLESIAS, Julien - SATA, Róbert - VASS, Ágnes: Citizenship and Identity: To Be Hungarian in Slovakia, Romanian in Serbia and Ukraine

59

The paper starts with a discussion of notions essential to understanding nationality policies in Central and Eastern Europe, such as the concepts of national identity and citizenship. To establish a framework of reference for an analysis of minority identity structures, this is followed by an outline of the mother country's nation policy regarding cross-border Hungarians and Romanians. The main body of the paper provides a critical evaluation of the patterns and shapes recognizable in identity structures of various members of minority groups with respect to use of language and the handling of similar everyday affairs, the definition of their own country, and the distinction between "us and them". Particular attention is paid to citizenship and the attitude of members of minority communities to citizenship offered by the mother country, examining whether this formalized channel of identification creates a new kind of feeling of belonging, or merely establishes flexible and instrumentalized ties between the state and the individual.

### Diaspora and Migration

## MARKOVIĆ, Predrag J.: Lost in Transmigration: The Impact of Migrant Workers on Everyday Life in Serbia

79

The paper summarizes the research concerning migrant workers coming from the former Yugoslavia and Serbia, and makes proposals for further research. Based on smaller scale quantitative research, it also examines the impact of migration on the daily lives, values, and family relationships of workers emigrating mainly to Germany and Austria, and the way migrant workers influenced, in turn, life back in their homeland. Without financial support form migrant workers Serbia would have completely collapsed in the nineties, and this remains partly true even today in spite of the distrust shown for migrant workers since the sixties both back at home and in their host countries, while their offspring, the second generation of migrants, seem to feel lost.

# SZERBHORVÁTH, György: Suffering and Legitimisation: Guest Workers, Shopping Tourism and Smuggling in the Former Yugoslavia. Contributions to the Social History of Hungarians in Vojvodina

In connection with today's refugee / migrant crisis, it is worth reflecting on the positive and negative effects of migration strategies / experiences obtaining in the former Yugoslavia since the sixties, and still extant among Hungarians in Vojvodina. In this context it is also worth considering how the appearance, thanks partly to migrant workers and partly to immigrant tourism and smuggling, of Western patterns of consumerism affected the country's economy, employment, and therefore the legitimatisation of the system. Under socialism, control on consumption was a way of controlling the population; socialist Yugoslavia, however, was different in many ways: migration was a natural way out of the system, while it helped develop *a culture of suffering* among both those who left and those who remained in the mother country.

### HERMANN, Gabriella: European Activities of the American Transylvanian Association, 1958–1976

120

The paper presents the activities in Europe from 1958 until 1977 of the predecessor of the New York based American Transylvanian Association (AESZ), predecessor of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, founded in 1952 and working to protect the rights of minority Hungarians. Over this period AESZ was represented by Gyula Zathureczky, who was on the staff of Radio Free Europe in Munich. The author outlines the official AESZ representative's advocacy activities on behalf of Transylvanian Hungarians at the Federal Union of Minorities in Europe and the Free Hungarian Congress in Europe, and traces his foreign-language publishing and lecturing activities by which Zathureczky sought to draw public attention in Europe not only to the conditions of Hungarian minorities but also to the importance of developing common federal European minority protection policies.

#### On the Research Trail

"Returning to the sources, rather than sticking to generalized theories, is a viable option in terms of method as well" –
FILEP, Tamás Gusztáv talks to GAUCSÍK, István 143

#### On the Look-out

### SZAMBOROVSZKYNÉ NAGY, Ibolya: Multiculturalism in Ukrainian Public Education and History Textbook's

163

177

Linguistic and cultural diversity may, in principle, enrich both the individual and the community. Attempts on the part of state organs at achieving or eliminating that diversity by artificial means or in a superficial manner will, however, always lead to resistance on the one hand and renewed attempts on the other. Throughout the 20th century, East-Central European small and medium sized states sought to create homogenous nation-states in a region which had been home to a diversity of languages, cultures and religions, where diverse ethnic composition is not a result of migration.

At a certain stage of their nation state-building process, some of the Ukrainian intelligentsia turned to the kind of multiculturalism hitherto preferred in Western Europe, an attitude concealing aspirations to the assimilation of minorities not entitled to be part of the nation.

The paper looks at the appearance of multiculturalism in Ukrainian education policy and history teaching, posing questions concerning its origins and the extent to which Ukrainian state and society with its freshly gained independence showed a permissive, inclusive and democratic attitude towards indigenous minorities; when and why a radical turnaround took place in the second half of the 1990s; how public education policy grew more radical at the turn of the century, and what a multicultural approach to education actually means in Ukraine today.

## HARKAI, Ágnes, In the Final Hour of Battle: *Harc*, a Weekly Edited by Zoltán Bosnyák

Edited by the notorious anti-Semitic writer Zoltán Bosnyák, *Harc* was extreme anti-Semitic weekly newspaper published between May and December 1944. Providing a thematic breakdown of the weekly, the author discusses repeatedly recurring fairly typical themes such as the connection between Judaism, Jews and Bolshevism, the notorious anti-Semitic contributors (Kálmán Hubay, György Oláh) and their articles; as a separate topic, Bosnyák's oeuvre is also treated. In addition, Bosnyák's article on the activities of the Hungarian Institute for the Research of the Jewish Question is outlined (the weekly served as the official bulletin of the Institute) alongside of articles on the plight of Hungarian Jews under the German occupation.

#### Review

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#### HOLCZHAUSER, Vilmos, The Risk of Imagology

K. Lengyel Zsolt: Tükrözés és torzulás. Magyarország és a magyar kisebbségek képe a német politikai irodalomban 1993-1994, Méry Ratio Kiadó -Kisebbségekért Pro Minoritate Alapítvány, 2014 Klaus von Dohnanyi - Gelencsér Ágnes - Hegedűs Dániel - Gereon Schuch: Magyarország a médiában 2010–2014. Kritikai észrevételek a sajtótudósítások kapcsán. A Magyarország Munkacsoport zárójelentése, Röviden: DGAPbericht / Nr. 29 / 199

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