

**Crossing Borders from Hungary to Ireland: The Cross-Cultural
Adaptation of Hungarian Refugees from the 1940s and their
Compatriots from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution**

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ABSTRACT

Crossing borders from Hungary to Ireland: the Cross-Cultural Adaptation of Hungarian Refugees from the 1940s and their Compatriots from the 1956 Hungarian Revolution

Katalin Pálmai Bánki

Hungary was compelled to release great emigration waves several times during the course of its history. In 1956, shortly after the Post-War polarisation and the Hungarian uprising, the Irish government granted asylum to 541 Hungarian refugees. The arrival of the Hungarians marked Ireland's first participation in the UN refugee program and consequently had a series of outcomes which were unplanned as the Irish government struggled to find a long-term solution to the situation in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp where the Hungarians were first housed. This study gives voice to the experiences of these twenty former Hungarian refugees who came to Ireland over 50 years ago and remained in Ireland when the majority eventually relocated to Canada once they experienced the reality of economic conditions in Ireland. Set in a qualitative framework, this research explores the cross-cultural adaptation of members of the Hungarian community in Ireland: what it meant fifty years ago to adapt to a new culture, and to preserve national identity in a political situation, when there was no way back home. Data was collected through twenty interviews, archive documents and newspapers and a Grounded Theory approach was applied for the interviews and content analysis for the documents.

This study contributes to existing research in the field of cross-cultural adaptation, by making visible the experiences of a group of Hungarian refugees, and extending our understanding of the challenges they faced at that time. It provides insights into the socio-political consequences of the arrival of the Hungarian refugees in 1956 into an impoverished and deeply conservative Ireland from both host society and newcomer perspectives. These had implications for employment prospects for the refugees and also raised gender issues for the refugees in their new society. Finally, this study also provides insights on identity change in the cross-cultural adaptation process, as well as identifying strategies for preservation of one's original culture while adapting to a new cultural environment and the loss of the heritage language from first to second generation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the Thesis

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 provides the research context of the thesis and then presents the methodological processes undertaken in the research. In order to research the social world of refugees a grounded theory approach was found to be the most appropriate, because it leaves room for flexible and creative interaction with the data. This chapter outlines data-gathering by interview and participant observation as well as the documentary sources and media content. Finally, the chapter provides an account of the ethical concerns and the limitation of the research.

1.1 Background of the Research

The tragic suppression of the 1956 revolution was one of the darkest periods of Hungarian history and was also a historical milestone in European history as it challenged the Communist hegemony in Eastern-Europe. The revolution also had an international dimension, because the mass exodus of about 200,000 Hungarian people affected the countries of three continents; with other Western-European countries, Ireland also offered shelter to the Hungarian refugees. Historically Ireland, as a country of emigration had never been in receipt of significant numbers of refugees, since the underdeveloped state of the Irish economy did not attract significant levels of migration in the 1950s though some refugees did arrive in Ireland in the 1940s, including some in this study. However, as a signatory of the Geneva Convention on Refugees in 1951, the country was obliged to receive 541 Hungarian refugees at a time when Ireland was a complex mix of an impoverished, deeply conservative country moving towards modernisation.

From the perspectives of profound social, technological and cultural changes in Ireland, it is hard to imagine the situation of a refugee in Ireland in the middle of the twentieth century. This unique research, embedded in a historical environment, covers a time span of

50 years, and through the experiences of the Hungarian refugees bridges Hungarian and Irish cultural elements, explores what it meant fifty years ago to adapt to a rigid religious culture, and to attempt to preserve a national identity in a political situation, when there was no way back home. The research adopts an intercultural, socio-historical perspective based on a combined qualitative grounded theory and content analysis research methodology to explore the subjective experiences of the first generation of refugees.

1.2 The Study Situated Within the Context of Other Studies

Three partial studies have been carried out on the 1956 Hungarian refugees in Ireland: (Ward 1996a; Fanning 2002; Collins 2006). Collins (2006) a descendent of a Hungarian refugee of 1956, wrote a novel which dealt with the refugees' arrival in Ireland, their controversial acceptance, and experiences in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp. Ward's (1996a) research represented a political perspective, Fanning (2002) focused on racism in Irish society and Collins (2006) offers a historical perspective in his novel.

However, this research represents unexplored terrain, because this is the first study in Ireland which explores the Hungarian refugees' cross-cultural adaptation in Ireland from 1956 and includes Hungarians who arrived in the 1940s. This research is built on the well-established links to the Hungarian emigrant community and Ireland, and also on the documents of The Irish Red Cross Society, which were accessed through the Hungarian Embassy in Dublin. Also, archive documents of the Department of the Taoiseach were researched in the National Archives of Dublin, and a wealth of contemporary newspaper articles in the National Library of Ireland. According to the National Library of Ireland's catalogue, besides Fanning (2002) and Collins (2006), no other person has researched these archive documents before.

Originally, the research did not aim to explore historical reality. However, the memories of this particular social group and the extent to which they incorporated the traumatic events of the past into their identities directed the research towards gaining further understanding about the contemporary historical Hungarian and Irish context. The research explores elements of Hungarian culture, such as linguistic expression, which could be easily

destabilized, and also conditions where a synthesis of Hungarian and Irish cultural elements seems to be a viable option. Situations will be also revealed, where the preservation of Hungarian cultural elements were perceived as unacceptable and threatening to Irish values, because Irish society protected these cultural rules rigidly and they appeared to be beyond dispute. Furthermore, the research examines the flexibility of national identity and the means of preserving and transmitting a minority identity in a receiving culture. Special emphasis is also given to the way the refugees bequeath their national identity to the next generation. Overall, the insights offered by this thesis from an intercultural perspective reveal the positive and difficult aspects of mutual adjustment by both the refugees and their host society. Finally, this research is set in a qualitative framework introduced in the following sections.

1.3 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research is used as a collective term for a series of research approaches in the social sciences (Flick 2005) and this term has a long, distinguished history both in German and American sociology. Its importance arose as early as in the 1920s and 1930s in the work of the ‘Chicago School’ social scientists, who examined the life experiences of human groups (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Since its inception it went through several periods, beginning from the traditional one (1900 to 1945), through a modernist phase (1945 to 1970s), and from the 1980s through a crisis of representation phase (Flick 2005), since its assumed reliability was beginning to be under significant threat. However, in essence, qualitative research is applied to any type of research where findings are not the result of quantification. It has different components: firstly, the data base, which originates from various primary and secondary sources, such as interviews or relevant documents; secondly, the procedure by which the researcher chooses to analyse the data.

Qualitative research has various approaches which differ in their perception of issues and also in their methodological focus (Flick 2005). However, three main lines or perspectives can be highlighted among the available range of data analysing methods: semi-structured interviews and content analysis; data collection in focus groups or by observation; and

recording interaction on audio or videotape (Flick 2005). In this thesis I relied on the first perspective, namely conducted interviews and combined it with part of the second perspective: I analysed texts and made observations.

1.3.1 Distinction between Quantitative and Qualitative Research

In contrast to qualitative research, quantitative research focuses on measurement and the analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:13). Quantitative research has five main methods, such as social surveys, experiment, official statistics, structured observations and content analysis (Silverman 2000). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are evaluated from different perspectives: quantitative research has been described as superior because it is considered objective and value-free, whereas qualitative research is claimed to be influenced by the researcher's subjectivity (Silverman 2000). In certain cases researchers might share a sense of belonging to an imagined ethno-national community and feel himself/herself an insider (Coffey et al 1996), such as in the case of this research. Quantitative research has also been considered reliable, while in its crisis period qualitative research has been thought of as unscientific and explanatory (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

Qualitative research has, however, been also considered to be suitable for preliminary studies and the forerunner of a quantitative study. Its validity is also questioned by failing to offer counter examples in analysis, and by the charge of 'anecdotalism' (Silverman 2000) that is, by appearing to tell entertaining stories, but failing to convince the reader of their scientific credibility. The assumed reliability of quantitative research was questioned deeply in the 1990's. For instance, it has been accused of not revealing the differences between the natural and the social world, and that a purely quantitative method does not reveal the social and cultural construction of variability (Silverman 2000). However, quantitative researchers explain that their aim is to produce a set of cumulative generalizations, rather than focusing on the behaviour of a particular group as is the case in this study (Silverman 2000).

Much social research is founded on the use of a single research method, and as such, may suffer from limitations associated with that method or from the specific application of it (Flick 2005). Therefore, when qualitative researchers need some knowledge of numerical data they combine two methods in order to provide a more complete set of findings than what could be gathered through the administration of solely one method. (Fielding and Schreier 2001) This way quantitative data analysis, which is considered a pure representation of validity, can be combined with a qualitative approach, which represents a constructed reality. In the social sciences, the principle of using this multi-method research is called triangulation, and is of relevance to this study.

1.3.2 Triangulation

Jick (1979:602) defines triangulation as:

Just like multiple viewpoints allow for greater accuracy in geometry, researchers can improve the accuracy of their judgments by collecting different kinds of data bearing on the same phenomenon.

Triangulation was introduced into the social sciences in 1970 by Denzin (Fielding and Schreier 2001). Recently it has acquired so many meanings and interpretations that it is wiser to call it a 'convergence' or 'confirmation' approach (Fielding and Schreier 2001). The usual emphasis on triangulation is on combining various methods in order to increase the credibility and validity of results, and add a sense of richness and complexity to an inquiry (Denzin 1970). According to Hilger (2007) the different methods are often combined in a hierarchical way, meaning that a central method is accompanied by a less important one. However, as Fielding and Schreier (2001) suggest, triangulation is also about the comparison and integration of data from different methods, and useful in provoking a researcher to be more critical, and even sceptical towards data.

An early reference to triangulation was in relation to the idea of an unobtrusive method proposed by Webb et al (1966:3) who suggest:

Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes.

In Kleinig and Witt's (2001) view, the indiscriminate combination of quantitative and qualitative data does not necessarily mean getting the best result, since they accommodate different kinds of data and serve different research goals. That is, the inter-relation of certain methods can fall far short from the result which could be obtained by a single method (Fielding and Schreier 2001).

Denzin (1978) identifies four basic types of triangulation:

- Data triangulation: involves time, space, and persons
- Investigator triangulation: involves multiple researchers in an investigation
- Theory triangulation: involves using more than one theoretical scheme in the interpretation of the phenomenon
- Methodological triangulation: involves using more than one method to gather data.

Denzin (1970) also draws a distinction between within-method and between-method triangulation. The former involves the use of varieties of the same method to investigate a research issue; for example, a self-completion questionnaire might contain two contrasting perspectives to investigate certain phenomena. Between-method triangulation involves contrasting research methods, such as a questionnaire and observation. In this thesis, I apply a between-method methodological triangulation which will be explored in depth in data analysis (see sections 1.4-1.8 in this chapter). I found this principle useful not only to increase the validity of my results, but also I found justification for the combination of quantitative and qualitative data, namely, in order to identify points worthy of further analysis, and to delineate representative and unrepresentative cases (Fielding and Schreier 2001).

1.3.3 Data Collection

My data consists of primary sources, such as interviews, and participant observation and secondary sources, such as archive documents. My primary aim was to conduct interviews for my data analysis because I developed good relationships with the Hungarian refugees in Ireland and I was able to gain first generational information through their contribution. I also enjoyed the support of the Hungarian Embassy, which helped me to obtain valuable information in the form of documents, and I received further direction from the Irish

Ministry of Justice and The Irish Red Cross Society. The archive documents were researched in the National Archives and the National Library of Ireland both from microfilms and hard copies, involving all the contemporary newspapers, such as, for instance, the *Limerick Leader*, *Cork Echo*, *Cork Examiner*, and *The Irish Times*. The Prime Minister's files witnessed de Valera government's policy (1956-1957) with relation to the state of the camps, the refugees' evacuation, the resulting situation and also Ireland's position with regard to the Hungarian revolution. The Hungarian Embassy and the Irish Red Cross Society kept contemporary records providing precise data concerning the Hungarian refugees of the Knocknalisheen refugee camp. Some of the interviewees also shared valuable records with me, such as pictures and personal letters from the Knocknalisheen refugee camp.

Originally I planned to analyse the interviews and the archive documents separately; however, as my research developed the research strategy went through several stages. After analysing the first interview I found it preferable to incorporate the two as they provided verification, or at least, partial verification, of what was discussed during the interviews. Also, primarily I planned to distribute questionnaires among my respondents. However, this proved to be misconceived, as I realized in the early stages of my research, that my interviewees are elderly people, and possibly would not understand how to fill one out. Consequently, I abandoned the idea and concentrated on the interviews. Also, participant observation did not feature in the original research scheme: I included this method only later, when I realised that when the interviews take place in the home of the respondents, valuable data also emerges. Then I began to think about the qualitative approach which suits the investigation of a particular group of people, of the modes of their behaviour and their resistance strategies, which encourages the researcher to think critically and creatively (Patton 1990; Strauss and Corbin 1998).

1.4 Data Analysis

For the data I chose a multi-method analysis: a grounded theory approach for the interviews (Charmaz 1983; 1995; 2005; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990;

1998) and content analysis for the archive documents (Silvermann 1993; 2000; Krippendorff 1980). I found the combination of these approaches relevant to this study, since grounded theory best suits investigating people's life experiences, their attitudinal and behavioural responses (Berelson 1952) and content analysis is an appropriate approach to study society and culture and to describe the content of a text (Rosengren 1981). The research also relied on Atlas.ti - a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software, which was developed from a grounded theory base (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990).

1.4.1 Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1998:22) consider that:

Grounded theory is a detailed grounding of systematically and intensively analysed data...by constant comparison, data are extensively collected and coded...thus producing a well-constructed theory.

One of the most important schools of qualitative research is the grounded theory approach (Flick 2005) and is at the forefront of the 'qualitative revolution', since it countered the dominant view that quantitative research serves as the only form of systematic social inquiry and challenged its hegemony (Denzin 1994). This theory is a useful qualitative approach to data analysis, in which the theories remain grounded in observations of the social world, rather than being generated in the abstract (Seale 1998). It relies on the data collection methods of 'The Chicago School', that is, in in-depth interviews and field observations (Titscher et al 2000). The strategies of data organisation in grounded theory involve simultaneous collection and analysis of data, a line-by-line data coding process, comparative methods, memo writing, sampling and integration to the theoretical framework (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Through creative interaction with the data, the researcher conceptualises, develops categories, makes comparisons, and 'creates a new, innovative scheme from the unorganised mass data' (Strauss and Corbin 1998:13).

1.4.2 Origin and Development of Grounded Theory

The roots of grounded theory stretch back to American pragmatism, '*including its emphasis on action and the problematic situation, and a necessity for conceiving of method in the*

context of problem solving' (Strauss and Corbin 1998:5). This method was founded by Glaser and Strauss (1967), whose work can be regarded as revolutionary, because they challenged the arbitrary divisions between theory and research, and moved qualitative research toward theory development (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). Grounded theory is applied in a wide spectrum of topics and it is a particularly useful approach for intercultural research such as this study, because it prevents the researcher from having any preconceptions. It has been used by Broadhead (1983), Cauhape (1983), and by Sheridan (2005) in intercultural research contexts, which also involved a refugee group.

It was Strauss and Corbin, (1998:9-10) who moved grounded theory to a more qualitative direction by emphasising the following:

- The need to go to the field to discover what is really going on.
- The relevance of theory to the development of a discipline.
- The complexity and variability of phenomena and of human action.
- The belief that persons are actors responding to problematic situations.
- The assumption that persons act on the basis of meaning.
- The understanding that meaning is defined and redefined through interaction.
- A sensitivity to the evolving and unfolding nature of events (process).
- An awareness of the interrelationships among conditions (structure), action (process), and consequences

Charmaz (2005:524) critiques Strauss' and Corbin's (1998) guidelines as '*didactic and prescriptive rather than emergent and interactive*'. She represents a new development in the field, as she moves grounded theory towards a socially constructed reality, where '*the viewer creates the data and ensuing interaction with the viewed*' (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:271). Charmaz's (2005) constructivist interpretation also directed this research in shaping my approach when analysing interviewees' past experiences and memories.

Consequently, in my research I combined the several approaches: I relied on Glaser and Strauss (1967) in preparing the interview questions and also in the coding system. I also relied on an extensive theoretical background on cross-cultural adaptation and categorised the particular adaptation patterns on given scales. The grounded theory approach has also aided me in relating to the existing theories in the field of adaptation relevant to this study

(see data analysis chapter 7 for full discussion of these). In other cases, however, I relied on Glaser and Strauss (1967) when I let the categories emerge on their own and tried to produce an analysis, independent from preconceived ideas, such as when analysing the language use in mono and bi-cultural marriages. However, as a central element of grounded theory is the coding process, since it conceptualises the core issues from within the huge mass of the data I also used Strauss and Corbin (1998). Coding helps to discover new perspectives on the material and may reveal new directions for the researcher (Charmaz 1990). The following section, section 1.4.3, deals with the various codes, their practical use in this research, and other means of data collection, such as memos and diagrams.

1.4.3 Coding Process

Strauss and Corbin (1998:129) define the coding process for the researcher:

An analyst is coding for explanations and to gain an understanding of phenomena and not for terms such as conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences

In this research the coding procedure proved to be useful, since it allowed me to group and focus on certain social and cultural issues, such as, events which either promoted or hampered adaptation. Alternatively, the coding of qualitative data can form a part of an interpretive, theory building approach (Seale 1998) which is also part of this study. There are also two different coding procedures: open coding and axial coding. In both cases the importance lies in generating questions, constant comparisons, the establishment of categories and bridging relations between categories (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Both open coding and axial coding were used for this study.

1.4.3.i Open-coding

Fielding and Lee (1991) state that open coding brings themes to the surface from deep inside the data. In Strauss and Corbin's view (1998), in a first attempt, the researcher locates themes and assigns initial codes or labels to condense the mass of data into categories. Grouping concepts into categories is important, because it enables the reduction of the number of units. In this process the data is broken down into discrete incidents and ideas, and then are given a name that stands for these categories. In my research I applied

the same method, and established categories corresponding to various aspects, such as expression of home-sickness, celebration of Christmas or manifestation of identity issues.

Next, the researcher writes a preliminary concept or label at the edge of a note card, or as in the case of this study, a computer record and highlights it. The researcher is open to creating new themes and to changing these initial codes in subsequent analysis. Once concepts begin to accumulate, the next step is the process of categorisation in terms of dimensions and properties. Dimensions are the ranges along which general properties of a category vary, giving specification to a category (Strauss and Corbin 1998), such as for instance, detailing the background of forced migration or exploring the various challenges the refugees in this study faced.

Initially, in my coding procedure I followed the patterns adopted by Kanyo (2003), who divided the adaptation process into different 'universes', such as 'departure', 'on the road', and 'preservation of identity', and in a short chapter analysed each individual's stages. However, I found this process is not applicable in my study since I dealt with the issue in more depth and so did not break the adaptation process into these stages. Consequently, in the first step, I grouped the content into main categories with the help of the Atlas.ti program. I established numerous categories; for example, one category was represented by those individuals who married Irish people and another by those who were married to other Hungarians. Through properties and dimensions I was able to differentiate aspects within a category and deepen the data analysis. For example, I examined the second category of those interviewees where both spouses were Hungarian, and said, that one of the properties that differentiates the refugees is the frequency of use of the Hungarian language, and the dimension is represented by whether they speak it at home or outside of home as well. Intervening conditions, for example living in isolation also influenced the phenomena.

Once the categories were identified, I established the coding system. There are several different ways of open coding, such as line by line, word by word, paragraph by paragraph or perusing the entire document. In my data analysis I used an open coding strategy interview by interview and created 21 primary codes with 527 instances.

The primary codes are as follows:

Table 1.4.3.i Primary Codes

Codes	Number	Codes	Number
Adaptation	35	Hungarian relations	52
Camp	16	Identity	67
Challenges	27	Interaction with host	23
Cultural differences	33	Irish perception	9
Culture shock	3	Irish welcome	21
Departure	39	Job	9
Distinction	13	Language	77
Expectations	1	Relation with expatriates	11
Food	31	Religion	20
Forced migration	2	Second generation identity	17
Homesickness	21		
Total: 527			

As Table 1.4.3.i suggests language with 77 codes and identity with 67 codes are clearly major issues in the interviews (see data analysis chapters 6 and 7). Interestingly, the issue of employment emerged only in 9 instances, although it was an important precondition of the refugees' well-being in their host society. The reason behind this is that my questions did not focus on this issue; it emerged in the interviews spontaneously. Next, Atlas.ti enabled me to extract the relevant data under the individual codes as the range of examples contained in the two primary codes 'adaptation' and 'language' demonstrate:

Code: Adaptation

Quotations:1:140 (974:977) You can't adapt yourself completely. I partly adapted myself.

1:188 (1300:1305) Yes, she adapted very well, she always felt a part of Irish culture.

Code: Language

Quotations:1:14 (228:233) [We] communicate in English, occasionally if there is a third person, whom he thinks does not know any English, then he transforms himself and speaks Hungarian.

1:32 (324:325) I communicated reasonably regularly with a Hungarian couple, they are up today my best friends.

Finally, in the next step, I created pairs of interrelated categories. For example I put together two categories: adaptation and language, or home-sickness and identity and tried to find consequent relations throughout the interviews. At that stage I realised that I had to relate the newspaper articles to the data, because they support and compliment the analysis. Then I began to think about axial coding.

1.4.3.ii Axial Coding

Axial coding facilitates building connections with categories, and thus serves to deepen the theoretical framework underpinning the research (Lee and Fielding 1996). Strauss and Corbin (1998:96) define axial coding as the following:

Axial coding is a set of procedures whereby data are put together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories.

The researcher codes *'around the axis of a category to add depth and structure to it'* (Strauss and Corbin 1998:142). In this stage the data is fractured, reassembled and interpreted axially and the researcher's task it to fit the pieces of the puzzle together. Consequently, the purpose of axial coding is to relate categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions. In the course of the axial coding process the properties of a particular category are either explicitly or implicitly dimensionalised, (Strauss and Corbin 1998); then the various assumptions either challenge or justify existing theories in the field of adaptation. For instance, pressure to comply with Irish religious practices can justify Kim's (2001) theory in a sense, in terms of how important the host society's role in adaptation is, and which emerges in chapter 5.

An important aspect of categorization is to define a central, or core category, which creates a centre and serves to pull other categories around it. The hub of my research is cross-cultural adaptation and each of the categories is assigned to this core concept. Strauss and Corbin (1998:146) say of a core category:

It should be central, it must appear frequently in the data, and it should be valid in contradictory or alternative cases as well.

This applies to my research, as all my categories are strongly tied to cross-cultural adaptation, such as the role of language, Irish perception of refugees, or the refugees' perception of cultural differences. Finally, labelling conditions during axial coding may be micro or macro, that is, be found at individual or group level, or may shift and change over time (Strauss and Corbin 1998:131). Micro conditions, however often have their origins in macro conditions, and therefore the distinction between them can be an artificial one (Strauss and Corbin 1998:185). This is a key point in an intercultural study where culture is a lived phenomenon at both individual and societal levels, evident in data analysis chapters 4-9. Finally, causal conditions represent sets of events that influence the phenomena; for example in the data, arriving at the refugee camp and intervening conditions might alter the impact of causal conditions, as in the data being exposed to a hunger strike in the camp.

Lastly, in some cases a contradiction might occur in the previously consistent pattern and this case represents an extra dimension in the research. The challenge is in this case to find the condition which creates this variation. In my research I found consistent patterns emerging between related categories and this step assisted me in creating hypotheses and also to justify or question existing theories. One of my hypotheses was that the descendents of couples living in a mono-cultural marriage preserved the Hungarian language to a greater extent than couples in culturally mixed marriages. I also found exceptions in the consistent patterns and tried to find an explanation for them. For example, an exception was when one of the refugees refrained from teaching his child Hungarian, in contrast to everyone else in the data. Finally, in a grounded theory approach another important means of data collection and recording thoughts and interpretations is memos (Strauss and Corbin 1998); this is the intermediate step between coding and data analysis.

1.4.3.iii Memos

Memos serve to reflect analytic thought and to give birth to theories, but they are also the means of storing information (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1998:218) define memos as:

Memos serve to keep the research grounded and maintain that awareness for the researcher.

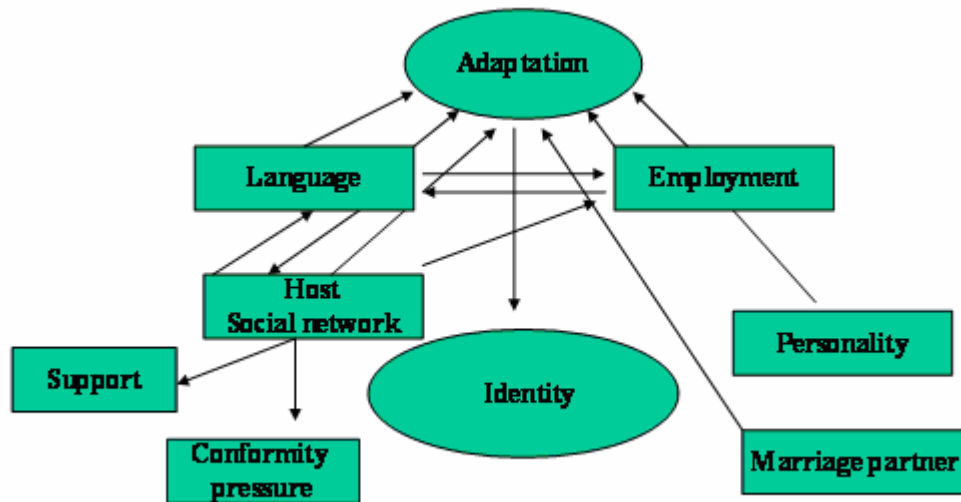
Memo writing helps to link empirical reality with an analytic approach (Denzin and Lincoln 2003). They can take several forms: code notes, theoretical notes, and operational notes depending whether they relate to codes, literature, procedures or functions. They grow in numbers and as the research progresses; however, in light of new data they are subject to alteration. For example, if several similar concepts emerge it is reasonable to collect them under one heading. At the start of my data analysis I anticipated that I would work most of the time on-screen, but as my research developed I also found it useful to use hard copy printouts, and memos.

From this stage I relied both on hand-written and computer generated memos. Whatever relation or possible new hypothesis emerged I immediately put a note in the relevant place. Atlas.ti enabled me to save each version in different files, so I could keep my data in order as the analysis progressed. Consequently, this is one of the important uses of the programme in such research (Coffey et al 1996). Besides memos, preparing diagrams was also a useful element of my research, as I found them stimulating in developing relations between the categories.

1.4.3.iv Diagrams

Strauss and Corbin (1998:153) consider that *'diagramming is helpful because it enables the analyst to gain distance from the data, forcing him or her to work with concepts rather than with details of data'*. They note that diagrams should also be dated, and contain headings denoting the concepts or categories to which they belong in order to create clear and retrievable data. Diagram 1.4.3.iv represents the relations between the individual categories. It aims to discover the factors influencing adaptation and its bearing on identity. Initially, I drew diagrams, but later on, when I gained expertise in the qualitative software, it enabled to me use graphic illustrations of my emerging ideas and relations. Gradually, as my skill developed, I began to create various diagrams to keep a record of categories and

**Diagram 1.4.3.iv The Cross-Cultural Adaptation Process of Hungarian Refugees
in Ireland**



dimensions, as illustrated in diagram 1 above where the two categories of adaptation and identity are linked by a number of inter-linking dimensions, so revealing the complexity of the process of cross-cultural adaptation related to this study.

1.4.4 Qualitative Data Analysis Software

For the data analysis I relied on Atlas.ti - a computer assisted qualitative data analysis programme. In Lee and Fielding's view (1995) such software is a resource which individual researchers can use creatively for a range of purposes from coding for analysis to general data management. Atlas.ti software was developed in 1993 from a grounded theory base and is generally used in research where there is a need to interpret data through the identification and possibly coding of themes in order to enlarge existing theories (Lewins and Silver 2005). There is academic discussion around the use of specialised software in research with critiques that the use of such software inclines researchers to follow a prescribed orthodoxy (Coffey et al 1996). They argue, that aspects of grounded theory have been over-emphasized in the use of qualitative data analysis software, while other approaches have been neglected in comparison (Lee and Fielding 1996).

Atlas.ti enables the researcher to apply thematic coding to chunks of data, thereby organizing the text along thematic lines. The other advantage of the program is that working with computer-printed data and a coding system preserves the prospect of objectivity (Ford et al 2000) or standing back from the data. Atlas.ti also qualifies the researcher to prepare graphic visualisation of connections and processes using mapping tools. I prepared several diagrams, as in diagram 1.4.4 below, and as I gained deeper understanding my diagrams gradually grew in complexity.

Diagram 1.4.4: First Encounter with the New Culture

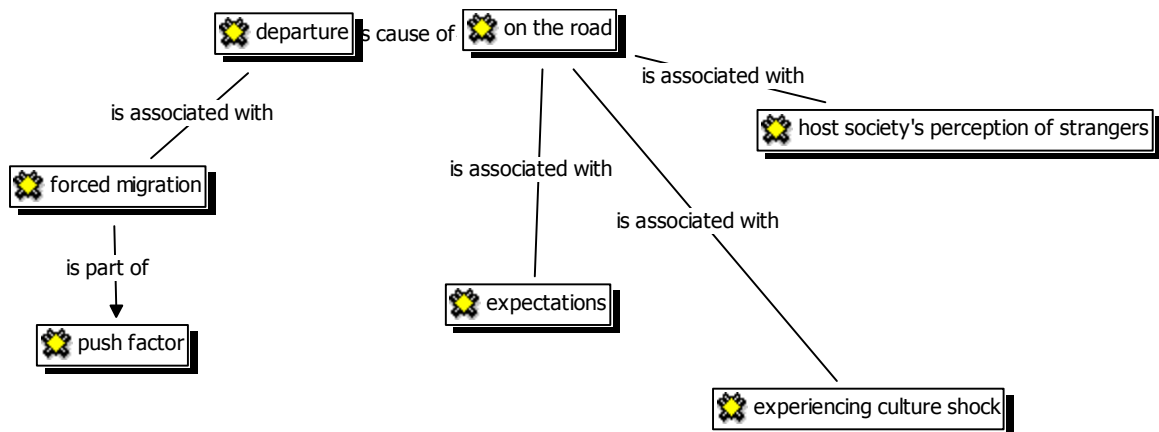


Diagram 1.4.4 relates to the refugees' arrival to Ireland. At this stage I outlined the migration background and linked it with the 1956 Hungarian refugee's first experiences. My aim was to discover common tendencies which occur as a result of forced migration and how they apply to this study in terms of the refugee's experiences.

1.5 Interviews

From an intercultural research perspective, which is the focus of this study, Gudykunst (1983:153) considers that:

An interview is a peculiar verbal interactional exchange in which the interviewer attempts to elicit information from another person.

This exchange involves the language of communication as well as the socio-cultural context of the exchange. In this research the major method of data collection used was small-scale, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. There are other types of interview

methods, such as structured and unstructured interviews. In the case of structured interviews the questions are preset, and are asked in a specific order, allowing the interviewer to maintain maximum control over the interview. An unstructured interview format allows the interviewer to be responsive to the interviewee, making the interview more conversational in style (Lofland and Lofland 1971).

In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer will have some set questions, but can ask some spontaneous questions too as Schwartz and Jacobs (1979:45) note:

As information flows from the respondent to the interviewer, the interviewer is free to alter his line of questioning accordingly.

As Lofland and Lofland (1971:76) explain, semi-structured interviews best meet the objective of eliciting rich detailed material, and are useful in conducting the interview free from predetermination. The interviewer does not have preset questions beyond the opening question, but the interview will still have a theme or topic and a clear idea of the depth of information that is needed, so that useful information can be gained.

I originally prepared a semi-structured interview scheme, and I diverted from the routine, and kept the sequencing and actual wording of the questions different, depending on the answers received. In some cases I found that free discussion and wandering off topic encouraged recalling the memory of events and the telling of related stories. In some cases I totally deviated from my original questions, where other important aspects emerged, such as memories of a German concentration camp following the end of the Second World War. Here, the interview with Mari became completely open-ended. Since all the archive data was published in English, and I typed the interviews in English for this study. I also conducted the interviews in English. The design of the interview covered the major question areas, which were relevant to the core category of my research, namely cross-cultural transformation: background information going back to the Hungarian revolution, the role of social networks and the respondent's personal attributes, predispositions and motivations.

1.5.1 Sampling, Access and Recording

The interviews were conducted between 8 December 2004 and 6 May 2005 in Dublin, Maynooth, Cork, Youghal and county Meath and I found 20 people altogether (see Appendix 1). Two of them died before the interview was made (Erzsébet and Jenő) so in these cases the family members answered the interview questions. First, I contacted only those who arrived in Ireland in 1956. However, I realised that the number of this category was very small. So I extended my research to those who came to Ireland in the 1940s, those who escaped first to England in 1956, and only later came to Ireland. Additionally, I included the descendents of the refugees in two cases. Only one person withdrew before the interview for personal reasons. The sampling method for the research was based on existing contacts and 'snowball sampling' procedures (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). A snowball process means that the existing participants identify other persons who might be willing to contribute to the research. I personally knew only twelve refugees and in Limerick Teri identified a writer, who then arranged an interview with his mother Edit. This contact also led me to her daughter, Matild. In addition, Teri also contacted György and his wife Mancsi, who introduced me to István and his wife Mara.

The research group consists of 9 men and 11 women. 10 refugees were in their twenties or thirties, 7 were adolescents, and 3 were children when they arrived in Ireland. 7 of the individuals left Hungary during the 1940s and 13, forming the majority in this study, in 1956. From this last group, 10 refugees arrived at the refugee camp of Knocknalisheen, 2 remained there for over a year, and 8 refugees left the camp within six weeks. There were 4 Hungarian couples among them, and 12 individuals have married Irish people since. Chapter 4 section 4.4 contains a table summarizing important data and short profiles of the interviewees with the aim of allowing the reader to identify more easily with each person.

Overall, the tape-recorded interviews lasted an average of two hours. I wrote up each interview immediately afterwards as in some cases background noise distorted the quality of the tape, and I had to rely on my own memory. For finalising the interviews, I posted them for amendment to my interviewees. When all respondents sent back the corrected version, I made the necessary changes and sent them the final copies.

1.5.2 The Process of the Interviews

Flick (2005) states that the precondition of a valid interview data is a trusting relation between the interviewee and the interviewer, which allows a coercion free communication. This is an important point in terms of this research study as the interviewees came from a coercion-dominant political context, namely Communist Hungary. I was in a fortunate position as I approached my interviewees from a perspective that considers background information, biographies, and changes in individual identities. In general, the research has been concerned within the context of historical facts, with subjective experiences which then leads to cross-cultural adaptation and with the process of changing attitudes, values and behaviours as part of the interaction in a new environment.

My intention was to draw on stories that characterise the experiences of this particular group of individuals, and the extent to which they have incorporated their traumatic past into their identities as well as adapted to a very different new culture. Sometimes I obtained answers to questions I had not even asked, and with sufficient empathy I was also able to ask some painful questions, such as whether they feel home-sick, or did they make the right decision by leaving their country. Hence, the historical past, forming chapter 2, was an important aspect and a valuable part of the interview process, because cultural attitudes shape the resettlement process and the intercultural encounters between the Hungarian refugees when they arrived in Irish host society. Finally, my interviews were complemented by archive documents, which will be explored in the next section.

1.6 Content Analysis

Content analysis is the longest established method of text analysis among the set of empirical methods of social investigation (Silvermann 2000). It is probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents and the origin of traditional content analysis goes back to the early decades of the twentieth century (Kingsbury and Hart 1937). Its development was due to the dramatic expansion of mass media communication and international politics (Titscher et al 2000; Kohlbacher 2005), and originally the term referred only to those methods that concentrate directly and solely on

quantifiable content. The first researcher, Berelson (1952) put together the existing methods and goals of quantitative content analysis and considers that:

Content analysis has been put in the study of society and culture, to determine the psychological state of persons or groups, to describe attitudinal and behavioural responses to communication; or reflect cultural patterns of groups, societies (Berelson 1952:23)

Consequently, as this study focuses on the process of cross-cultural adaptation, it is of particular relevance to the analysis of archive documents.

In the 1950's however, a controversy developed about research strategies in content analysis. Researchers, such as Kracauer (1952) criticised the quantitative approach, because it failed to examine the qualitative context of the text. However, boundaries between the techniques of quantitative and qualitative content analysis are not always clear-cut, and there is no such a thing as purely quantitative analyses as Krippendorff (1980) argues. The best content-analytical studies use both quantitative and qualitative techniques, and this is also the approach taken in this study. Wodak (1996) calls the combination of quantitative and qualitative technique a multi-method approach, the use of which is justified by their complementary nature.

Different authors offer different definitions of content analysis. According to Krippendorff, (1980: 21) '*content analysis is a research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context*'. For Stone et al (1996:5) however, '*content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within text*'. Krippendorff's (1980) surveys introduce human-coded ¹ content analysis, while others like Weber (1990) combine an in-depth consideration of content analysis methods with an empirical analysis of political documents, and speeches, and North et al (1963) apply a range of techniques to the study of communications in international relations. Gottschalk et al (1986) used the same methods as North et al (1963) in behavioural and psychological science. However, Merriam and Makower's (1988) approach proves to be the most relevant to the thesis, since they access cultural and social trends in their content analyses.

¹ Data is broken into manageable categories

Since its inception, content analysis has been applied to large and diverse groups of material. Documents as valuable cultural indicators serve as reliable data spanning centuries, as Weber (1990) considers. Out of documentary sources, media content happens to be one of the most voluminous and accessible sets of data for the content analysis, as in this thesis, which draws on newspaper articles in relation to the 1956 revolution and Hungarian refugees in Ireland but letters, books, diaries also offer important sources (McQuail 1977; 1987). In this research I consistently include those newspapers and government documents, which provided context, complemented or corresponded to my categories, systematically developed in the interview analysis. My preliminary categorisation helped to identify the main images conveyed by the press, and facilitated the exploitation of the data for the retrieval of examples for qualitative analysis. Once I completed the selection from my rich archive data, the findings were entered into my existing database for overall evaluation. Although I applied a qualitative research strategy, in some instances I also found it useful to compliment my research with representative quantitative data when establishing my primary codes, as Wodak (1996) suggests. For instance I made a record of the most frequently emerging codes, such as language, and I found it useful to research the role of language in cross-cultural adaptation in depth, in various contexts. Finally, in the light of my subjective observation, I also extended the research triangulation by adding a new dimensional strategy to my multi-approach process, which is participant observation, as the next section details.

1.7 Participant Observation

Seale (1998) defines participant observation in the following terms:

Participant observation: used to describe the method most commonly adopted by ethnographers, whereby the researcher participates in the life of a community or group, while making observations of members' behaviour

Participant observation is a particularly appropriate data gathering process for studies of interpersonal group processes (Adler and Adler 1994). It is useful in a variety of ways: it provides researchers with ways of checking nonverbal expression of feelings, or grasping participants' behaviour (Schmuck 1997). Participant observation also allows researchers to

observe events that the participants may be unable or unwilling to share, and examine situations described in interviews (Marshall and Rossman 1995). The negative aspect of participant observation is that it might endanger the objectivity of the researcher (Adler and Adler 1994) because in particular circumstances, the researcher's positive or negative evaluation can influence the researcher's perception; for example in the course of our earlier meetings I had a chance to evaluate my interviewees' behaviour and value system.

As Dewalt and Dewalt (1998) suggest, participant observation increases the validity of a study, as observations may help the researcher have a better understanding of the context and phenomenon under study. Participant observation is also useful in building theory, generating, or testing hypotheses, which is also a part of Grounded Theory. Being in close contact with the interviewees over several years I participated in their social world in an unobserved way. During this time I was able to obtain a more detailed and accurate picture of them as people, I received a fully-rounded depiction of their beliefs, customs and feelings, and hidden details were observed. When the interviews were held in a participant's home, observation allowed me to identify pictures on the wall, books, music discs and china on the shelves, and relate them to the cultural concerns of this study. I listened to the languages of communication of the family members, and also noted the shift in language use, the preservation of Hungarian customs, the way they addressed their pet, or named their home. Participant observation applies in data analysis chapters 4-7.

There are other essential issues, which have primary importance for the researcher, such as ethics in relation to social research, such as this study. Recently, there has been a gradually developing consensus about ethical issues that should underlie research endeavours and section 1.8 which follows next, will outline these developments.

1.8 Ethical Concerns

In recent years, practitioner research has gained prominence in academic literature and has led to increased attention to the ethical complexities of research involving human beings (McGinn and Bosacki 2004). In Roth's (2005) view human research ethics has to evolve to respond to the continuously emerging possibilities for acting on the part of researchers and

research participants. Human research ethics has to evolve not only in the way some research treats participants during the project but also in the way any results are used (Roth 2005). This is particularly true in case of vulnerable individuals and social groups, such as those exposed to racist discrimination. Given the complexity of moral and ethical issues, research ethics needs to receive priority also in methodological issues such as research design, sampling and data collection (Glen 2000).

Being aware of the DCU ethical code of conduct, I carefully planned my research and involved a minimum number of participants in order to achieve valid results. My interviews were facilitated by prior acquaintanceship, and the cooperation of the participants was secured in advance. Wherever observation was concerned in my research, I attempted to avoid bias and preserve objectivity. Being a Hungarian myself, I was aware that vulnerable data is involved, and that many of my interviewees were reluctant to speak about their participation in the revolution of 1956. I attempted to allow respondents to exercise as much control over the research process as possible, for example by letting them decide when and where to meet, whether they wished to adopt a pseudonym. However, I did not have to offer anonymity as the respondents were happy to reveal their own experiences and wished that their real names be used. However, at the final stage of the study I decided to refer to them using pseudonyms in order to preserve their privacy.

During my interviewing process, I stressed the principle of consent, I did not force any issue. However, later when my respondents were more relaxed, they revealed all the details, which I judged as an important part of the research. In one case, I refrained from presenting detailed events that could be recognized by others.

I preserved the taped records, and ensured that the participant's written approval was granted. I sent the transcripts to each of the participants and asked them to read the interview transcripts, make any necessary alterations and send the transcript back. In many cases, only minor changes were made due to typing errors or misunderstandings. However, in one case, the transcript was almost re-written, and permission for publication was granted only after rechecking. I also produced a consent form, and had it signed by all

participants. In fact, in Glen's (2000) view, telling potential participants that a consent form has to be signed may question the trust that has previously developed between researcher and potential participant. While being on a friendly terms with my interviewees was an advantage, the research was accompanied by several difficulties relating both to the refugees and also to the archive research. Section 1.9 will discuss these disadvantages.

1.9 Self-Reflexivity

During data collection, for example, an ethnic background can be very helpful. Ethnic researchers can have privileged relations with immigrant groups, which can facilitate access to the field. Similar advantages arise from familiarity with the languages and the physical space of the researched group. On the other hand, such closeness between a researcher and his/her subject can also harm the research process (Bousetta 1997:5).

The dynamic between researcher and participant has become a key focus for academic attention. Researchers argue that in order to undertake ethical qualitative research, self-reflexivity, positionality and power relations are effective tools in the researcher-participant interaction (Ganga and Scott 2006; Borkert and De Tona 2006; Sultana 2007). Ganga and Scott (2006) note that interviewing within ones own cultural community as an 'insider' increases awareness amongst both researcher and participant of the social divisions that structure the interaction between them.

Ganga and Scott (2006) do not consider that insider status leads to greater proximity in the social interview; they rather think that whilst insider status is generally beneficial, it also raises a range of social differences that otherwise would not emerge. Sharing a sense of belonging to an imagined ethno-national group for example might also raise the issue of social differences between the researcher and the interviewees (Ganga and Scott 2006).

In Ganga and Scott's view (2006) it is clearly necessary for the researcher to acquire the trust of the older first-generation residents before being given access to their children, or grandchildren. In my research that was the case with Edit, who introduced me her daughter Matild, and 2 month later I became an 'adopted insider' (Ganga and Scott 2006) when I conducted the interview in Matild's home. Nevertheless, similar to the experience of Ganga and Scott (2006), even in this role I felt that I was constantly moving between my insider and outsider status, because I did not find the common heritage which I shared with

someone of my own generational group. However, being an insider brings the researcher closer to the reality that migrant communities are rarely united, and are divided by social differences such as class, generation, age and gender. An example in the research is one of the interviewees, Icu, who felt this class distinction and found herself pushed away from a few Hungarian families in Dublin.

Borkert and De Tona (2006) criticize the general tendency which defines the status of the researcher and labels her/him in certain situations as an outsider or insider on the ground of her/his nationality. In their view there are oscillating identifications of the researcher and the research participants during the research process. Sultana (2007) also argues that positionality and subjectivity are tempered both spatially and temporally, since dynamics change with context, and the insider-outsider boundary gets blurred. In this regard, being a Hungarian Embassy staff member and researching Hungarian compatriots in a foreign country was both advantageous and disadvantageous for me. My interviewees and I shared a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage (Ganga and Scott 2006) and my insider status made me accepted within the group, as we recognized the ties that bind us. I did not feel power distance between us but my interviewees' perspective is unknown for me on this issue.

A negative aspect of my research was that I was emotionally involved in my interviewees' stories, since I had my own memories from 1956, when I was sitting in the cellar of our house during the air raids, and also when one of my family members left Hungary, when Austria opened the border. Overall, I felt, that having a deeper knowledge about Hungary's history, culture and the Hungarian refugees' motivation to leave our country, having my own experiences and memories with regard the tragic historical event of 1956, gave me a sense of confidence and familiarity and was beneficial for the research. Also, the research deepened my understanding about Hungary's historical past, and the motivation of those 200,000 Hungarians who left behind my country in 1956 and searched for a new home. I understood their pain when occasionally singing Hungarian songs in the Hungarian Embassy on Hungary's National Day, and also their nostalgia when speaking about Hungary.

1.9.1 Difficulties of the Research

First of all, my interviewees were occupied with the historical events of 1956, and with the question of responsibility and accountability. My investigation did not mean to deal with this difficult and controversial issue; however, I devoted time to listen to my respondents' personal views whenever this topic emerged. Also, I realized that many of my interviewees were reluctant to speak about their participation in the revolution, and also did not acknowledge their Jewish background, although these facts were important aspects of their migration. I did not force them, although later on in our discussions when they were more relaxed, they revealed many important details. Another difficulty was that the participating women concealed their ages which led to incorrect information.

During my research in the National Archives and in the National Library of Dublin, I found that valuable government documents were kept in an unworthy way: it was difficult to retrieve them; many of them were in bad condition, unreadable and incomplete. It is unlikely that in time future researchers will benefit from them. In some instances the title and the date of the document was indicated in Irish, which also made it difficult for a foreign researcher to interpret the data. Also, in some cases the photo-copy procedure took a long time, so for instance in the National Library of Dublin the order took 4 weeks, and this way I was often held back from progressing in my research. However, besides the difficulties, the research also faced limitations, which will be introduced in the next section.

1.9.2 Limitation of the Research

Analysing the cross-cultural adaptation process of the group of refugees, and other Hungarians, who came to Ireland following the 1956 revolution, one has to consider that the research examines only the social world of this particular group and no generalization can be made to forced migration in general. Another significant limitation is that the study is looking back from a perspective of almost 50 years. The refugees had more distance or perspective on the past events, and they were able to present their stories with more insight than they probably would have 50 years ago. In addition, being a Hungarian and having an embassy connection proved to be in many cases a disadvantage in the research, since some

of the interviewees considered me part of the establishment and did not feel safe to reveal their true feelings and opinion. It took many years to gain their confidence.

Some interviews were shaped by particular circumstances:

- Erzsébet and Jenő died; the interviews were taken with the family members,
- Elek was reluctant to answer a number of questions,
- Kálmán's and István's arrival to Ireland do not cover the most critical period since they arrived in England first and only later came to Ireland,
- Zoltán and Mari arrived to Ireland as young orphans at the age of 3 and 5.

As another constraint, I realised that the newspaper articles correspond only partly to the research, because they focus predominantly on the events of the Hungarian revolution. Nevertheless, in certain cases I could gain valuable information about life in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and also about Irish society's generosity towards the refugees. In several cases I discovered a huge discrepancy between what the interviewees said, and what the newspaper articles stated, such as aspects of religion, society's social and moral control and the way it was perceived. The reason might be that the press in Ireland at that time represented the dominant ideology (Clancy et al 1995) and these were all problematic issues at the time. In these cases, I had to find the balance between my interviewees' subjective experience and the host society's perception of their social reality.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 outlined the research context and the applied methodology. Particular attention was devoted to the various qualitative research methods, and to the major method of data collection, the interviews. The chosen research method and the various elements of data analysis aimed to ensure a deep understanding and rich findings. Chapter 1 also revealed the researcher's position in this thesis, and research limitations. The next chapter presents the historical background of the thesis.

Chapter 2

Hungarian and Irish Historical Background

In Hungary, one can live only in internal emigration (Márai 1996:15).

Chapter Overview

Chapter 2 creates the context of this study by introducing the historical foreground, in which the research is embedded. At first, the chapter offers an overview of the history of Hungary beginning from its foundation in 896 until today. As background to this study the chapter outlines the wars and victories, the dark and great periods of the first 1800 years, and details the most important events which anticipated the outbreak of World War I, and the formation of Fascism. These events prepare the context for the persecution of Jews in the 1940s, and the Communist dictatorship which led to the revolution of 1956. This part of the chapter devotes particular attention to the antecedents, events and aftermath of the 1956 revolution from a Hungarian perspective, and then it also investigates the events from an international point of view. Then chapter 2 examines the way memory shapes national identity, and discusses the concept of the nation and nationalism. This chapter then presents the Hungarian refugees' countries of destination and provides an outline of international refugee regimes. Finally, chapter 2 introduces the legal and socio-economic situation in Ireland in the period under investigation.

2.1 Introduction

Myriad articles and books, and a variety of conflicting and irreconcilable historic-graphical accounts have been written about the origins and the tragic suppression of the Hungarian revolution of 1956, one of the darkest moments of the Cold War. The revolution was both a national and a world event. From a Hungarian perspective, it was a nation's bitter fight against the conqueror, but in the wider context of the world and European history it was also an international event, an attempt to challenge the Soviet hegemony. It also reflected the instability of the Soviet Communist system and of Cold War politics.

The reconstruction of the many-sidedness of the revolution necessitates disentangling all the strands of the events, the motives of participants and the world powers, but also to review the devastating losses of the entire twentieth century in Hungarian history. The picture would not be complete without introducing the history of the land, people, society, culture and economy of Hungary from its origins in the Ural Mountains, through Ottoman, German and Russian rules up to the first democratic elections of 1989. This shaping of the Hungarian cultural psyche and identity plays a major role in the cross-cultural adaptation process of the Hungarian refugees who arrived in Ireland in 1957.

2.1.1 Early History of Hungary

The history of Hungary stretches back to the late 9th century when the Hungarian nation was established from a confederation of Hungarian tribes at the western region of East-Central Europe, called Pannónia. The Hungarian people throughout their 2000 year old history preserved a continuous individuality through Hungary's Ural-born language and a specifically Hungaro-European culture (Molnár 2001). Hungary, as a multi-ethnic Christian Kingdom was founded in 1000 AD under King Stephen I in the Carpathian Basin. The population of Medieval Hungary (896 – 1526) was the third largest of any country in Europe (Lendvai 2003). In 1241, in the wake of the devastating Mongol invasion around a quarter of the population was lost and the country almost ceased to exist. The expanding Mongol Empire left Hungary in ruins: nearly half of the inhabited places had been destroyed by the invading armies. Western Europe viewed the event with shock, yet, without action, as Pope Gregory IX and the Holy Roman Emperor were busy fighting each other (Csorba and Estók 1999).

The Hungarian nation enjoyed one of its greatest periods in the late 15th century under its Renaissance monarch, King Mathias, who built a great empire, expanded southward and northwest, and also implemented significant internal reforms (Sugar et al 1990). In 1521, coinciding in time with the advance of the Reformation, the country suffered a defeat from the Ottoman Empire at the battle of Mohács, which is considered as one of the most devastating national tragedies of the country, as this was the outset of Hungary's 150 year - long Turkish occupation (Molnár 2001). The defeat split Hungary into three parts: The

Kingdom of Hungary under Habsburg rule in the west, Hungary under Turkish conquest in the middle, and semi-independent Transylvania ruled by a Hungarian Prince under Turkish suzerainty (Kabdebo 1988).

Between 1604 and 1711, there was a series of anti-Habsburg and also anti-Catholic uprisings in the territory of Hungary, because the religious protesters demanded equal rights among Christian groups. The Rákóczi uprising of 1703-1711 was the first significant freedom fight in Hungary against absolutist Habsburg rule. Although it was suppressed due to various internal conflicts, it succeeded in keeping Hungary from becoming an integral part of the Habsburg Empire (Lendvai 2003). Beginning from Queen Maria Theresia's rule (1740) Hungary's ties with Austria were to be closer under neo-absolutist constraints (Molnár 2001). From 1780 a national revival movement emerged both on the part of the Magyars and other non-Magyar nationalities living in the Kingdom of Hungary, such as Croats, Serbians, Romanians, in response to attempts at Germanisation by Joseph II (1780-1790) (Borsody 1952).

2.1.2 The Revolution of 1848 and its Aftermath

The year 1848 was a time of revolution in European and Hungarian history and culminated in a series of cataclysmic revolutions (Kabdebo 1988). The Habsburg Emperors and particularly Chancellor Metternich refused to implement reforms which led to the Hungarian national revolution and grew into a war for independence (Evans 1989). Brubaker and Feischmidt (2002) consider that despite eventual defeat, the events of the 1848 revolution have been a cornerstone of Hungarian political cultures and a key point of reference for national self-understanding and to national myths for a century and half. An eternal source of remembrance is the poet Sándor Petőfi, who died a martyr's death on the battlefield in 1849. He gave poetic voice to patriotic fervour and his rebelliousness has served as a role model ever since for Hungarian revolutionaries (Deák 1992). Kossúth, a Hungarian patriot, freedom-fighter and statesman, also became an idol of the fight of independence and is commemorated both officially and in vernacular forms, such as folk songs and tales, up to today (Clays 1989).

In 1867 Hungary became part of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Empire comprising a large nation of about 50 million people of many different language groups and nationalities (Evans 1989). The 'Compromise' granted the Hungarian government in Buda equal legal status to the Austrian government in Vienna, while the common monarch retained responsibility for the army, navy, foreign policy, and customs union (Kabdebo 1988). Austria-Hungary was regarded as a great European power along with France, Germany, Russia, and Britain (Evans 1989). Kabdebo (1988) comments that there are 'parallel' events in the history of Hungary and Ireland, with both countries having a tradition of centuries of oppression and refers to Arthur Griffith² who considered that the resurrection of Hungary was an exemplar for Irish independence.

2.1.3 From World War I to Fascism

Hungary participated in World War I as part of the Austro-Hungarian army. In 1918, as a result of defeat in the war, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed, and the new government officially declared Hungary an independent republic. Hungary's signing of the Treaty of Trianon on June 4, 1920, ratified the country's dismemberment, along approximate ethnic lines (Csorba and Estók 1999). The territorial provisions of the Treaty, which ensured continued discord between Hungary and its neighbours, required Hungary to surrender more than two-thirds of its pre-war lands. Nearly one-third of the 10 million ethnic Hungarians found themselves outside the diminished homeland as the successor states occupied major territories of Hungary: Upper Hungary was claimed by the Slovaks and Czechs, while on the south Serbs, Croats and Slovenians created a common Kingdom, and on the east Transylvanian Romanians joined Romania (Molnár 2001). In 1919, as a result of the Post-War government's failure on both domestic and military fronts, the first Communist government, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was established with the leadership of Béla Kun, but it was defeated after 4 months (Deák 1992).

During the inter-war period, the former commander in chief of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, Miklós Horthy became the regent of Hungary from 1920 and the new fighting force became the Conservative counter-revolutionaries - the 'Whites' (Borsody 1952). From

² Irish nationalist, the founder of Sinn Féin.

1920 the White Terror plagued Jews, Communists and sympathizers with the Kun Regimes, leading to imprisonment, torture, and executions. As many members of the Kun government were Jewish, it became easy to make Jews the scapegoats for the government's mistakes (Borsody 1952). Estimates placed the number of executions at approximately 5,000. In addition, about 75,000 people were jailed; nearly 100,000 people, most of them Socialists, intellectuals and middle-class Jews, and 350,000 urbanised gentry were forced to leave the country (Mócsy 1983).

Between 1921 and 1931 Prime Minister Count Gábor Bethlen dominated Hungarian politics. He fashioned a political machine by amending the electoral law, providing jobs in the expanding bureaucracy to his supporters, and manipulating elections in rural areas. Bethlen restored order to the country by giving the radical counter-revolutionaries payoffs and government jobs in exchange for ceasing their campaign of terror against Jews and leftists. In 1921, he made a deal with the Social Democrats and trade unions in order to legalize their activities and free political prisoners in return for their pledge to refrain from spreading anti-Hungarian propaganda, calling political strikes, and organizing the peasantry. Bethlen brought Hungary into the League of Nations in 1922 and out of international isolation by signing a treaty of friendship with Italy in 1927 (Molnár 2001).

The Great Depression (1929-1939) induced a drop in the standard of living and the political mood of Hungary shifted further toward the right. In 1932 Horthy appointed a new Prime-Minister, Gyula Gömbös, that changed the course of Hungarian policy towards closer cooperation with Germany and started an effort to magyarize the few remaining ethnic minorities in Hungary. Gömbös signed a trade agreement with Germany that drew Hungary's economy out of depression but made Hungary dependent on the German economy for both raw materials and markets (Kaminski and Soltan 1989). In the 1930s the penetration of Fascism, economic pressures, the threat of military intervention, and Adolf Hitler's promises of returning lost territories precipitated Hungary into supporting Nazi policies, including those related to Jews. Hence, in 1935, Hungary's leading Fascist party, Ferenc Szálasi's Arrow Cross was founded. Gömbös' successor, Kálmán Darányi attempted to appease both the Nazis and Hungarian anti-Semites by passing the First

Jewish Law in 1938, which set quotas limiting Jews to 20% of positions in several professions (Deák 1992).

Hungary entered World War II on July 1, 1941, at the direction of the Germans. The heavy Soviet breakthrough at the Don River in 1942 sliced directly through the Hungarian units and during the Battle of Stalingrad in January of 1943, the Hungarian Second Army nearly ceased to exist as a functioning military unit. In March 1944 Hitler occupied Hungary and started large-scale deportations of Jews to German death camps in occupied Poland.

Nazis considered the Jews *'evil, incarnate, irredeemable and unreconstructed, who had to be exterminated'* (Weiner 1999:1142). Between May 15 and July 9, Hungarian authorities deported 437,402 Jews - half of their total number to death camps. The number of those Jews saved in Budapest were 119,000; those who came back from deportation 121,000; and those who survived forced labour camps 20,000; a total of 260,000 (Lévai 1948). The Nazi occupation drew to a close in 1945 when the Soviet Union took over the country and played a decisive part in establishing the new political order (Felak 2000).

2.2 Hungary after World War II

World War II left Hungary in ruins, its population reduced by 10 per cent (Shouldice 2005). By signing the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1945, Hungary again lost all the territories that it gained between 1938 and 1941. The Hungarian boundaries were fixed along the former frontiers as they existed on 1 January 1938, except a minor loss of territory on the Czechoslovakian border. Neither the Western Allies nor the Soviet Union supported any change in Hungary's pre-1938 borders. Half of the ethnic German minority (240,000 people) were deported to Germany, and there was a forced exchange of population between Hungary and Czechoslovakia (Kósa 1998). In 1945 a nominal government formed in Hungary, which was recognized by the Soviet, American, and British victors, but in fact, the only real authority lay with the occupying Soviet army.

The stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary was allowed by the agreement of the Allied Powers in the framework of the Peace Treaty, concluded between the victorious powers

and Hungary in 1947 (Csorba and Estók 1999: 211). From 1947 until 1966 there were about four Soviet divisions in Hungary, securing suitable road and rail links for the continual supply of the remaining forces. These troops, following the signing of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955, should have left Hungary, but one day before the treaty was signed, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with its Eastern European allies. This treaty, the Warsaw Pact, created an international legal basis for Soviet troops to remain in Hungary and establish the new political system (Malashenko 1999).

The transition to Communism began already in the first year of the Post-War period when Soviet leaders appointed those Hungarian Communists who had been in exile in Russia to leading political positions. The two most important were Mátyás Rákosi and Ernő Gerő (Lasky 1957). The following period was characterized by the authoritarian rule of Mátyás Rákosi's Stalinist Regime. By 1948 the Communists gradually gained control in key organisations and the Social Democratic Party ceased to exist as an independent organization in the government as The Hungarian Workers Party became the largest single party serving in the coalition People's Independence Front government. The leader of the Social Democratic Party, Béla Kovács, was arrested and sent to Siberia, and other opposition leaders were imprisoned or sent into exile. An estimated 2,000 people were executed and over 100,000 were imprisoned. These policies were opposed by some members of the Hungarian Workers Party and around 200,000 were expelled from the organization (Deák 1992).

On 18 August 1949, Parliament passed the new constitution of Hungary modelled after the 1936 constitution of the Soviet Union. A new coat-of-arms was adopted with Communist symbols such as the red star, hammer and sickle. The name of the country changed to People's Republic of Hungary, 'the country of the workers and peasants' and Socialism was declared as the main goal of the nation (Litván et al 1996). The Hungarian people who went through an appalling time during the Arrow Cross period of the Nazi Regime were now totally exposed to Communism, which 'was not a political, not even a question of class power, but a question of existence or non-existence' (Márai 1996:11).

2.2.1 *Beginning of Decades of Communist Terror*

As soon as the Russians occupied Hungary, they not only overran the propertied society with the false slogan of 'land reform' and 'nationalized' all Hungarian industry, banks and trades but also 'destroyed the authority of the Church over the soul and then crashed through the barricades of education and intellect' (Márai 1996: 82). As Márai states:

The Terror gave a growl, then lay low and, like the puma in the jungle, sniffed out the direction in which the wind was blowing. For the time being, accusations- against individuals, then generally because of Hungarian's participation in the war were uttered along with the cautious clearing of throats (Márai 1996:208).

In Márai's memoir the machinery of 'Terror' functioned discreetly at first. The Russians were aware that persecution, police harassment and torture can hardly wipe out the underground, just as persecution strengthened Christianity. Then the Terror reached both cities and villages: people used to wake up in the middle of the night to the sound of the doorbell, and gradually began to disappear. Some of them reappeared later, others never.

Márai notes the reaction to the Terror:

People went to the edge of suicide's precipice, to revolution, and attacked tanks and submachine guns with bare fists, because they saw that the Russians wanted to destroy their humanness, their spirit, their character, their individuality (Márai 1996:71).

Intimidation and terror also penetrated the daily life of the people living in the capital, which Márai (1996) walking along the Andrásy Road³ in spring 1946 witnessed. He saw how state security officials stood grinning on a balcony with hands on hips, laughing boisterously, and observing people on the sidewalk:

[They] stood there self-confidently, cockily, like persons who knew that complete power rested in their hands; with a whistle they could order any of the pedestrians into the building, where they could do whatever they wanted to people in torture chambers without anyone holding them to account (Márai 1996:212).

³ Place of fearsome reputation where the Arrow Cross murdered, then scene of ÁVO, secret police, interrogations and executions. Today museum of the House of Terror which serves as a witness to these events.

The fear of injustice and mass terror was one of the elements which led to the 1956 revolution. However, there were other factors in the background as well, such as the complete failure of Hungary's economic stability provoking discontent in all spheres of society outlined in the following section.

2.2.2 Hungary's Economic Perspective in the 1950s

From certain aspects the 1956 revolution can also be seen as an outcome of the economic strains of the Post-War years. Following World War II, Hungary with a population of 9.1 million was one of the smaller satellites of the USSR. However, its economic position made it a key element from Moscow's viewpoint. The country was and still is a large producer of food-stuff, a supplier of important raw material such as bauxite, and has a well-developed manufacturing industry particularly in fine machinery and electrical equipment (Békés et al 2002).

In an effort to rebuild Hungary and increase capital accumulation for further investment from 1948 onward, Stalin forced Hungary to copy the Soviet model and the Soviet pattern (Bicskei 2006). The new policy was manifest in the imposition of the state managed economy and the Stalinist political system: the collectivisation of agriculture centralised planning of the economy, public owned workplaces, and strict media censorship (Pittaway 2002). Márai (1996) accused the Socialist system of a lack of concern for the demands of the consuming masses, and predicted the incapacitation of social development:

Every social system - thus the so-called Socialist system - is helpless without the business-man, and the biggest mistake of Eastern Socialism occurs when it declares a military crusade against the 'profit-hungry' businessman ...and wants to replace him with state employees who are bureaucrats, lazy, often corrupt (Márai 1996:254).

In the framework of the new economic management, the development of heavy industry was prioritised at the expense of light industry and the supply of consumer goods. Industrial workers had to meet unrealistic production demands; small family farmers were forced to abandon their independent farming activities and join collective farms. All these measures resulted in the stagnating of the economy and a decline in living standards.

Stalin's leadership maintained a severely repressive hold on Hungary according to demands laid down by the Soviet Union (Cox 2006).

However, the eleven years between the end of the Second World War and the 1956 revolution witnessed the virtual complete failure of the country's economic system: living standards in Hungary sank below 1938 levels (Gadney 1986:24). The new policy provoked dissatisfaction and protest from all strata of the population as the rapid militarisation, industrialisation and violent, forced collectivisation bankrupted the country. Firstly, the imposed over-intensified industrialisation, especially concerning the development of heavy industry disregarded the actual conditions in the country and had a negative effect on the working class. There was also a lack of attention to the development of agricultural production, and the rapid displacement of small-scale industry led to a deterioration of supplies and services (Békés et al 2002).

A new wave of collectivization accompanied a redistribution of peasant holdings and higher compulsory delivery quotas. In the meantime, industrial production norms and employees' pension contributions also rose. Housing shortages reached a critical level and new industrial towns suffered major shortages of basic goods (Békés et al 2002). The disaster was complex: peasants were unhappy with land policies, students were upset with academic conditions and economic collapse and low standards of living provoked working class discontent. In addition, mass injustice and terror, and the subordination of the Hungarian interest to the Great Powers interests also contributed to the disaster (Grant 1996).

2.2.3 Culture and Ideology in Hungary During the Cold War

Costumes and emblems have changed in the last half-century but the plot remains the same: dictatorship stifling the expression of thought and enterprise and now and then resorting to wars because it hopes that that will free it from its internal and external problems (Márai 1996:12).

In Márai's (1996) view the cultural development of Post-War Hungary was powerfully shaped by the oppressive powers. The triumph of Nazism and its Hungarian version, the Arrow Cross Party under Szálasi's leadership bore the direct consequence of the failure of the middle-class to cultivate the values of Europeanism in Hungary. He considered that

since World War I the middle-classes distanced themselves from the democratic principles and humanism of European civilization: 'what is called the Christian order and the Christian Hungarian gentlemen would inevitably vanish from the scene' (Márai 1996: 8). Márai (1996: 9) also believed that '*the great gift to mankind's domain the Renaissance and the Reformation*', which brought intellectual challenge to western civilization never transpired in Russia - the conqueror - whose ideology penetrated each sphere of social and cultural life in Hungary from 1945. Consequently, cinema screens showed wise leaders, enthusiastic young Pioneers, workers who over-fulfilled their work norms by hundreds of per cent, feats of Socialist construction, an unending stream of one success after the other (Bori 2003).

From 1948 the ÁVO⁴ with special cruelty carried out the ideology of Communism (Csorba and Estók 1999). People's social, spatial and intellectual movements were restricted to an unparalleled extent which was manifest in unprecedented secularization processes, in the paralysis of the school curriculum and in the persecution of the elite classes of the past. The churches had faced extensive harassment and persecution by the regime (Lendvai 2003; Lazio 2004). In an effort to separate the Church from the state, religious instruction was denounced as propaganda and was gradually eliminated from schools. The attendance for primary-school religious instruction was forbidden and alternative forms of religious education were relentlessly persecuted by the state. Bishops were forced to withdraw from Church and public life. In addition, many priests were taken to court and imprisoned on fictional charges (Csorba and Estók 1999). The churches were forced to sign agreements in which they acknowledged their limited social status, the confiscation of most of their schools and the dissolution of most of the religious orders. Also, Hungary's 65,000 to 100,000 practicing Jews' activities were banned (Malashenko 1999:261). The aristocracy and political, economic and military elite of the pre-war period and the upper-middle class also counted as prime enemies in Hungary in the early 1950s. Their numbers had been sharply reduced by waves of emigration in 1945 and 1949, including two individuals coming to Ireland, since nationalization and land reform deprived them of their properties.

⁴ State Security Authority

Also through emigration they escaped being deported to remote Hungarian villages and farms (Márai 1996).

The educated class of the past was replaced by a new working-class intelligentsia and therefore working class children were offered better educational facilities. However, the school curriculum was restricted to the dissemination of Communist ideology in schools and universities. The press and the radio, under tight Party control not could escape either the control of the terror (Lendvai 2003). The social policy of Post-War Hungary was thus also mirrored in the imposed Stalinist model.

2.2.4 Gender Policy and Welfare

The issue of state policy on family, gender and welfare in post-1945 Hungary is largely under-studied (Bicskei 2006) and are of significance in this thesis. The Hungarian welfare system evolved from a predominantly conservative-corporatist type in the inter-war period periods, to a state-controlled one under the Communist Regime, maintaining many features from the previous period (Ferge 1986). Starting in 1948 the Stalinist leadership abolished the market economy and also dismantled social policy as a separate institutionalized sphere. Until 1956 all welfare institutions and provisions were cancelled including the expansion of the retirement system (Heinrich 1986).

In the Post-War years there were also considerable changes in household and family structures. While in the 1930s the proportion of households with five or more members was 33%, in the 1950s it was below the Western European average with 17%. (Ambrosius and Hubbard 1989). As a new feature, the Russian imposed drive of rapid industrialisation generated an imperative need for a labour force which led to 'state feminism' because this need was partially filled with women's employment. The increase in employment resulted in the emancipation of women in the workforce, and provided a good basis for the abolition of patriarchy. According to the new model, women would be the same wage earners like their husbands and in contrast to the Western-European pattern, more Hungarian women found employment outside the household (Bicskei 2006), a point of relevance for this thesis. However, despite these rapid socio-economic changes, the values attached to female

roles were far from equal with that of men concerning the division of labour (Tomka 2001). In addition, under the paternalist structure of the Socialist state, in practice, gender emancipation meant a triple burden for women, and the traditional subordination of women in family and society remained unaltered to some extent. Similar to neighbouring Romania, women were employed in the lower-paid, unskilled feminised sectors of the economy, while the well-paid sphere of work was monopolised by men (Kligman 1998).

As a consequence, the demand for women's labour resulted in a decline in national fertility rates. To counterbalance the situation, there was an ideological and practical rehabilitation of the institution of the family. In 1953 the government initiated an abortion ban policy, which also involved a vast re-organisation process to solve the pre-school education problem in order to facilitate women's continuing participation in the workforce (Bicskei 2006). Women's temporary exit from the workforce became semi-legalized and a job-protecting social security allowance facilitated child care at home for 3 years. In order to maintain the cheap labour provided by women, all-day kindergartens were regarded as priority services until a child reached the age of 6 and so were provided by the state (Utasi 1992).

Overall, the discontent over the lost Hungarian territories in the wake of World War II, the stationing of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil, the spread of Communist ideology, the suppression of religion, and the Post-War economic disaster of the country all contributed to the 1956 Hungarian revolution which will be detailed next.

2.3 Hungary on the Eve of Revolution

March 1953 was a watershed in the Cold War years, as *'in the midst of the totally unpredictable last great wave of purges from Moscow to Prague and Budapest, Stalin died and the Kremlin was wracked by a series of power struggles'* (Lendvai 2003:444). The weakening of the centre had resulted in a weakening of control in the satellites. Stalin's heirs fought each other fiercely, but they were united on one point: that Hungary was potentially the most dangerous spot in Central Europe, and Rákosi, the main culprit, should immediately resign as Prime Minister (Lendvai 2003).

Following Stalin's death, Prime Minister Mátyás Rákosi was replaced by Imre Nagy. However, Rákosi retained his position as general secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party and over the next three years the two men became involved in a bitter struggle for power. The main issues in the fight were the scrutiny of the secret trials, the priorities of the economic policy (light versus heavy industry), and the revival of the People's Front⁵ as a means of regaining the confidence of the people. (Lendvai 2003). However, on 9 March 1955, following the resurgence of the Stalinist faction in the Hungarian Party, Nagy was condemned for 'rightist deviation'. Hungarian newspapers joined the attacks and Nagy was accused of being responsible for the country's economic problems. On 18 April he was dismissed from his post by a unanimous vote of the National Assembly and Rákosi once again became the leader of Hungary.

In February, 1956 Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech caused much debate within the elite of the Hungarian Party. Khrushchev had condemned Stalin at the XX. Party Congress in Moscow and accused him of murdering and having sent millions of innocent people to concentration camps:

We have to consider seriously and analyze correctly this matter in order that we may preclude any possibility of a repetition in any form whatever of what took place during the life of Stalin, who practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed, to his capricious and despotic character, contrary to his concepts. Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion (Halsall 1998a:1).

As a result of orders from the Soviet Union following popular demonstrations on 18 July 1956, Rákosi was forced from power (Malashenko 1999). The rehabilitated Kádár's⁶ re-entry into the Politburo was also received with enthusiasm, but an unfavourable turn occurred when Rákosi's place was taken by another old Kremlin hand, Gerő, Rákosi's right-hand man and a hard-line Communist (Lendvai 2003: 448). With Rákosi's departure, it seemed that the darkest period of post - war Hungary had come to an end. But it was not

⁵ People's Front was a nationwide mass organization in the building of Socialism.

⁶ Hungarian Communist Party functionary, Minister of Interior (1948-1950).

to be: Gerő was guilty of crimes⁷, making him inherently inappropriate to make the inevitable changes. The growing opposition expressed itself not only in the *Petőfi Circle* but also in the press, and in particular in two publications: in the weekly of the *Writers's Association*, and in *Hétfői Hírlap* (Monday News), (Csorba and Estók 1999:217). The general topic of these publications was the criticism of the Rákosi Regime.

By 1956 the Rákosi Regime had pushed the country into a blind alley: the outdated and failed economic policies, which overestimated the actual resources of the country, the political discontent, and the ideological terror culminated in a potentially explosive situation. The rising discontent resulted in increasingly critical debates and radical worker protests in big cities, such as Miskolc and Győr, but also in students' movements (Cox 2006). In 1955 within the framework of two Communist organisations, the Hungarian Youth Organization, and the Democratic Youth Alliance, the Petőfi Circle was formed in Hungary in order to debate questions surrounding the country's situation and to propagate political and economic knowledge (Fehérvári 1970). The choice of Petőfi's name is significant in this context, because it expresses the identification of the events of 1848 and 1956 (see section 2.1.2. in the same chapter for details of Petőfi). Members of the alliance called for the creation of a multi-party system, the holding of free elections, demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the country's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.

In 1956 an insecure and nervous power structure was faced with an ever more popular opposition. Within the ranks of the Party the struggle for power and leadership was renewed. The reform wing of the Party realized that changes were necessary, but any attempt at change met strong resistance from the party's conservative forces, who enjoyed the support of the Soviet Central Committee's leadership (Malashenko 1999). The lack of any real change meant, that the country remained in a potentially explosive situation. On October 6, 1956 a turning point came when hundreds of thousands of people turned out for a ceremonial state funeral on 6 October, 1956 to honour Laszlo Rajk, a victim of the late 1940s purges (Vadney 1992; Cox 2006). Rajk's rehabilitation had been a long-standing

⁷ Gerő was involved in the Comintern - the international organization of Communists - in France, and also fought in the Spanish Civil War, where, in the fight against Franco, he was labeled as the executioner of Barcelona.

demand of pro-reform elements and not only deepened the overall moral crisis of the Hungarian Workers Party, but also signalled the first open protest in the form of an unprecedented student demonstration in Budapest (Békés et al 2002).

On October 16, the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Unions was established in Szeged and was the first youth organization independent of any party. On October 19 1956, another major development occurred that had a major impact on the subsequent events: the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party excluded pro-Soviet officials from the top levels of the party. This was an unprecedented event in the Warsaw Pact countries. On October 22, university students held rallies in Budapest and in the major cities. At this rally, which lasted until the early hours, they decided to stage a demonstration on October 23 in support of the Polish people and also in support of their own demands⁸ (Csorba and Estók 1999:221). Anti-party and anti-government slogans were voiced; then protesters marched towards Parliament. In the evening, an estimated 200,000 people gathered there, both civilians and soldiers. The fever of revolution gripped the entire country. Revolutionary committees were formed all over the country and took over the leadership from the old guard maintaining order (Csorba and Estók 1999), and on 23 October 1956 Hungary's population rose up against their government.

2.3.1 The Revolution of 1956 from a Hungarian Perspective

The 1956 uprising represented the eruption of a long-smouldering crisis of a Stalinist type Socialism where the leaders and followers of the revolution represented different views. Although their aim was common, to shake off Soviet suppression, they saw the key to resolving this differently (Békés et al 2002). While the leaders were members of the disillusioned Communist elite, and envisaged a peaceful transition to a new pluralist political order by retaining some features of a Socialist economy, the followers did not believe in the success of a negotiated agreement with the Soviets. Although members of the intelligentsia had played a leading role in formulating the grievances of the people against the Regime, the working class became the real centre of resistance (Vadney 1992:199).

⁸ Poland had already been granted political rights in 1956, which had been gained by street protests and displays of rebellion.

In the morning of October 23, a Tuesday, officers and students held an ad hoc meeting in the Petőfi Academy, Political Officer Training School, and they sent an appeal to the university students:

We, the officers and students at the military academy named after the passionate freedom fighter Sándor Petőfi⁹, agree with the Hungarian university student's legitimate and just demands and support them. In our oath we are the sons of the people, and we made an oath to the people. We will fight through hell and high water for the people (Malashenko 1999:269).

The same afternoon about 50,000 protesters held demonstrations at the General Bem¹⁰ statue, demanding reforms, democratization, and the return of premier Imre Nagy¹¹. They issued their Sixteen Points, which included personal freedom, the removal of the secret police, and the removal of Russian control. A participant in the events, living in Dublin, remembers:

At 4.30 pm we reach Bem Square or should do, but we are stuck at the back. It is packed tight with people. The junior officers in the barracks have cut the hammer and sickle from the tricolour ...The idea inspires everyone. With pocket-knives, vanity scissors, they hack away at the Communist emblem sown into the heart of the three 1848 colours (Kabdebo 2007:8).

The police tried to disperse the crowd with tear gas, beatings and numerous arrests. The bloody revolution began as the demonstration turned into a riot and street fighting broke out. Fighting soon spread to other parts of the country as freedom fighters took over factories, weapons depots, and many Soviet tanks. During the day, revolutionary centres were established in several parts of Budapest, while radio announcements repeatedly called for a stop to fighting, without result.

At 19.00 hour, still on October 23, Erno Gerő called Andropov, the Russian ambassador in Hungary in panic, and asked that Moscow order Soviet troops to defeat the opposition movements. At 20 hour, a speech by Gerő was broadcast on the radio. He denounced the demonstrators as enemies of the people and would not even consider any of their demands, threatening them with arrest, unless they immediately dispersed. His message only offended the demonstrators' feelings and whipped up the atmosphere in the crowd. The

⁹ Hungarian poet and a martyr of the 1848-1849 Revolution.

¹⁰ Polish hero of the 1848-1849 Hungarian Revolution.

¹¹ Hungarian Communist politician, Prime Minister 1953-1955.

demonstrators marched to the Parliament, and shouted slogans condemning Rákosi and Gerő and also demanded the withdrawal of the Soviets from Hungary. The slogans of the reformers rang louder and clearer: *'Into the Danube with Rákosi, into the government with Imre Nagy! Whoever is Hungarian is with us! Russkies out!'* (Malashenko 1999:273). Thousands gathered at other points in the city also.

By this time the demonstration had split up into several different ones. One group of protesters went from the Parliament to the radio building, while another marched to the Stalin statue and toppled it. In the meantime, Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America indicated that help was on its way and encouraged the Hungarians to fight. When the crowd reached the National Radio Building, the AVH¹² began to fire into the peaceful march of several hundred thousand people, which suddenly ended in a blood bath. Within a very short time the demonstrators obtained weapons and ammunition and the battles between the revolutionaries and the AVH raged. The fighting spread to other parts of Budapest, then to the countryside and both sides suffered major losses. Over one hundred people were killed, and many more were injured (Fehérvári 1970:211); the commander of the AVH was shot dead, and the rest were let go after the revolutionaries gained the upper hand.

2.3.2 *Soviet Intervention*

The massacre on 23 October marked the beginning of a veritable civil war. The next day, on 24 October in the early hours, the first Soviet tanks and the Soviet Special Corps armoured vehicles arrived in Budapest and began to manoeuvre around the town's main roads and crossroads. The Soviet appearance on the streets of Budapest changed the objective of the revolutionaries dramatically. It was no longer a fight against Communist rule, but a battle against an invading foreign power, a battle for national independence (Fehérvári 1970). The Soviet and the Hungarian political and military leadership, apart from Maléter were not prepared for such a forceful, determined resistance. They hoped that a show of force in the streets of Budapest would quell the uprising as it had in Berlin in

¹² Hungarian secret police.

1953, but the unorganised, poorly armed freedom fighters, using home-made grenades, called Molotov¹³ cocktails, badly damaged the Soviet tanks.

By October 26-27, it had become clear that the army had split in two. In both Budapest and the provinces, the majority of the troop divisions only encouraged and strengthened the revolutionary forces by their passive stance, until a few groups, independently from their commander, used excessive force against the mainly defenceless crowd by opening fire on protesting civilians (Malashenko 1999). Revolutionary waves followed successively in the provinces as well. Between October 24 and 29, Hungarian People's Army troop divisions came into armed conflict with the population in more than 50 villages, on 70-80 occasions (Fehérvári 1970).

2.3.3 Temporary Victory

By October 27-28, the young revolutionaries had forced the Soviets to retreat (Fehérvári 1970). The revolution was victorious. Under the pressure of events the Soviets conceded that Imre Nagy should take over as Prime Minister. From Moscow's viewpoint he represented the ideal situation, as he was one of the very few non-Jewish politicians. The Soviet leadership, traditionally anti-Semitic, emphasised especially the need to have non-Jewish Communists representing their party on the new political scene. Additionally, Nagy had spent more than twenty years in exile in the Soviet Union, and he was also an agrarian expert as a former Minister of Agriculture (Lendvai 2003). He was thought to be liberal and in Moscow this was felt to be the best way to satisfy the demand of the protesters. As a gesture, the Red Army pulled out and Nagy allowed political parties to be active.

Nagy took over the reins of a new, revolutionary more democratic and reform-minded government. He bowed to public demand for reforms and nationalistic actions and introduced his 'New Course' (Fehérvári 1970:446). He removed state control of the mass media and encouraged public discussion on political and economic reform. This included a promise to increase the production and distribution of consumer goods. He talked about holding free elections, withdrawing Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and released political

¹³ Russian Prime Minister in 1956.

prisoners (Benziger 2000). One of these was Cardinal József Mindszenty, Prince Primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church, an opponent of German Nazis and the Hungarian Fascists, who was arrested, and accused of treason in December, 1948 (Malashenko 1999). Further concessions were made, to disband the secret police, to abolish the internal camps, to open negotiations with the Russians for withdrawals, to increase the availability of consumer goods and to abolish and re-establish the Party (Grant 1996). On October 31, 1956, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) declared its intention to fulfil the people's fair demands, for which the renewal of democratic Socialism was one of the essential conditions. They planned to shape the HSWP's policy on a declaration of national independence and sovereignty, putting an end to the monopoly of the Party, by the recognition of workers' councils and a multi-party system (Csorba and Estók 1999).

The tide seemed to turn overwhelmingly in the revolution's favour. On the same day, 31 October, Pravda published a declaration promising greater equality in relations between the USSR and its East European satellites. To outside observers, the Kremlin statement came as a total surprise. CIA Director, Allen Dulles, called it a miracle (Byrne 2002). However, on the same day fresh contingents of Russian troops began arriving in the country. The Soviet leadership completely retreated and decided to put a final, violent end to the rebellion. At the same time in Hungary some hard-line members of Imre Nagy's cabinet decided to abandon the nationalist government and side with the Soviets for their own gain. János Kádár, while still a member of the Nagy cabinet, left the capital by Soviet military helicopter and met secretly with Soviet delegations on the Hungarian-Soviet border. There they negotiated the formation of a new, Soviet-backed Hungarian government (Csorba and Estók 1999:223). From October 29 until November 4, for 150 hours, Hungary lived under the great illusion of the most precarious independence of its history.

2.3.4 Crushing the Revolution: Crying for Help

Six days after the Hungarian people had won their independence, the Red Army invaded the country. At dawn on Sunday, November 4, 1956, Budapest's inhabitants awoke to the sound of cannon fire. The Soviet Union sent a powerful army of troop carriers into the country to crush the freedom, which the people of Hungary had achieved. Fighter planes,

tanks and troops equipped with the most modern armaments crushed the units of the Hungarian revolutionaries; in violation of all promises made the previous week by the Soviet government, they acted with immense brutality, as for example, tanks dragged round bodies through the streets of Budapest. (Moynihan 1978:18). The freedom fighters, although they numbered about 10,000, had no chance against the overwhelmingly superior forces. Most of the 2,700 officially registered dead and 19,000 wounded had originally taken up arms in the naive expectations of Western aid following Radio Free Europe's ambiguous commentaries (Lendvai 2003).

In the wake of the Soviet tanks on 4 November, a radio announcement declared János Kádár to be Hungary's new secretary general (Fehérvári 1970). In his speech the new secretary promised complete freedom and amnesty for anyone participating in the revolution, provided the freedom fighters surrendered their arms. In his message on the same day, Imre Nagy declared:

This fight is the fight for freedom by the Hungarian people against the Russian intervention, and it is possible that I shall only be able to stay at my post for one or two hours. The whole world will see how the Russian armed forces, contrary to all treaties and conventions, are crushing the resistance of the Hungarian people. They will also see how they are kidnapping the Prime Minister of a country (Halsall 1998:1).

Imre Nagy's speech on the 5 November was as follows:

Attention! Attention! Today at daybreak Soviet forces started an attack against our capital...I notify the people of our country and the entire world of this fact (Free Radio Kossúth. Budapest, November 5 1956 (05.19) (Gadney 1986:15).

The Hungarian nation's representatives desperately asked for the help of the West. Minister of State, István Bibó, forwarded the following speech to the embassies of several Western countries:

The people of Hungary have shed enough blood to show to the world its insistence on freedom and justice. Now it is the turn of the world's mighty to show the power of the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter (Csorba and Estók 1999:226).

The Soviets, in a blatant violation of international law, arrested Nagy, and General Maléter, and the 'New Course' was abandoned. Mindszenty became a virtual prisoner for many years in the US Embassy (Csorba and Estók 1999).

In the wake of the Soviet tanks, a radio announcement declared Kádár to be Hungary's new secretary general (Fehérvári 1970:214). Finally, on November 7th, the last Hungarian message was heard crying out to the world with these words:

Civilized people of the world, on the watch-tower of 1,000-year old Hungary, the last flames begin to go out. The Soviet army is attempting to crush our anguished hearts... People of the world, listen to our call, we beg you ... Save us, you, the people of Europe whom we defended once against the attacks of Asiatic barbarians¹⁴. Listen now to the alarm bells ringing from Hungary (Moynihan 1978:20).

The failure of the 1956 Hungarian uprising was followed by mass emigration, official and personal silences, repression, recrimination, and then conciliation and concealment (see section 2.4.4 for full details). 200,000 people left Hungary, and among those are 541 Hungarians who sought refuge in Ireland.

2.4 Aftermath

The Kádár government and the Soviets responded with aggression to the continued resistance of the Hungarian people. In early December, the leadership of the new Party, the Hungarian Socialist Working Party (MSZMP), declared the October events a counter-revolution, and after this the armed men of the regime confronted the revolutionaries with increasing cruelty (Csorba and Estók 1999:227). Kádár attempted to prove that Western imperialist agents and their allies had initiated the counter-revolution. Former members of the AVH canvassed the country, conducting sweeping arrests, in direct contradiction to Kádár's pledges. In December martial law was proclaimed, giving the AVH and the Red Army absolute license to carry out whatever measures were necessary to secure the submission of the population. Furthermore, in order to prevent a new uprising, heavily

¹⁴ At the battle of Mohács in 1526 Hungary suffered a decisive defeat by the Turks which paved the way for Habsburg and Turkish domination in Hungary.

armed Soviet and Hungarian troops kept a watchful eye on workers and students (Fehérvári 1970:215).

On November 22, after receiving assurances of safe passage from Kádár and the Soviets, Nagy finally agreed to leave the Yugoslav Embassy. However, he was immediately arrested by Soviet security officers and flown to a secret location in Romania (Csorba and Estók 1999). By then, the fighting had mostly ended, resistance had essentially been destroyed, and Kádár was entering the next phase of his strategy to neutralize dissent for the long term. By the end of November, Soviet rule had been restored and in most of Eastern Europe there was a return to hard-line Communism (Young 1993:117).

2.4.1 *In Memory of Imre Nagy*

Prime Minister Nagy remains a contested figure in Hungarian politics. The Communist Nagy identified with the interests of the nation against the dogmas of the Party and against the interests of the international Communist movement. He took a stand for peaceful co-existence and for peaceful competition between the two politico-economic systems. During his first term as Prime Minister from 1953-1955, his interest in Hungarian agricultural reform and nationalism endeared him to anti-Stalinist reformers within the Hungarian Party. In the emergency of the events leading up to the revolution, Nagy was idealized by the students and transformed into a revolutionary hero embodying the demands of liberty and sovereignty more akin to revolutionaries of 1848. His decision of November 1, 1956, to withdraw unilaterally from the Warsaw Pact was a historical choice. Even in a state of hopelessness, and within a narrow diplomatic scope, he tried to influence the situation hoping that the United Nations would secure some kind of a 'protective umbrella' for Hungary (Miskolczy 1999:122).

Imre Nagy was executed in the summer of 1958, becoming the revolution's principal martyr (Lázár 1999:56). In his closing words at the trial he did not ask for mercy but defended his actions which, he said '*would ultimately be judged by the Hungarian nation and the international workers' movement*' (Lendvai 2003: 455). The power of Nagy's symbolic status was recognized by the Communist Regime in 1958 from their decision to

bury Nagy under the scaffold where he had been hanged at the Gyűjtőfogház prison in Budapest. Later, as with other revolutionaries condemned to death, his body was taken to Plot 301 in the Budapest Municipal Cemetery and buried in an unmarked grave (Benziger 2000).

2.4.2 1956 from an International Perspective

In 1956, when Soviet troops destroyed a rebellion against totalitarian rule that had caught the sympathy of much of the world, the revolution by the Hungarian nation won unprecedented international respect (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003). Workers, intellectuals, students declared their sympathy in the form of protests. In addition, there was considerable international coverage in the press, though such news represented views that were perhaps alien to the people actually caught up in the events. For example, the Irish Catholic (6 December 1956) concentrated on a religious interpretation of the events:

Vatican City - The Hungarian people are suffering to-day for the sins of the whole world, just as Christ did 2000 years ago.

In contrast, The Irish Times (8 December 1956) took a more moral stance:

The massacre of Hungary and the attempt of Britain and France to defy U.N.O. exposes to the world to the deplorable low level to which this our twentieth century civilisation has sunk.

Such a view was similar to that of the Dutch ambassador in Vienna, who suggested that the Hungarian revolution opened up a grand perspective for the West: the possible driving-back of the Russian sphere of influence (Hellema 1995).

There was world condemnation of the Soviet Union for its military and political intervention in Hungarian affairs. Soon after the outbreak of the uprising there were already mass demonstrations in Rome, Paris, and London, in support of the revolutionary movement. On 4 November 1956 the liberal *Algemeen Handelsblad* daily in Holland compared the Soviet intervention to the German occupation during World War II:

The Soviet intervention was worse than Hitler's breaches of promise, and the Soviet despots had shown their real face (Hellema 1995:174).

Among the Eastern European countries, solidarity with Hungary was most pronounced in Poland. As Litván et al (1996:150) notes, Poland provided from voluntary contributions the equivalent of some \$2 million by 19 November 1956, placing it at the top of the list of supporters of the revolution in Hungary, as at the same time US support amounted to roughly \$1million. In addition, on October 26, 1956, Pope Pius XII issued an encyclical in support of the uprising, and Western governments also welcomed the developments. On the same day US President Eisenhower claimed: *'I feel with the Hungarian people'*. On October 29, 1956 Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia and Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland expressed their agreement with the Hungarian changes, although they also expressed some concern. At the same time, the East German, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Bulgarian press denounced the Hungarian revolution (Csorba and Estók 1999:222), while the Dutch Prime Minister, Drees declared that the developments in Hungary were of 'world historical importance' (Hellema 1995). On 4 November, John Foster Dulles, American Secretary of State, declared: *'To all those suffering under Communist slavery, let us say you can count on us'* (Csorba and Estók 1999:222). However, this comment is open to interpretation from a Hungarian perspective.

Finally, from 22 November 1956 the Olympics were taking place in Melbourne (Rinehart 1996). It is customary to raise three flags in the opening ceremonies: the Olympic flag, the Greek flag and the flag of the host country. However, it was not an Australian flag that was raised that day. In honour of the Hungarian revolution, the Australians raised a Hungarian flag with the seal of the revolutionary, Lajos Kossúth, in the middle, and a black stripe of mourning dividing it diagonally (Csipke 1998). Furthermore, in November 1956, such prominent individuals, as Simone de Beauvoir, Pablo Picasso and Jean-Paul Sartre signed protests against Moscow and its Stalinist representative, the French Party leadership (Litván et al 1996: 156). Albert Camus wrote a commemoration of the revolution's first anniversary in which he castigated the political indifference of contemporaries (Litván et al 1996:154). The Italian writer Alberto Moravia suggested that in each capital of the world, the street where the Soviet Embassy stood should be renamed: 'Streets of the Murdered Hungarians' (Csorba and Estók 1999:227). Perhaps the greatest wounds to Euro-

Communism were the resignation of Italy's Communist leader and the disillusionment of France's darling Communist, Yves Montand (Csipke 1998).

2.4.3 1956 from Russian Perspective

From the Russian point of view, the rebellion directly threatened Communist rule in Hungary and Eastern Europe, targeted the Kremlin's rule, where a lack of response would show a sign of weakness (Byrne 2002). Therefore, the Soviet Union was not in a position to let go of its East European satellites. However, the statement by the Soviet Government on 30 October 1956 suggested that the Soviet intervention occurred at Hungary's request:

The Soviet Government and all the Soviet people deeply regret that the development of events in Hungary has led to bloodshed. On the request of the Hungarian People's Government, the Soviet Government consented to the entry into Budapest of the Soviet Army units to assist the Hungarian People's Army and the Hungarian authorities to establish order in the town. Believing that the further presence of Soviet Army units in Hungary can serve as a cause for even greater deterioration of the situation, the Soviet Government has given instructions to its military command to withdraw the Soviet Army units from Budapest as soon as this is recognized as necessary by the Hungarian Government (Halsall 1998:1).

In the 1990s, after nearly 40 years, Russian historians' work permitted a re-evaluation of the role of Soviet diplomacy on the drama of the Hungarian autumn of 1956. On October 24, 1991, the newspaper *Izvestia* reported that Grachov, the leader of the press service of the Soviet Union's Supreme Council's Presidium, categorically condemned the Soviet troops intervention in 1956 in Hungary considering it infringed international rights (Malashenko 1999:276).

2.4.4 Reprisals

In February 1957 a number of trials began with the public admitted and with full reports in the press. From the end of 1956 to 1959 at least 35,000 people were subjected to police or prosecutorial investigation because of political crime (Lázár 1999:219). Leaders of street fights were tried as ordinary criminals and sentenced to death. 35,000 people were arrested, 22,000 were sentenced, 13,000 of whom were sent to internment camps. The Kádár Regime condemned approximately 350-500 people to death, 75 % of whom were young street fighters (Cox 2006). Tens of thousands more were dismissed from their workplaces

and put under police supervision. About 200,000 Hungarian citizens fled the country as refugees, (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003:1) including most of the participants of this study. Finally, more than 1000 people, including women and children were deported to the Soviet Union to prisons in Stry and Uzhgorod (Malashenko 1999:274). Following the general amnesty in 1963, the majority of those who had been imprisoned, were released, but in many cases discrimination lasted for decades.

The revenge, which aimed to intimidate society, also included the families of prisoners. The political system falsified facts, labelled the participants murderers and criminals and reinterpreted events in order to justify their own view. The machinery worked on several levels, such as in brochures and films, manipulating the school curriculum, and in false propaganda campaigns. This way personal history lost its validity at an official level:

Children grew up stigmatised and their whole lives were affected by the fact that, because their parents were regarded as enemies by the authorities, they too were being punished (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003:1).

The Communist Regime stigmatized the revolution as a counter-revolution and its aim was to force members of society to remember to remain silent and forget. The reinterpretation of the revolution was characterised by the language used in the trials following the events and the demagoguery of the so-called White Books,¹⁵ the means of White Terror¹⁶. What followed the revolution remained taboo both in official communication and in private life until 1989.

The family members of those imprisoned or executed suffered discrimination on all fronts. Permission to visit the imprisoned depended on the benevolence of the investigating officer. With the loss of the breadwinner father, and as a result of confiscation of all his assets, many families were reduced to poverty. Families were banned from Budapest, children were starving and could not attend schools; they were barred from further education, and when looking for employment they were reduced to doing hard, physical work. The authorities also restricted the spouses' employment opportunities. Family

¹⁵ Official government publication of the Communist Regime.

¹⁶ Act of violence carried out in the Communist Regime.

members were forced to play a role and keep the past secret (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003). It was only after the great amnesty in 1963 that further education became again available for the children of the 1956 prisoners. With the softening of the dictatorship, they were gradually accepted in vocational and then in secondary schools. However, they were still restricted from higher education, because a descendant of a counter-revolutionary was not regarded as suitable for prestigious professions. Boys were denied conscription, as traitors were not thought worthy of bearing arms. Also, relatives of the refugees were restrained from travelling abroad since their application for a passport was usually turned down. Children were also prevented from becoming members of youth organisations that were compulsory for their contemporaries: *'there was a Pioneer enrolment ceremony for everybody else, but not for me'*, (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003:68) remembers one such child. A key aspect of becoming a member of Communist youth organisations was that it was the precondition of further studies.

After 1963 the dictatorship became lenient, and discrimination became less intense. During the revolution the feeling of national unity was intense and was accompanied by general social solidarity (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003). Families in the countryside offered shelter to children from Budapest whose homes had been destroyed during the fighting, or whose fathers had been arrested. Those who decided to leave Hungary could count on the support of the population during their escape. Friends and acquaintances offered shelter to those who were forced into hiding. Those who fled abroad sent parcels regularly. This help also represented moral support because it demonstrated that they sympathized with those whom they left behind, and had not forgotten them as they made a new life.

Stigmatization also shaped the identity of the children of the imprisoned. They were forced to adopt a dual identity and hide the secret of the family from the outside world. They were proud of a father for instance: at the same time they felt abandoned. The same was the situation with those growing up in religious families: they were taught to hide their faith. Those who attended Church schools were taught to avoid conflicting situations and were provided help in fitting in: *'they did not educate us to be against society but rather, to live*

in harmony with a society in which we would, although not inevitably, face conflicts', remembers a child from a religious family (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003:94).

However, in the following decades the Kádár government introduced its historic compromise with the Hungarian people. While in 1954 only 3,040 Hungarians (mainly functionaries and sports men) were allowed to travel to the West, this number grew in 1958 to 15,500 and in 1963 to more than 120,000 (Lendvai 2003). In 1968, with the introduction of the New Economic Mechanism, living standards increased. However, the nation had to pay for this with the manipulation of its collective memory which was suppressed by official propaganda as the next section outlines. Hungarian society entered into a long period of collective amnesia concerning the 1956 events (Cox 2006).

2.5 Memory as Shaping National Identity

The picture of the 1956 revolution leaves twentieth century Hungary with a tragic national collective memory (Rainer 2006). Contemporary national identity has also been deeply coloured by the breakaway from Communist dominance and the ensuing economic, social and democratic transition process (Konrád 2004). In Myers' (2004) view, among the descriptive and selective list of the values which are commonly associated with national identity, a sense of history is widely recognized as one of its important components. It is not only important as to what happened in the past, but also how it is viewed in the present. The historical understanding of past events significantly contributes to the construction of a nation's national identity. For this reason a key role of historians is to care for national memory and to provide reliable historical records for the nation (Burke 1989). The interpretation of memory is defined from present political, social, and cultural interests. In the decades following the 1956 revolution the Hungarian historical records offered a distorted image of the events due to strict Communist censorship, and only after 1989, with the establishment of the first democratic government was it possible to completely break with the false past tendencies (Gyáni 2006). It is also an individual governments' responsibility to protect archive government documents, in order to provide future generations with authentic historical data (see chapter 1 section 1.9.1 about the condition of documents kept in the National Archives in Dublin).

In Füredi's (1992:268) view, if history has the power to determine a nation's identity, then *'human action becomes subject to the constraint of the past'*. This way, passively, humans are what history reveals them to be, and as such, contemporary societies are built on conceptions of the past. However, vice versa, while humans are shaped by the past, they are also continually reshaping the past which shapes them, and this way the personally experienced past becomes part of collective memory (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003) such as in the case of the respondents of this study. 'Collective identity' is a term used for distinctive groups sharing solidarity and oneness with fellow group members (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Strong group identity implies a strong notion of boundedness, a high degree of sameness, and a sharp degree of distinctiveness (Barth 1994). Since collective memories are constructed and reconstructed by individuals who have their own past in the group's shared memory, the historical study of memory can provide fresh perspectives as it is continuously shaped by smaller and larger groups (Thelen 1989). People often reach back to the past and establish collective identity out of smaller pieces as for example, the stories of witnesses to historical events, such as the 1956 refugees, including those in this study, or concentration camp survivors. The Mass-Observation Diaries (Collins 1991) in Britain for example have provided a collective view of daily life in Britain from 1937 to the 1950s including wartime experience.

People's memory provides legitimacy in the present. In the course of interaction with others, people also often omit, distort and reorganize past events. The example of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial demonstrates that there were thousands of various experiences and memories to an event which is called the Vietnam War and the tensions between the private memories turns the past into myth (Thelen 1989). This was also the case with interviewees in this chapter for whom after 1989, the events of 1956 became a foundational myth. The Communist Regime's false narrative of 1956 was replaced by vivid, sometimes almost mythical reincarnations of 1956 by those former Hungarian refugees in this study, and by the painful stories woven by interviewees in Hungarian National Archives (Open Society Archives 2006). Through the unique historical changes of 1989 taboos were touched in public, such as active participation in the 1956 revolution, or dangerous escape. The once persecuted people became heroes of the past on a moral basis, and the myth, the

legend of the 1956 revolution could provide a common platform (Open Society Archives 2006). For the first time in more than four decades, people could openly voice their opinion without facing retribution and terror, and could also play an important role in determining what kind of post-communist societies develop in Hungary.

In the creation of memories the individual's motivation and perception also plays a role and memories keep changing in response to changing circumstances. According to Thelen (1989) both collective and individual memories are the subject of constant construction and de-construction with recurring ideas, such as heroism, failure, betrayal. Memories often begin by stimulation, such as the association between present and past events; they can be triggered by recalling an image, emotion or smell from the past. People also remember the structure of a foreign language for decades, even if they forget specific vocabulary (Thelen 1989). There are examples of some of these instances in this thesis, as one of the interviewees, Mari, decades later recognised the image of a Hungarian dance, or the smell of Hungarian food, despite the fact that she was a very young child when she arrived in Ireland.

2.5.1 Becoming Part of a Nation

Thelen (1989) states that the history of past experiences is closely intertwined with the identities of individuals, cultures and nations. Anderson's (1991) 'imagined community' has a powerful impact on the study of nations (Motyl 2002). Anderson (1991) proposes that a nation is an imagined political community as it is both inherently limited and sovereign. In his view communities are to be distinguished by the style in which they are imagined. Community is imagined, because their members do not know each other, but live in each other's imagination. A nation is imagined, because it entails a deep horizontal comradeship among its members. A nation is sovereign, because the concept was born at the time of the Enlightenment and destroyed the legitimacy of the divinely ordained hierarchical dynastic realm (Anderson 1991).

Anderson (1991) suggests that nation and nationalism emerged from a strange conjunction of historical forces several hundred years ago. In his view nation-ness as well as

nationalism are cultural artefacts and have to be understood within the large cultural system that preceded them: with religion and the great dynastic realms. However, imagined communities did not simply grow and replace religious communities and dynastic realms, they were the product of those fundamental economic and scientific changes which resulted from the 18th century's Industrial revolution. Also, with the development of communication, considerable changes took place in modes of apprehending the world. Two forms of imagining product emerged: the novel and the newspaper which provided the technical means for representing the kind of imagined community, that is, the nation (Anderson 1991). Newspapers are of particular concern to this thesis as they played a central role in reporting facts about the 1956 revolution, or contained articles of social or cultural concern, as they are presented in chapters 4-7 of the data analysis.

2.5.2 *Collective Identity*

Collective identities place great emphasis on the nation as an organic group with a valued culture and collective mentality, and this perspective is of significance for this thesis (see chapters 4-7 of data analysis for full discussion). As Gowan and Anderson (1997) argue, individual identity is usually situational, while collective identities tend to be pervasive and persistent. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were characterised by the continuous strengthening of national identities with conscious educational strategies of taught national history and languages and by propagated national symbolism. Following World War II the concept of national identities was further strengthened and culture became an increasingly national concept (Baycroft 2004).

In Smith's (1998) view today, the apparently objective criteria commonly used by nation builders to define the notion of nations are: language, religion, shared ethnicity, history, and culture. These aspects have particular relevance in this study both in the Irish and Hungarian contexts. In Ireland, following the foundation of the Irish state in 1921 Irish language use and practicing Catholicism were the main means used in the construction of Irish national identity, while in Hungary in the Communist era, anti-religiousness and Communist culture characterized the contemporary national identity. These two

perspectives are evident in the data analysis chapters 4-7 of this thesis in the cross-cultural interaction between the host society and the 1956 refugees.

2.6 On the Road: The Hungarian Refugees' Escape

In the process of forced migration, people can lose everything that represented and anchored their social identities, leaving them temporarily reduced to just their physical selves (Colic-Peisker and Walker 2003:340).

As the focus of this study is the cross-cultural adaptation of the Hungarian refugees in Ireland, it is important to introduce the Post-War international institutional framework, which provided protection for refugees. Refugees are defined by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as persons (both children and adults) who are residing outside their countries and cannot return due to a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group (Fantino and Colak 2001). Following the mass exodus of 1956 the Hungarian refugees from the Austrian camps were dispersed all over Europe within months. After the outbreak of the revolution in October 1956 the West and the UN mobilised on a grand scale to assist the refugees. The Western country which helped the most was Austria, a neutral country with no capacity to help Hungary militarily or otherwise. Still ravaged from World War II and suffering from economic hardships, Austria did not turn back a single individual at her borders (Nemes 1999). On 26 October, Austrian Interior Minister, Oskar Helmer announced that every Hungarian refugee would be granted political asylum. In the beginning only a few people took the opportunity to escape, because the revolutionaries thought that the success of the first days of fighting would result in neutrality. Therefore, the number of Hungarians who crossed the border into Austria during these first days of fighting was almost negligible (Nemes 1999).

However, they began to leave Hungary in large numbers once it became clear that the Soviet Union was not willing to accept Hungarian neutrality and when it became clear that the West would not risk the current political status quo. On 28 October, the Austrian Foreign Ministry sent the following message to London, Paris and Washington:

To all appearances, the uprising in Hungary will come to an end following massive Soviet military intervention. In that event, it can be presumed that larger Hungarian armed formations will cross into Austria (Cseresznyés 1999:99).

Indeed, starting in November, great waves of refugees crossed the Austrian border, which was a very dangerous movement. Despite the helpfulness of the Austrian guards many refugees fell victim to Russian gunfire. The border was clearly marked with Hungarian flags and punctuated with Hungarian watch-towers. However, it was not wise for refugees to rely on these flags, since the Russians and the Hungarian secret police put up lines of false flags to guide the refugees towards a trap (Moynihan 1978:12).

One of the focal points was the bridge at Andau. At this section of the border, refugees had to cross a canal and get through half frozen marshlands before finally reaching Austria. This bridge was actually a rickety footbridge built by farmers and was not intended for heavy traffic (Csipke 1998). At first, the Russian guards did nothing to stop the refugees. The reason for this was that this way they had less people to deport: tens of thousands of Hungarian 1956 revolutionaries were deported to Siberia to Soviet slave-labour camps following the revolution, such as the Gulag (Gadney 1986). In any case, after a few weeks the border was more fortified and Andau fell to the Russians on November 21 when it was dynamited in an attempt to stop the refugees from escaping.

As the Russian tank forces sealed off the northern border between Hungary and Austria, and blocked the main crossing points around Andau and Lake Neusiedler, refugees undertook the long journey south of Lake Balaton and then north to Körmend into the South Burgenland villages. Some had an easy journey of four hours on a train from Budapest, including Ibolya, one of the interviewees in this thesis. Others had a much harder task - days of hiding in the frozen fields and in haystacks and scores of miles of walking in open country at night in bitter weather (Csipke 1998). This was also the experience of some interviewees in this study. In spite of the difficulties, the Hungarian secret police, the Russians, the guard-dogs, and the mud, still the refugees came over, first in scores, then in hundreds each night, so that Austrian villagers were unable to cope with their exhausted guests. As the situation in Austria became almost unmanageable between 7 and 14 November, other countries offered to take Hungarians refugees: English, Dutch, Swiss and

Italian helpers arrived at the border and brought food, clothing, medical aid and above all, compassion (Moynihan 1978:12).

The Hungarian events stirred the conscience of individuals all over Europe. In Britain, The Times on 4 November 1956 published a factual but most impressive letter from Richard Rhys, later Lord Dynevor, setting out the perilous state of affairs on the Austro-Hungarian border and asking for financial and practical state help:

I have returned from a harrowing few days helping refugees on the Austrian-Hungarian border...The pathetic pride and disillusioned hopes of these Hungarians and their stories of Russian brutality have given me greater cause to make this plea...Hungary's magnificent effort had taught the world a great lesson...(Moynihan 1978:25).

The Lord Mayor of London's Hungarian and Central European Relief Fund was announced on 9 November, at the speech at the Guildhall banquet, and his letter was also published in *'The Times'* on November 21st. The Lord Mayor himself broadcast on BBC television on November 17th. By that date, fifty thousand refugees were being cared for in Austria. By November 21st, the first payment of £75,000 was forwarded to Austria by the executive committee. On the 5th November two Cambridge undergraduates had set up a fund in Magdalene College to assist victims of the 1956 revolution (Moynihan 1978:12).

2.7 Destination Countries of Hungarian Refugees: USA and Canada

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 threw the borders open for a short time and within a few weeks two hundred thousand people left Hungary and then integrated into another world. From the Austrian camps the Hungarian refugees were welcomed and resettled in 37 countries spanning five continents. Countries which accepted considerable number of refugees and became the centres of Hungarian political emigration are: The United States, Canada, Germany, Britain, Switzerland, France, and Denmark (Kósa 1957:511).

The United States and Canada have been the traditional countries of destination for political and economic emigration from Hungary for nearly one hundred years. After World War II, the United States introduced a new policy, shut the open door one and a quota of only 473 was allotted to Hungary in the first instance. The quota was also selective

in terms of class. As a result, the upper classes and Hungarian Jews as well were represented among the immigrants (Josika 2001:29). Many of them became prominent figures in American academic, scientific and artistic life: the novelist Sándor Márai, the physicist Leó Szilárd, the mathematician János Neumann, the atom physicist Ede Teller, the film producers György Czukor and the Korda brothers - each of them were political emigrants. Between the end of World War II and 1956, additional groups of Hungarians migrated to the United States. Most of them left Hungary in 1945 and following the Communist takeover in 1947–48. Their number is estimated at 193,973 persons (Daróczy 1958: 252-253).

In 1956 the USA increased the number of refugees it would take in, but at first this number was still low. Between 1956 and 1958, the United States took in 38,045 Hungarian refugees (Nemes 1999:125). The refugees were carried by military planes from the Austrian camps and were taken to Camp Kilmer in New Jersey where they stayed until June 1957. The resettlement of the refugees was arranged by The Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and the Public Health Service and also by various charitable-religious agencies. Part of the job of fitting the individual's skills to available employment opportunities was performed by the National Academy of Sciences, testimony to the skills the Hungarians brought with them, and the US Employment Service (Central Intelligence Agency 1996).

Until the end of World War II Canada was not considered a country of destination for Hungarian emigrants, although between 1921 and 1930 Canada admitted 28,000 Hungarians from Hungary and from the neighbouring countries (Kósa 1957:511). However, in the history of Canadian immigration, the arrival of the Hungarians of 1956-57 takes a special place, because it was the first crisis which demanded Canada's participation in the international resettlement effort (Kennedy 1981). As a result, 36,700 Hungarian refugees had landed in Canada by the end of 1957 (Nemes 1999:125).

2.7.1 In Europe

Prior to World War II Germany did not host significant number of Hungarian refugees (Government Office for Hungarian Minorities Abroad 2006). Waves of larger scale immigration took place during the final months and after the end of World War II due to the Communist take-over and political persecution, between 1944 and 1945, about 30,000 settled permanently in Germany. In comparison, the size of the Hungarian émigrés who joined them in 1947–48 was insignificant. During the events of the 1956 revolution and after its suppression, the size of the Hungarian community grew by an additional 25,000 (Hungarian Foreign Ministry 2002).

In 1956 England put a temporary stop to immigration due to the return of Britons from the Middle East, and therefore hosted only 5,000 to 6,000 Hungarian refugees following the 1956 revolution (Tóth 2000). The Hungarian refugees arrived in Switzerland in three major waves: in 1945, 1947–1948 and 1956. Under the impact of the 1956 revolution, Switzerland significantly altered its attitude towards refugees by lifting most of its earlier restrictions on immigration (Tóth 2000). However, of the 15,000 refugees who came in 1956, 1,000 returned home. France hosted some 13,000 Hungarian refugees in 1956. Initially, France offered to take an unlimited number of Hungarian refugees, but like Britain, it eventually set a limit (Hungarian Foreign Ministry 2002). Following the Hungarian revolution, in 1956–1957 approximately 1,200 Hungarian refugees arrived in Denmark, a large number of them from Austrian refugee camps. Denmark did not have a tradition of hosting refugees, and in order to resettle the Hungarians the Danish Refugee Assistance organization was established. (Hungarian Foreign Ministry 2002). Similarly to Denmark, Ireland was not prepared for welcoming those 541 Hungarian refugees, who arrived there in 1956.

2.7.2 The Cultivation of Hungarian Culture Outside the Border

Hungary had never lost so many professionals, university students, athletes, and artists as in 1956. The profound loss that the stream of refugees of 1956 meant for Hungary was a gain for the destination countries. The student refugees became professors and researchers

in all fields; they obtained posts at hundreds of universities and research institutions in Western Europe and North America (Litván et al 1996). During the decades of the Communist dictatorship Hungarian communities established several cultural workshops¹⁷ in the countries they fled to, in order to be able to work for the restoration of their country's freedom and sovereignty (Borbándi 1998). In these countries the refugees were loyal to national traditions by cultivating Hungarian culture and were determined to remain Hungarian and to raise their children in a Hungarian spirit, recognized by the imagined community (Anderson 1991). However, the Hungarian diaspora's commitment to preserving Hungarian national traditions could not have been fulfilled without the activity of a widespread institutional framework, such as cultural events and youth organisations (Borbándi 1998). Traditionally, the churches have also been determining factors in the survival of the Western Hungarian diaspora in the organisation of weekend schools, and other aspects of cultural life (for full discussion see institutional completeness in chapter 3. section 3.4.4).

Institutions which were established following the revolution in 1957 and which provided a forum for writers, scientists and artists were for example the *Hungarian Association of Geneva*, and *The Union of Hungarian Associations* in Switzerland. *The Kelemen Mikes Circle* and the *Hungarian Club of Amsterdam* were formed in Holland, and *The World Association of Hungarian Engineers and Architects* in Canada, which has also established a strong member organisation in Switzerland. In 1958 the *Imre Nagy Institute for Political Research* was founded in Brussels (Litván et al 1996:58). Also, exiled musicians founded the *Philharmonic Hungarica* in Stuttgart and enjoyed worldwide success under the direction of Hungarian conductors living abroad (Borbándi 1998). Migrant circles also created a Hungarian press in the West. In Munich the magazines *National Guardsmen* and *Horizon* were founded. These publications provided regular theoretical and literary studies of the 1956 revolution for years. In Ireland due to the small number of Hungarian refugees no such compatriot cultural network operated.

¹⁷ A cultural workshop is a place where organized intellectual work is being done (Borbándi 1998)

2.8 Socio-Economic Perspective on Ireland in Post-War Years

The period of the 1940s and 1950 when the Hungarian refugees in this research arrived in Ireland coincided with one of the most troubled and depressed periods in the history of the Irish state. Independent Ireland had moved to keep a traditional Irish culture intact so that the national consciousness was infused by the inheritance of the Gaelic past (Brown 2004). Economic nationalism and conservatism had characterised the 1920s which was manifest in low agricultural prices to the detriment of industrial development (Brown 2004). In the 1930s economic nationalism still featured in a policy of self-sufficiency while efforts were made to encourage private investment and the state increased its involvement in Irish manufacturing industry. These efforts resulted in modest success and in the Pre-War years the Irish economy entered in a period of decline as exports fell, the cost of imports rose, and industrial employment declined (Brown 2004). Lee (1989) notes that ‘the public reception at the time, to judge by newspaper comment, showed only sporadic grasp of the requirements for economic development’ (Lee 1989: 293).

After World War II Ireland had reached a crossroad concerning economic policy, foreign relations, and foreign trade (Garvin 2004:23). The desire to preserve traditional Irish values and attitudes clashed with an urge for modernisation; the question arose, whether an increasingly rural society would be able to meet the challenge of the modern world (Brown 2004). Ireland’s economic stagnation contrasted sharply with the spectacular Post-War economic recovery of the European continent excluding the Warsaw Pact countries. In contrast to Hungary, Ireland should have been well placed to benefit from the Post-War economic situation, because she ended the war with less material destruction than the combatant countries and with strong external reserves, which could be used to import essential capital equipment for the modernisation of agriculture, industry and infrastructure (Daly 1981:161). However, the British market was saturated with cheap food from Commonwealth and European countries to the detriment of Irish agricultural exports. Britain was Ireland’s major export market, in fact her only significant one, and this tied Ireland to one of the slowest growing economies in Post-War Europe and also intensified Irish isolation from mainstream European trends (Daly 1981:162). The British economy

also offered employment to unskilled Irish labour resulting in the British and Irish economy being intertwined (Brown 2004).

In contrast the Post-War years brought some economic growth and increased consumer spending in Ireland (Lee 1979). In 1946 Dublin already showed signs of becoming a modern, industrialized community with a decline in general labourers, growth of skilled and white-collar workers (Brown 2004). However, in the 1950s the outbreak of the Korean War led to a general increase in the price of imports into Ireland, a consequent rise in the rate of inflation and a fall in general living conditions. Irish economic growth halted; there was a deficit in the balance of payment, and the government was forced to implement corrective measures (Lee 1979). There was a general election in March 1954 and the new government was led by John A. Costello who expressed his grave concern about the rise in unemployment and the lack-lustre performance of the national economy (Keogh 1994:232). The British seizure of the Suez Canal in 1956 further deteriorated conditions, because it established a water connection between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and strengthened the British market position (O'Malley 1989:65).

All these difficulties led to a chronic balance of payments crisis and Ireland arrived at a critical and decisive point in economic affairs. The industrial sector had become considerably more important in the national economy of Ireland, but it remained quite small in relative size compared with most other European countries, especially, Britain (O'Malley 1989:60). Industrial output fell due to shortages of raw materials and semi-processed goods and industrial employment also declined. Many of the enterprises were notoriously inefficient, surviving only on account of the lack of competition. Ireland had power, transport facilities, public services, and a general infrastructure on a scale which was reasonable by Western European standards, yet large-scale emigration and unemployment still prevailed. Ireland's population was falling, and the national income was rising more slowly than in the rest of Europe (Garvin 2004). The level of unemployment rose to a peak of 78,000 in 1957 (Brown 2004:200) and, from 1951-1961 the loss of population reached 400,000 (Walsh 1979:28). It was not until the end of the

1960s when increased employment facilities also resulted in population growth (Walsh 1979).

The sense that the country was at some kind of crossroads was well expressed in a contemporary article in *The Irish Times* on March 10th 1950, which expressed its concern about the inadequate rise of industrial employment, which was ‘regrettably low’ in comparison with European countries (Garvin 2004:86). In March 1957 Professor Carter from Queen’s University Belfast, estimated that the income per head in the Republic of Ireland was about 55 per cent of that of the United Kingdom. He commented further on the technical backwardness of Irish industry, and the general amateurism of Irish business management (Garvin 2004:108-109). The economic and social crisis of the mid-1950s forced a fundamental rethinking of Irish economic policies (Walsh 1979; Lee 1989). Irish nationalism since the 1880s and had sought to define Irish identity in terms of social patterns rooted in the country’s historic past; this perspective demonstrated the possibility of adapting to the prevailing capitalist economic structure of Western-Europe so that the protection of those values and traditions was accompanied by the new national imperative of economic growth (Brown 2004).

In 1957 the government worked to restore balance between external trade and increasing internal reserves and there was a massive cut-back in government spending (Walsh 1979). The *laissez-faire* economy inherited from the nineteenth century was gradually replaced by the welfare state (McMahon 1979). A new urgency was placed on attracting export-oriented industries and expanding tourism, and as a result, in the 1960s, more than 350 new foreign-owned companies were established (Walsh 1979). Ireland moved from a country dedicated to economic nationalism to a society willing to abandon much of its past tradition in order to meet the challenges of modern European economies (Brown 2004).

2.8.1 Religious Perspective on Ireland in Post-War Years

The economic changes of the 1950s also had a profound effect on Irish social and cultural life, though, interestingly, the growth of urban life did not involve secularization, which accompanied the growth of urban life in Europe (Lee 1979). Ireland was a Catholic country

with a Catholic majority, and although there was some evidence of decline, in the 1950s a great proportion of the population regularly attended mass (Clancy 1985). In Ireland traditionally the Catholic Church was a popular, authoritarian, and powerful organisation, controlling the elite culture and in many cases the mindset of the society from the 1850s onwards (Garvin 2004). Churches often allowed for the celebration of six masses daily on Sunday, and penalty for non-attendance at mass, especially in a small rural community, could result in isolation and condemnation (Brown 2004). This tendency remained stable for the next decades so that 96 percent of the population said they attended mass in a survey in 1971 (Whyte 1979). The factors which enabled the Church to mould a strong influence over the shaping of the dominant philosophy of the Irish state included the close association between the Church and the nationalist movement under British rule, and the role of the Church as the conservator of Irish culture (Crotty and Smith 1998). The ideology of cultural defence was disseminated with great enthusiasm by the Catholic Church; although the Protestant minority did not live in fear of persecution, those in mixed marriage were expected to raise their children as Catholics. Increase in mixed marriages brought increasing assimilation which was one of the reasons for a decrease in the Protestant segment of the population (Whyte 1979). The dominant tone of Irish Catholicism at the beginning of the 1950s was 'triumphalism' (Whyte 1979:73), which was manifest in a very few dissenting voices only.

By the late 1950s the Church's powerful influence was also expressed in the spheres of commerce, and on legal, civil and cultural issues also. There was a general popular prejudice against free trade (Garvin 2004:43); and divorce and birth control were regarded as despicable immoral activities (Crotty and Schmidt 1998). An example of the Church's powerful grip on popular culture occurred when in 1957 the actor Alan Simpson had been arrested for his indecent performance in a Tennessee Williams' play (Brown 2004). Other incidents occurred as for example in 1958 the Archbishop of Dublin mobilised opposition to the production of a stage adaptation of Joyce's *'Ulysses'*, and a world premiere of O'Casey's *'The Drums of Father Ned'* on the grounds that they offended Catholic morality (Keogh 1994: 238).

Catholic Church teaching was also associated with family patterns in Ireland. The ruling ideology in the 1950s considered the traditional patriarchal family as the natural building block of society (Garvin 2004:74). In the development of the social welfare system during the 1950s the concept of the breadwinner husband with a dependent wife and children was central. The Catholic Church also considered urban development as having a negative influence on society and emphasized the value of a rural environment in fostering family life particularly as the traditional farm family was a centre of employment as well as of welfare (Kennedy 1989:10). However, with growing urbanisation, society went through radical changes. In 1950 approximately 40 percent of all Irish families were on farms and traditional agriculture benefited greatly from the farming family (Kennedy 2001:xi). The massive rural exodus of the 1950s to cities, including Dublin, London, Liverpool and New York, overturned the myth of farm families experiencing the pure joys of a simple rural life (Kennedy 2001:69). Agricultural labourers virtually vanished, and along with this, the view of family life as being mostly rural also changed.

In the 1950s, Ireland had the reputation of being a deeply sexually repressed country in Europe (Horgan 2001). Also, employment opportunities for women were restricted, because the Church projected a predominantly private and familial role for women, and provided models of patriarchy in its own organisational arrangements (Clancy et al 1995:598). Church leaders and political leaders all shared the view that motherhood was the ultimate calling of women. However, this restriction was also seen as a method of rationing the available jobs in contrast to Hungary where women were much needed in the work-force. The gender control of employment was also an obstacle in the adaptation of Hungarian women who were refugees. The massive changes of the 1960s had its effect on the Church and among the younger generation (Lee 1979) but the controversy about the Church' role developed both privately and publicly. Birth control within marriage was becoming increasingly widespread, and women were also finding career opportunities (Lee 1979).

2.8.2 Education, Language and Communication in Post-War Ireland

One of the areas where both the Irish state and the Catholic Church had a powerful grip on Irish society was the education system. In this respect the situation was similar to Communist Hungary, but for different ideological reasons. After World War II the Irish education system still preserved the structure and policy objectives of the 1920s; this was apparent in a very high degree of centralization of financial control and curriculum in the hands of the Department of Education (Brown 2004). The Catholic Church's ideological control was evident in censorship, which was exercised both in the education system and in literary life (Garvin 2004:123; Brown 2004). All primary schools and virtually all the secondary schools were denominational. The Catholic primary schools were managed by religious orders or by a parish priest (Whyte 1979). The principal aim of the education system was to provide for the religious, moral and cultural development of the child, with a complete disregard to the relation between education and subsequent employment opportunities (Sheelan 1997). Education continued to be thought of primarily as a means of moral conditioning rather than as a means of opening young minds to the world around them. The dominant education ethic was based on criticism, faultfinding, correction and chastisement; the education system encouraged obedience to authority rather than freedom of enquiry (Kennedy 2001:167).

An important aspect of the Irish state's ideological control since its inception was its official obsession with the Irish language question. In O'Cuiv's (1969) view, language is a central, irreplaceable constituent to a distinctive national identity (consider also section 3.1.2) and has a long tradition in Irish history. The roots of the Irish language question go back to the 1880s when the new nationalism centred round the fostering of the Gaelic languages, and the preservation of the Irish language was considered the main expression of nationhood (O'Cuiv 1969), that is, part of the recognisable imagined community (Anderson 1991). The newly independent state in 1922 created a strategy that effectively remained the framework of language policy throughout the twentieth century (Lee 1979). The de Valera government was dedicated to co-ordinating, democratizing and Gaelicizing Irish education, and to devoting special attention to the problem of safeguarding the

language (O’Riagain 1992). However, by the 1940s Irish was increasingly associated with rural poverty, and could only have been saved at the expense of English (Brown 2004). In 1948 emigration had soared and the Irish speaking districts of Ireland had entered a crisis with Irish nearing the point of extinction. According to the *Leader* newspaper, people lacked faith in language revival due to these changes which had occurred across rural Ireland (Brown 2004:177).

By 1951, instead of 704 primary National schools using Irish as the language of the curriculum this number had dropped to 523 (Brown 2004:218). In the 1950s the Council on Education was set up, whose predominant duty was to emphasise the importance of the Irish language (Garvin 2004:69). Irish language became a core element in the school curriculum and holders of public positions were required to possess an Irish language qualification (Tovey 1989). These regulations effectively excluded others, including migrants, from certain positions within the state (Daly 2008), as was the case with one of the interviewees, Ibolya, in this study. From 1949 Irish was compulsory in state examinations but unfortunately no real consideration was given to textbooks and other aids in language teaching to accompany this (Brown 2004). Compulsory Irish language education surfaces also in this research with in the education of the refugee’s children, who coped with a double task: to learn both Irish and English. However, the government’s effort did not prove to be sufficient, because by 1966 the number of native Irish-speakers was 70,000, which was less, than at the time of the foundation of the state; this figure further deteriorated in the next decades (Ó Tauthaigh 1979:112).

According to Brown (2004) one of the factors which contributed to this decline besides emigration was English language media. This included state-controlled television (Ó Tauthaigh 1979). However, media communication in the 1940s and 1950s was limited in distribution. According to estimations in 1944, only 13 per cent of the households had wireless radio sets in rural areas and only 52 per cent in the larger cities (Gageby 1979:124). There was a strict censorship, and during the Second World War cautiously neutral account of news was broadcast. However, neutrality had a particular effect as people were less informed than others in Western-Europe with Gageby (1979) also

considering that Ireland seemed to be indifferent and isolationist to the outside world. Irish newspapers were also more conservative than the British or French press, and religion was an all absorbing topic as the news surrounding aspects of the Hungarian refugees' arrival and settlement demonstrate.

2.8.3 *In Ireland: Perspectives on Outsiders*

Historically Ireland as a country of emigration had never been in receipt of significant numbers of refugees. Also, the underdeveloped state of the Irish economy did not attract migration to Ireland from the European states. Consequently, there was little interaction with other cultures, by both ordinary people as well as those serving the state, a point of relevance for this study in data analysis chapters 4-7. Additionally, the migration of some groups was discouraged as the Memorandum of the Department of External Affairs (8 December 1945) reveals, in this instance with regard to Jews:

The immigration of Jews is generally discouraged. The wealth and influence of the Jewish community in this country appear to have increased considerable in recent years and there is some danger of exciting opposition and controversy if this tendency continues. Jews do not become assimilated with the native population, like other immigrants, any big increase in their numbers might create a social problem.

Fanning presents a strong critique of state policy where official documents reveal both anti-Semitism and 'overt racial discrimination' and where anti-Semitism appeared unchanged among some civil servants after the Holocaust though they no longer appeared in print after Ireland ratified the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees (Fanning 2002: pp 82-83).

Daly considers (2008:9) that the construction of an Irish identity at the beginning of the twentieth century emphasised 'cultural and racial separatism' and that this therefore was an exclusive identity. Those who did not meet the criteria of 'Irishness' which Daly (2008: 9) notes as '*Gaelic-speaking, peasant, preferably living in the west of Ireland and perhaps Catholic*' could therefore be excluded as the Memorandum of the Department of External Affairs (8 December 1945) demonstrates. However, Daly (2008) also considers that this exclusion also applied to those Irish people who had migrated to England and were educated there. With no Irish language qualification, they too were excluded from certain

employment. With this exclusionary perspective including employment practices, Daly (2008: 11) notes that *'Irish businesses and Dáil deputies campaigned systematically for a total ban on any foreign presence in Irish manufacturing'*. Debates in the Dáil also revealed a level of xenophobia in the discussions (Daly 2008: 11); these views are of importance to this thesis in the data analysis chapters. Although Article 17 of the UN Convention conferred upon the Hungarian refugees a right to work, in reality they were often prevented from seeking employment and were exposed to inadequate housing, accommodation, work and schooling (Ward 1996a).

In this complex view on outsiders, Holfter et al (2008) consider the case of German-speaking refugees fleeing Nazi Germany who settled in Ireland. They consider that *'the reception these exiles experienced, as well as their way of settling into Ireland, might give some clues when analysing the later influx of Hungarian'* (Holfter et al 2008: 48) refugees among others. They note a series of public opinion and involvement ranging from the type of exclusionary views that Daly (2008) refers to, individual generosity in attempts to sponsor people and the involvement of the charitable organisation St Vincent de Paul with converted Jews in Austria. However, they also note (Holfter et al 2008: 53) a favouring of German and Austrian refugees who were Christians with Jewish blood so that race was a consideration when allowing aliens into Ireland and that anti-Semitism also influenced some decisions. These perspectives are also evident across this chapter and in data analysis chapters 4-7.

2.8.4 *Pre-War Years: Aliens*

According to the 1922 Irish Constitution anyone who had been resident in Ireland for more than seven years was entitled to Irish citizenship (Daly 2008). In the pre-war decades the primary legal instrument governing the condition of migrants in Ireland was the 1935 Aliens Act, which replaced that of 1914 (Keogh 1998:116). The Act provided the Minister for Justice with the power to implement new policies in relation to refusal to land, detention and deportation. Under the Aliens Act, the Department of Justice could prohibit, without right to appeal, an alien from entering the state. In the Dáil debates of 1935, it was argued that the 1935 Act was too strict and restrictive in its application (Ward 2004).

However, de Valera assured the Dáil that the Aliens Act would only be fully adhered to in times of emergency (Finlay 2001).

In 1938, President Roosevelt, responding to the mounting pressure from pro-refugee groups in the United States due to anti-Semitism and forced movements of people out of Europe, called an international conference in the south of France in July 1938 (Keogh 1998:119). In the conference Ireland was represented by Frank Cremins, a civil servant. De Valera suggested the Irish delegation not be involved in any financial commitment regarding the crisis. Cremins outlined Ireland's position as follows:

Ireland is a small country with jurisdiction over a population of something less than three million people. Notwithstanding the steady progress, which has been made in recent years...I need to attempt to explain the land problems which have arisen in Ireland; it is sufficient to say that there is not enough land available to satisfy our own people (Keogh 1998:119).

Fanning (2002) would also argue that Ireland's response to the refugee question was handled by an overt discrimination both at a political and administrative level, which was manifest in the rejection of visa applications. Shortly after the international conference of 1938, University College Dublin requested the entry of twelve Catholic Austrian students to Ireland but the request was refused, because no guarantee secured the student's return to Austria (Keogh 1998:122). Between 1939 and 1946 only 588 non-Irish nationals came to Ireland for residency with the majority arriving from Austria and Germany (Department of External Affairs 12 November 1947). They were kept under strict surveillance and, besides keeping a personal file on every alien in the country, their places of employment were also registered with the state.

2.8.5 *Post War Years: Refugees*

Ireland remained relatively untouched by the estimated number of 60 million refugees in Europe after World War Two (Keogh 1998:121). Nevertheless, the need to help refugees fleeing political and religious persecution on the continent was a source of growing concern for the Irish government and also for the Catholic Church. The various churches and relief organisations distributed humanitarian aid in Europe (Keogh 1998:202), and also The Irish Red Cross Society made continuous efforts to make arrangements for the reception of a

number of children from Central Europe. As a result, an International Committee was founded in Ireland to establish guidelines for Irish policy. The question of receiving refugees resulted in a vigorous political debate, and the government reviewed its refugee policy as the Memorandum of the Department of Justice (1945) states:

The Department of External Affairs are of opinion that, in view of the plight of millions of displaced persons in Europe, this country should make a contribution towards the relief of suffering by offering temporary refuge in this country to a limited number (say 250) of refugees within the next twelve months (22 October 1945).

Fanning (2002) notes that in 1945 there were 100 Jewish refugee children who gained admission to Ireland temporarily, following intervention of the Chief Rabbi with de Valera. They were later resettled in Canada, the USA, Israel and Britain. Individual Irish families also took the initiative to foster children who had been orphaned by the war (Keogh 1998:210). Dr Robert Collis, an Irish doctor, who had worked in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp immediately after its liberation, rescued a small number of those children, who survived the camp. The Jewish children's arrival was described by the following article in *The Irish Times* on 22 June 1946:

Tightly clutching bundles of Swedish illustrated children's paper, brightly coloured woolly dolls, and outsize packages of sweets, five little Belsen Camp orphans stepped from an Air Lingus plane at Collinstown Airport last night to begin life anew as the adopted children of Irish families.

Among them were the two Hungarians: Zoltán and Mari, who made an invaluable contribution to this study.

The Department of Industry and Commerce also had a responsibility to decide in granting work permits for refugees. The main aspect of the policy was that the applicants should not be a burden on the state. Therefore special skills and financial sponsorship determined the outcome of the procedure as well as some relationship with Ireland:

Applications from refugees, who have no special qualifications, but who wish to come here for temporary or permanent refuge, are usually refused, unless the aliens have some connection with this country (Department of External Affairs 8 December 1945).

Applications from aliens with special qualifications, who desire to start business here, are favourably considered, provided the Department of Industry and Commerce consider that the presence of the aliens would be an advantage (Department of External Affairs 8 December 1945a).

According to the official state policy Jews were formally classified as a threat to the Irish nation:

Our practice has been to discourage any substantial increase in the Jewish population. They do not assimilate with our own people but remain a sort of colony of a world-wide Jewish community (Department of Justice 22 October 1945).

In Fanning's (2002:78) view, exceptional treatment concerned Catholic Jews, those with Jewish ancestry who had converted to Christianity.

In 1951, at the request of the Council of Europe Ireland provided a definition of a refugee:

In essence a person who, from reasons of race, nationality, or political opinion, was unable to return to the territory from which he or she came (Ward 1996a:135).

On that basis in 1950 there were approximately 846 such people in Ireland: 242 became naturalised Irish, 604 were listed under their own nationality, the greatest number being Polish, and 50 were registered as stateless (Ward 1996a:135).

2.8.6 International Refugee Regime

In 1951 as an international response to the increasing number of refugees in the wake of World War II, the International Refugee Regime was created. The International Refugee Regime is the collection of conventions, treaties and intergovernmental agreements, which centres around the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as the primary agency and around the Convention (1951) and Protocol (1967) on the status of refugees in international law (Keely 2001). The aim of the regime was to adopt policies to support and assist those displaced from their country by persecution, or by war, such as the Hungarian refugees of 1956.

Keely (2001) notes that there were two International Refugee Regimes established during the Cold War: one in the industrial countries, which was designed to protect refugees escaping the Communist terror, and the second for the rest of the world. The primary aim

of the first 'Northern Refugee Regime' was to embarrass Communist states and to destabilize Communist governments, with special emphasis on the Soviet Union and those East and Central European states in which the Soviet Regime imposed its hegemony (Keely 2001). They also aimed to display the bankruptcy of the political system from which people escaped, to offer political support for anti-Communist programmes and to reinforce internal political support for an anti-Soviet foreign policy.

From the 1950s, asylum in Western European countries had not meant temporary admission, but permanent settlement. The reason for this was that repatriation did not seem to be a viable option, since there was no end in sight to the Communist system (Castillo and Hathaway 1997). The flow of refugees arrived periodically in Europe, such as the Hungarian refugees in 1956, the focus of this study, the Cubans in 1959, and the Czech refugees in 1968 (Keely 2001). When the flow of refugees crossed national borders, the international community of states collectively brought measures to protect the persecuted people and work for durable solutions, which was the case in 1956 with the flood of Hungarians into Austria. However, emigration from Hungary as a social movement has a long tradition in Hungarian history, as section 2.7 details, and which is of relevance to this study in terms of pre-existing networks or their absence for the 1956 refugees.

2.8.7 The Arrival of the Hungarian Refugees in 1956

At 8.37 last night the first Hungarian refugees landed at Shannon airport from an Air Lingus Viscount. Hundreds of airport workers and people from all over Munster thronged the airport and pressed against the barrier to give the exiles a heart-felt rousing welcome (The Irish Press 26 November 1956).

Following the 1956 revolution, the arrival of the Hungarian refugees marked Ireland's first participation in the UN refugee program and occurred at the request of the UNHCR¹⁸. The UN Charter made Ireland a signatory of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees, which meant that Ireland was obliged to recognise the right of refugees on Irish soil (Ward 1996a: 131). In Ireland's maiden speech in the UN, External Affairs Minister, Liam Cosgrave announced the country's participation in the International response to the crisis, and in common with other Western European countries gave asylum to 541 Hungarian refugees

¹⁸ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

(Fanning 2002:88). As a result of the Interdepartmental Conference on Hungarian Refugees, which was immediately established, the following criteria were put into effect:

- the identity of all refugees would be established
- they would be in good health
- they would be suitable on grounds of race and religion, to ensure assimilation, and
- they would be screened for security (Department of External Affairs 20 November 1956)

The Hungarian refugees in the Vienna refugee camp were carefully selected by officials of the Department of External Affairs. The above criteria, particularly regarding race, religion and the use of the word ‘assimilation’ is explained by Ireland’s attitude towards strangers (Daly 2008; Holfter et al 2008), and also supports Berry (2006) theory, in so far as a host society’s social and legal institutions, and its tight conformity rules affect refugees’ cross-cultural adaptation (see chapter 3 section 3.2.3 for full discussion). However, the state refrained from ratifying the UN charter due to Article 29.6 of the Constitution, which prevents the ‘*reliance on unincorporated international provisions before the domestic courts*’ (Ward 1996a:132), thus, limiting the power of external forces with regard to domestic policy. The result of this was that there was no statutory instrument in Irish domestic law, which obligated the State to provide protection for the refugees (see data analysis chapter 4-7 for the effects of this, which impacted strongly on the cross-cultural process of the 1956 refugees in Ireland).

Chapter Summary

Since this thesis is embedded in a historical and political background, chapter 2 outlined the preceding historical events which offered a rationale for the 1956 revolution and also for the refugees who came to Ireland in the 1940s. The evaluation of the revolution was introduced from various perspectives in order to offer insight into the many-sidedness of the events and also to the motivation of those 200,000 Hungarian refugees who fled from this country in 1956. Chapter 2 also provided a socio-cultural context for this study as the refugees who fled, brought their own Hungarian perspectives to bear on gender issues and

religion for instance in their new culture. Then chapter 2 dealt with issues which are closely linked with migration. Firstly, issues were examined which have impact on national identity by creating a sense of belonging to a collectivity. For refugees, this is broken, but is still part of their socio-cultural heritage. The contemporary Irish socio-economic and legal situation was introduced which had a serious impact on the group of refugees' decision to settle, or leave Ireland for Canada. The next chapter introduces the intercultural theories relevant to the process of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the 1956 group of Hungarian refugees who arrived in Ireland and their compatriots from the 1940s.

Chapter 3

Review of Cross-Cultural Literature

The experience of a new culture is a sudden, unpleasant feeling that may violate expectations of the new culture and cause one to evaluate one's own culture negatively (Kim and Gudykunst 1988:45).

Cross-cultural adaptation, then, is a personal journey that ultimately leads to a transcendence of cultural categories in individual consciousness (Kim 2001:195)

Chapter Overview

Chapter 3 focuses on the theoretical perspective of this research. Firstly the chapter introduces the nature of culture then presents the various cultural dimensions which play a vital role in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Following that, it provides an outline of the relevant theories on acculturation, models of cross-cultural encounters and other perspectives of concern to this study. Finally, this chapter discusses Kim's communication approach and multi-dimensional process model which synthesises all these approaches to the cross-cultural adaptation of the 1956 Hungarian refugees in Ireland and their resulting identity outcomes.

3.1 Introduction

The term cross-cultural adaptation is used to describe the process of adjustment for individuals entering a foreign country. Adaptation is a fundamental life-sustaining activity rooted in an individual's self-organizing and integrating capacity when he or she is exposed to challenges in a new environment (Kauffman 1995). In the course of cross-cultural adaptation individuals experience changes in behaviours, attitudes and their cultural identities. These psychological and socio-cultural changes are called acculturation. Significant academic attention has been centred on this phenomenon and is addressed by a wide range of literature, including a diversity of theoretical approaches, such as Kim (1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1986; 1988; 2001; 2002; 2005; 2006; 2008), Anderson (1994), Bennett (1986; 1988; 1993a), Berry (1980; 1991; 1992; 2001; 2003; 2006), Berry et al (1986; 1987; 1988; 1989, 1994, 1997; 1997a), Bochner (1981;1994), Ward (1996; 1997) and Ward et al (2001; 2008), Ward and Kennedy (1994; 1999), Ward and Searle (1991).

3.2. The Nature of Culture

At the core of cross-cultural adaptation is the concept of culture. As Keesing (1974) and Hall (1976) state, culture forms the basis of human interaction. Culture is the basis of a society's value system and a cultural group is bound by virtue of its socially shared ideas. There are countless values on which societies and cultural groups can be compared (Berry 1991; Berry et al 1988; 1989), however, Berry states, that the predominant aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivation individuals hold (Berry and Sam 1997). He considered that basic human values, likely to be found in all cultures, correspond to universal requirements of human existence, which he lists as follows (Berry and Sam 1997: 86):

- Power - social status
- Achievement - matching social standard expectations
- Hedonism - emotional fulfilment
- Stimulation – enthusiasm, uniqueness, motivation
- Universalism - displaying tolerance and protection for the well-being of others
- Benevolence - increasing the welfare of people
- Tradition - value of cultural and religious ideas
- Conformity - control and contain actions that might hurt social rules
- Security - ensure the stability of individuals and society

Since this study is concerned with the process of refugees' cross-cultural adaptation these aspects are particularly relevant, because they conceptualize and explain such adaptation both from an individual's and a society's perspective. The Hungarians were all looking for safety, security and emotional fulfilment; they strived to achieve their personal goals, but also depended on the host society's tolerance and conformity to its social rules. Hofstede's (1980; 2001) cultural variability model, discussed in the next section, also offers specific dimensions along which cultures vary on a continuum in accordance with some basic dimensions of the value system.

3.2.1 Cultural Variability Perspective/Cultural Dimensions

In order to prepare a framework for assessing cultural differences, Geert Hofstede, an influential Dutch academic, conducted a comprehensive study at IBM from 1967-1973 by analyzing a large database of employee values scores. The aim of his study was to give profound insight into other cultures in order to achieve more effective interaction between people from different cultures (Hofstede 1980; 2001). Hofstede's research is criticized because of the narrowness of the population surveyed, and also on the ground that the respondents were exclusively from a single company, IBM. Furthermore, although the surveys covered all employees, the data used to construct national cultural comparisons was largely limited to responses from marketing and sales employees (McSweeney 2002). Hofstede (2001), by searching Chinese values also deals with the dimension of long term orientation (Bond 1987). His work remains influential and has also been tested by Oudenhoven (2001) among others. Hofstede's (1980; 2001) research identifies four cultural dimensions: Individualism/Collectivism, Power Distance, Masculinity/Femininity, and Uncertainty Avoidance and they are discussed in turn.

Individualism - Collectivism is the major dimension of cultural variability used to explain cross-cultural differences in behaviour. It focuses on the perception of the self, and on the issue of whether a sense of independence or interdependence is fostered by one's own or by a host society, and consequently, in interpersonal communication (Gudykunst 1983; 1998a; 2003; Gudykunst and Shapiro 1996; Gudykunst and Kim 1997; Gudykunst 2002; Triandis 1995). In individualistic cultures, during the course of socialization, members learn to value independence and achievement, while in collectivist cultures, members value solidarity and harmony (Gudykunst 1988; 1993; 1996; Gudykunst and Nishida 1986).

Hofstede's **Power Distance** index measures the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions accept and expect power to be distributed unequally in society (Hofstede 1980; 2001). Individuals from high power distance cultures accept power distributions in their societies and consider superiors differently from subordinates. In these societies, equality and opportunity for everyone is stressed. The Power Distance index does

not reflect an objective difference in power distribution but rather the way people perceive power differences.

Hofstede's (1980; 2001) third cultural dimension, **Masculinity and Femininity** focuses on gender roles in a culture. The term gender is used to distinguish the male and female members of society with a special emphasis on social factors (Berry et al 1997a). According to traditional sex ideology men are superior to women, and should control and dominate them. Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, engaged with material success, while the feminine roles are restricted to caring and nurturing behaviours, where women are supposed to be more modest and tender (Hofstede 2001).

Occupational sex segregation has been considered to be a significant factor in imposing constraints on women's careers, and generally to be at the root of gender inequalities. According to gender theorists, due to segmentation, the labour market is structured into primary and secondary sectors, offering different conditions in payment, and prospects (Coontz and Henderson 1986). Male stereotyping and preconceptions of women prevent them from reaching the upper-ranks of management. The glass ceiling is a barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women from moving up the corporate hierarchy (Daly 1981) and is of relevance to gender employment issues in this thesis.

Finally, Hofstede's **Uncertainty Avoidance** dimension deals with a society's tolerance for uncertainty and ambiguity (Hofstede 1997; Gudykunst 1988; 1993; Gudykunst and Nishida 1984). People in uncertainty avoidance countries feel uncomfortable in unstructured situations; therefore, they apply strict rules and laws in each sphere of social and cultural life, and plan everything carefully in order to avoid the uncertainty. In contrast, people in uncertainty accepting cultures, are more tolerant of diversity; they have as few rules as possible, and individuals feel free to make decisions without having to refer to superiors. Section 3.2.2 illustrates Ireland's and Hungary's position on Hofstede's (2001) continuum of dimensions.

3.2.2 Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions in the Irish and Hungarian Context

Table 3.2.2 Comparison of Country Index Scores (from Hofstede 2001: 500-502).

Country	Power Distance	Uncertainty Avoidance	Individualism and Collectivism	Masculinity and Femininity
Ireland	28	35	70	68
Hungary	46	82	80	88

The scores for Ireland are from the IBM data but for Hungary these scores are estimated though still based on data from Hungary. In the power distance category both countries score is low, but in Hungary the power distribution is higher, indicating a hierarchy in the power organisational structure. According to Table 3.2.2 the most significant difference between the two countries appears in the uncertainty avoidance category: while Hungary scores highly, in Ireland the uncertainty avoidance index is low. In this research there are several references to the fact that the Hungarian refugees' situation was influenced by power distance, and also that the refugees considered Irish people to be relaxed, and that the refugees' tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty was low. In the third category, both countries appear to be ranked as individualistic cultures, where members of society value independence and achievement. The difference between the scores in the fourth category indicates that as Irish society scores highly on Masculinity, this is a relevant factor with regard to gender issues between the Hungarian refugees and the host society even though Hungary also scores considerably highly on this dimension in contrast to the experiences of the women in this study.

3.2.3 *Berry's Six Cultural Variables*

There are other approaches in this field of cultural variability, such as that of Berry (2006: 31-32) who focuses on the following six cultural variables:

1. Diversity: In homogenous cultures, such as Japan, people share a common regional, ethnic identity, while in a culturally plural society, such as Australia or Canada people have rather divergent senses of themselves.
2. Equality: In some societies, such as India, there are rigid social hierarchies, while in others members function on an equal basis.
3. Conformity: There are tight societies, where rigid rules define the obligation of people, while in others people are relatively free in their choice.
4. Wealth: The GDP / person ratio
5. Space: The use of spaces, eye and body contact during interpersonal relationship
6. Time: The way society handles promptness and schedule.

Berry' (2006) dimensions have particular relevance in this research, since Ireland was a homogenous culture in the 1950s with tight conformity rules and rigid religious expectations. There are several references in this thesis to the fact that the Hungarian refugees were intimidated by conformity pressure (see also Kim 1988; 2001) which the host society imposed on them.

3.3 Intercultural Theories of Initial Reaction to Culture Contact: Culture Shock

Culture shock has also received significant attention in the study of cross-cultural adaptation. This phenomenon of anxiety is felt when people are exposed to an entirely different cultural or social environment, such as a foreign country. These feelings can be of estrangement, anger, hostility, frustration, or sadness (Gudykunst 1996). For Kim (1988; 2001) culture shock is also conceived of as part of a stress-adaptation cycle. There are a number of contemporary theories that attempt to describe the causes, manifestations and consequences of culture shock. Oberg (1960) and Foster (1978) have emphasized different aspects of culture shock, but nevertheless fail to address the positive and beneficial

outcome of the phenomena, which Kim (1988; 2001) does. Peter Adler (1975) also perceives culture shock as a cross-cultural learning experience leading to deep personal growth and self-development. In his view, such meaningful growth can result in greater cross-cultural and increased self-awareness. Adler (1975) is thus of particular relevance to some identity outcomes in this thesis in chapter).

3.3.1 Anxiety and Uncertainty Management Theory

Anxiety and Uncertainty Management theory (AUM theory) explains human communication in a new cultural environment (Gudykunst 1988; 1993; 1998). When two strangers¹⁹ meet from different cultures they feel discomfort, awkwardness and unpredictability while dealing with unfamiliar values and norms. As Gudykunst (1988; 1996) claims, both anxiety and uncertainty decrease over time in inter-group communication, although it does not show a linear pattern.

Gudykunst and Hammer (1984a) assume that uncertainty reductions and controlling anxiety are necessary and sufficient conditions for a stranger's adaptation to a new cultural environment. In cultures with high uncertainty avoidance, interaction with strangers may involve highly ritualistic behaviour. In-group members try to avoid ambiguity and if they find themselves in a situation where no clear rules exist they may treat strangers as though they do not exist.

Later versions (Gudykunst 1998) of AUM theory were designed to explain effective interpersonal and inter-group communication by using a different organizing framework, and incorporating cultural variability in AUM processes. This framework offers a fresh perspective in managing anxiety and uncertainty situations (Gudykunst 2002:186), which now include:

¹⁹ Stranger is the synonym for newcomer, migrant, or immigrant and is used by Kim and Gudykunst (1988) in particular. They draw on the work of Simmel (1955) who defined 'stranger' as an individual who is a member of a system but who is not fully attached to this system such as social distance, and a marginal status (Rogers 2006).

- self and self-concept (identities, self-esteem, shame)
- motivation to interact with strangers (need for predictability, for group inclusion)
- reaction to strangers (ability to tolerate ambiguity, and to empathize with strangers)
- social categorization of strangers (perceive personal similarities)
- situational process (informality of interacting situation)
- connections with strangers (intimacy of relationships with strangers)

From this perspective Gudykunst (2002) defines basic causes of effective communication, and the effect of other variables. In his view, individuals, by mindful behaviour, can influence and moderate their anxiety and uncertainty management with regard to their communication effectiveness and is evidenced in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

3.3.2 High and Low Context Communication

Other dimensions of cultural variability are low and high context communication (Gudykunst 1988; Gudykunst and Nishida 1986). Low-context communication is one in which the information is ‘vested in the explicit code’, while in high-context communication the message is implicit, the communication is ambiguous, indirect (Hall 1976). In Dsilva and Whyte’s (1997) view, a low-context communication system conveys meaning through words, while high-context communication is likely to be more intuitive and less verbal. Hall (1976) notes that low and high context cultures have different degrees of communicative flexibility. While in low context cultures indirect communication occurs only in close relationships, in high context ones people are socialized to use indirect forms of communication and direct communication is used only in formal settings, points of relevance for this thesis with regard to miscommunication in chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.3 Culture Distance

Several studies have found that besides these cultural dimensions, the concept of cultural distance also plays an important role in the process of adjustment to a new culture. Culture distance has been defined as the perceived similarities and differences between a home culture and a host culture (Berry 2006). In Kim and Gudykunst’s (1988) view, the cultural

barrier experienced by individuals varies according to objective cultural differences between the host culture and the original culture. Studies by Babiker et al (1980), Furnham and Bochner (1982; 1986), Searle and Ward (1990), Kim and Gudykunst (1988), Ward and Kennedy (1994; 1999) state that the greater the differences between host and original culture, the more difficult cross-cultural adaptation is. Certainly, in this study of the process of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the former refugees from Hungary, culture distance was evident (see data analysis chapter 4 and 5).

3.3.4 Culture Learning Approach

As Masgoret and Ward (2006) note, culture specific skills are also important coefficients of adaptation. The culture learning approach has its roots in social and experimental psychology and occupied a significant position in Furnham and Bochner's (1986), Kim's (1977; 1978; 1979) research, and Ward et al's (2001) approaches. This approach is based on the difficulties newcomers experience in the course of cross-cultural encounters. However, culture learning is not uniform, so this approach allows great variability in adaptation, depending on the individual's own experience, perceptions, and personality traits. Some individuals easily develop a reciprocal relationship with members of the host society, while others lack the requisite social skills, and never learn the new culture.

When examining the relationship between culture learning processes and personality, Ward and Searle (1991) identified a more integrated personality model, which considers together different factors of self and other orientations: the 'Big Five' model. This model focuses on the following traits: extraversion, openness, agreeableness, conscientiousness and cultural empathy (Ward and Searle 1991). Certainly, the Hungarian refugees' example provides several examples of the importance of these factors in their adaptation in chapter 7.

3.4 Approaches to the Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

A variety of theoretical models across different disciplines have been proposed to address the issue of cross-cultural adaptation. Sociological studies centre on group responses to the adaptive process in a changed environment, while socio-psychological and socio-linguistic research focuses primarily on interpersonal and intra-personal experiences of newcomers in

a host society (Kim 2001; 2002; 2005). These group and individual approaches can be divided into two categories: macro and micro-level. Macro-level anthropological and sociological studies traditionally focus on structural issues involving immigrants groups such as the dynamics of acculturation (Kim 2001:12). Micro-level sociological studies investigate minority-majority relations and focus on a strangers' social and economic adaptation into a host environment at an individual level (Ansari 1988; Gordon 1964). Among micro-level studies there is a division between long-term and short-term adaptation among individuals, such as between migrants who intend to make a new life in a new country, and sojourners. Of particular concern to this thesis is the long-term perspective on the process of cross-cultural adaptation by the Hungarian refugees who arrived in 1956 in Ireland.

3.4.1 Definitions of Cross-Cultural Adaptation: Old and New Perspectives

Berry et al (1994) consider that adaptation is both a process and a state. The former refers to changes to the evaluation of a system in order to function more effectively, and the latter refers to the outcome in which the parts now function better together as an individual undergoes the process of cross-cultural adaptation (Berry et al 1994). Robert Park's (1928) theory offers an early explanation on inter-group situations in the beginning of the twentieth century, when cultural pluralism was an unknown phenomenon. Pluralism is a condition, in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious, or cultural groups are present and tolerated within a society. Park (1928) devised a patterned sequence-cycle in minority-dominant relations, as follows:

1st stage: Contact

2nd stage: Competition between members of both groups

3rd stage: Accommodation

4th stage: Assimilation.

This phased development from the completely marginal status of the outsider to adoption as one of the dominant group through assimilation was an irreversible process for Park

(1928). However, in his view, the span of time of this cycle depends on adaptation variables, such as in case of the Hungarian refugees in chapter 7.

Similar to the cultural shock approach, the early adaptation models of the 1960s concentrated on the negative aspects of inter-cultural encounters. According to this view, interaction is a stressful, confusing and disorientating experience and requires a clinical approach (Furnham and Bochner 1986; Kim 2001). In contrast, the new models of the 1980s treat cross-cultural adaptation as a learning experience and propose programmes of preparation, and the acquisition of appropriate social skills (Ward et al 2001).

3.4.2 Assimilation or Integration

Among the different perspectives regarding the process of cross-cultural adaptation there are two main lines of ideological views: the assimilationist and the pluralist view. Assimilation is the term used to describe the ‘swallowing up’ of one culture by another (Ward et al 2001:28). Integration is based on an organic relationship between the minority community and the outside world, and involves a continuous process of adjustment, harmonisation of interest, division of labour and co-operation. The traditional assimilationist view places emphasis on an individual’s adaptive changes to a host society while the pluralist view has tended to tilt this toward the maintenance of ethnic identity in a plural society (Kim 2001). The assimilationist view emphasises the fact that adaptation is not optional: it is a necessity, a precondition of survival in an unfamiliar cultural milieu (Kim 2001).

In assimilationist societies cultural diversity is restricted through specific policies, such as concerning language use or the level of tolerance of other social practices. Spontaneous assimilation is a natural phenomenon, which applies only in the case of optimal minority circumstances. In those cases where the members of a minority do not reach a critical mass, their assimilation becomes inevitable with the passing of time. When this happens, the links that tie the individual to the original population grow thinner and thinner (Bureau for European Comparative Minority Research 2002). In this research, given the small size of

the Hungarian community spontaneous assimilation thus appears inevitable (but see chapter 7 on identity outcomes).

In contrast to the assimilationist view, according to the pluralist model, cross-cultural adaptation is a matter of conscious or unconscious choice on the part of the individual. In Kim's (2001) view, newcomers can identify with the mainstream society, identify with their own ethnic group, identify with both groups or with neither group. If societies accept cultural pluralism and encourage ethnic groups within their boundaries to maintain and share their heritage culture and identities, the integrationist approach applies (Berry 1997; Piontkowski et al 2000). As Berry (1997) states, dominant groups with an assimilation orientation do not accept the maintenance of an individual's original identity but apply pressure and do allow strangers to become part of host society. Separationists in the dominant group, refuse to accept members of the non-dominant group, while the group retains its cultural heritage. Dominant groups with marginalisation attitudes refuse to accept either of these potential relations (Piontkowski et al 2000).

Hatoss' (2006) research supports the importance of the host society in cross-cultural adaptation. She examines the preservation of German culture among first generation German immigrants who settled in rural Australia between 1955 and 2001. Hatoss (2006) realized that there were assimilationist orientations which were manifest in the social and linguistic adjustment of the rural Queensland's German community. This tendency was largely due to the general assimilationist ideological climate *vis-à-vis* immigrants, and the negative perception of Germans in Post-War Australia (Hatoss 2006). In the 1950s Queensland was a state, which was particularly resistant to the idea of multiculturalism and had a strong tradition of populism and religious fundamentalism. Negative attitudes towards Germans had a crucial impact on language use in the community. Several respondents expressed the view that World War II had had a negative impact on the Australian-Germans' identity. Most respondents felt uneasy when they were asked whether they were proud of their German identity in Australia (Hatoss 2006). Jupp's (2002) research also support this assimilationist ideological climate in Queensland in the 1950s, and states, that Australia welcomed German migrants as long as they left their cultures and

languages behind and assimilated into the host society, a point of relevance to this thesis regarding the 1956 refugees' encounters with Irish society.

3.4.3 The Process of Acculturation

Berry (2006: 27) defines acculturation as the '*process of cultural and psychological change that results from the continuing contact between people of different cultural backgrounds*'. The process of acculturation concerns changes in behaviours, attitudes and cultural identity (Oudenhoven et al 2006). Early studies in the 1980s state that in the course of acculturation, migrants relinquish identification with their original culture and gradually move towards identification with the host culture in adopting its cultural norms and values (Piontkowski et al 2000). According to later research (Berry 1992; Ward et al 2001) more comprehensive models emerged which consider acculturation as a multidimensional process. In this view, migrants may retain elements of their heritage culture but also identify with the values of their host culture.

As Bourhis's (2001) Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) suggests, acculturation is not a passive process experienced by migrants, rather, it is the result of a dynamic interaction with the wider social environment. Acculturation covers all the changes that arise in the course of contact between individuals and groups of different cultures, and depends on the degree to which an individual simultaneously participates in the cultural life of a host society, and maintains his/her home identity (Berry 2006). In their view acculturation is bidirectional, because two groups mutually influence each other. Although, most acculturation processes occur in dominant - non dominant relationships, dominance is not considered an inevitable prerequisite for acculturation (Berry 2006).

Berry and Sam (1997:301) identified a range of variables of those phenomena which constitute psychological acculturation. On the macro level, characteristics of the society of settlement and the society of origin are likely to be important as table 3.4.3.i illustrates:

Table 3.4.3.i: Macro Level Factors (Berry and Sam 1997:301)

SOCIETY OF ORIGIN	SOCIETY OF SETTLEMENT
Ethnographic characteristics (such as language, religion, social values)	Immigration history (longstanding/recent)
Economic conditions (such as poverty, famine)	Immigration policy (intentional/accidental)
Political situation (such as conflict, war, repression)	Attitudes towards immigration (favourable/unfavourable)
Demographic factors (such as population explosion)	Attitudes towards specific groups (favourable/unfavourable)
	Social support (availability, usefulness)

On the micro level characteristics of both the person and the situation are important (see also Ward et al (2001) in this chapter). These are in table 3.4.3.ii below:

Table 3.4.3.ii: Micro Level Factors (Berry and Sam 1997:301-302)

MODERATING FACTORS PRIOR TO ACCULTURATION	MODERATING FACTORS ARISING DURING ACCULTURARION
Demographic (such as age, gender, education)	Acculturation strategy (such as assimilation/integration/separation, etc)
Cultural (such as language, religion, culture distance)	Contact/participation in social interaction with host society
Economic (such as social status)	Cultural maintenance of original culture
Personal (such as health, prior knowledge of the host country)	Social support (appraisal and use)
Migration motivation (such as push/pull)	Coping strategies and resources
Expectations (such as excessive/realistic)	Prejudice and discrimination

Concerning the Hungarian refugees' acculturation the society of origin and the society of settlement are particularly relevant, because they escaped as political victims resulting from their country's vulnerable political situation. They were also strongly influenced by the host society's immigration policy, and attitude to strangers, which was a major factor in their adaptation. They were also exposed to the host society's social support in finding

homes and employment. Finally, individual characteristics such as their motivation and expectations had a crucial bearing on their welfare.

3.4.4 Institutional Completeness

Several authors (Breton 1964, Hirsch 1981, Dibelius 2001, Fantino and Colak 2001) believe that, social networks also play an important role in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. A host society provides crucial services for migrants in terms of practical, informational, emotional and other social support (Hirsch 1981). Settlement support services, schools, health and social services, and the community at large play a crucial role in assisting and supporting refugees and their children to adjust and integrate into receiving society (Breton 1964). Given that migrants and refugees have suffered significant network losses, the emergence of a new network can be seen as indicators of the person's quality of life in the new situation (Dibelius 2001). In Breton's (1964) view, three communities are relevant in this procedure: the native community, the ethnic community and other ethnic communities. Breton (1964) also says that immigrants can extend the network of social affiliations beyond the boundaries of any one community, and also they might opt to not integrate.

However, the direction of immigrants' integration is also greatly influenced by the institutional completeness of the immigrants' own ethnic community (Breton 1964). Ethnic communities vary on a wide spectrum. They can consist only of interpersonal networks, that is, group members seek each other's companionship. However, ethnic communities can develop a more formal structure of networks, containing various educational, political, national, social care and even professional organisations. Breton (1964) defines institutional completeness as when all these services are provided by an ethnic community for its members so that there is no need for contact with the wider society. The degree of institutional completeness and the magnitude of the ethnic interpersonal network are interdependent phenomena. This is because the informal structure found in an ethnic community is a precondition for the later establishment of formal organizations (Breton 1964:202). According to Castles (1999) ethnic social networks have an ambivalent character. On the one hand they may improve conditions by buffering the 'culture shock',

by introducing migrants to a host society and giving them familiar reference points in an otherwise unfamiliar context; on the other hand there are dangers of over reliance on ethnic social networks which may prove dysfunctional and inhibiting to adaptation in the long run, thereby implicitly advocating a ‘sink or swim’ method of immersion in the new culture (Montgomery 1996:58).

For many refugee groups such a compatriot community does not exist prior to settlement, as is the case in this thesis for the Hungarians settling in Ireland, unlike established groups for instance in the USA or Canada. This fact had a considerable impact on the refugees’ adaptation and language learning as well as the fact that Ireland in 1956 appeared to be a mono-cultural society and was also not prepared for hosting refugees. Ethnic social networks also serve important functions in terms of identity maintenance by helping individuals to validate their beliefs and values (Boekstijn 1984), and this absence emerges in the data analysis chapters.

3.4.5 Acculturation and Refugees

Refugees face the greatest risks during the process of adaptation (Berry and Sam 1997), and in Allen et al’s (2006) view, refugees have to cope not only with the acculturation stress of learning another culture, but also with the depression and anxiety of the traumatic experience of their escape, which they take with them into their country of resettlement. Bash and Zezlina-Phillips (2006:114) describe this as ‘when fleeing from murderous armies and militias, refugees enter a new universe of being: without either home or job, often stripped of national identity, and with only inner legacies as resources for survival’. Refugees possess more limited resources for cross-cultural adaptation than immigrants, as they generally do not have financial assets, and some also have limited education (Ward 2001). Many are obliged to undertake jobs of a lower social status and prestige, and the stress originating from downward mobility may lead to increased psychological stress (Berry and Sam 1997).

Refugee children have also often experienced the tragedy and trauma of war, including persecution, dangerous escapes, and prolonged stays in refugee camps (Fantino and Colak

2001). Some have witnessed killings and torture including atrocities against family members. Others have lost many members of their families and have lost everything that was familiar to them, as was Mari's experience in this thesis. Although these children may not know the concept of being homesick, they struggle with fear and apprehension to find safety and attachment in the new environment of the host country (Bash and Zezlina-Phillips 2006).

Allen et al (2006) note various stages in forced migrants' acculturation processes, such as: pre-departure, flight, first asylum, claimant and adaptation phases. In the 'pre-departure' phase refugees are greatly exposed to their past traumatic experiences. The 'flight' phase involves risk of capture or death, deprivation, hunger, and discomfort. Loss of bonds with family along with loss of material possessions are additional challenges. Refugees, then arrive at a location of first asylum, which encompasses a range of settings from short-term transit camps to more permanent settlements, such as the case of the 1956 Hungarian refugees in this thesis. Allen et al's (2006) discussion of these four phases is of particular relevance concerning the Hungarian refugees' experiences, because they were all forced migrants, who suffered from a traumatic past; many of them were exposed to the threat of execution due to participation in the revolution, and some of them also lost contact with family as well as their material possessions.

3.4.6 Camp Life

Allen et al (2006: 229) note that:

Acculturation of refugees in non-settlement contexts differs from that of other acculturating individuals because the former live predominantly in collective settings where interactions with conationals are widespread while residing in host countries, while the latter experience acculturation when living intermingled among host-community members.

When refugees first cross borders they often find safety in neighbouring countries, either among members of the host society or in camps (Allen et al 2006), which was also the case with the 1956 Hungarian refugees, who stayed in transit camps in Vienna. Camp life has a considerable impact on refugees' initial adaptation by offering the first intercultural experience in a host country. Although camps were originally planned for offering short-

term solution for refugees, due to the increasing number of arrivals, it can become in many cases a semi-permanent settlement. Refugees in camps have a sense of not belonging anywhere: they can not return to their home, and are not incorporated yet into the host society, a point of relevance to the 1956 Hungarian refugees who came to Ireland. Camps also vary from barbed-wire-walled close ones to open ones (Allen et al 2006); the Knocknalisheen refugee camp in Ireland where the Hungarian refugees stayed was a closed camp.

The degree of openness or closure has considerable impact for refugees' acculturation, since, in the case of closed camps, they are exposed to a host country's policies and practices of forced separation. For those living communally in camps, in addition to their culture of origin and experience of the culture of the host society, camp culture also impacts on the process of their acculturation. Refugees living in camps do not live interspersed with a host community. Usually refugees establish cultural contact, when they go outside to sell and purchase products (Allen et al 2006), which was also the case with the Hungarian refugees of this study as chapter 4 details.

3.4.7 Theoretical Approaches to Refugee and Migrant Acculturation

Silove et al (1998) in his integrated conceptual model concerning refugees' psycho-social experiences focuses on the traumatic experiences in refugees' functioning and resettlement. Birman and Tran (2007) for instance, examine the pre-and post migration factors affecting the adjustment of Vietnamese refugees' resettlement in the United States. Psychological adjustment was measured in terms of depression, anxiety, alienation and life satisfaction. The sample group included both ex-political detainees and other refugees and their findings indicate significant differences between the two groups and suggest that ex-political detainees' experiences negatively influenced their post-migration psychological adjustment. Taft, who carried out extensive research on immigrants' assimilation patterns to Australia (1966; 1985), has specified five aspects to the immigration process: acquiring cultural knowledge of the host country, developing social interaction, gaining membership identity within the host society, integrating and conforming to the value perception of the

host society. All of these impact on the process of cross-cultural adaptation and are part of the experience of the Hungarians interviewed for this study.

Littlewood and Lipsedge (1982) found interesting observations regarding migrants' reactions to different situations:

- people who migrate for financial reasons usually have high expectations.
- migrants whose professional qualifications are not recognized, have a comparatively high rate of mental illness.
- unfulfilled expectations lead to poor adjustment, anxiety and anger.
- even isolated individuals can function adequately if their expectations are met, and they enjoy a certain degree of economic and psychological security

The Hungarian refugees participating in this study did not leave their home for financial reasons and none of the participants in this study had high expectations. Those, whose professional qualifications were not recognized changed their scope of interest and managed life quite well. Some of them lived in relative isolation in Ireland, but they did not display signs of either economic instability or psychological trauma.

Hinkle (1974) researched different migrant groups in America, among them Hungarians, who had experienced major socio-cultural changes as a consequence of migration. As the case studies note, the Hungarians appeared to experience more physical and psychological illness, while in contrast a large number of Chinese seemed little affected by their life changes. Hinkle (1974: 28) suggests:

When people had had difficulty in making a satisfactory adaptation to their social environment in the past...when they felt insecure, frustrated, or threatened, they had had an increased number of episodes of many varieties of illness.

As Cochrane (1979) notes, it might have been anticipated that migrants from far away countries encounter more difficulties, because of greater language and cultural differences, though Hinkle's (1974) study appears to contradict this with the Chinese in his study. Stoller and Krupinski (1973) argue that language attainment is the most important aspect in

migration integration and the lack of adequate language knowledge usually limits upward mobility, encourages migrants to live in compatriot communities and tends to cause disruption between first and second generational migrants. Such language issues emerge in chapter 6.

Yao (1979) investigated the assimilation patterns of Chinese refugees in America, paying attention to intrinsic cultural traits, such as values and beliefs, and extrinsic ones, like dress and manners. Predictably the migrants displayed less change in value systems and the use of the mother tongue, than in manners and life-style patterns. Nicassio and Pate (1984) who looked at the various problems of adjustment patterns over 1500 Indo-Chinese refugees in the United States found that education, employment status and income seemed to be the most important dimensions of cross-cultural adjustment patterns. Stoller and Krupinski (1973) examined the influence of the following factors on the mental illnesses of migrants:

- age of arrival
- duration of residence
- employment, income
- housing conditions
- wartime experiences
- assimilation
- integration

All of these factors concern this study in terms of the experiences of those refugees who fled Hungary in the 1940s and in 1956, and arrived in Ireland.

Drbohlav and Džúrová (2007), examined Vietnamese and Ukrainian refugees' successful inclusion in Czech society, and connected their adaptation to the assimilation mode, a point of particular relevance to this study. They observed, that those who are satisfied with their quality of life are those for whom it is not important to live close to their compatriots, and they are also those whose knowledge of the host society's language is above average. Ward (2008), by introducing the notion of ethno-cultural conflict provides a fresh perspective on the notion of acculturation. Although she acknowledges Berry and Sam's (1997) acculturation model, she widens this perspective by devoting particular attention to the role of culture distance in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. After conducting research in

New Zealand she concludes that first generation migrants from Korea experienced greater identity conflict than their counterparts from the United Kingdom. Ward et al (2008) argues that the conflict between the demands of host and home culture is likely to have negative psychological and social consequences in the process of acculturation due to culture distance.

3.4.8 Refugee Identity

Refugees' acculturation and identity reconstruction are two fundamental psychological processes, which are likely to unfold in the context of specific difficulties. Refugees arriving in the country of permanent settlement re-build their disconnected and shattered identities (Colic-Peisker and Walker 2003). Through the process of forced migration, they lose aspects of their identities that were embedded in their former communities, jobs, skills, language and culture, and seek to reconstruct their identity (Colic-Peisker and Walker 2003). The shape and direction of acculturation depends on the refugee groups' distance from the host society, the human and social capital represented in the group, and also on the official policies of the host society (Colic-Peisker and Walker 2003), a point of importance for this thesis regarding the resettlement of the 1956 Hungarian refugees. Phinney et al (2001) in their interactional model examine the relationship between identity and adaptation, and propose that the role of ethnic identity in cross-cultural adaptation can be best understood in terms of the interaction between individual's predispositions and the characteristics of the host society (see also Kim's (2001) model in this chapter in section 3.7.1 for full discussion and chapter 7 of data analysis on identity outcomes).

Ethnic identity is one form of cultural identity and is shaped by the view on how individuals define themselves in the new culture (Liebkind 2006). Ethnic identity has been treated as feelings of belongingness and commitment and as a sense of shared values and attitudes. However ethnic and cultural diversity often create confusion because individuals strive to stay loyal to their old identity while embracing the new one (Kim 2001). Acquiring skill and knowledge in the host culture does not mean inevitably the loss of the home culture but the old identity bears pivotal importance (Kim 2001). Mere ethnic self-

identification does not reveal the extent to which an individual holds on to his or her original culture, as chapter 7 on identity outcomes in this thesis also demonstrates. However, the strength of identification with members of the country of origin will show the stage of an individual's acculturation (Liebkind 2006) and consequently is of relevance to this thesis as it deals with over 50 years of cross-cultural adaptation by the Hungarian refugees who arrived in Ireland and their resulting identity outcomes.

3.4.9 The Role of Ethnic Identity in Conflict Situations

Conflict is part of inter-group friction, and therefore it is also an important element of refugees' adjustment process and is characterised by Ting-Toomey (1999:2) as a '*pervasive human phenomenon that penetrates all forms of social relationships in all ethnic and cultural groups*'. Ting-Toomey (1999; 2005), Ting-Toomey et al (2000), Ting-Toomey and Oetzel (2001) examine the influence of ethnic background, ethnic identity and cultural identity on conflict styles. In a study on African, Asian, European and Latino Americans, Ting-Toomey et al (2000) found that conflict styles are a patterned response to conflict in a variety of situations and are learned within the primary socialization process of one's cultural or ethnic group. The major findings of Ting-Toomey et al's (2000) study are that ethnic background, ethnic and cultural identities are in a complex relationship and have important roles in conflict management.

Individuals with a strong cultural identity, that is identifying with the larger US culture in the study, apply integrating, compromising and emotionally expressive conflict styles. However, this tendency is not typical in the case of individuals with a weak cultural identity. Those with strong ethnic identity, use an 'integrating conflict style, while those with weak ethnic identity do not (Ting-Toomey et al 2000). Bi-cultural groups predominantly apply integrating and compromising conflict styles, while a marginal group rely more often on a third party's help. Ting-Toomey et al's (2000) findings suggest that the handling of conflict in the diverse range of ethnic contact situations depends on the multidimensional construct of ethnic identity, a point of reference in this study, since the Hungarian refugees faced several conflict situations upon arrival in Ireland in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and also in the course of their settling into Irish society.

3.5 Linguistic Issues

Block (2006:35) considers that language identity is '*the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and different means of communication*'. Language maintenance is part of a wider acculturation process, which incorporates 'change in values, materials, and symbolic culture' (Bourhis 2001: 6). Ethnolinguistic identity is associated with an out-group's language competence in inter-group settings (Tajfel and Turner 1985). In Kim's (2001) view, one way to examine the strength of an ethnic group is to assess its ethno-linguistic identity. For Kim (2001:80) ethno-linguistic vitality is manifest in three structural variables: the status of a community's language, the absolute and relative users of the language and ethnic institutional support.

Giles and Johnson (1986) identify five components of ethno-linguistic identity:

- Strength of identification with the in group
- Interethnic comparisons
- Ethnolinguistic vitality (the range and functions of an ethnic group's language)
- Softness of group boundaries
- Multiple group memberships

In Giles and Johnson's (1981; 1986) view, the strength of ethnic identity has an impact on an individual's attitude towards out-groups and their languages. They consider for instance that negative inter-ethnic comparisons and perceived hard boundaries negatively affect group language acquisition competence in bilingual Welsh adolescents. Similarly, Gao et al (1994) observe that the strength of ethnic identity influences Mexican American's perception of the vitality of English and Spanish. In this thesis there was no viable ethnic group of Hungarians in Ireland prior to the arrival of the refugees and therefore the Hungarians' ethno-linguistic identity was compromised long-term.

Fishman (2001) also state that there are numerous factors which impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality of immigrant language communities. He classified these factors under three main categories:

- demographic characteristics of the immigrant community
- institutional support provided by the host country
- status factors, such as the use of the immigrant language in the public domain

As Fishman (2001) states, minorities who are concentrated within a certain geographical area are more likely to keep their first language than those who are scattered. Drbohlav and Džúrová (2007) have shown that there is no necessary connection between the degree of social contact with the community and the rates of language maintenance as attitudinal factors are also important. Receiving countries also have responsibility in providing incentives and opportunities to facilitate language acquisition by newcomers (Hou and Beiser (2006), and the host environment impacts upon migrants' acculturation strategies, their social identity (Tajfel 1974) and language issues.

Heritage language and cultural education are also important for strengthening ethnic and cultural identity, while at the same time enhancing a positive sense of self for the second generation (Borland 2005). The family remains for most immigrants and their children the main domain for community language use (Pauwels 2005). Mixed-language couples usually use the dominant language as their common medium of communication while couples who were married before migrating are highly likely to use their common mother tongue at home, which is also a point of relevance for this thesis. Endogamous marriage promotes cultural retention, as well as the preservation of large family networks that encourage heritage language retention (Chiswick and Miller 1992). Parents, who continue to speak the home language in the family, without forcing the children unduly, are usually more successful than those who either abandon or decrease their own use it in light of a child's reluctance (Pauwels 2005). These points are of relevance to data analysis chapter 6 of this thesis.

3.5.1 Learning the Language of the Host Culture

Ward and Kennedy (1994), and Ward et al (2001) also extensively examine the role that language learning plays in migrants' acculturation, including refugees, into their new socio-cultural context. Employment in many cases is an efficient way to acculturate as well as to

reconstruct one's identity though some migrants could limit their acquisition of the majority language to the minimum required by their specific employment (Poza 2006). Empirical research has documented that language ability is positively related to socio-cultural adaptation and that those fluent in the host culture language experience fewer social difficulties (Ward and Kennedy 1994).

In Masgoret and Gardner's view (2003) attitudinal and motivational variables, such as an individual's attitude and openness towards a host society, as well as displaying an interest in social interaction with members of other cultural groups, influence the process of second language acquisition. Thus, in Masgoret and Gardner's (1999) earlier studies, when studying the English language acquisition of Spanish immigrants in Canada, they established that the immigrants' positive attitude towards English, and the frequency and quality of their contact with host members was beneficial in the process of language learning (see data analysis chapter 6 for full discussion of the Hungarian refugees' experiences in this study).

3.5.2 Migrant Children's Language Acquisition

For most immigrant children, school and other educational settings are the major arenas for inter-group contact and acculturation. School adjustment can be seen as a primary task, and as a highly important outcome of the cultural transition process.

Schools, as Vedder and Horenczyk (2006: 419) state, provide children with a routine and intensive exposure to the dominant language. Ward et al (2001) observed that younger refugees generally have greater language proficiency, because youth confers biological advantage (Drbohlav and Dzúrová 2007), and this can make the process of their cross-cultural adaptation easier. As Chiswick and Miller (1992) observe, the first few years in a new country may be the most critical for learning its language as, afterwards the incentive becomes increasingly remote. Migrant children are influenced in their language use both by the family's attitude and by the general environment as Ward and Kennedy (1999), Ward et al (2001), Oliver and Purdie (1998), and particularly Cummins (2000) observe. At school, they may be faced with the disadvantages of language barriers, as well as their parents'

inadequate knowledge about the school system of the society of settlement. Also, immigrant parents may have high expectations for their children's academic achievement, because they consider it vital in their future success in the new country (Vedder and Horenczyk 2006).

However, by learning the host society's language, migrant children can cease to maintain their proficiency in their mother tongue and the new language replaces the child's first language instead of the child becoming a proficient bilingual in both, a point of relevance to this study of the 1956 Hungarian refugees. Children may retain understanding skills in the home language but they can, for example use the host society's language in responding to their parents. One of the reasons might be as Ward, Chang, and Lopez-Nerney (1999) argue, that increased interaction with the host society may exert an additional positive influence in the acquisition of a host language. However, as Cummins (2000) states, the extent and rapidity of home language loss varies according to the concentration of families from a particular linguistic group in the school and neighbourhood. In order to preserve a home language parents would need to establish a strong home language policy and provide opportunities for children to expand the functions for which they use the mother tongue, such as reading and writing as well as speaking. However, as chapter 6 details, the Hungarian refugees, who arrived in 1956, had no existing networks to fit into in Ireland besides the Hungarian interpreter of the camp so that there were limited opportunities for use of the mother tongue.

Berry et al (1989) also examine a generational decline of the 'heritage-language' among migrants, that is, the language brought to the host country. The research was conducted among 10 major ethnic groups in Canada including Hungarians. Berry et al (1989) found, that while 71% of the first generational respondents claimed to have fluent knowledge of their mother tongue, and 27% reported some knowledge, after two generations the mother tongue virtually disappeared with only 0.6% of reports of fluent knowledge. These findings are of particular relevance to the Hungarians in this thesis in chapter 6 regarding their long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001). However, besides the ability to communicate, language use has another link with adaptation, namely it proves to be a

powerful medium for the assertion of identity as Fishman (1992; 2001) in particular, as well as others (Clement 2006, Castells 1997, Gardner and MacIntyre 1992, Barth 1994) note. Barth (1994) particularly focuses on language as a marker of a boundary between the host society and newcomers, because, as he claims, the identification and categorization of others as strangers implies a limitation on shared understandings, and restriction of interaction. Kim (2001) also observes that language use marks boundaries between newcomers and a host society's members and so her model (2001) is of importance in this regard.

3.6 Models of Cross-Cultural Encounters

This thesis examines the cross-cultural encounters between the 1956 Hungarian refugees on their arrival to Ireland, a country unfamiliar to them. Consequently, it is of importance to this thesis to examine models of cross-cultural adaptation that strongly incorporate both the stranger and the host society in their theoretical perspective. One early model is Bennett's (1986; 1988; 1993a) Intercultural Sensitivity model which provides a framework for a developmental sequence in describing strangers' adaptation in a new cultural milieu, as a perspective on otherness. This model identifies the course of adaptation within two major stages, the ethno-centric, and the ethno-relative stages. The ethno-centric stages encompass denial, defence and minimization of cultural difference.

In the denial stage the ethno-centric person does not recognize the existence of cultural difference but in the defence stage he does, and tends to be highly critical of other cultures. The defence battle is manifested in three forms: denigration, superiority, and reversal. Denigration or 'negative stereotyping' is a strategy which means that the threat of difference is evaluated negatively. Superiority is a form of defence which emphasises the newcomer's own cultural status positively. As Bennett (1986) claims, people who have been oppressed may spend more time in the superiority form of defence. This self-defence can be seen as a reflection of self-esteem, such as in case of some of the Hungarian refugees in this study. In the reversal stage strangers deny their original culture. Finally, in the minimization stage strangers acknowledge cultural differences, but trivialize them. This

state is a transition from ethnocentrism to ethno-relativism and represents a development in intercultural sensitivity, because difference is overtly acknowledged.

The ethno-relative stages are acceptance, adaptation and integration where an individual's own culture is experienced in the context of other cultures. In the acceptance stage strangers are respectful toward cultural differences and judge them positively. In the next stage an individual may intentionally change behaviour in order to communicate more effectively in the host culture and the world view is expanded to include constructs from other world views. In the final, integration stage, individuals integrate aspects of their own original cultural perspectives with those of other cultures. Individuals in this stage value a variety of cultures, and also constantly define their own identity in contrast with a multitude of cultures. Bennett's (1986) defence stage has a particular relevance to this thesis, as the Hungarian refugees spend a long time in this stage trying to cope with cultural differences (see data analysis chapters for full discussion).

Anderson's (1994) model is based on social psychological theory on the adjustment process of the individual. She considers that cross-cultural adaptation is a cyclical and recursive process of overcoming obstacles and finding solutions for problems. According to Anderson (1994), it is the individual who chooses among a broad range of modes as to how to respond to different situations. Upon arrival to a new culture individuals suddenly realize that the old rules for interpreting their environment no longer apply. They react to the new situation in four different ways: they try to change the environment, try to change themselves, do nothing at all or walk away.

If they opt for changing themselves they accept the new situation and adjust themselves. If they refuse to adjust themselves, they try to change the environment. If they choose the third option, that is, do nothing, they will remain an outsider, and in the last case, which is walking away, they could be alienated. If the obstacle encountered is perceived as negligible, it is likely to be surmounted easily. In the opposite case individuals have to decide how to react. They may lower their expectations to meet their host society's demands, or they may first refuse to adapt, but as Anderson (1994) states, later they realize

that the only option is to change themselves in order to overcome the obstacle. However, in Anderson's (1994) view, even after decades in a new environment the adaptation process is almost never complete, because individuals never function exactly the same way as members of their host society. Anderson's (1994) model is particularly relevant in this thesis, since the Hungarian refugees had to surmount various obstacles during their cross-cultural adaptation process (see data analysis chapters 4-7 for full discussion).

3.6.1 Identity Outcomes: J. Bennett's (1993) and Yoshikawa's (1987) Models

Janet Bennett's (1993) theory is based on the assumption that an individual originating from one culture and migrating to another, so coming into permanent contact with a new culture, is likely to find him or herself on the margin of each culture, without belonging to either. In her approach there are two types of marginal: encapsulated and constructive. An encapsulated marginal has learned to incorporate the worldview of two cultures but has difficulties shifting between them. The constructive marginal has developed a dynamic conscious state of betweenness and moves comfortably between the two identities. Similarly to Bennett (1993), Yoshikawa (1987; 1987a) believes, that an individual thrives in between two cultures, discovering the most about himself/herself because he or she is living without the constraints of established cultural confines.

Yoshikawa (1987a) uses the image of the Möbius strip to illustrate the final stage of cross cultural adjustment. This is the stage of 'inbetweenness' where the individual fluidly moves between the 2 cultures, free to chose behaviour and attitudes appropriate to the situation. In Bennett's (1993:10) view, Yoshikawa suggests a continual and comfortable movement between cultural identities, an 'identity in unity', and in this way an integrated, multicultural existence is maintained depending on conscious and deliberate choice making. As Bennett (1993) further argues, consciously living on the margin of several cultures eliminates overdependence upon a single culture for identity. Both Bennett (1993) and Yoshikawa (1987) believe that from a marginal state, one is able to display the utmost in intercultural sensitivity (Bennett 1993; Yoshikawa 1987). In this research there are several examples of such cultural adjustments in chapter 7.

3.6.2 Additional Perspectives: Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory has been widely used to interpret inter-group relations from both host and migrant's perspectives. This theory was developed by Tajfel (1974) and offers a social-psychological perspective on adaptation. SIT theory originally served to identify social categorisation and comparison in inter-group relations, and to determine the minimal conditions that would lead members of one group to discriminate against members of other group. As Oudenhoven et al (2006) state, group membership is an important component of social identity; people aim to maintain a positive self-image by engaging in favourable comparisons between their in-groups and out-groups, a point of particular interest in data analysis chapter 4, which outlines Irish generosity towards the 1956 Hungarian refugees. Tajfel (1974; 1978) considers that in the course of interpersonal behaviour individuals are driven by their personal identities. In turn, when they engage in inter- group behaviour, they are driven by their social identities. Social identification theory is concerned with predicting individuals' motivations to maintain or change their group memberships and the relations between their original group and that of others.

The core assumption of social identification theory is that corresponding to the particular context, an individual has several selves, and as such, several social identities (Turner 1987) and it is an individual-based perception that defines one's group membership. Social identification theory asserts that in-group members display in-group favouritism and express positive distinctiveness at the expense of out-group members (Tajfel and Turner 1985). In Berry and Sam's (1997) view individuals are discontented when they perceive that their social identities are negative in an inter group situation, and they are committed to developing a positive social identity. Social identity theory is particularly relevant in this thesis, because of the nature of the contact between the host society and the Hungarians, as in the resettlement camps in data analysis chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.7 Synthesizing Models and Approaches

Kim (1988; 2001) has focused on synthesising and integrating such earlier perspectives into a multi-dimensional model which also incorporates macro conditions, such as a host

environment's receptivity and conformity pressure, the role of ethnic group strength in cross-cultural adaptation and intercultural identity. Kim (2001:205) defines cross-cultural adaptation as '*a fundamental life activity of all humans, an activity that expresses individuals' inherent drive to maximize the 'fit' between their internal conditions and the conditions of the environment in which they live*'. Kim's model (1988; 2001) merges macro-level factors, such as the role of the environment, and micro-level factors, such as individual attributes in adaptation; she also allows a 'reconciliation' in the controversial issue of 'culture shock' phenomenon. She gives special emphasis to the role of cross-cultural learning experience in the process of cross-cultural adaptation and also bridges the division between the assimilationist and pluralist views in cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (1978; 1980; 2001; 2002; 2005) has also included in her theory issues of ethnicity, ethnic and intercultural identity, and inter-ethnic communication.

3.7.1 *Kim's Multidimensional Process Model*

Kim's (2001:20) cross-cultural adaptation model focuses on the following axioms:

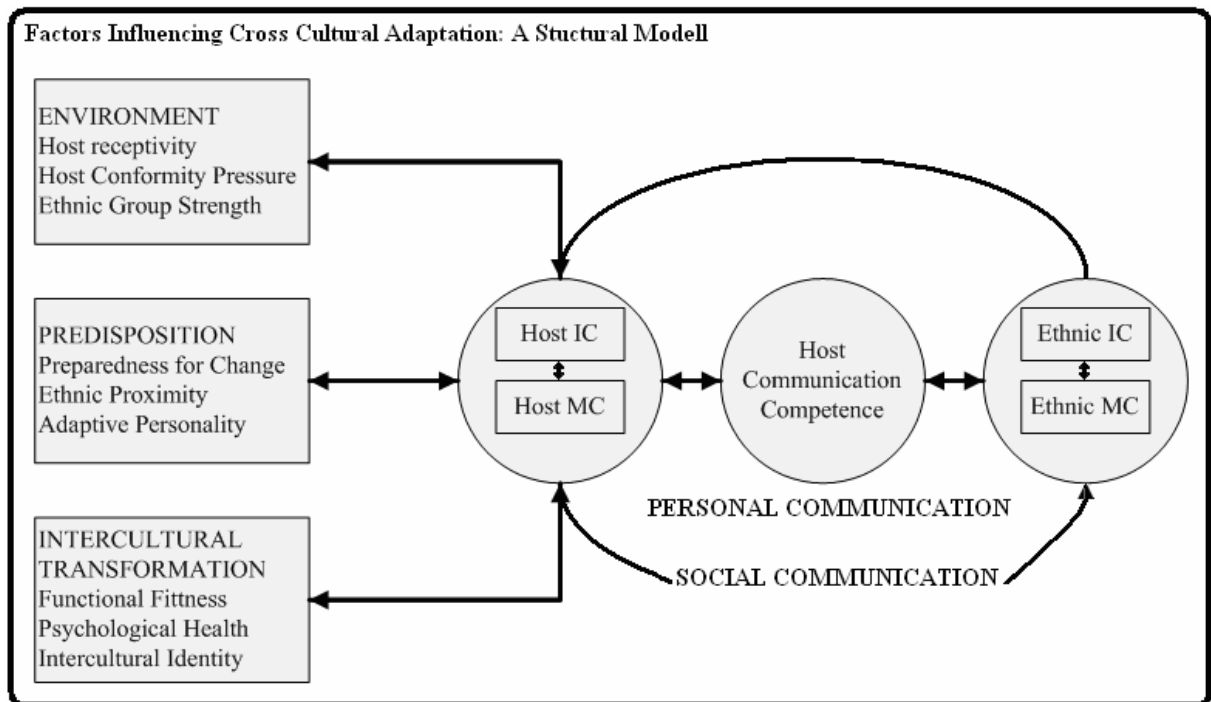
- cross-cultural adaptation can be illustrated on a stress-adaptation growth dynamic cycle (process model)
- cross-cultural adaptation involves both acculturation and deculturation
- cross-cultural adaptation is influenced by both environmental conditions and a strangers' predispositional conditions
- cross-cultural adaptation brings about an intercultural transformation
- cross-cultural adaptation is manifested in intercultural identity
- cross-cultural adaptation is hampered by over reliance on an ethnic network
- cross-cultural adaptation is based on host communicational competence

Kim (1988; 2001), in her model, conceptualises cross-cultural adaptation as '*the totality of an individual's personal and social experiences vis-à-vis the host environment and through a complex system of communicative interfaces*' (Kim 2001: 32). She explains cross-cultural adaptation as a combination of psychological, social and communication factors, such as a host society's approach towards strangers, the role of the ethnic community, the

individual's adaptive potential and the individual's communicative engagement with the host environment resulting in intercultural transformation.

Figure 3.7.1.i illustrates Kim's Multidimensional Process Model (Adapted from Kim 2001:267):

Figure 3.7.1.i



A host society's role in the cross-cultural adaptation is central to Kim' (2001) theory and is also key to this thesis. She states that host society receptivity is reflected *'in the degree to which a given environment is open to, welcomes, and accepts strangers into its social communication networks and offers them various forms of social support'* (Kim 2001:79), and conformity pressure is the extent to which a host society challenges strangers to conform to the new environment.

Kim (2001) also highlights the role of ethnic group strength in cross-cultural adaptation. The stages of ethnic community development are influenced by the concept of a host society's and ethnic social network's institutional completeness (Breton 1964). Ethnic

group strength works interactively with a host society's conformity pressure. The greater the ethnic group strength, the greater is resistance to conformity pressure, and also the greater the ethnic group's strength, the greater the ethnic interpersonal and mass communication is, and the lesser the host interpersonal and mass communication. As there was no ethnic community network support for the Hungarian refugees when they arrived, this aspect of Kim's (1988; 2001) model is also central to this thesis in terms of resistance or conformity to host society pressure.

Finally, in Kim's (2001:113) view adaptation is closely related to identity flexibility. An individual with a flexible identity orientation and with openness shows greater willingness to accept a host society's culture, and to develop 'emotional co-orientation' with local people. In Kim's (2001) view, those individuals who can grow in appreciation of both the new culture and their former roots develop an intercultural identity, a point of particular relevance to this thesis in the identity outcomes discussed in chapter 7.

3.7.2 Host Communication Competence in Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Kim (1988; 2001) attributes a significant role for communication in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Kim (1988; 2001) states, that the social interaction between strangers and host societies is based on the shared understanding of the rules, norms and goals of the encounter between an individual and a host society, and the interaction is successful if all participants essentially agree in their social situation definition. As strangers become more competent in the communication system in their new environment, they are better able to eliminate the differences between their home and host culture and until they acquire the necessary communication skills in their host society they are handicapped in their ability to meet their needs, and are often subject to subtle discrimination (Kim 1988; 2001). She states:

Host language knowledge brings status for strangers, empowers them with access to mainstream culture and promotes their achievement of personal and social goals (Kim 2001:121).

As long as strangers remain in contact with and participate in the host environment, the environment serves as the cultural and socio-political context for their communication activities (Kim 2001:79).

However, the opposite is also true, because if strangers refrain from participating in a host society's social life, their host communication competence will take a long time to develop:

The longer strangers avoid or participate only minimally in the communication processes of the host environment, the longer it will take for them to acquire host communication competence (Kim 2001:77).

Kim considers acculturation motivation, language competence, interpersonal and mass media accessibility as the major determinants of intercultural communication competence, and the way to develop an intercultural identity (Kim and Gudykunst 1988a). These are all of significance in data analysis chapters 4-7 of this thesis.

3.7.3 Comparison with Psychology and Psychosocial Approaches

Both Berry (1997) and Ward (1996) have models of cross-cultural adaptation drawn mainly from a psychology perspective which are of interest to this thesis and form useful comparison's to Kim's (1988; 2001) model. According to Berry's (1997 model), in a plural society there are four options available for individuals and groups: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. The first option, assimilation means that the minority culture is absorbed into the dominant culture. Assimilation is defined as relinquishing one's cultural identity and moving into the larger society. The integration option implies some maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group as well as the movement by the group to become an integral part of a larger societal framework. Therefore, the option taken is to retain cultural identity and move to join with the dominant society (Berry 1980). When there are no substantial relations with the larger society accompanied by a maintenance of ethnic identity, the third option may take the form of either segregation or separation. The last option is marginalisation, in which groups lose cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the larger society (Berry 1980).

Berry's (1980: 1997) model received criticism on the ground, that the concept of marginalisation is not a viable one, since it is not an optional choice, but rather an important outcome (Oudenhoven et al 2006) of contrast. Alternatively, some migrants may not directly identify with either the integration or assimilation option: they may rather opt for an individualistic strategy, for instance adopting a cosmopolitan culture, that is, adopting elements from a number of cultures (Bourhis et al 1997). In a critique of the model Lazarus (1997) considers individual differences in coping skills, goals, beliefs, expectations, and emotions, such as anger, envy, depression, gratitude, pride, and hope as part of adaptational struggles, and in his view, such difference deserve more attention.

Kagitcibasi (1997) considers Berry's (1997) view that integration is the best acculturation strategy, as not providing sufficient condition for attaining inter-group harmony referring to Tajfel's (1974; 1978) social identity theory (see section 3.6.2 in this chapter). Horenczyk (1997) suggests a more differentiated approach in immigrants' adjustment process in order to gain a deeper understanding of their processes of acculturation. In his view, Berry's (1997) account does not consider variations within the majority society concerning the content and direction of its attitude towards strangers. He states, that Berry (1997) considers a single monolithic host society and fails to take into account the complexity and variability of modern societies towards immigrants. Horenczyk (1997) states that Berry regards the acculturation of immigrants as a fixed dimension rather than moving on an acculturation continuum. Finally, in Pick's (1997) critique, the major limitation of Berry's (1997) theoretical model is that each part fits perfectly within the other in a functional relationship, ignoring the diversity of variables involved in the study of immigration, and this leaves no room for flexibility. Nevertheless, Berry's (1997) approach is relevant to this thesis, because of the Irish social context in the researched period.

3.7.4 Ward's Model

Ward's (1996) model draws largely on Berry (1997) though in Ward's (1997) view, Berry (1997) displays a limited appreciation of the culture learning approach, which does not fit easily within the stress and coping acculturation framework. Her model is supplemented by theory and research on culture learning by Furnham and Bochner (1986). Her approach

stresses a distinction between socio-cultural adjustment, characterized by learning of operational skills, and psychological adjustment, including personal well-being and psychological coping (Ward 1996; 1997). She defines psychological adjustment in a stress and coping framework, while she ranks skills and social difficulties in a socio-cultural framework. In her view, socio-cultural adaptation depends on four features: the cultural proximity between a sojourner's home and host cultures, the amount of contact with host culture group members, the length of residency in the host setting, and a migrant's ability to use the local language in a socially appropriate way (Ward 1996; 1997), a point of importance for this study of Hungarian refugees in Ireland.

Ward's (1996) perspective is similarly to Berry (1997), both on the macro and micro level, as Ward (1996) also incorporates a range of variables, such as social identity as a forecaster of adjustive outcomes, and a diverse scale of affective, behavioural and cognitive components of acculturation. On the macro level she states that both the society of origin and the society of settlement are important elements of acculturation. On the micro level her approach deals with personality traits, cultural identity, acculturation strategies, social support and friendship networks. Berry's (1997) and Ward's (1996) approaches can be combined to establish a framework for acculturation attitudes among migrants (Culhane 2004) and is of particular relevance in this thesis, since the Hungarian refugees' adaptation was affected by both psychological, socio-cultural and social network aspects.

3.7.5 Intercultural Identity

Schönpflug's (1997) commentary on Berry (1997) focuses on two concepts which are not elaborated in Berry's model: acculturation as development, and acculturation as identity change. She considers that during acculturation individuals display development in several domains, such as in the realm of personality, in social behaviours or social skills. Schönpflug (1997) also states, that Berry's model neglects an important aspect of changes associated with acculturation, that is, the process of ethnic identity formation. In contrast, Kim (1988; 2001; 2006) places individual identity outcomes as the key outcome of cross-cultural adaptation. A person's identity in a new environment undergoes several changes, and as a result of the constant experience of acculturation and deculturation the identity

goes through a dynamic and integrative transformation, resulting in a new, intercultural identity: experiences of past and present merge in a harmonious unity and result in a new consciousness, and self-awareness. Through prolonged experience in a host society, individuals become more flexible, do not adhere rigidly to their original identity, but incorporate the old cultural elements into their self-concept, and the emerging new identity changes from a mono-cultural one to an intercultural one by merging all the cultural elements into a new identity (Kim 1988; 2001). In the course of this evolution intercultural personhood develops, which does not mean replacing one culture with another. Intercultural personhood is flexible and involves a broad spectrum of cultural attributes, it suggests an 'expanded orientation', a higher level of self-integration, 'which moves beyond ethnic and national boundaries' (Kim 2001:196).

Kim (2001:191) states, that during this identity transformation individuals move upward and downward on the stress adaptation cycle; the passively ascribed self displays loyalty to the home of origin, but that this psychological conflict has a significant contribution in the development of intercultural identity. Also, during this process, an individual establishes a clear definition of the 'other as a singular individual', rather than a member of a social category, and develops an increased appreciation of both cultures (Kim 2008: 364). An individual undergoing the process of cross-cultural adaptation also has the capacity of developing a sense of certainty about their place in the world as a unique person rather than a stereotype; this extended identity reflects self-acceptance and tolerance in personal relationships (Kim 2001:192). Kim's (1988; 2001) multi-dimensional approach has relevance at a range of levels throughout the data analysis chapters concerning the Hungarian refugees' acculturation and deculturation experiences: in experiencing the host society's powerful conformity pressure, in their identity development, and also in the acquisition of English language knowledge. Finally, Kim (1978; 1980) also conducted research on migrants, from which her multidimensional process theory gradually evolved and consequently, is selected as the encompassing theoretical lens for this study.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 has provided the theoretical framework of this research by examining a range of models that relate to the process of cross-cultural adaptation in relation to migrants. In order to explore the cross-cultural adaptation of the Hungarian refugees, the chapter has examined aspects of cultural values and dimensions. Particular attention was devoted to the phenomena of culture shock, since it was a recurring topic in the research interviews. In the conceptualization and measurement of cross-cultural adaptation phenomena a central point was Berry, who offered deep insight into the process of acculturation particularly with regard to refugees. Ward's model greatly relied on Berry's theoretical and empirical research; therefore the chapter compared and contrasted the two theories. Both Berry's and Ward's model have a significant contribution to this study since they identified and illustrated those micro and macro ranges of variables which considerably influenced political migrant's adaptation.

However, the centre of this research is Kim's multi-dimensional intercultural perspective; therefore particular consideration was dedicated to her model. Kim's model has strengths which are not found in Ward's, or Berry's model. Firstly, while she synthesised all the previous approaches, Kim gave the term intercultural identity a new, expanded meaning. Secondly, Kim's communication model brings a fresh perspective in the literature of cross-cultural adaptation, since it pays attention to a previously neglected topic, to the role of communication processes in cross-cultural adaptation. Kim's model has particular relevance in this research, because she has also conducted research on migrants, and her communicational perspective proves to be a point of reference throughout this study of the process of cross-cultural adaptation by members of the Hungarian community. The next chapter is the first of four chapters of data analysis and focuses on the arrival of the Hungarian refugees in Ireland in 1956 and their reception.

Chapter 4

Hungarian Refugees in Ireland in Transit 1956-58

It was an end and it was a beginning (De Breadun, Irish Times 23 October 2006:11)

When they turned their thoughts to other countries they learned that by accepting the invitation to Ireland they had sacrificed their chance of going elsewhere (The Irish Catholic 26 September 1957).

Chapter Overview

Chapter 4 embraces the period of the Hungarian refugees' arrival to Ireland and their experiences in the Knocknalisheen camp of 1956-1958. The chapter employs a combination of macro and micro perspectives by discussing the Irish social and legal backgrounds, providing a detailed account of the experiences of the whole group of 541 Hungarians, and also those of the interviewees. The refugees' experiences are introduced from various perspectives, such as from the Irish and Canadian government, The Irish Red Cross Society, the Catholic Church, Irish people and also the refugees. Finally, their experiences are discussed with regard to processes of cross-cultural adaptation and communication.

4.1 Macro-Level Analysis: Background

Ireland closely followed the events of the 1956 Hungarian revolution and its aftermath from the very first day, and paid particular attention to the military oppression, and the subsequent political turmoil. On 24 October 1956, The Irish Times published the following article noting the fighting in Budapest and the resulting casualties:

[The]Hungarian News agency, MTI reported this morning that clashes had occurred on the streets of Budapest last night. The agency said that there were casualties in the clashes between the demonstrators and internal security forces.

During the next few days, on the 25 and 26 October the articles of The Irish Times gave an account of a more sombre picture about the further development of the situation in Hungary as a curfew was imposed because of the continuing fighting, and also the movement of refugees who had begun their long journey to Austria:

Anti-Soviet rebellion last night forced the Hungarian government to declare a state of emergency throughout the country and a curfew was imposed (The Irish Times 25 October 1956).

The Hungarian rebels were reported last night to be in almost complete control of the western part of the country. At the same time, according to the travellers reaching the Austrian frontier from Budapest, fighting has again broken out in the capital (The Irish Times 26 October 1956).

Irish people received the Hungarian refugees with great enthusiasm and compassion. However, Catholic Ireland's sympathy and popular support also owed much to Catholic solidarity. As chapter 2 section 2.8 discussed, the Post-War period was a depressing period in Irish history. The country was suffering from devastating economic hardships and there was inadequate rise in industrial employment. Therefore Irish society and also its legal institutions were unprepared for the acceptance of the Hungarians.

However, despite the economic stagnation and the high rate of emigration and unemployment, the Geneva Convention of 1951 obliged Ireland to take part in Europe's refugee crisis. Therefore, the Taoiseach, Mr Costello at a by-election meeting in Tullow emphasised, that these unsettled conditions could not fail to have repercussions in Ireland, as the article of The Irish Times says:

To the utmost extent that our circumstances permit, we will take in refugees from Hungary and do our best in helping them ...so far as the funds of The Irish Red Cross Society, as supplemented by the voluntary contributions of the people, may be insufficient, the Government will readily take steps to make the necessary additional funds available (The Irish Times 12 November 1956).

As the article indicates, right at the beginning of the refugees' arrival in Knocknalisheen the Irish government placed the primary responsibility of the refugees on The Irish Red Cross Society, and also on the generosity of the Irish people. In Hofstede's (1980; 2001) dimension Ireland did not rank among those countries which have a high power distance culture. However, the way the Hungarian refugees' situation was handled in the refugee camp, showed a significant level of centralised control. A clear hierarchy of power can be

observed, with the top of the hierarchy being the Irish government, which imposed its requirements on The Irish Red Cross Society, and at the bottom was the camp controller.

4.2 The Refugees' Arrival and Irish Society's Welcome

The Irish people's warm welcome and generosity towards the Hungarians was illustrated by a wide spectrum of newspaper coverage. The following sample article from The Irish Times introduces the reception of the refugees at Shannon airport:

At 8.37 last night the first Hungarian refugees landed at Shannon airport from an Air Lingus Viscount. Hundreds of airport workers and people from all over Munster thronged the airport and pressed against the barrier to give the exiles a heart-felt rousing welcome (The Irish Times 26 November 1956).

At Shannon airport, Irish society was represented by The Irish Red Cross Society, the Catholic Church's representative, the Army, and the Lord Mayor of Limerick as the representative of government to await and greet the Hungarian refugees, as The Irish Times states:

Ready at the airport to assist the refugees were 100 members of the Red Cross Society from Ennis and Limerick areas. The Mayor of Limerick, Alderman Russell, clergymen and Army representatives went out to welcome to Ireland some of those who only a few weeks ago were in the midst of the Budapest fighting (The Irish Times 26 November 1956).

However, Irish sympathy and interest was mixed with considerable curiosity, since Ireland did not have a tradition of welcoming refugees, and the arrival of the group of 541 Hungarians was an unprecedented event in Irish history. The Hungarians were refugees arriving from a turbulent situation, as The Irish Times comments on their arrival:

All they had with them was the clothes they were wearing and a few small things for the baby.... Few of the refugees knew much about Ireland, but one who was well acquainted with our political position...was a lawyer from Budapest (The Irish Times 27 November 1957).

Neither were the refugees prepared to arrive in Ireland, though they had accepted Ireland's invitation in the Vienna camp (The Irish Press 26 November 1956). Ireland was a distant country, and in the Communist era Hungarians were not allowed to travel to the West, so

they did not know what to expect in Ireland. They had left behind all their material possessions, and arrived with a handful of belongings to begin their new life:

Still clutching treasured possessions which they had snatched from their ruined homes as they fled before the advance of the Russian forces, the first Hungarian refugees to reach Ireland landed at Shannon Airport (The Irish Independent 26 November 1956).

Their first impressions of Irish hospitality in the dining hall of the airport is well illustrated in the article of the Irish Press which details how some people broke down at this particular moment of their journey as refugees:

It was the end of a four-thousand-mile journey from towns and homes destroyed by brutal aggression. They were weary from long travel and tears came easily...As they made their way to the public dining hall, where hot dinner - including Hungarian goulash - was being served, many broke down and unashamedly wept. They seemed deeply touched by a welcome in Hungarian printed on the menu (The Irish Press 26 November 1956).

Clearly, their hosts had made a major effort to make them feel welcome and would appear to have been a very positive start to the refugees' reception and resettlement.

4.2.1 Charity Organised by the Red Cross Society

Following the refugees' arrival, the news on the Hungarian refugees, and various Red Cross advertisements occupied the front pages of the newspapers. The Hungarian refugees' arrival posed a great challenge to the operation of The Irish Red Cross Society; due to the lack of government funding, it was the sole supporter of charity advertisements. The following extract provides details of Irish people's willingness to care for children or provide donations:

The names and addresses of people willing to care for Hungarian refugee children were taken at The Irish Red Cross Society Headquarters...The list of donations and names of people willing to care for the refugees is steadily mounting (The Irish Independent 26 November 1956).

Irish people's sympathy is also mirrored in the success of a collection by the Red Cross, which reached an unexpectedly impressive amount, as the following article states:

The Irish Red Cross Society up to yesterday received £724,250 for the relief of the Hungarian people. The Society expects to collect £1,100,000 in money and goods before its appeal closes (The Irish Press 17 November 1956).

The Irish Red Cross also mobilised each sector of Irish society in the refugee crisis. The Singer Sewing Machine Company made available some sewing machines to the Red Cross for the Hungarians; the director of IMCO Cleaners Ltd donated a large quantity of warm clothing, and also sponsored a Hungarian music programme on Radio Eireann Hungarian (Limerick Leader 28 November 1956). Also, in many firms, collections were made among workers. Individuals, that is, employees of firms formed temporary fund committees and became involved in the logistics of moving refugee supplies:

A collection from staff at the Ringsend, Dublin C.I.E. garage last night realized £67...preparations were being made at the supplies depot in University College, Dublin, to send a half ton of soap given by Colgate/Palmolive Ltd...over £500 of tinned foods given by Colonel Foods Ltd. and medical supplies, which included 36 lbs of penicillin (The Irish Press 17 November 1956).

Overall, the Irish government's original plan was that Knocknalisheen would be a transit camp from which the refugees could go to Irish families as soon as the quarantine period of 14 days was over. The first family, that volunteered to offer a home for a Hungarian family came from County Clare, as an article published in The Irish Independent on 26 November states:

The tiny village of... Co. Clare, with a population of 80 has been the first... to adopt a complete Hungarian refugee family when they have finished their quarantine period at Knocknalisheen camp. [It is difficult to read the archive copy]

However, the poverty, and lack of employment opportunities made it increasingly difficult for others to follow suit, but Irish families were ready to welcome children in their families:

Thousands of Irish families are anxious to offer hospitality to refugee children who have escaped across the Hungarian border (The Irish Catholic 11 November 1956).

However, this offer was conditional: it was as long as these children came from a Catholic country and would participate in Irish religious formation. In keeping with Irish practice at the time, Irish people also devoted their time to religious ceremonies as the following newspaper says:

Requiem mass was celebrated by Reverend Canon Bastible...for the repose of the souls of those who lost their lives in Hungary (The Irish Independent 9 November 1956).

As chapter 2 outlines, under Communist rule religion in Hungary was suppressed and religious practices were banned. Since Irish people did not know much about Hungary, they perceived the Hungarians as people from a Catholic country, whose religious practices might be similar to those of Ireland; therefore, they prayed for them.

4.3 The Composition of the 1956 Refugees Who Arrived in Ireland

As a group, the Hungarian refugees were less homogeneous than previous waves of emigrants who left Hungary in the wake of World War II as the following table illustrates:

Table 4.3: Refugees' Occupations

Occupation	Number	Occupation	Number
Electricians:	7	Accountant :	2
Factory workers:	4	Actress:	1
Housewives:	10	Engineer:	1
Labourers:	2	Physicians:	6
Lawyers:	9	Plumber:	4
Locksmith:	4	Stokers:	5
Miners:	8	Tailor:	6
Motor Mechanics:	1	Teacher:	4
Painter:	1	Waiters:	2
Textile Workers:	6		83

As Table 4.3 (Department of External Affairs 03 November 1956) details, various occupations and social classes were represented among the Irish group. There were housewives and unskilled workers, as well as others, who were either professionals or skilled workers, that is, 23 professionals and 50 skilled workers, making a total of 83 refugees. This is because table 4.3 was prepared shortly after the arrival of the first groups. However, Hungarian refugees arrived in more groups: on 25 and 28 November, 2-6 December, and 8 December (The Irish Press 4 December 1956).

There were no Hungarian cultural institutions operating successfully in Ireland at the time of the refugees' arrival, so, from the perspective of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) there was no danger of extensive reliance on host compatriots, which would hinder the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation. However, being refugees they might rather want to forget the past, or not rely on an established network of compatriots. Additionally, as Table 4.3 indicates, the majority were clearly skilled so that the possibility of a new life appeared as a realistic proposition.

4.4 Micro-Level Analysis: The Interviewees' Background

The twenty Hungarian interviewees in this study arrived in three groups in Ireland: after World War II, in 1956, and in the 1980s, following some years abroad. There was no relationship between the three groups, apart from Teri, who arrived in the 1940s; as the camp interpreter she had a close link with the 1956 refugees. Those who arrived in the 1940s were no different to the group who arrived in 1956. Seven refugees arrived in the first group, and out of thirteen interviewees who left Hungary in 1956 there were ten who arrived at the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and three who arrived initially in London, or elsewhere. Of these, five would have been persecuted because of their involvement in the revolution, or working in Communist military institutions. Seven were victims of the Communist ideology and were discriminated against because of their family background: their lands or homes were confiscated, or they could not practice their religion, or their academic career was blocked. Two escaped from the German concentration camp and three wanted to escape from the restrictions of the Communist Regime. Consequently, they all had an intrinsic motivation to leave their country in search of a new life.

The refugees' occupations covered a variety of fields before leaving Hungary. Two were engaged in the health sector, two had skilled jobs and two had semi-skilled jobs. Seven had professions with academic degrees and the rest of the group did not reveal this part of their life. The three children are not counted in these figures.

The arrival in Ireland of the Hungarian refugees in this study and their motivation for migration is detailed as follows in table 4.4:

Table 4.4: Short Profiles of the Interviewees

Name	Gender	Age	Arrived in	Time of Arrival in Ireland	Reason for Departure
Teri	F	Teens	Ireland	1940s	Learning English as au pair
Magda	F	Teens	Ireland	1940s	Learning English as au pair
Erzsébet	F	16	Ireland	1940s	Family background
Jenő	M	20	Ireland	1940s	Not revealed
József	M	Twenties	Ireland	1940s	Family background
Zoltán	M	6	Ireland	1940s	Jewish persecution
Mari	F	3	Ireland	1940s	Jewish persecution
Béla	M	17	Ireland	1956	Fear of persecution
Sanyi	M	26	Ireland	1956	Fear of persecution
Icu	F	Twenties	Ireland	1956	Fear of persecution
Rózsika	F	Thirties	Ireland	1956	Family background
Elek	M	Twenties	Ireland	1956	Family background
Ibolya	F	Twenties	Ireland	1956	Family background
Edit	F	Thirties	Ireland	1956	Family background
Matild	F	11	Ireland	1956	Family background
György	M	28	Ireland	1956	Fear of persecution
Manci	F	18	Ireland	1956	Joining her family
Kálmán	M	22	England	1980s	Fear of persecution
István	M	15	England	1980s	Not revealed
Margit	F	Twenties	Elsewhere	1980s	Search for Freedom

4.4.1 Arriving in Ireland after World War II.

There are seven refugees in this group. There were two children, Zoltán and Mari who were alive at liberation and so escaped from the concentration camp of Belsen Bergen in 1946.

Zoltán says the following about his escape:

My parents were perished in the concentration camp. I came to Ireland by semi-organised way, by a doctor, through the International Red Cross.

Mari also provides information about her adoption which was different from Zoltán's experience:

We were both adopted by a Jewish couple in Dublin and they became our parents.

These two refugees clearly have a very different experience from the others who left in 1956 or at some stage in the 1940s, because they were adopted by Irish families as young children, and forgot their past to a large extent.

The others, who arrived in Ireland in the 1940s were the three women, Teri, Magda, and Erzsébet and two men, Jenő and József. All of them came from an aristocratic or middle-class family, because in the 1940s travelling abroad and learning foreign languages was not part of an ordinary routine for working-class people in Hungary. Teri left Budapest initially for England as an au pair. Magda, who became later the wife of a nobleman, was also an au pair when she arrived in Ireland in the 1940s.

I was in my teens. That was in the 1940s. I came here to learn English, and I stuck here.

Jenő, the engineer's family did not reveal the reason for his departure, but being an engineer suggests that he had a middle-class background.

Erzsébet, wife of a businessman, left Hungary because of her particular family background, as her son reveals in the following:

The family was very much involved in the politics. My grandfather died in 1946 year, and the family lost everything in Hungary.

József, the baron, whom became later a landholder in Ireland, was also forced to leave Hungary:

When the Communists took over our country in the 1940s, my father was forced to leave his house, and only one room was left for us. We left our estates and moved to Budapest, where we took refuge in my aunt's house.

As common practice in Communist Hungary, the upper classes' properties were confiscated such as those of József's family, who was deprived of his estates. Consequently, Erzsébet, József, and the others had clear reasons to flee Hungary.

4.4.2 Arriving in 1956: First in England or Elsewhere

In this group there are three refugees: Kálmán, the writer, István, the engineer, and Margit, the musician left Hungary in 1956, but they arrived in Ireland only in the 1980s having settled elsewhere first. Kálmán, a university student actively participated in the revolution, and would have been exposed to retribution as he says in the following:

My experience in Hungary, before coming out, was or would have been persecution, and I was trying to escape that. I would have been probably shot, or had a very heavy prison sentence.

István experienced a traumatic escape through Vienna, though, he did not reveal the reason for leaving Hungary. This is how he details his escape:

I left Hungary with my parents and with my relatives. We decided to cross the border in different places. Only my father was caught. The rest of us managed to get through. So, I arrived with my mother to Wiener Neustadt in an old castle without roof, water or anything - there were hundreds of us there starving - but we were very lucky, because a couple of weeks later we could escape to England, my aunt was living there.

Margit was a university student with an aristocratic background, and she said she left Hungary in search of freedom:

We left Hungary in 1956, because the Russians came...I wanted freedom...I came from a half clerical, half bourgeoisie background, which was not a very good omen for university entrance.

To conclude, it is clear that all these refugees had very clear reasons for fleeing, particularly if they felt that they would have no future life in Hungary under Communism.

4.4.3 Arriving in Knocknalisheen Refugee Camp in 1956

It is vital to emphasize that the experiences of this group cannot be regarded representative in terms of the majority group, as out of ten refugees eight left the camp within a few weeks time. The composition of this group of ten refugees is diverse. There are three

couples among them: Sanyi and Icu, Ibolya and Elek, and György and Mancsi. Also, Rózsika and Edit arrived in Ireland with their husbands, but they died before the interviews were carried out. There were two refugees in their teens as Béla was an adolescent, and Matild, Edit's daughter, was 11 years old. These refugees represent various occupations, which include nurses, a teacher, an engineer, skilled and unskilled workers; their family backgrounds are also varied as only Rózsika, Ibolya and Edit came from a middle-class background).

Béla, who became later a businessman, was a potential victim of the persecution, although he does not reveal the exact reason for his forced departure:

I might have been persecuted if I stayed there. At that time many people were persecuted on the flimsiest charges.

Sanyi, a semi-skilled worker, and his wife Icu had to leave Hungary, because Sanyi was working in a military factory and had knowledge of a military secret. Out of fear, he wanted to get as far away from Hungary as possible, as he says:

I came because of political reason. In Hungary I was working in the army. But I was not member of the Party. When in November 1956 everything seemed to collapse in Hungary, we all had to leave. We received our 3 months salary. And Ireland was the further destination. I wouldn't feel safe in Vienna or in Germany.

György, a manager, was also working in a factory from which he was forced to leave:

I came here on my own in November 1956 when the troubles began in the factory where I was working in the Szekszárdi street in Budapest.

His wife Mancsi, a nurse, followed her family who left Hungary in 1947 and settled in Ireland. She is the only one to join family in Ireland. She says:

My parents left Hungary in 1947 with my sister and since my sister was living in Ireland - she married an Irishman - she sent me the money to Vienna to get me to Ireland.

Rózsika, the wife of a businessman, left Hungary because of her family background. Her family's property was confiscated the same way as that of József. She recounts the past as follows:

We were alien in Hungary, they took away our jewellery shop, they put us out of our home.

She went through a traumatic escape with her family:

We escaped. I remember, I was so sick,... it was a nightmare. We stayed in a farmer's house near the Austrian border, and when the night of our escape came, we paid for the Hungarian soldiers. They were sitting in a look-out post. We rushed through the border, and the Austrian soldier shouted 'come on, come on quickly', and we were in Austria.

Despite the relief of being feeling safe in Austria, she provides an account of the first painful moment of homesickness:

[Then], I never forget the moment, I looked back, and we started to sing together the famous Hungarian folklore song: I left my wonderful homeland, the beautiful Hungary, I looked back halfway, and my eyes were soaked with tears.

This was thus an exceptional moment in her life, the force of which she still remembers.

Ibolya, a teacher, and her husband Elek, an engineer, are middle-class citizens, and they left Hungary for well-considered reasons: they wanted to provide their child with a viable future and also wanted to practice their religion freely:

I was coming from a middle-class family, we were practising our religion at home, and my daughter probably couldn't go to university with our family background.

Similarly to Rózsika and Ibolya, Edit, a nurse, and her daughter Matild, also came to Ireland because of their family background. As with religion, the education system also felt victim to the terror in Hungary as Edit says:

We didn't have alternative. We had to leave Hungary. My father-in-law was a chess master for twenty years, and he was a university professor as well.

To conclude, some of the refugees openly declared the reason why they left Hungary, while others seemed to be reluctant to reveal it. Nevertheless, in the case of the 1956 refugees, the general reasons were fear of persecution, confiscation of various properties, and escaping repression.

4.5 Conditions in the Knocknalisheen Refugee Camp (1956-1958)

Meelick, a small village in County Clare became home for the 564 Hungarian refugees who arrived in Ireland in several groups in November 1956. The refugees were housed in the Knocknalisheen Refugee Camp, in a disused army barrack where 72 huts were available for the refugees. Although in Fanning's (2002:93) account the conditions in the camp were described as harsh, because the huts were '*cold, damp and unhealthy*', according to the local Garda Superintendent, who directly contradicts Fanning (2002), the actual living conditions were good. The Army Medical Officer also emphasized, that the camp was unsuitable for another winter (Department of External Affairs 23 May 1957).

Each family unit of the refugees was provided with a separate cubicle in a hut (The Irish Press 26 November 1956) and this accommodation was funded entirely by The Irish Red Cross Society,. The families were provided with 'pocket-money' of fifteen shillings per week, with free clothing, food, medication and other essential items. As a number of refugees had gone down with colds due to exhaustion, under-nourishment, and also the unfamiliar windy weather, the Red Cross staff at the camp immediately offered medical treatment in the form of penicillin and antibiotic injections for the refugees (The Irish Independent 26 November 1956a).

Priority was also given to the refugees' religious practices as the following article states:

Rosary beads and Hungarian prayer books will be got for the Catholic refugees as soon as possible and a camp chaplain appointed... an official of the Red Cross said yesterday that he thought that this matter [the question of employment] would be one for Government policy (The Irish Times 5 December 1956).

However, no arrangement was made to find them work when their period of quarantine at the camp ended, or to provide long-term support for the children's education, while they learned English and adjusted to their new lives.

Although, according to the Irish government's expectations and previous compliance with Vienna, the majority of the refugees would have been children (The Irish Times 12 November 1956) whose education would have been a major priority, no previous

arrangement was made in this matter. Therefore, accommodation could not be provided for them in the local national schools. Consequently, The Irish Red Cross trusted in the refugees' initiative in this matter, as The Irish Independent states:

It is hoped that two teachers said to be among the refugees will start a school for the 33 children in the camp. Red Cross officials appealed yesterday for rubber boots and plastic raincoats (The Irish Independent 26 November 1956).

Indeed, one of the interviewees, Ibolya, immediately began to organize classes for the children as the following interview shows:

In the Hungarian refugee camp there were many, not professional teachers, and I'm a teacher by profession, and I organized a school in the first week for the children, because they were running around like little wild creatures, and I started to teach English with knowing only a few words.

Also, as an alternative solution to the Irish Red Cross initiative Irish teachers without academic qualifications came occasionally to the camp.

Classes were held for adults and children, but attendance was rare as the Memorandum of The Irish Red Cross Society (11 March 1957) states:

Despite the fact that the Society has constantly reiterated to the Refugees, both by interview and by notices in Hungarian, that English is absolutely essential for admission to the countries they have registered for...but the attendance of the adults has been only fair, that of the children spasmodic.

However, the education of the children in the camp remained unresolved, because for instance, the Christian Brother's School in Limerick refused to accept the senior boys:

Efforts were made to have the children taken into the local National Schools but the accommodation did not allow for this. The Limerick Christian Brothers were also approached in connection with the Senior boys, and the Society offered to hire a daily bus service. The Christian Brothers state they have no space (Irish Red Cross Society 11 March 1957).

The first steps towards organising education for the children were only made in August 1957, some eight months after their arrival when two children gained attendance to school:

Two Hungarian refugees have become pupils of Mount St. Joseph College, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, and are the first Hungarians from Knocknalisheen to do their secondary education under the care of The Irish Red Cross (Limerick Weekly 3 August 1957).

Besides the educational facilities, the food supply for the children and infants in the camp also required some change as the following government document indicates:

The question of providing some form of cooking in the huts for children who require food at varying hours of the day or night has had no attention from the administration. While the fire hazard is ever present with the use of home made electric gadgets and faulty connections, the fact remains that some form of cooking for young children and babies is necessary (Department of External Affairs 3 March 1957).

One of the major challenges and a recurring discomfort in the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation proved to be the different taste of food because the ingredients of the Hungarian cuisine were not available in Ireland, such as poppy seeds, red peppers, sour cabbage, or sweet spinach. Teri says:

[the refugees in the camp often] went out to the fields and found wild sorrel. They picked that, and they cooked that the way, they liked it.

Another major problem was that until February 1957 no advancement had been made in finding employment for the refugees, although the refugees were eager to work:

It was also possible to see that they have absolutely no desire to settle down to the listless and enervating life to which the displaced person is so often condemned (The Irish Times 26 November 1956).

According to Hungarian practice in the Communist system, unemployment did not exist, and women were part of the workforce. Therefore, being confined in the camp without the possibility of work meant an additional tension for refugee families. It also created uncertainty about their future life in Ireland.

4.6 Coping from Camp to Host Society

The Irish Times already notes the issue of work in November 1956:

We are labouring people and we would like to labour (The Irish Times 26 November 1956)

The reality however was that the refugees lived in the camp in a type of forced separation, totally subordinated to the host society's social policy of resettlement. They could not step

beyond the culture of the camp, and be interspersed with the host community; thus they could not gain membership in the new culture (Taft 1966).

Sanyi, a semi-skilled worker on arrival, later became a security guard in Ireland, and his wife Icu, spent one and half years in the camp. Being confined in the camp host social network (Kim 2001) provided the only alternative for the refugees to finding employment and a home, the prerequisite of leaving the camp. The refugees could rely on the help of the Catholic Church, if they were religious and also Catholic, and also on The Irish Red Cross Society. However, in the 1950s there was a great need in Ireland for skilled workers, so for some of them obtaining employment was easy, as Teri, the camp interpreter says:

Some of the refugees with skills or profession were very quickly picked up from the camp and were taken to where they got employment.

The article of The Irish Independent also supports this assertion, that only those families were removed from the camp whose skills could benefit Irish society:

One family of Hungarian refugees at Knocknalisheen has been found an Irish benefactor. All because the head of the family is a lawyer (Irish Independent 28 November 1956).

However, this experience is not the case for all the skilled refugees.

Although the refugees arrived in Ireland at the Irish government's invitation, the Irish government placed the responsibility of the refugees on The Irish Red Cross Society. Eight individuals, Rózsika and her late husband, Ibolya and her husband Elek, Edit and her child Matild, György and his wife Mancsi, and Béla left the camp within a few weeks. Rózsika, Ibolya, and her husband Elek left the camp with the intervention of the Catholic Church, whilst for the rest of the group The Irish Red Cross Society offered help. Rózsika and her husband were jewellers and watchmakers in Hungary, and in Ireland there was a steady demand for this line of business. As Rózsika says:

We stayed there (camp) until the 1st January, and then another priest collected us, and brought us to Dublin. In the meantime he collected enough money in his parish and furnished a home for us, and he got a job for my husband. And then we started our new life in Ireland.

Although, there is no evidence in the research, that Rózsika was a practising Catholic, or whether she considered herself to be Catholic, she was considered as Catholic.

Similarly to Rózsika, Ibolya, who was a teacher in Hungary, and her husband Elek, left the camp within a short period of time. Elek worked in telecommunications in Hungary, and there was a great need for his expertise in Ireland:

We spend there about 6 weeks, and then we were able to come up to Dublin and find a job with the help of a university professor who belonged to Cardinal Mindszenty's circle. So through his help we got a house in Dublin, and within 8 weeks my husband could get a job.

Again, there is a Catholic dimension to the help offered so that the Church clearly had both power and influence to help those refugees considered as practising Catholics.

Edit and her husband were medical experts, so they were also in a privileged position in the camp, as she states:

In the first two weeks a doctor's family picked up us from the hospital....and then in the first year we were working with my husband in Limerick in the St. John's hospital.

György and Mancsi were also lucky because they were both skilled employees in Hungary. György obtained a job in the textile factory in Limerick and Mancsi, a nurse, in the Victoria hospital in Cork:

So, after only three weeks [spent in camp] we came down to Youghal on the 7th of January 1957, and the manager offered us a house, and we got a job and we started our new life in Ireland.

Béla, the youngest adult refugee at the age of 17, who later had his own business in Ireland, found camp life particularly boring; within weeks he found a semi-skilled job and accommodation:

There was boredom. It was all right for me, I was young...I left the camp very soon, and from that time I was living for a long time with a family as a lodger.

Overall, for these refugees Ireland proved to be a positive destination at this stage as they were able to leave the camp quickly, find employment and establish a home.

4.7 Macro-level Analysis: Failed Expectations

For those who remained in the camp, the air of impatience rose as soon as January 1957, because of the camp conditions and the lack of future prospects. In a letter to the General Secretary of The Irish Red Cross Society, the chairman of the Camp Council representing the Hungarian refugees wrote:

The refugees feel that the confidence and co-operation necessary between them and the camp officials have broken down (The Irish Times 14 January 1957).

The Cork Echo also takes up the refrain of employment in March 1957, some three months after The Irish Times raised the issue of inactivity and uncertainty in a refugee camp. A Hungarian refugee said the following:

I do not like to take charity but very much like to work (Cork Echo 18 March 1957).

Although contemporary articles documents the way Irish society aimed to help the refugees, the economic hardship experienced during this period in Ireland constrained their employment prospects, and raised numerous difficulties for finding them employment. For instance, at a meeting of the Tipperary Urban Council it was stressed that the number of unemployed in county Tipperary was 300 and that over 200 men were signing on at the Labour Exchange (The Tipperary Star 10 November 1956). At the same time the refugees were restless and impatient to find work, or to leave Ireland. They were not prepared for the harsh conditions; they were confined to the camp surrounded by a high wall, away from the local communities, which must have exaggerated their feelings of anxiety and uncertainty (Gudykunst 1988).

In March 1957, four months after the refugees' arrival, at a Conference on Hungarian Refugees in Dublin detailed in the Taoiseach Files (Department of External Affairs 13 March 1957), the Irish government suggested a comprehensive review of the general situation in relation to the Hungarian refugees as follows:

- Financial position of The Irish Red Cross Society's Hungarian Relief Fund
- suitability of the Knocknalisheen camp

- employment facilities in special industries and home crafts
- medical care

The review did not consider the refugees' final settlement, and also did not suggest any solution for this increasingly aggravating problem. According to the minutes of the conference (Department of External Affairs 13 March 1957) every effort was being made by The Irish Red Cross Society to place the refugees in employment outside the camp. As an answer to the government initiative, the Executive of The Irish Red Cross Society set up an Employment Committee to investigate ways and means of securing employment for the refugees. In the meantime, the refugees were led to believe that *'they could, within a short period of time, travel to the United States or Canada, and also that they would obtain work within weeks while awaiting re-settlement'* (The Irish Independent 28 March 1957).

However, the first family could only leave in April 1957 as the Irish Press says:

After a four months struggle and a large file of correspondence the first of the Hungarian refugees to leave Knocknalisheen Camp for America flew out to Canada today...Mr Akos said: 'We are grateful to the Unitarian Church in Dublin, who negotiated our travel'(The Irish Press 18 April 1957).

As the article indicates the refugees' travel was not organised by the Irish government, but was the concern of the Unitarian Church. In April 1957 another group of Hungarian refugees left for Argentina due to the lack of available employment and proper re-settlement. In the article of the Cork Echo there is a critique of the government's apparent helplessness or indifference:

Seventeen of the most highly skilled technicians in Knocknalisheen Hungarian refugee camp are to leave for the Argentine on Tuesday next, taking with them secrets of highly specialised trades which they had intended using to the benefit of this country and pass on to the Irish workers, just as the Huguenot refugees did before them (Cork Echo 20 April 1957).

By April 1957 twenty refugees actually returned to Hungary, and about 100 had been settled more or less permanently in Ireland, but still some 371 remained in the camp.

At the same time, in April 1957, after six months, the uncertainty, the camp conditions, the lack of prospects led to violent action in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and those male

adults who remained went on hunger strike to provoke the Irish government to bring about a solution to their final settlement. As the Irish Press (23 April 1957) states:

371 Hungarian refugees in Knocknalisheen camp near Limerick went on hunger strike yesterday, it was announced by Mr. Edmund Murphy, Red Cross O/C at a press conference in the camp.

Referring to Kim (2001), ethnic group strength works interactively with a host society's conformity pressure. Therefore, the group of refugees in the camp could more effectively take action against the Irish government's incompetence by demonstrating their thought as a group. According to the perception of the refugees, a hunger strike was the only weapon they had in the face of bad conditions, because in Hungary, the Russians forbade people to hold demonstrations. Also, with a lack of necessary communication skills in the host culture language they were handicapped in their ability to express themselves (Kim 2001). The refugees' emotionally expressive conflict style also relates to Ting-Toomey et al's (2000) conflict resolution theory and is a manifestation of a still strong cultural identity.

In May 1957, after over a week, the refugees' hunger strike was still a front-line article in the Cork Examiner. No agreement was concluded between the Irish government and the refugees, and the strike continued:

A few months ago the refugees were a happy community, but the place had become a gloomy depressing centre, where the women walked around with downcast eyes and even the laughter of the children had become silent...The ninety-six women in the camp were freed from the hunger strike on Tuesday night. But yesterday morning about fifty women went on a sympathy hunger strike (Cork Examiner 2 May 1957).

The government's view was that the refugees' future was beyond the Irish government's responsibility, and the situation remained unresolved:

The refugees were asked to appreciate the fact that Ireland cannot unduly press other countries to admit them, and that the matter is not one that can be determined by the will of the Irish Government. An appeal was made to them to exercise patience (The Irish Times 3 May 1957).

However, patience, after six months may not have been the best quality to appeal to.

In this hopeless situation a letter was sent to the Congress of the United States of America in June 1957 by the representative of the refugees resettled in Canada, which petitioned the

UN Congress for assistance in the Irish refugee crisis (Department of External Affairs 13 June 1957). The letter says:

We have to be excused for disturbing you in your great and responsible work...We are being kept in unheatable wooden huts, on unhealthy food, without the possibility of schooling. The Irish are a very poor and unfortunate people...there are 90,000 unemployed here at present. To find employment is accordingly impossible, as the Irish Trade Unions most understandably protest against our employment...you have promised us life and not concentration camp.

This is a most extraordinary letter, which combines both protest and understanding, and must also have been particularly embarrassing for the Irish government.

4.7.1 Resourceful Activities in the Camp

Although the refugees felt doomed to idleness in the refugee camp, in some cases they could display their competence and skills. As Teri, the camp interpreter remembers, there were some workers among the refugees, who were skilled craftsmen or mechanics, able to repair cars, and they were probably glad to use their expertise, since the Western coast of Ireland was short of such skilled experts:

Once I was caught in a flood in my car on the way home, and the water came up to the window. I swam out through the window and left the car behind. The next day, the flood was gone, and my car was gone....they took my car apart and dried and reassembled it, I was able to drive it home again on the same day.

In the meantime, the refugees also began to take their fate into their own hands, and established several occupations to be able to look after themselves as Ibolya says:

In the very first week The Irish Red Cross gave to a Hungarian woman wool to knit, just to occupy herself, and I have her knitted a sample piece, a baby hat, and with my limited English knowledge I went to Limerick to the best baby boutique and organised business for the Hungarian woman ... But the others also made Nicholas handcrafts.

Teri also remembers such activity:

And others made little wooden articles, little cigarette boxes, card holders with patterns. They painted and sold them all over the country.

The Irish Red Cross Society's account, written to the Minister of External Affairs on 23 June 1957, also stated, that many of the refugee families were engaged in the stringing of pearls for the Ennis Pearl Factory, and *'their weekly income from that source ranged from*

5 to 10 Irish Pound according to the size of the family'. Although no data is available as to the profession of those who engaged in these activities in order to provide for their family, this engagement with some form of employment can be seen as a reflection of self-esteem during the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001) by the refugees.

In August 1957, the Camp Controller, Mr Murphy, in a letter to the Chairman of The Irish Red Cross Society indicated that the refugees had started a small business within the confines of the camp, by selling their products. The main objection was that the refugees' pocket money should be withdrawn if they had their own source of income, though, this accusation could hardly be justified:

Attempts have been made to stop refugees going through the country selling, and in some cases begging. Notices have been exhibited warning that refugees leaving the Camp would be penalized, but no allowances have been stopped to date, because we have no definite proof that they were actually selling (Department of External Affairs 14 August 1957).

However, the specially designed Hungarian wooden articles were also sold in Irish shops, as the article with the title '*Courageous Venture by Hungarian Refugee Group*' in The Irish Catholic (7 November 1957) reveals:

Now finding their way into Irish shops in readiness for the Christmas season supplies of gaily painted wooden toys, many of them of ingenious design and all bearing the stamp of skilled craftsmanship.

Most probably the refugees did not think of this as a '*courageous venture*': by this time a year had passed without them being able to utilize their skills by being legally employed.

4.8 Cross-Cultural Perspectives

According to Kim (2001) cross-cultural adaptation is influenced by both the individual's predispositions and interaction with a host society. From the individual's perspective, the period spent in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp was the refugees' first experience with the unknown. They were forced migrants without really having the possibility of turning back. They brought with them the depression and anxiety of their pre-escape experiences. As Bash and Zezlina-Phillips say, (2006:5) '*they were deprived of their home, their family, their material possessions and of their employment*'. They were aware that the camp

provided them with semi-permanent resettlement, but they did not have a sense of belonging anywhere. They felt confined and isolated and were exposed to the host society's social network in services, policies and welfare (Berry 2006). They hardly tolerated the uncertainty, which camp life imposed on them; they arrived from a country of high uncertainty avoidance to a country where this dimension was low (Hofstede 1980; 2001), which further heightened anxiety and uncertainty over their futures.

According to Berry's (2006) definition they were in the 'first asylum phase' having left behind the pre-departure and flight phases. They felt discomfort, uncertainty and unpredictability (Gudykunst 1988), and went through various cultural shocks (Oberg 1960): first of all they were traumatised due to the dangerous escape, followed by the harsh camp conditions, the weather, the unfamiliar taste of the food, and most importantly the clear lack of a future life made them particularly unsettled and stressed. The Irish government was incompetent, and the most important dimensions of their adjustment, education for the children, employment and income for the adults, were not secured (Nicassio and Pate 1984). Additionally, they were not accustomed to the daily routine of the religious ceremonies, and also did not speak English. Camp life also forced them to abandon their old Hungarian cultural patterns. However, the main problem was the lack of host communication competence (Kim 1988; 2001). They were handicapped in their communication skills, and thus could not interact with members of the host society, which was an additional factor in expressing their disappointment with a hunger strike. Therefore, their conflict management strategy (Ting-Toomey 1985) was partly due to the lack of communication competence in the new culture.

From the host society's perspective, the refugees arrived in Ireland at a time when the country suffered from unemployment, economic hardship and mass emigration, a combination of cultural and economic issues which impacted on the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001). Despite these conditions, by signing the 1951 Geneva Convention, the country was obliged to receive refugees and to provide for them though the government shifted its responsibility to The Irish Red Cross Society. Additionally, the Trade Unions restricted the refugees' right to work, and Irish unemployed enjoyed priority

in this matter. Other countries, such as Canada and the USA were also overburdened with refugees, and in this situation the refugees' movement to Canada was hindered.

4.9 Movement of the Refugees from the Republic of Ireland

In 1957, following a meeting with a representative of the UNHCR, based on special circumstances, such as domestic unemployment and emigration, the Irish government was relieved of its duty of primary responsibility for the refugees and they could leave Ireland. Otherwise, Ireland, as the country of re-settlement should have further provided for the refugees. The Irish government decided to contribute \$80 per capita towards the cost of transportation of the refugees (Department of External Affairs 11 November 1957). The government also decided to cover the costs of refugees who intended to return to Hungary:

Any Hungarian Refugee who signed a statement that he wished to return to his own country was given his fare by the Red Cross after the Government had sanctioned his departure (The Irish Press 14 November 1957).

Early in December 1957, the Irish Government through its Ambassador to Canada, Dr. Thomas J. Kiernan, asked Canada to admit those Hungarian refugees who wished to settle in Canada. The ambassador indicated that Ireland would send only those refugees who could pass Canadian immigration requirements and who sincerely desired to resettle in Canada. According to the Irish Press the Canadian officials prolonged the answer:

Canadian officials have not yet fixed a date for their investigations into the proposed transfer of Hungarian refugees at Knocknalisheen Camp, Co. Limerick to Canada (Department of External Affairs 8 December 1957).

In February 1958, over a year from the refugees' arrival in Ireland, the Canadian Department of External Affairs informed Ireland that Canada would accept only Hungarians with close relatives in Canada. Otherwise, the Department admitted only those unsponsored refugees who could qualify as ordinary immigrants and could pass a medical examination (Department of External Affairs 24 February 1958).

After further exchange of correspondence, the Canadian Director of Immigration agreed *'to consider the removal of the Hungarian refugees in Ireland providing the Irish government*

arranged and paid for transportation and agreed to replace departing refugees with equivalent numbers from Austria' (Department of External Affairs to Canadian Embassy 30 January 1958). Following further controversy between the Irish and Canadian governments 213 refugees still remained in Ireland. In the meantime the Irish government allowed further Hungarian refugees to return to Hungary '*on their submission to The Irish Red Cross a written and signed statement that they wished to go back'* (Department of External Affairs 25 February 1958).

Finally, with the intervention of Archbishop McQuaid, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) on September 17 1958 after screening, and with Ottawa's permission, 117 Hungarians set sail from Ireland on the S.S. New York for Quebec City (Department of External Affairs 25 September 1958). Out of a total of 541 Hungarians only 61 refugees remained in the refugee camp, but for many, their future was still unsettled:

The future for 25 of the 61 Hungarian refugees now at Knocknalisheen camp has become uncertain. They have no wish to remain in Ireland, yet they have for various reasons been rejected by Canada, the US and Australia and they have considered it unwise to return to their own country (The Evening Herald 5 November 1958).

The Knocknalisheen camp was officially closed after 2 years and 1 month, on 15 December 1958 and the 61 remaining Hungarians resettled in urban centres, such as in Cork, Limerick and Dublin. According to The Evening Herald in December 1958, by this time all the countries which had taken in Hungarian refugees had closed almost all camps and made every effort to assimilate the refugees into the national population. Thus:

The closing of the camp for Hungarian refugees at Knocknalisheen, just two years after it had been established, marks the end of a chapter in the history of The Irish Red Cross (The Evening Herald 17 December 1958).

For The Irish Red Cross Society probably a difficult and controversial period came to an end. However, the Irish government's contribution in the Hungarian refugee crisis was evaluated by Ward (1996a:141) in that '*It was a big show-off to show what we [Ireland] could do'*. It was clearly an enterprise which had not been thought through.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 introduced the Hungarian refugees' first encounter with the new culture and their fight for their final settlement. The chapter critically investigated the role of the Irish government in the situation the Hungarian refugees were forced to enter. Their experienced hardship was due to a combination of factors: the international refugee crisis which meant difficulties in the acceptance of the increasing number of refugees, Ireland's lack of migration policy, the lack of experience in handling foreign cultural groups, and most importantly, the country's poor economic situation. Overall, this resulted in the unprecedented and embarrassing situation of a hunger strike and an impasse which took the Irish government some time to eventually resolve. The next chapter details Irish employment conditions, and Ireland's social and moral control on the refugees.

Chapter 5

Host Society Institutions: Conformity Pressure

When in Rome, do as the Romans do (Collins 2006:114)

Chapter Overview

Chapter 5 introduces the host society's institutions, which play an important role in the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation beginning in 1956 in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and also later, outside the camp situation. The chapter applies a combination of macro and micro perspectives, and also primary and secondary sources in the form of oral testimony, and newspaper articles. Chapter 5 firstly discusses Irish legal employment conditions, which determined the refugees' prospects in getting employment, and then details the various forms of host conformity pressure Irish society imposed on the refugees in different spheres of social life and also the Hungarians' coping strategies. Particular attention will be devoted to the role of religion.

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented a balanced examination of the Irish economic situation, and the high level of unemployment in Ireland in the 1950s. This chapter describes to a great extent the implications which this situation held for the Hungarian refugees' settlement. As chapter 2 section 2.8.3 discussed, Ireland was a homogenous culture in the 1950s which was manifested in tight conformity rules and rigid religious expectations. In Kim's (1988; 2001) multi-dimensional perspective a strangers' cross-cultural adaptation depends on the host society's receptivity and tolerance towards strangers. Chapter 4 outlined Irish people's welcome and the refugees' first encounter with the hardship which the Irish economic situation imposed on them. However, the refugees were exposed to other restriction as well, which were grounded in Ireland's historic past and deeply religious conservatism in the 1950s. They reacted initially to the various degrees of Irish expectations and pressure with anger, hostility, or frustration.

5.2 Employment

Employment proves to be an important incentive and a strong role in the Hungarian refugees' cross-cultural adaptation process. It has a triple role:

- a socialising role
- it encourages the development of host language proficiency
- it provides the means for financial security, which is particularly vital in the case of refugees who arrived to a strange country without financial assets.

In November 1956, when the Hungarian refugees arrived at Knocknalisheen the Irish government was not prepared regarding employment, as *The Irish Times* says:

The government spokesman said that no statement was available yet from the Government on the future of the refugees. The government could not have had any advance plan worked out, as it did not know how many refugees would arrive here (*The Irish Times* 12 November 1956).

In connection with the refugees' employment conditions, the Irish government, the Irish Trade Unions and The Irish Red Cross had various views.

Initially, the government's position hinted at a positive stance, although it was in a sharp contrast with Ireland's economic situation:

[Applications] made in respect of Hungarian refugees have been treated the same way as applications made in respect of other aliens...but finds it hard to visualise circumstances in which the issue of a permit would not be authorised' (Department of External Affairs 28 November 1956).

The Trade Unions' position showed a more realistic picture and projected imminent tensions:

Spokesmen for the Irish Trade Union Congress and for the Congress of Irish Unions said yesterday, that if the question of helping the refugees to find jobs were brought before them officially, they would be willing to hold discussions on the matter...However, there appeared to be a feeling that the present employment position in the country might make the placing of the refugees not altogether easy (*The Irish Times* 26 November 1956).

In this apparently hopeless situation the Red Cross society worked out a temporary employment solution for the refugees:

Efforts made by The Irish Red Cross to start special employment schemes in the Camp are set forth. Garda report efforts were made, in relation to the question of starting home-craft industries within the Camp and the provision of implements and materials therefore (Department of External Affairs 30 November 1956)

The Red Cross society also contributed to the establishment of the 'Help Hungary Committee' with an aim to work out a plan for finding employment for the refugees.

Since the refugees brought with them various skills and expertise, and represented a wide range of occupations, such as electricians and motor mechanics, the Irish Red Cross aimed to find a beneficial solution for both the refugees and Ireland:

When Dr Szoverffy, a member of the committee, visited the refugee camp at Knocknalisheen, four miles from Limerick yesterday, he said there were certain industries which were not known in this country, but which were favoured by East Europeans under normal conditions. The products of these industries could be exported. If the plan of the 'Help Hungary Committee' succeeded, small workshops would be established in Ireland for a beginning, and perhaps a factory would be built later (The Irish Press 4 December 1956).

However, in March 1957 still no advance was made and the refugees' unemployment remained an unsolved problem:

Arrangements were made by the Department of Social Welfare to notify The Irish Red Cross Society of any job vacancies, which cannot be filled locally. Such vacancies will be notified to the refugees by a notice in Hungarian displayed on the Notice Board at Knocknalisheen Camp (Department of External Affairs 3 March 1957).

However, despite the refugees' expertise, due to Irish legal conditions they could not take an Irish person's job and their employment raised several controversial issues.

The following article details the protest of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) against the Limerick Motor Works:

Constitutional issues were raised at a special sitting of the Labour Court in Limerick yesterday, when the Minister for Industry and Commerce was accused of failing to safeguard the right of Irish nationals in the issuing of a permit of employment to a Hungarian refugee employed by the Limerick Motor Works Ltd (The Irish Independent 31 July 1957a)

The Limerick Motor Works replied, that the refugee was not employed, *'but had been taken on at the request of the authorities at Knocknalisheen for a short time so as to enable*

him to learn the English names of different mechanical parts' (The Irish Independent 31 July 1957a).

As the article continues, the Hungarian refugee's salary did not match his Irish counterpart's, so that the Limerick Motor Works took advantage of his refugee status:

It was alleged that he was being paid wages far below the recognised rate for the type of work he was doing - panel beater - and it was also submitted that his employment was inimical to the interests of unemployed nationals (The Irish Independent 31 July 1957a).

However, female refugees were in a more vulnerable situation, because, in the 1950s the moral code of the Catholic Church, and also the patriarchal Irish society posed strict rules on the employment of women.

5.3 Conformity Pressure: Religion as an Aspect of Social and Moral Control

In Ireland following gaining independence in 1921 an important element of Irish identity was practicing Catholicism, therefore, the issue prioritised by the host country was religion, which was reflected in various cultural issues. As Thelen (1989) says events and common values of the past significantly contribute to the construction of a nation's national identity. In Smith's (1998; 1999) view elements which define the notion of nations are: history, religion, shared ethnicity, language and culture. A nation's collective memory has a powerful role in forging a strong group identity; this is manifest in high degree of boundendness, and distinctiveness (Barth (1994) which also characterised Irish society. In the 1950s Irish society, foreign values were not particularly considered, or accepted.

Irish society exerted great conformity pressure on the refugees, particularly in issues closely bound to religious values as this comment from Ibolya notes:

There are two subjects you can not touch in Ireland if you don't want to be outcast, and these are religion and education.

The prevailing education ethic also worked as a form of moral control: it encouraged obedience to authority and suppressed personal and religious freedom. Irish society's expectations echo Berry's (1980; 1997) perspective, regarding the force of a host society's

drive to assimilation and assuming the Hungarian refugees would relinquish their cultural identity and accept the Irish value system. Also Kim's (1988; 2001) perspective is relevant in this context, since her theory emphasises the role the host society's pressure poses to individual's cross-cultural adaptation.

Most importantly for this thesis, Hagan and Rodriguez (2003a) consider that the religious component to migration has been overlooked in migration studies, although it has had a multiple effect on the migrant's adaptation process. Pursuing its importance, from the perspective of an individual's religion can simply be a very personal spiritual issue, but also a cohesive and motivating integrating force. From the perspective of the host society it can be a means to pressurize conformity (Hagan and Ebaugh 2003b). Religion also plays a very important role in the migration process, by providing spiritual resources, by influencing attitudes of migrants, and by creating social networks. In Kim's (1988; 2001) theory of cross-cultural adaptation, a stranger's adaptation is highly influenced by a host society's expectations, and this view is very well reflected in the Hungarian refugees' case.

In Hungary, contemporary national identity in 1956 was characterised by anti-religiousness and Communist culture. Therefore, for the Hungarian refugees the issue of religion surfaced not primarily as a matter of faith, but as a means of compliance. They were exposed to powerful pressure to conform irrespective whether they were believers or not, because they were required to share the dominant religious practices of the host society, which was Catholicism. These demands concerned Church attendance, ecclesiastical marriage, but it also affected the education of children and gender roles, as surfaces also in Sheridan's (2005) thesis on cross-cultural adaptation by Vietnamese refugees and their families in Ireland. The refugees were disillusioned by the hypocrisy of the Church and upset by corporal punishment in schools which did not exist in Hungary. They met with culture distance and felt anxiety hostility, frustration, feeling, which occur in a new and different cultural or social environment (Kim and Gudykunst 1988).

5.3.1 *Macro Perspective: Differences in Perception*

Concerning the refugees' attitude towards their host society's religious pressure, there is a difference in perception between the interviews and the newspaper articles: the interviews show the subjective opinion and memories of the refugees while the articles are representative of the dominant Catholic ideology of Irish society at that time. The refugees soon learned that customary Hungarian civil practices were not accepted in Ireland and they had to sub-ordinate themselves to various religious practices, such as Church weddings, and christening ceremonies, as the camp interpreter says:

In the camp, all their religion was noted in a book, and they all had their own pastors: Presbyterian, Calvinist, and Catholic. And people who had a civil marriage, had to go to the Church and have a Church wedding.

There is no mention in the camp book about Judaism. The explanation is, that as chapter 2 section 2.8.4 and 2.8.5 discussed, Catholic Ireland was hostile towards Jews since its foundation and their immigration was generally discouraged. When, in 1956, Irish officials recruited voluntary refugees to Ireland, only perceived Catholic families were chosen, as Ibolya, a teacher in Hungary, recalls her days in the Austrian refugee camp:

And then we had personal interviews and we were told that the Irish are looking for Catholic families with children, and will give us home and opportunity in his country.

Nevertheless, by signing the Geneva Convention Ireland would have had to accept the Hungarian refugees irrespective of their religious affiliation.

In Hungary, as chapter 2 detailed, there had been a secularization process since World War II, and the practice of religion, and religious education was suppressed by the state. Religious practice was possible only in the countryside, where *'the authorities turned a blind eye'* (Collins 2006:113). Therefore, Hungary's historical background is at variance with The Irish Times and The Irish Independent articles which indicate a voluntary choice on the part of the refugees, rather than reflecting pressure to conform to Irish social norms:

The youngest member of the party was a four weeks' old baby...Because of the troubles in Hungary [the mother] did not have a chance to get the baby christened (The Irish Independent 26 November 1956).

In the 1950s in Hungary a christening ceremony was not welcomed, although there were people who secretly practised their religion, such as Ibolya and Elek in this study. Also, a Church wedding was not advisable, as official marriage ceremonies were held in Registry offices; for a Hungarian couple in the camp the religious ceremony might seem odd:

Two of the Hungarian Refugees in Knocknalisheen Camp will, it is expected, be married in an Irish Church on Saturday, the feast of the Immaculate Conception (The Irish Independent 5 December 1956).

Similarly to Church weddings and christening ceremonies the confirmation of children might be another way to conform to the host society's expectations, particularly for young people who were raised in the Communist Regime. Therefore the article of the Irish Press rather expresses false illusions from a Hungarian perspective:

Joyful tears filled the eyes of Hungarian parents at Knocknalisheen refugee camp yesterday as their children were confirmed by the Bishop of Limerick (The Irish Press 3 September 1957).

Based on the Hungarian ideological climate outlined in chapter 2, these articles reflect a distorted image trying to hint at willingness on the part of the refugees.

This assumption is also supported by Collins' ²⁰ (2006:113) 'memoir'. The following is rather the way his grandmother remembers the Irish host society's expectations in the refugee camp towards a couple who had been married in Hungary in a registry office:

You should bear in mind that it was the Catholic faith of Hungary which encouraged Ireland to give you asylum....and because of this faith you are free to marry in a Church. In fact, it's essential. You must understand that by Irish standards, a marriage in a registry office isn't a proper marriage.

However, female refugees were also exposed to the rigid mentality of the village people, who requested the intervention of the local priest in the matter of a Hungarian woman's clothing, who played tennis at the village court:

You might think that this is a little strange but I have been requested to ask you not to wear your tennis shorts back to the court where you played last week ...there have been complaints (Collins 2006:177).

²⁰ Mark Collins is the grandchild of interviewee 10 and in 2006 published a novel based on a memoir of his grandmother

From the refugees' perspective, it should be noted that coming from a different cultural background and without the option of returning home, they could only cope with society's pressure with a positive attitude. If they wanted to be accepted and feel that they were safe they had to cope with host conformity expectations which affected their self-esteem, as section 5.4 discusses next in the context of individual refugees' experiences.

5.4 Micro -Level Analysis: Differing Level of Exposure to Religious Pressure

The Hungarian refugees adopted various strategies in their reaction to the host society's religious pressure. Table 5.4 divides the refugees into three groups depending on their differing level of acceptance:

Table 5.4 Various Strategies

Religious Pressure	Number
1. Group: Accepted	2
2. Group: Refused	10
3. Group: Does not surface	5

Two refugees, Edit and Béla, accepted religious pressure unconditionally. Ten refugees refused certain aspects: Erzsébet, Rózsika, Teri, Elek, Ibolya, Mancsi, György, Margit, József and Matild. Consequently, this was a key aspect of their encounter with the host society. In five cases the issue of religion did not surface as a problematic matter, because these former refugees were not religious: Kálmán, Sanyi, Icu, István, and Magda. Three refugees are not counted: the late Jenő, whose experience was not revealed by his family, and the Jewish orphans, Zoltán and Mari. They were young children when they arrived in Ireland and became part of Irish families and as such they quickly adapted to Irish culture, though only one, Mari was raised as a Jew.

5.4.1 *Group 1: Acceptance of Religious Pressure*

Edit and Béla are in the first group, and of the two Edit left no relatives behind in Hungary, since her entire family escaped from Hungary. Being a nurse, she was one of those skilled refugees who was selected and offered a job and home immediately after her arrival in the camp. She displays an unconditional acceptance of host society's expectations, as she says:

If you wanted to live abroad, you had to do what the people did there.

Béla was only 18 years at the time of the 1956 revolution and later became a businessman, uncritically embraced whatever he found necessary to adapt to his circumstances in the new environment in Ireland:

At that time the churches were all packed, and my landlady always persuaded me to go to Church. But I was not religious. She didn't force me in an angry way, but anyway she forced me. But I was willing to adapt .

Béla's statement questions the host society's religious morality, and hints that sometimes surface compliance seemed to satisfy Irish society's sense of appropriate behaviour: what mattered was Church attendance even if he did not believe.

5.4.2 *Group 2: Refused to Accept Religious Pressure*

From this group there were two people who directly deny conforming to host society's religious pressure, as they state:

I never adapted to anybody's religion (Margit, the musician)

I never adapted to the Irish religiousness. I attended in Hungary the Catholic St. Imre College, and later on Sárospatak. I received Protestant education. But here in Ireland I didn't practice religion (József, the baron).

Both Margit and József came to Ireland in search of freedom, and consequently, this tendency shows consistency with their motivations as well as personal inner strength (Kim 2001). For Margit the notion of religion was only one of those issues she did not adapt to, since throughout the interview she emphasized that she arrived in Ireland as a free person with free choice. József, the baron suffered in Hungary because of his Protestant family

background, and in Ireland he wanted to enjoy personal freedom. As chapter 2 section 2.2.3 detailed, in the 1950s all the religious orders were dissolved in Hungary and also the upper-classes were treated as prime enemies of the country. Therefore, between 1941-1950, with the great waves of emigration, many people escaped from Hungary with this background and differentiates József to some extent from the 1956 arrivals. The rest of the group is highly critical of the Irish religious mentality they encountered, as detailed in Table 5.4.2:

Table 5.4.2 Religious Pressure

Manifestation of Religious Pressure	References	Manifestation of Religious Pressure	References
Irish hypocrisy	4	Gender Roles	3
Education system	5	Marriage partner	1
Corporal punishment	2	Priest' pressure	1

The various manifestations of Irish religious pressure and the refugees' coping strategy against it are now discussed in turn.

5.4.3 The Refugees' Perception of Irish Catholicism

Manci, the nurse's comments summarize the 1950s's religious discipline in Irish society:

At that time religion was unbelievably tough.

As chapter 2 section 2.8.1 detailed, the 1950s religious ethic in Ireland encouraged obedience to Church authority, and this is also supported by Manci's comment:

Irish society was really pious at that time. People were forced to go the Church, because the mother did it and the grandmother did it. The priest was the god almighty, what he told, you had to do .

Manci reveals the Catholic Church's authority over the whole society. She clearly refused the Irish religious practice and religious mentality at the time. However, other Hungarian refugees unveil a range of practices pursued by the Church. Ibolya, as a teacher, was a

practising Catholic in Hungary, and found Irish Catholicism different from that of Hungarian, as she remembers:

There was a sign outside the Church door, that for 3 pence you can stand in the back door, but if you wanted to sit in the first part you should pay 6 pence. And I thought what sort of Catholic Church is, which gives you the religion for money and you can hear God's words for money.

As chapter 2 section 2.8 introduced, Irish society was extremely poor in the 1950s, and placing religion on a financial basis was not identical with spiritual religious practice.

Ibolya also critiqued the Catholic priest's following treatment of the refugees:

The local parish priest visited only families where he got good dinner, and brandy, but he never bothered to visit the homes of the poor refugees, although we had a fairly acceptable home.

Clearly, Ibolya cannot reconcile such practices with her own understanding of Catholicism. She was disillusioned, because she was a true Catholic in Hungary, who made sacrifices for her belief. Since she was not allowed to attend mass if she wanted to preserve her job, and in order to avoid being recognized, she travelled with her husband to another district of Budapest. Hence, she felt shocked when she realized that the deeply religious Irish society of the time was not free from hypocrisy and authoritarianism. Sheridan (2005) also notes differences in religious practice with members of the Vietnamese community who were Catholic, but still felt somewhat alienated from Irish society.

5.4.4 Irish Hypocrisy

There are 4 references in the interviews of what the refugees perceived as the hypocritical mentality of the priests and also of Irish society, as the following statements illustrate:

And she [Erzsébet] always thought that Irish society is very hypocritical. Until the day she died, she could never understand the Catholic Church in Ireland. She was a very religious person, she never missed mass (son of Erzsébet, the wife of a businessman).

Although Erzsébet's son did not elaborate the reason of his mother's disappointment with the Irish Catholic Church, Mancini, the nurse explicitly expresses her dislike of the dogmatic discipline of the Church and displays a strong resistance towards religious conformity:

I'm Catholic, and let me believe in my own way...people were forced to go to Church...it is my business when do I go'...I went to the Church with the kids, and behind me - 'The Holy Maries' - as I used to call them, were all praying and praying and as soon as we came of the door of the Church, these two persons became immediately ripping the next-door neighbour, who had a half-caste kid²¹.

Manci's comments hint that she wanted to practice Catholicism the way she used to do it in Hungary: out of sheer faith. Despite the Communist dictatorship she was not afraid of attending mass, although it was not in keeping with the Communist ethic. As chapter 2 outlined, Church attendance in the 1950s was a social obligation in Ireland. People did not really live up to all those expectations of being a true Catholic, as Manci's critique indicates. Also, in Ireland in the 1950s strict rules guided society's mores, and children born outside of marriage were not accepted.

Teri, the interpreter, who had lived in Ireland since the 1940s also commented on Church attendance:

Actually attendance in churches was full at that time, not because people were so religious, but it was society's expectation, secondly it was a good opportunity for women to show their new hats.

Teri also confirms that Irish religious practices were rather based on hypocrisy, than religious belief. Thus from Teri's and Manci's comments it is clear that there was strong social conformity (Kim 2001) within Irish society, which was also interpreted by the refugees as being for outward show and not an expression of a spiritual life. Consequently, Church attendance was a social forum in Ireland, which was particularly true in the Western part of Ireland in a little village. However, religious pressure and hypocrisy also permeated the Irish education system, as section 5.4.5 details.

5.4.5 Irish Education System

The education system was subordinated to the tough, rigid and authoritarian Irish school discipline of the time, as the following statement indicates:

²¹ People of mixed descent

When my children attended school, there were religious orders, it was absolutely forbidden to talk and play with friends from different religion, but of course, outside the school they had all kinds of friends (Rózsika, the wife of a businessman).

Rózsika's comment supports the way surface compliance satisfied Irish society and indicates that religious pressure was also present in the education system. Her account also implies social distance in Irish society, and shows the power within Irish society of the Catholic Church (Hofstede 1980; 2001).

As a school child, Matild, was particularly exposed to the power of the Catholic Church. She immediately realized that she had no alternative but to conform to the pressure as that was the only way to be accepted (Kim 2001). Though she was not a staunch Catholic, she soon adapted to school requirements:

When we arrived, the nuns decided that I had to go through everything the others did...I had to have my first communion.... I tried to believe it, but you remember, we were not allowed to attend mass in Hungary...they asked me, if we do not believe in God, what will happen to us.

Matild's comments also suggest that in the 1950s Irish people had little direct experience of other cultures. Therefore, Matild changed to suit the environment, so supporting Anderson's (1994) theory.

In contrast, Edit, a nurse and Matild's mother, has a different perception of such moments. Her acceptance is again the case of a surface compliance, a conscious survival strategy:

You are not complaining if they are kind to you...my daughter had never problem in the convent school. Not the slightest. 'Laurel Hill' in Limerick was the best Irish school anyway. Even she served mass.

Laurel Hill being the best Irish school and the fact that Matild was serving at mass does not preclude the possibility that her daughter went through great hardship while accommodating to the Irish school system. It rather suggests that Matild had an adaptive personality, and in the cross-fire of acculturation and deculturation she displayed a strong tendency towards the latter (Berry et al 1988; 1989).

Her example demonstrates that cross-cultural adaptation to Irish religious practices held serious implications for the refugee children. At one end of the spectrum, in Hungary, they were exposed to a Communist dictatorship, at the other end, in Ireland, they had to accommodate to strict religious practices, as Matild' son declares in The Irish Times on 23 October 2006:

[In] a space of three months my mother went from a school adorned with images of Russian dictators to one with pictures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary (Sheridan 2006).

Religious school discipline also manifested itself in corporal punishment, which unlike in Hungary, was also applied in the primary education system. In the interviews there are two references from two different generations. Mancini, the nurse, experienced great cultural shock when she realised that her children were being beaten in school. Although such child abuse was not allowed officially in Ireland, the Catholic Church's authority overruled it:

[And] the nuns...some of them were so horrible to the children. As I told you, when my daughter went to school - to the Loreto convent - and she didn't wear white socks, she was hit by the nun.... and I told the nun, never try to hit again my child, because I'm going to lose my temper. Nobody has the right to hit my kids.

Although Matild did not experience corporate punishment in school, she also discusses the same problem:

I have heard stories about other Orders, where the nuns treated the children very badly...the nuns were very strict otherwise, but they never ever hurt us.

Matild's quote clearly identifies corporal punishment as a social phenomenon in Ireland in the 1950s. Section 5.4.6 introduces the refugees' strategies in coping with conformity pressure, which Irish society imposed on them (Kim 1988; 2001).

5.4.6 Conflicting Responses to Conformity Pressure

Ting-Toomey's (1985; Ting-Toomey et al 2000) conflict management theory conflict is an important element of a migrants', in this case a refugees' adjustment process, and the management styles varies on a wide spectrum, such as dominating, compromising, avoiding, or being emotionally charged. In the following, three extreme and diverse cases will be introduced, which reflect various reactions and attitudes. In the first case Rózsika,

the wife of a businessman, challenged her host society's demand when, despite her local priest's protests, she attended a Protestant wedding:

And our Catholic priest friend told that we have to get permission from the bishop to attend this ceremony. And I said, I'm a continental Hungarian, and I'm not going to ask any permission, and no bishop will tell me what to do, where to go, and whose wedding to attend.

Her reaction matches Ting-Toomey's (1999) dominating strategy, and also indicates a strong disposition. Rózsika in the conflict situation powerfully emphasized her Hungarian identity, and her independence, and refuses both the Catholic Church's dominance, and also the prevalent power distance in Irish society (Hostede 1980; 2001).

The second example shows the opposite. Teri, who arrived in Ireland in the 1940s as an au pair, was forced to give up her religion if she wanted to be part of an Irish family; therefore her strategy is that of compromising:

And also, my husband's family never accepted me, because I was a Protestant. I had to convert to the Catholic faith in order to get married..

Probably for Teri, as a new member of an Irish family Church attendance was only a social obligation, though conversion to Catholicism would have been essential.

The third example is illustrated by Manci's conflict resolving strategy. She displayed a violent reaction in the school, attacked the teacher, when she learned that her son, who was hard of hearing, suffered corporal punishment²². She remembers the incident as follows:

And I grabbed him at his shirt, and I nearly lifted him.

Her example indicates that she was exposed to a powerful culture shock due to the marked cultural differences between Hungary and Ireland.

These three different reactions have various implications. In the first case, it supports Kim (2001) in that predispositions considerably influence cross-cultural adaptation. Rózsika's reaction reveals a strong personality. Teri did not have an alternative if she wanted to marry

²² Nearly deaf

her husband-to-be, so that in the 1940s and 1950s integration (Berry 1997) was not a viable option for outsiders. Since religion is an important cultural marker, it is appropriate to include Barth's (1994) theory, which says that ethnic groups establish boundaries between themselves on the ground of cultural distinctiveness. So, Irish identity at that time had Catholicism as an identifiable element of the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991).

5.4.7 Group 3: Religious Conformity does not Surface:

The third group is an exception from the rule, because in this group the refugees did not perceive Irish religious pressure. Kálmán and István arrived in Ireland two decades after the revolution when Irish society's religious pressure had eased. Magda married an Irish nobleman, but she did not experience religious pressure:

I was Roman Catholic, and my husband was Protestant, but we didn't have any problem.

Sanyi and Icu represent an exception, because they arrived at the refugee camp with a young child, who was exposed to the Irish education system. Also, they were not religious, so they had to have a religious ceremony in Ireland to be properly married. However, they do not complain of having difficulties with Irish society's particular religious outlook, or suffering from conformity pressure.

5.5 Gender Roles

Hofstede's (1980; 2001) third cultural dimension, Masculinity and Femininity certainly has resonance with the 1950's Irish ideological climate concerning the place of women in society.. The Catholic Church restricted the role of women predominantly to the household, and a woman's salary was also lower than a man's. In contrast, in Hungary, since World War II due to the rapid industrialisation there was an increasing demand for female labour which led to the emancipation of women in the workforce. Gender roles also imposed strong pressure on the female refugees because, although they brought with them various skills and expertise from Hungary, they were restricted in their employment practices.

The gender roles of the 1950s' Ireland revived a bitter memory in Ibolya's account. Her disappointment at being deprived of her teaching profession was amplified by a powerful culture shock resulting from gender discrimination.

Oh yes, the women's right in Ireland. Once a woman is married, her husband practically owns her. She doesn't have her own will. A woman couldn't sign a contract without her husband's permission.

Not only because she was a Hungarian national teacher, educated in the Hungarian education system, but also, as a woman, she did not have a chance to be employed in 1950s patriarchal Irish society. Even if she could have been, the position of women was lower in status to men, and it was virtually impossible to make career advances. When, as a design consultant she tried to build her career later by joining the Board of Directors, she met the same gender discrimination when she applied for a higher position as well as resistance to being of a different nationality:

Over my dead body would sit a Hungarian woman on the Board.

Ibolya's previous education, her skill, motivation and ambition made her advancement particularly difficult as she tried to assert herself in a patriarchal Irish society.

The restrictions of opportunities also confined women's choices, as Icu says:

There was no work available at that time for women, and even if it was, the salary was very low.

This was in some contrast with Hungary, since in Hungary in the 1950s women actively participated in the labour force. Teri was an exception, because she was employed in the refugee camp as an English-Hungarian interpreter, as nobody spoke Hungarian in the Department of Foreign Affairs. However, she felt distressed because she was never regarded as an independent person and was referred to as 'John's wife':

I was never called by my name, and I was never called 'Mrs', I was called: 'John's wife. So, Irish people were very ethno-centric and ego-centric.

Although gender discrimination hindered the process of cross-cultural adaptation, it did not seem to be an insurmountable obstacle, because other female refugees, such as Erzsébet,

with sufficient motivation and skill could integrate in the business sphere, if not as a Board member. Her son remembers:

[She] got married, and she had started her own business along with my father.

Erzsébet's husband was also Irish, so it appears, that despite overwhelming evidence for difficulties and gender discrimination in women's employment, it cannot be said to be a universal phenomena.

5.6 Irish Language

Closely linked to school discipline was compulsory Irish language education in the school curriculum, resulting in pressure on the refugee children. The Irish language was not the actual language of the country, but language is one of the elements which define the concept of nation. Ireland was a relatively young nation, and the Irish language was a central constituent in its distinctive national identity and also in nation building. A powerful measure taken by de Valera, after his re-election in 1951, was to introduce compulsory Irish language education, which became a core element in the school curriculum. Clachar (1997) states a host society's language poses social, political and ideological pressure on strangers, though societies vary in the degree of this pressure (Kim (2001).

There are only two references in the research that the Hungarian refugees' children had to learn Irish, as Ibolya, the teacher states with regard to her daughter:

[They] pushed the Irish language so much in the school, and my daughter had to know Irish if she wanted to go to Irish university, and we were panicking. So we had to engage an Irish teacher.

Firstly, this was an added expense. Secondly, being a refugee, it was a great expectation for a future life which also had to take into consideration that university education was not free, so it had clear financial implications for the parents.

However, as only three refugees arrived in Ireland with school children it is clear why there are so few references to learning Irish in school. Rózsika's child was also exposed to strong pressure, but she coped with the situation:

At that time they had to study here in Ireland both Irish and English, and if they failed the Irish exam, they failed everything. My daughter won a gold medal from Irish.

Rózsika's child shows that in 1950s Ireland children were also exposed to their host society's demands, and being a foreigner did not make any difference as without full assimilation at this stage it may not have been possible to achieve personal goals.

5.7 Perception of Irish Ethno -Centrism and Racism in Different Contexts

Irish ethno-centrism was also evident in the host society's social institutions; the roots of this ethno-centrism go back to Irish nationalism (Anderson 1991), which culminated in an ethnic-religious formulation of Irishness. When the Hungarian refugees arrived in Ireland this ethno-centrism posed another challenge for them. György, for instance, who became a manager in Ireland, says:

Behind closed door, Irish people were racist. But not with us. We were Europeans, and they accepted us. They welcomed you in Ireland as long as the Red Cross took care of you, but as soon as you started to go out on your own, and you were a little bit lucky, they felt jealous.

Irish hypocrisy was a great shock for the refugees, and this also raises the issue of a sharp contrast between the host society's welcome and the refugees' later experiences, since a recurring theme emerges in several interviews: the host society was not tolerant of the refugees' financial or academic successes. Irish people were helpful and compassionate as long as the Hungarians did not try to be more than them, as Ibolya, the teacher clarifies:

[What] they didn't like, when you grew above them. Then they became jealous. As long as you were a step below, or equal, they were very good.

Kim's (2001) perspective of taking a host culture into consideration is apparent in that it clearly illustrates a host society's attitude towards a stranger though it may also be a cultural norm.

However, Teri, the interpreter also supports Ibolya's assessment of Irish society:

[the] goodwill lasted as long as [the Hungarians] were a step below.

Irish society did not experience earlier flows of refugees, and might develop a distorted image about them, as failing to consider that the once helpless strangers do not remain refugees. Since the Hungarians were skilled and resourceful, as many of them arrived with a good educational background they would attempt to achieve their personal goals and well-being in Ireland.

Sanyi, who was a semi-skilled worker both in Hungary and in Ireland, also experienced this phenomena but he rationalises it as a 'Celtic' trait:

They are Celtic. When you needed something they gave it to you, they were happy to help you, but if you spend more than they, they were jealous.

Clearly, these were deeply-felt experiences.

There were also four refugees who experienced various forms of ethnic discrimination in Ireland, namely Mari, Rózsika, Matild, and Teri. Language use was one of the means of creating a boundary between the host society and the refugees. However there were other cases as well when the recognition of foreign identity involved discrimination, as Mari, who was orphaned in Belsen, says:

You and all your people should learn how to behave.

In Mari's case this discrimination was not only for a refugee, but also to a Jewish person. However, Rózsika's experience demonstrates that racism also penetrated family lives and so Irish children could not escape this attitude:

And the children began to race in the snow outside the house. And my son told: 'O, we won, we won!'. And the other boy couldn't say anything, but: 'Okay, you won, but you are just Hungarians'. That was what we were for the Irish people: 'just Hungarians'.

Such a comment also holds deep feeling.

Furthermore, racism was also manifest in other spheres of social life. In the apparent monocultural Irish society of the 1950s, religious inter-marriage was a rare phenomenon. The host society's perception of a stranger is also well illustrated in the way the young Matild and Teri were treated. 'What is she' - was the neighbours' inquiry about Matild when her husband married her. Teri, the interpreter, with a Protestant Hungarian background also perceived a covert racism, though she became part of an Irish family:

They were different. First of all they [Irish society] didn't accept you. And I'm still not accepted, I'm still a 'blown-in.

However, Teri's use of the phrase 'blown-in' demonstrates that she has both knowledge and mastery of colloquial Irish-English. Consequently, this fact implies that she has integrated on one level into Irish society.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 5 discusses Irish society's socio-ideological climate, which had a major impact on the refugees' settlement. The legality surrounding employment conditions of the 1950s created a formidable obstacle to gaining employment. The refugees also had to cope with the Catholic Church's powerful influence, which was manifest in various aspects of everyday life: in religious ceremonies, in the education system and also in gender roles. Irish ethnocentrism posed another challenge for the refugees, who sometimes found themselves discriminated against or disdained in some way so that they did not feel fully part of Irish society. The next chapter details the function of host and home language use in the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Chapter 6

Linguistic Issues in Cross-Cultural Adaptation

I had to join the Irish if I wanted enjoy literary or musical or other products, because any other value didn't fit into society. We had to have roots in this country. And there was no way back for us (Ibolya)

Chapter Overview

Chapter 6 is the third of data analysis. This part of the research is designed to assess the process of new language acquisition, and the retention of heritage language in migrants' cross-cultural adaptation. The chapter offers a micro-level analysis and provides an outline about issues related to the refugees' language use from the period of their arrival to Ireland up to their later experiences. It discusses the extent to which the environment demands that an immigrant learn the host society's language, the different incentives and factors, which guide the refugees' language acquisition and its importance in the cross-cultural adaptation. The chapter also discusses the second generation's linguistic experiences with regard to both host and heritage language use, and the implications of home language use on identity.

6.1 Background

Language use has a crucial role in cross-cultural adaptation and in the refugees' wider acculturation process (Kim 2001; Berry 1997; Ward 2001) learning the host society's language is indispensable. Receiving countries have a great responsibility in facilitating newcomers' language learning, particularly in relation to institutional completeness (Breton 1964) though commitment varies from country to country. Equally, refugees' commitments to learning a host society's language also vary. Communities vary on the extent to which they attach significant values to elements of their cultures, such as their language, or languages.

Certainly Ireland and Hungary, both of which underwent suppression, and whose language use was endangered, incorporate language use into their national identity. However, unlike

Ireland, in Hungary, because of the rising national consciousness of the Hungarians from the 1780s among other factors, the Hungarian language survived (Borsody (1952).

In Kim’s (2001) view a nation’s ethno-linguistic vitality is manifested in the absolute and relative use of the language, and the status of a community’s language. The Hungarian refugees’ small number in Ireland meant they could not promote their ethno-linguistic vitality or raise the status of the Hungarian language. The following section discusses the refugees’ host language competence upon arrival in Ireland; then it details the various strategies they applied in the acquisition of English including factors which had negative implications in this process.

6.2 Micro-level Analysis: Acquirement of Host Society’s Language

Table 6.2 divides the refugees into two groups on the basis of their knowledge of English:

Table 6.2 Language Knowledge

Knowledge of English	Refugees
Certain Amount of English	Kálmán, Margit, Teri, Magda, József, István, Jenő
No Knowledge of English	Béla, Sanyi, Icu, Ibolya, Elek, Rózsika, György, Mancsi, Edit, Matild, Zoltán, Mari, Erzsébet

In the first group are those who arrived in Ireland with a certain amount of English, because they learned it in Hungary privately. In the second group there are 10 refugees who arrived in 1956 in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp, and also the two Belsen orphans, who arrived after World War II. None of them had any knowledge of English. This was largely due to the fact that during the 1940s and 1950s in Hungary there was no institutional English language education in state schools (Lendvai 2003) and Russian eventually became the main foreign language taught in schools.

From the first group, the refugees all learned English either in private school, or from governesses, which fact indicates that they belonged to a wealthy social class. Kálmán and Margit learned English in Hungary privately, József learned it in a Protestant school, which was dissolved under the 1950 agreement between state and Church; Magda and Teri learned from their governesses. The late Jenő's English education was not revealed in the interview. However, for those, who were familiar with the host society's language, this fact featured as a significant help in the process of their cross-cultural adaptation, as Kálmán, the writer's and Teri, the interpreter's experiences show:

I was totally confident as I was able to express myself in English.

I was very much confident. I knew the language.

The above comments are in line with Kim's (2001) theoretical perspective that communication competency is vital for individuals to acquire cultural membership in their new home. In the literature of cross-cultural adaptation social class, as a means of cross-cultural adaptation is not discussed; however, as the above examples indicate, refugees from higher social classes were in a more advantageous position due to their knowledge of their host society's language. Both Kálmán and Teri, as intellectuals, could easily have access to employment, because of their linguistic skills.

6.2.1 Strategies Used in Learning English

As György, the manager said:

The main problem was the lack of language knowledge. So, I used my dictionary and tried to approach people word by word. Everyday I was learning a few more words and tried to put them together.

From the second group, those refugees that had no knowledge of English, made various efforts to acquire the host society's language. They applied active learning methods, such as reading books, newspaper articles and participating in their host society's social life as well as activities such as going to the cinema. Table 6.2.1 introduces these different learning methods. The most popular way of learning English was through reading books, with seven interviewees saying that they used this method. Consequently, these refugees

arrived with a good level of literacy as they would have been readers in their first language. Such a level of literacy would indicate a certain level of education and social status.

Table 6.2.1 Learning Methods

Learning Methods	Quotations
Reading	7
In Employment	5
Reading, participating in cultural life, socializing	9
Going to the cinema	2

In Table 6.2.1 there is no reference to institutional language education provided by the host society, although in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp classes were held for adults and children, but the attendance was rare (see the Memorandum of The Irish Red Cross Society (11 March 1957).

Edit and her daughter Matild, who was an 11 years old schoolchild, learned English by reading books. Rózsika read her children’s schoolbooks and also detective stories. Ibolya and her husband Elek received an English language book from Austria, called ‘Assimil’, while György and his wife Mancsi studied a dictionary, and they also tried to understand the titles of newspaper articles. Learning language from books is an active way of learning, but this method does not necessitate interpersonal contact with members of the host society, though the creation of networks is an important prerequisite of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001).

However, there are other examples as well, that the refugees learned English by other methods. There are five references that the Hungarian refugees learned the language in the new workplaces, or language knowledge was a prerequisite of getting employment. They were Edit, Mancsi, Béla, Sanyi, and György. There are nine references that the refugees learnt English by participating in social life, mixing with neighbours, or visiting a pub. Irish pub life was one of the popular activities as György, a manager in Ireland, indicates:

I used to go the pub to meet people, and that was the best way to learn the language.

Béla, who became a businessman, also says:

When they saw me walking on the street, they invited me to their house for a cup of tea, or invited to the pub for a drink... There were two young boys there, and we used to go out together to the pubs. That was the way, how I learned the basic English words...never attended school, or language courses.

Although Béla was only seventeen years old he was invited to the pub, which does not seem consistent with the moral teaching of the Catholic Church, so that Irish morality appears quite complex in the 1950s.

There are two references to visiting the cinema as a learning method, and interestingly they are by children: Matild, Edit's daughter, and Zoltán, the Belsen orphan. Since they were children, they were also exposed to English at school. In their cases visiting the cinema was a supplementary activity in language learning, as Matild, the student said:

There were plenty of cinemas, and they changed programs twice a week. And my parents encouraged me from the beginning to go to cinema.

In the literature of cross-cultural adaptation particular attention is devoted to migrant children's language acquisition, and generally children have greater language proficiency, which can make the process of their cross-cultural adaptation easier. Therefore, for the rest of the second group, Zoltán and Mari, the two Belsen orphans, learning English was a different process to that of the adults.

In general, the refugees displayed quite different approaches to language learning. Reading books is formal approach, while visiting the cinema and pub, and participating in the social life of their host society are informal ways. Generally, people did both. The diversity of learning methods is also related to individuals' marked variation in motivation as revealed in the following section.

6.2.2 *Different Endeavours in Language Acquisition*

In learning the host society's language the first few years are the most decisive, afterwards the motivation decreases (Chiswick and Miller 1992). As a general tendency second language learning is driven by:

- attitudinal and motivational variables, such as openness towards a host society and the frequency and quality of interaction with members of the host society
- functional aspects, such as gaining employment and in developing interpersonal relations
- practical concerns, such as enjoying the social and cultural life of the host society.

The Hungarian refugees were driven by various motivations which fostered the process of their language learning. They all displayed a positive tendency in the acquirement of English, since they realized that the lack of language knowledge was a formidable and potentially unbridgeable barrier in their settling into Irish culture. However, the efficiency of language learning depends on both motivation and context, for instance, being engaged in employment, or participating in social life which would accelerate the process.

For Rózsika, who was involved with business, it was a basic necessity, since she had schoolchildren and had to be in regular contact with the host society, and also her husband had abandoned the family business in Hungary, which they wanted to take up in Ireland:

It was absolutely necessary for our living. We just could not exist without it.

Ibolya, the former teacher, had a wider motivation in learning language in order to be familiar with all aspects of the new society, and to be accepted, also she had a positive predisposition, which as Kim's (2001) model indicates is vital for cross-cultural adaptation. The Big Five model (Ward and Searle 1991) also has resonance with Ibolya's example, because it considers various self orientations as an important factor in adaptation:

It was an absolute necessity ... I went out for venues, I wanted to learn the language I wanted to learn the language, the culture, everything ... After two years I thought I had excellent English, and then later as I talked to people, I realized how little my knowledge is. You know, it was like a wave,

up and down. But you know the saying, if you can say your prayers in English and if you understand poetry, that is when you are really considered as master of the language.

Ibolya also draws a parallel between knowledge of language and knowledge of literature. Her comment has a particular connotation, since this perspective has certainly its roots in Ibolya's heritage: her social class, and is implicitly linked to her education. Those refugees, like for instance Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, or György, a manager, would not share this view, since they would not have the same incentives to learn the niceties of English.

For Edit, Mancsi, Béla, Sanyi and György, knowledge of language had the potential for economic prospects. Edit, a nurse, and her husband were among those professionals who could benefit their host society, and consequently they were the first to find employment:

I immediately started to work in the hospital with my husband - he was a doctor, so the everyday contact was the best way to learn it... You couldn't work without a certain level of language knowledge. A little mistake cost a human life.

Hence, Edit had a strong motivation to learn the language immediately. Mancsi, another nurse, also had a powerful incentive to learn English:

It was a sheer necessity. If you wanted to get a job you had to learn the language. ...I was nursing at the beginning in the Victoria hospital in Cork.

As a result of being close to co-workers and to having employment early on, these two, Edit and Mancsi were fortunate in terms of learning English through their professional employment network.

Béla, one of the youngest refugees, was fortunate to obtain a semi-skilled job quite quickly:

I wanted to find a job and earn money. I was very lucky, at the very beginning I met a manager in a building company and I got a job.

However, initially Sanyi, a semi-skilled worker, and Béla, who later became a businessman, limited their knowledge of English to the minimum required by their specific employments. Sanyi says:

I had a job, which required only basic language knowledge. One could make oneself understood with a few hundred words.

Béla says of his job:

[It] was a sort of semi-skilled job, hm... sort of drilling plates and so...this doesn't require language knowledge.

However, Béla's case implies that ambition helps to develop host language competence:

[But] I wanted to step further ...In the meantime I picked up the language also... I had to.

Béla became a prosperous businessman, so definitely his ambition and motivation were fruitful. Sanyi in contrast, stayed for long time in the refugee camp, and it took him longer to learn English.

In György's case, his motivation to obtain employment merged with his Irish colleagues' approach to socialization:

Also people from the factory were very nice, they used to come to our house, and tried to teach us for the language.

György went on to become a manager, so such socialisation was clearly successful.

The above examples show the significance of the refugees' motivation, though there were also external factors, which hindered the acquisition of host society language as the next section reveals.

6.2.3 *Staying in Camp*

Camp life has a considerable impact on the Hungarian refugees' language learning. There was one Hungarian couple, Sanyi and Icu, who felt comfortable staying in the safety of the Knocknalisheen refugee camp and also their temporary jobs satisfied their needs. A successful strategy for learning the language was to be engaged in the social life of the host society. Therefore, this couple were not motivated to learn English or engage with their new society, as Sanyi says:

It took me a long time to learn English. I was communicating only in Hungarian in the camp.

Icu, his wife also says:

So in the beginning I was not so much motivated to learn the language.

Icu had a young child, and had no prospect of obtaining employment, and this must have been an additional factor in her lack of motivation.

As Allen et al (2006) say, while in camps refugees do not have the chance to live interspersed with their host community, unless they sell or purchase products. This couple's experience indicates that staying for a long time in the compatriot community of the refugee camp had a negative effect on host society language learning, since reliance on the home language network, and the lack of opportunities to develop a work-related social support system function as a serious draw-back for those who remain long amongst compatriots (Kim 2001; Breton 1964).

However, in Icu's case motherhood was also disadvantageous for host language learning:

I was at home with my little son... I was communicating only in Hungarian in the camp.

Her experience indicates that being confined at home and taking care of her child was a deterrent to making progress in the host language as she had little exposure to it. This finding is similar to Sheridan's (2005) research with Vietnamese refugees who came to Ireland in 1979 and later as part of family reunification.

6.2.4 External Factors: The Role of Age in Language Learning

However, besides motivation and environmental factors, there are other external factors, which advance the process of language learning, such as the age of the refugees. Zoltán, Mari and Matild were children when they left Hungary and they maintain that they picked up English very quickly. Being orphans, Zoltán and Mari were adopted by foster parents who did not speak Hungarian; therefore they learned English very quickly, as Zoltán says:

How I learnt English I don't know, just I remember, I had to, no one spoke my language. You learn quickly then.

Mari also states:

We started to learn English naturally from the beginning and forgot our own language very soon. My mother spoke German and Yiddish. I soon picked up English in the same way young children learn new languages.

Both Zoltán and Mari are aware of these differences, of their lost linguistic inheritance. Although being adopted need not inevitably result in the loss of the mother tongue, they were cut off from any Hungarian ties and exposure to Hungarian as well as German and Yiddish for Mari.

Matild's case was different, because her family communicated in Hungarian at home and she learned English in school. In Berry's (2006) view, for most immigrant children school provides the intensive exposure to learning a host society's language, as Matild's case illustrates:

Everyday when Irish children went for Irish class, I went to an extra English class in the school.... for the second Christmas I was the second best student in the class.... so, I learned English very quickly. It is easy when you are a child.

Matild also satisfied her parents' expectations, because, as Vedder and Horenczyk (2006) say, immigrant parents may have high expectations for their children's academic achievement in the new country.

These three examples confirm Ward's (1997) view, that children quickly acquire conversational skills in the acquired new languages. However, with the acquisition of the new language the mother tongue quickly fades away, because the schooling of children clearly accelerates the shift to English, as Zoltán's and Mari's example indicate:

I don't remember [forgetting Hungarian]...but I think it happened very soon.

We started to learn English naturally from the beginning and forgot our own language very soon.

Their examples are in accord with Cummins' (1993) theory that children's mother tongues are fragile and easily lost in the early years of school. The gradual decline of the mother tongue will be further discussed in section 6.5 in this chapter.

6.3 Heritage Language

As Matild, the former student says:

As long as my mother lives, we speak Hungarian, so all the family is aware of our Hungarian descent. After, I don't know.

Refugees, through the process of forced migration often lose one significant element of their original identity: the mother tongue, or heritage language. In countries, where no compatriot community exists, such as in Ireland in the 1950s for the Hungarians, the main domain for heritage language use is the domestic sphere. However, in the frequency of heritage language maintenance there is a marked difference between refugees living in mono-cultural²³ or bi-cultural²⁴ marriages. In mono-cultural marriages the language of conversation within the family is the country of origin, which promotes the retention of the mother tongue. This is particularly true in the case of couples who were married before migrating, such as the Hungarian refugee couples in this study. However, in the case of mixed language couples the dominant language is the common medium of communication, that is the language of the host society. Therefore, certainly this difference has a powerful implication for the language use of the second generation.

6.3.1 Mono-Cultural Marriages

In this research there are five Hungarian couples, Sanyi and his wife Icu, Ibolya and her husband Elek, Mancsi and her husband György, Rózsika and her husband, Edit and her husband, (in the last two cases widowed marriage partners only) and all of them maintained the mother tongue in domestic conversations, as the next interview excerpts indicate. Icu, who became a housewife, says:

[We] communicate at home always in Hungarian with each other.

Ibolya, the former teacher also says:

[We] communicate at home in Hungarian.

²³ The marriage partners come from the same culture. Also called endogamous marriage

²⁴ The marriage partners come from a mixed culture

Finally, Rózsika, who was involved in business, says:

And of course within my family we always communicated in Hungarian.

However, when the refugees arrived in Ireland the couples' choice of speaking Hungarian was an obvious one, so this tendency has no link with the preservation of Hungarian identity. Nevertheless these endogamous marriages encourage the retention of the language of origin, because, unlike those children, who were born into bi-cultural marriages the second generation in mono-cultural marriages learned, or preserved a certain level of conversational Hungarian, as Sanyi implies:

[And] since that time at home we always communicate Hungarian with my family, with my children and also with my grandchildren.

Sanyi tried to preserve the Hungarian language across three generations. However, in the case of the Hungarian refugees, the first generation did not foster the preservation of Hungarian with a powerful home language policy, and domestic conversations did not provide sufficient opportunities for the children to increase their home language skills, their range of vocabulary and also their reading and writing ability in Hungarian. As Cummins (2000) says, refugee children should be provided with further opportunities to expand the functions of their home language; only this way could a considerable generational decline in the home language competency be avoided.

Therefore, in the case of the Hungarian refugees, with the lack of formal institutional language education, and a powerful parental strategy, the second generation did not become fully bi-lingual, since they did not acquire full language skills, as Margit, the musician points out:

[But] I wouldn't say, that they know the language. You know a language, when you can read and write on it, when you feel it, when you make jokes on it.

Accordingly, the second generation's heritage language knowledge has its limitations: it is restricted to conversational skills, reading and writing abilities are variable, as some never acquired literary skills, or their written Hungarian remained basic, as Sanyi states:

We taught our children to the Hungarian language, but unfortunately they can't read and write.

Rózsika was also partially successful with her daughter:

[And] still today I communicate in Hungarian with my daughter. She was 3 years old, when we came here, she speaks fluent Hungarian, but she can't read and write properly.

Similarly, Ibolya, the former teacher's daughter is also not confident in her literacy skills:

My daughter spoken Hungarian is good enough but she finds it difficult to read and write Hungarian.

The refugee children upon arrival in Ireland had to cope not only with the active language of the new society, but, with Irish as well. Therefore, it is reasonable that their parents devoted more time to the compulsory languages, since that was the means to realise their future ambitions. However, while gradually acquiring the new language in the school and other social environmental settings, the children lost proficiency in the mother tongue.

The next quotation from Ibolya also supports Edit's opinion, that the refugees' Hungarian language knowledge had its limitations:

Sometimes if an interesting book comes out from Hungary - like the Nobel Prize winner Kertész book - she reads it in English ²⁵.

Edit, the nurse, and her child Matild, has also difficulties with fluent conversation:

She has the English-Hungarian vocabulary with her, and I have the Hungarian-English one.

The reason for the lack of fluency in the common medium of conversation is, that in the case of refugees and other migrants, the first generation who settle, may not achieve full proficiency in the new language; the second generation gradually loses certain elements of the former mother tongue. Therefore no sophisticated conversational skills can be achieved between them in the heritage language though such skills develop over time in English.

²⁵ Ibolya and Edit speak about their children's language use

6.3.2 *Bi-Cultural Marriages*

In the home of the nine mixed-language couples the language of communication was English, because English was the common medium which was spoken by each family member, and the use of the mother tongue was restricted between the Hungarian mother or father and the child, as Edit states:

We never communicated in Hungarian with my children, because my husband would be outside of it.

There is one exception, József, the baron, who deliberately avoided speaking Hungarian with his child though his motivation will be discussed in section 6.8 in the same chapter.

I never spoke Hungarian with my child either.

Therefore, children in bi-cultural marriages are less exposed to their mothers' tongue, and the retention of Hungarian is vulnerable. Only a powerful stimulus can help in its preservation, for instance frequently visiting Hungary.

From this group, only Margit's and Kálmán's children speak Hungarian, as they spoke Hungarian with them from birth. In Margit's case the children regularly visited Hungary during the summer holidays, and this fact also fostered the preservation of Hungarian:

Since they were nine months old, they went regularly to Hungary... and in Hungary they always speak in Hungarian.

However, the children's language switch is clearly triggered by circumstances as Kálmán, the writer notes:

Occasionally if there is a third person, whom he thinks does not know any English, then he transforms himself and speaks Hungarian. But if you can, and approaches him in English, he will not speak Hungarian. Why should he bother, if he can speak English.

István's sons also support this situation:

Now, they are in the thirties, but if we had a Hungarian guest with no English knowledge, they talk to them in Hungarian of course.

These examples demonstrate how easy it is to shift between ethnolinguistic identities (Fishman 2001). However, there might be other factors that underlie the general shift from Hungarian to English. Second generation migrants are usually not exposed intensively to the heritage language, and their conversational skills decline. This is not always the case if there are strong social networks in place or if there is institutional completeness (Breton 1964). Neither of these was the case for the Hungarians in Ireland in 1956 and is a specific result of their settlement (Berry et al 1997a) in Ireland and the process of long-term cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001).

6.3.3 *The Role of Family Network*

The preservation of large family networks, however, encourages the retention of the common mother tongue. The Hungarian family members who arrived in Ireland at a later stage seem to have a significant role in the preservation of their Hungarian, a finding similar to Sheridan (2008; 2008a; 2008b). Ibolya's mother made a crucial contribution to her grandchild's preservation of Hungarian:

In 1962 we got my mother out of Hungary, because she became very ill. That was a big help in the preservation of our Hungarian language, and particularly it was the only way of communication for my daughter with her grandmother.

So, there is the possibility across the generations here which would not, however, be the case throughout the findings of this thesis.

Similarly to Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, Ibolya found it important to preserve and strengthen the family's cultural identity in language use across the generations (Borland 2005); one possible explanation can be, that she was a national teacher in Hungary, who loved her profession, but could not pursue it in Ireland. As a result, she fostered the preservation of her grandchild's Hungarian:

Also my granddaughter speaks a little Hungarian, because when she was about 6 years old, we got a Hungarian au pair for her out of Hungary. She was with her for 18 months, and at that time she spoke a very good Hungarian.

Additionally, in Erzsébet's case it was also strong family bonds, which fostered the survival of the Hungarian language, as her son says:

Our other cousins still speak Hungarian among each others.

She was one of nine children who all escaped from Hungary to Ireland and the sisters and brothers still communicate between each other in Hungarian in Ireland.

6.3.4 *Second Generation's Experience*

However, as the refugees' children grew up and later married Irish partners, some families applied a conscious strategy in shifting in language use so that none of the family members would be excluded from family communication, as Ibolya says:

[It] would have been impolite to speak in Hungarian, when we are together, they might have thought that we speak behind their back, or we have some secrets. So in the husbands' company we always speak English.

The case of Ibolya's family proves that it is possible to flexibly adapt to the cross-cultural situation and move fluidly and comfortably between identities (Yoshikawa 1987), since they displayed dual linguistic identities with respect to the new situation.

In general, both first and second generational individuals fostered the retention of their Hungarian language knowledge by regular visits to Hungary. Margit, the musician, has a family estate at Balaton:

I spend two months each year in Hungary. And that helps, I have a regular contact with my Hungarian friends...And in Hungary they [the children] always speak in Hungarian, they have nice conversations. The moment they leave, they forget it again, but it comes back when they go back again.

Although Margit's children are adults they have still preserved their Hungarian. István, the engineer, has also a family house in the Hungarian countryside, and the family organizes trips to Hungary on a yearly basis:

We have our comfortable home in Hungary, in Balaton, I inherited my parent's house.

Edit, the nurse, visits her relatives in Hungary and has the same experience with the retention of Hungarian as Margit's children:

I used to visit in every now and then. My relatives used to say, that in the first 3 days I can't speak proper Hungarian, but afterwards I get into the routine.

These experiences indicate that the mother tongue can be revived by a certain stimulus. This is reinforced by the experience of Mari, the orphan, who was not exposed to the Hungarian language from when she was rescued from the concentration camp in 1946, but still recognized her former mother tongue:

I don't remember a single word. However, when I hear Hungarian today, the sound and tone of it is familiar.

Consequently, the strength of attachment to the mother tongue appears to be deep, even for young children and for individuals who wish to integrate into their host society.

6.4 Second Generation Language Use Between the Children

Comparing the second generation's language use between the children, no distinction appears between the mono-cultural and bi-cultural group. The children speak English with each other and they speak English with their parents while the parents answer in Hungarian as Manci, the nurse, says:

[We] talk in Hungarian to our children, they understand it, but they keep answering in English.

Children may retain their comprehension skills in the home language but find it more comfortable to use the host society's language in responding to their parents, as their language use has shifted to English as István, the engineer states:

[They] speak between each other English, and they used to speak to us in English... I mean, we used to speak to them in Hungarian, and they used to answer in English.

The reason is that they could rather preserve their listening skills, than their conversational skills. There are counter examples as well, because Rózsika's and Ibolya's children use

Hungarian when communicating with their parents. This strategy is explained through the persistence of the parents' efforts over time.

Rózsika, the wife of a businessman, applied pressure for the retention of Hungarian:

Both of my children spoke fluent Hungarian. But our grandchildren unfortunately not. I started to talk to them Hungarian, even my Irish son-in-law forced it.

Rózsika's experience does not support Pauwels' (2005) view, which says, that parents are predominantly effective by pressurizing their children in language use. However, there is another implication here to the retention of English, in accordance with Berry et al (1989) in that in the case of the second generation, the home language virtually disappears.

6.5 Partial Loss of Mother Tongue

Kim (2001) argues that in the course of cross-cultural adaptation individuals experience deculturation, losing certain elements from their socio-cultural or linguistic heritage: language loss is one of these elements. Berry et al (1989) examines generational decline of the heritage language among migrants though, the extent and rapidity of home language loss varies across families. In accordance with such research (Berry et al 1989), Hungarian language proficiency seems to show a diminishing tendency across time, since a marked decline can be observed in language use. Teri, the original camp interpreter, and Magda, for example, who have regular contact in Limerick, display elements of a shift in language use, since they interact with each other in a mixture of Hungarian and English as they switch between the two:

[Sometimes] we speak Hungarian, but most of the time we speak English... even when we speak Hungarian, we mix it with English, we can't remember all of the Hungarian words.

Ibolya, an educated teacher in Hungary, also says that she abandoned the more formal styles of Hungarian, the language of literature and art:

I had to give up the Hungarian cultural life, you know, the theatres, the opera, and the spoken Hungarian language, which is not only the everyday speech among us, but the higher literary language.

Matild, the student, also lost a significant amount of her Hungarian vocabulary:

I would say that I forgot 50 % of my Hungarian since I left Hungary. Recently I was listening to parliamentary news, and I didn't understand a single word.

Consequently, there is no regular exposure to the language over time as Matild cannot understand the nuances of contemporary spoken Hungarian.

Reading and writing competency fades away, as Margit, the musician, says:

I haven't read a Hungarian book for ages. Even if I read a book of Hungarian author, I read it in English.

Magda, the wife of a nobleman, echoes this:

I'm reading a Hungarian book in English translation.

Although with the lack of stimulus certain elements of the mother tongue disappear, others are irrevocably preserved and did not cease to exist with the passing of years, as Erzsébet son's remembers an event in the kitchen:

[And] I saw her several times in the kitchen, when for example she was counting or measuring something, she always spoke Hungarian.

Clearly, language issues are complex, as these examples demonstrate and contribute to both group and individual outcomes in terms of long-term cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001).

6.6 Late Language Awareness

It appears that with the passing of decades the children became more and more conscious of their original identity, and they express it through Hungarian language use, as István, the engineer, says about his children:

But it is interesting, that as they became elder they developed a habit to talk to us in Hungarian. This is a very conscious movement, they want to practice it.

This example shows that identity is not constant. Although István's children lost a significant linguistic element of their former identities for a long time, because they did not find it important to practice their mother tongue, they could still reconstruct it. Rózsika's

daughter also proudly revealed her Hungarian ancestry through the use of Hungarian as her mother indicates:

Recently she attended an International Conference in Cairo, and she was sitting next to the Hungarian delegation and she was proud to speak about her Hungarian ancestry in Hungarian language.

It appears that children later in their lives rediscover their roots, which results in a shift in their ethnolinguistic identities.

6.7 Language and Identity

In Fishman's (2001) view language is a powerful medium for the assertion of identity. The Hungarians, as they moved from being refugees to being Irish citizens, applied various strategies in the preservation of Hungarian identity by means of language; there were various situations when they felt the need to reinforce their own cultural identity by use of their Hungarian. In some cases they distinguished themselves from the host society, and in other cases it was the host society that did this. Clearly, this demonstrates that the mother tongue is an important part of retention of original cultural identity, or as a marker of difference, thus a boundary marker (Barth 1994).

Accent, for instance, has an important role in the manifestation of identity. As Collins (2006: 48) notes, a Hungarian refugees' accent would raise *'the flag of nationality and send them back across borders, over rivers and lakes, landing them back home'*. For Irish people a stranger with an accent was someone different. As Erzsébet's son says:

She had a very heavy accent, but she spoke an impeccable English.

István, the engineer, has an accent which was also a distinguishing feature of his identity:

[If] I was talking to somebody who didn't know me, the usual question used to be: 'You don't have a Cork accent!' The next question was 'where are you from'?

Matild also felt the impact of the distinguishing feature of her accent:

Once I opened my mouth they knew from my accent.

Though she was an eleven year-old school-child when she arrived in Ireland, she could not, or did not wish to lose her accent over the years.

However, accent was also a means of restriction in the employment market as Ibolya, the former teacher states:

Unfortunately I couldn't practise my profession as a teacher here, because if a national teacher loses her language she loses everything. The children would have laughed at my accent.

In Ireland in the 1950s schoolchildren were not accustomed to a foreign teacher with an accent; she had a fear she would not have been accepted and in fact she would not have been qualified in Irish terms as a primary school teacher as she did not speak Irish.

While in the above cases no prejudice was involved, there were other cases when the refugees certainly felt discriminated against because of their accent. Mari, the Belsen orphan, brought up as a Jew in Ireland says:

I was treated different in school because I had a foreign accent and because I was Jewish. It took a very long time to be accepted as Irish.

Catholic Ireland maintained its boundaries with regard to people of other religions, and Jews were not welcomed at certain times in Ireland's history.

6.8 Hungarian Names in Various Contexts

The refugees expressed their Hungarian identities through the medium of language in many other small and subtle ways. Family names and first names in any culture are a potential marker of ethnic identity as Matild suggests:

Well, they treated me differently. They didn't know my surname since nobody could pronounce it, so everybody called me by my first name, which was quite unusual.

She recounts another incident:

I remember, in the first year in the College, the porter was arranging our seats, and he gave us seat numbers, and those with foreign names were put together.

Matild's case has clear implication to Irish society's perception of a stranger, and also highlights small cultural differences between Irish and Hungarian norms, because while in Hungary it was customary to call students by their first name, in Ireland the opposite was the case. However, what is of particular interest here is that all the foreigners were separated from the others and made to sit apart as a form of separation or segregation (Berry 1997).

There are several references in the research, that the refugees felt the need to reinforce their Hungarian identity. One of the strategies was to give Hungarian first names to their children, houses and, ironically even to their pets. Five refugees gave their children Hungarian first names. Mancsi, the nurse says:

All of our children have Hungarian names: Péter, Antal and Ágnes. We really tried to preserve our Hungarian identity.

While Mancsi and her husband György lived in a mono-cultural marriage, Béla, the businessman, and his Irish wife also gave their daughters Hungarian names:

Well, we have four children. Our daughters have Hungarian names.

Teri's choice of name is particularly noteworthy as it suggests a deliberate attempt to maintain a bicultural identity with both a Hungarian and Irish version of her son's name:

[One] of my son's has a Hungarian name. He is registered as 'John' but we call him the Hungarian equivalent, 'Jancsi'.

József, the baron is the one who did not teach his child Hungarian, (see later in this section) but he found another way to transmit his identity to his grandchild:

And my grandchild carries my father's name.

It appears that some aspects of Hungarian identity are thus transmitted across the generations even if the language itself is not. However, there are other, strategic ways of keeping the original identity, signalling the Hungarians' need of reinforcing their heritage identity. Two refugees gave Hungarian names to their homes. Erzsébet's son's house is called 'Gellért', a favourite first name and also the name of the famous baths in Budapest,

and Rózsika called her house 'Pannonia' - the ancient name of Hungary. Edit, the nurse, gave her dogs Hungarian pet names and she even addressed them in Hungarian. Such examples relate to Berry's (1997) adaptation outcomes, and are reflective of Kim's (2001) theory about migrants' long-term cross-cultural adaptation as the first culture is not shed but survives in various ways.

There are other strategies as well, which clearly manifest Hungarian identity such as keeping Hungarian names in the marriage certificate as Rózsika notes:

My daughter kept her Hungarian family name as well, and so do her children in their birth certificate.

As the interviews suggest, the role of context is also important in the preservation of the mother tongue, or heritage language. As the following observations indicate, political events can sometimes lessen the links to the home culture. The historical events of 1956 invoked painful memories for the refugees in this study. There are two references in the interviews, which reveal the remarkable interrelationship between historical events, language use and identity. Erzsébet temporarily stopped speaking Hungarian to her children during the 1956 Hungarian revolution, because she thought that '*it is pointless, her country is dying*'. Erzsébet's family was victim of the Post-War political persecution in Hungary, and following the 1956 revolution she lost hope. József, the baron, also suffered persecution because of his family background. He did not teach his daughter Hungarian because he was alienated from his homeland which pushed him out and also, being a refugee he was not likely to return to Hungary:

I never spoke Hungarian with my child either. She only knows a few words in Hungarian. I never gave any importance to her to learn Hungarian.

The above examples find support in Barth's (1994) view that the various symbolic ways of expressing Hungarian identity through the medium of language erect a boundary between the Hungarians' and the host society and can also result in discrimination. Also, language is a powerful medium in the reassertion of a home identity for children or the second generation as they investigate or attach themselves to their ethnolinguistic roots.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 6 has explored the functions of host and home language use in the process of cross-cultural adaptation. In the acquisition of the host language several motivations were revealed of which the most important for adults was the prospect of employment. The research further introduced the various subtle ways language has been used up till the present in the expression of Hungarian identity, though no tension was revealed between the maintenance of Hungarian and the acquisition of English. The research revealed that over times the Hungarian refugees became competent and confident English speakers, though, an ideal non-foreign-accented version of the language was never fully won by the adults of the first generation and one of the children. Overall, the observations in this study are comparable to previous research in that host language knowledge increases the refugees' cross-cultural understanding, and helps in facilitating their cross-cultural adaptation to Irish society. Additionally, it has revealed the ways remnants of language remain over time during the process of cross-cultural adaptation. The next chapter of data analysis focuses on the identity outcomes of the Hungarians and their long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation.

Chapter 7

Individual Variability in Cross-Cultural Adaptation

Chapter Overview

Chapter 7 is the fourth of data analysis. By embracing 5 decades, this chapter adapts a micro-level analysis by examining the diversity and complexity of the Hungarian refugees' adaptation in this study. Personal attributes, predispositions and other features are highlighted, which seem to have a crucial impact on adaptation; then, chapter 7 determines the refugees' level of adaptation and their perceived identity outcomes.

7.1 Introduction

The Hungarian refugees arrived 52 years ago in Ireland. Having spent long decades here they feel that they became Irish citizens in terms of citizenship and membership of Irish society. However, their relations and sentiments towards Hungary did not cease because of migration. The interviews suggest that the refugees preserved their past both culturally and emotionally, but the extent of adaptation and the preservation of original identity vary in each individual case. This fact coincides with Berry's (1997), and Ward's (2001) theories which say that during the comprehensive process of acculturation, refugees may retain certain elements of their heritage culture, while also acquiring values of their host culture. Additionally, it validates Kim's (2001) perspective as she states that an individual in the course of cross-cultural adaptation does not have to give up the first cultural identity, because the new, intercultural identity is shaped by the original cultural environment and the new milieu. However, intercultural identity is also grounded in the situation of marginality, as an outcome of the uncertainty posed by moving between two social worlds (Kim 2001).

As the interviews bear witness, in some cases assimilation to the host society, which was the expected outcome from the host society perspective, negatively affected the preservation of original identity, while resistance to assimilate meant a stronger Hungarian

identity. In other cases an Irish identity manifested itself more powerfully when the refugees preserved fewer Hungarian cultural elements. Again, in other instances clinging to the original identity did not pose challenges in the cross-cultural adaptation process. In many cases the preservation of Hungarian identity was purely emotional. There will be various examples and experiences presented throughout this chapter which aim to illustrate the rich diversity of cross-cultural adaptation found in this study of the 1956 Hungarian refugees who came to Ireland.

7.2 The Refugees' Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

As discussed in data analysis chapters 4, 5, and 6, a host society's support, obtaining employment, learning the host society's language, and, within language use, the marriage partners were important features in the refugees' first experiences as the following table illustrates:

Table 7.2 The Refugees' Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

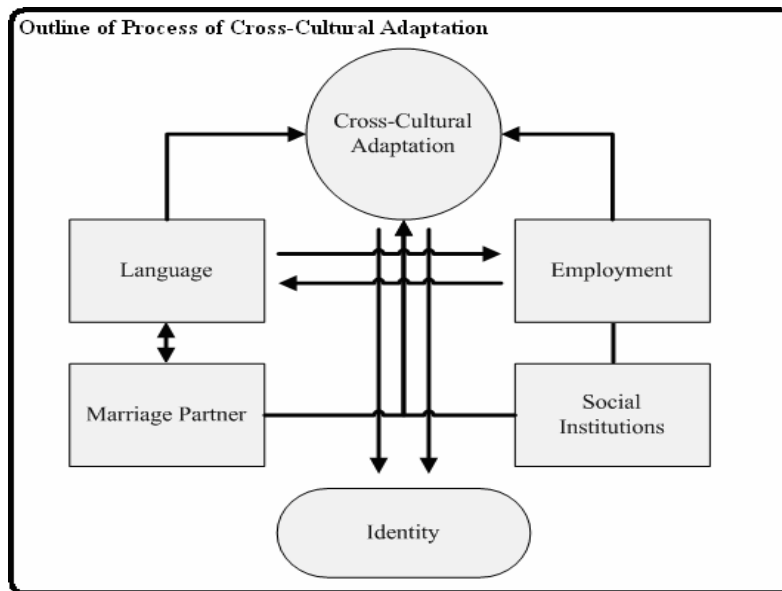


Table 7.2 presents the inter-related nature of the process of cross-cultural adaptation where language outcomes, for instance, are related to both employment and one's marriage partner. Employment further depends on the host society itself including the mix in this

case of economic factors and attitude to newcomers. Identity outcomes, the result of the long-term process of cross-cultural adaptation are consequently dependent on this interaction between the individual and the host society (Kim 2001; Berry 1997; Ward 2001).

Overall, Ibolya, the former teacher, sums up the situation which faced the Hungarians on their arrival in Ireland:

[M]y motto was, that if I live among 3 and half million Irish people, I can't get Irish people to change my Hungarian veins, there is only one way ahead of us, and that means that we had to learn the Irish way of life.

Ibolya also presents the choice that each of the Hungarians faced which was resistance or adaptation to the new environment and potentially a combination of both. This point specifically supports Anderson's (1994) theory because it was the refugees' option to change themselves or accept the new situation, that is, adapting or remaining an outsider. However, Kim's (2001) theory encompasses this, because in the cross-fire of acculturation and de-culturation the Hungarian refugees in this study were exposed to a continuous struggle.

A common feature of the refugees was that they were all young and had a powerful push factor to leave Hungary. Those who arrived in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp also shared the following characteristics:

- they were forced migrants
- they had no previous intercultural experiences
- they had no knowledge of English

However, despite these common features, they all displayed a unique cross-cultural adaptation, and its extent depended on the way they perceived and reacted to the host society's challenges and also on their attachment to Hungary. The next sections discuss the ways the refugees acculturated to Irish society while preserving elements of their original identity.

7.3 Culture Shock

As Gudykunst (1988) notes, culture shock is potentially the first experience the refugees face in the process of cross-cultural adaptation:

The experience of a new culture is a sudden, unpleasant feeling that may violate expectations of the new culture and cause one to evaluate one's own culture negatively (Gudykunst 1988: 45).

Upon arrival in Ireland the refugees were all exposed to various extent of culture shock resulting from the lack of familiarity to the new environment as Ibolya, the teacher, says:

I saw many differences in lifestyle, customs, priorities. The whole life style was different. In Hungary we didn't see these uniform houses, which are here. The food, the culture, the education, they were all different.

In the literature of cross-cultural adaptation culture shock receives particular attention. The refugees met several challenges, suffered from failed expectations, and coped with the hardship in terms of Kim's (2001) stress-adaptation cycle with various results. However, they did not experience the first, honey-moon stage on Oberg's (1960) scale. They displayed different emotional reactions to the pressure the host society exerted on them (Kim 2001), and the poverty in Ireland:

[She] was shocked when she saw children on the street without shoes (the late Erzsébet's son).

Manci, the nurse was also appalled by the conditions of the 1950s:

I felt that I stepped back a few years.

On many levels for the refugees, 1950s' Ireland appeared to be backward in comparison to Hungary.

For Margit, the musician, who arrived from Western-Europe to Ireland, the contrast seemed to be sharper:

There was no light on the streets, and the shops were not lighted.

However, besides the first impression about the country's poverty, the most frequent complaints referred to Irish weather conditions.

Hungary's location in the middle of the Carpathian basin with its continental climate protects the country from extreme weather conditions, and has one of the highest records of sunshine in Europe (Bartholy et al 2006). Therefore the windy and rainy Irish weather must have been really shocking for the refugees as Matild, the student, who was very young at the time states:

First of all, I was shocked by the weather. It was raining and raining, every day. And of course I was shocked in the camp, it was an army barrack.

Also, the refugees were astonished when they were faced with Irish ignorance about Hungary, as Erzsébet's son describes:

[When] my father asked my grandmother about marrying a Hungarian girl, her first question was, is she Black?

This question also equates being foreign with race, but also implies ordinary Irish people's lack of awareness of other cultures, which resembles Bennett's (1986) intercultural sensitivity model, however in a reverse mode, applying it to Irish society's ethno-centrism. According to Bennett (1986), an ethno-centric person simply does not recognize the existence of cultural difference, which is due to his/her isolation from people of a different cultural background.

Irish conditions in the 1940s and 1950s can be best explained by József, the baron:

Well, [knowledge about Hungary] really depended on the education the person had had. People in the lower financial classes hardly had the means to finish their primary education. They knew nothing about Hungary. But we can't blame them. Those who were educated and were members of an older generation, which were more tied up with the history of European culture, knew much about Hungary, and were able to recall their connections in the past.

Some of the refugees took a positive view from the beginning, and perceived the challenges with increased tolerance, while others went through considerable psychological stress. Those who experienced the bottom of Oberg's (1960) scale suffered culture shock with

varying severity, ranging from homesickness to depression, from minor irritation to frustration, and from annoyance to anger.

7.3.1 *The Extent of Acceptance of Differences*

As a general tendency, the majority of the refugees interviewed in this study felt that upon arrival to a new country they should accept the new rules, which was manifest not only in the host society's rigid religious expectations but also on a large scale of other expectations, as Ibolya, the former teacher discusses:

It was strange, because you have to learn the habits as well, you have to learn how to hold your tea cup...you know, when you go to another society you have to learn their customs. And here in Ireland, they didn't care that you came from a foreign background, and your customs are different, they just took you by the first impression, so we had to be very aware how we behave, what the local customs are, in order to be able to establish ourselves.

As Ibolya became a consultant manager, she must have been particularly successful.

The refugees were thus expected to accommodate along various cultural dimensions (Hofstede 1980; 2001), and within this particularly to the way Irish society handled time and promptness. It was a habit which contradicted the Hungarian perspective because the refugees' tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty was low.

In contrast, Irish people were relaxed as Teri, the interpreter says:

The Hungarians worry about every little things, the Irish people are more relaxed, they say, they come along to repair something tomorrow, but they don't. Irish people are saying that 'God made plenty of time', or 'Put it on your long finger', that means, it can wait. And there are lots of things that still irritate me. For example, they are not punctual, and they have got a frightful inferiority complex, because of their historical past.

Teri's comment is particularly interesting, because Hungary itself has had long periods of occupation, but these would not generally manifest in a sense of inferiority.

In the interviews there are several reactions to the differences between the two cultures. Some of the cultural differences resulted in culture shock over time; other differences were dealt with by various strategies as table 7.3.1 categorizes them:

Table 7.3.1 Acceptance of Cultural Differences

Codes	Numbers
Full acceptance	7
Partial acceptance	8
Unconditional acceptance	2
Perceived acceptance	1
Refused perceived acceptance	1

The majority of the refugees, 7 in total from the 17 interviews felt that they should accept the totality of the host society's expectations as the following sample quotes illustrate:

7.3.1.i Full Acceptance

The late Erzsébet's son says of his mother:

Yes, she adapted well, she always felt a part of Irish culture ...when finally she got a job as an interpreter - she was speaking many languages - and entered to work ... so, it was a necessity for her to adapt .

In Erzsébet's case full acceptance was an economic necessity, as she was the wife of a businessman, and also, being part of a large family, would have had the predisposition to adapt as well. Ibolya, the former primary school teacher also felt the need for full acceptance of the host society's rules in order 'to have a full life'. Clearly, here Ibolya views adaptation as belonging to a 'full life'. She was a teacher, so also had aspects of High Culture in mind.

However, Edit, the nurse, working alongside her doctor husband felt the same way:

We might find that things are strange, but I adapted easily both, because I had to... there was no way to criticise it in any case.

Edit's acceptance also reveals the pressure which forced migrants are exposed to as she underlines the fact that outspoken criticism was not an acceptable feature of life in Ireland

in the 1950s and that it particularly would not have been welcome coming from an outsider in a political situation, when Irish people also suffered under the regime of 1950s Ireland. The newspaper articles referred to in chapter 4 detailed Irish legal and economic situations and also government incompetence with regard to the Hungarian refugee crisis; therefore individual criticism would have been aimed primarily at government policy.

Finally, Magda also chose to adapt fully:

Yes, absolutely [adapted]. I married an Irish man, and I didn't have any hardship.

Magda came from a high social class in Hungary; for her it must have been essential to settle well and marry into an influential Irish family. Adaptation must have been of primary importance for her and it underlines the role of social class in cross-cultural adaptation, a specific finding in this thesis.

7.3.1.ii Partial Acceptance

There were 8 references in the interviews which indicate that the refugees in this study partly adapted to their host society, as Kálmán, the writer illustrates:

I have adapted to the good things of Irish culture, and I liked it, you know, such as drinking a beer, or conviviality, or you know, making a party out of nothing...Well, I adapted as much as I thought it was necessary...they would have liked me to be adapted and I never did.

Kálmán does not have a specifically adaptive personality and as a university lecturer, he has his own independent way of thinking. Also, he arrived later in Ireland, because he spent several years in England, and already has another cultural identity.

Manci, the nurse hints that she also partly adapted to Irish culture:

Yes, I think so. I adapted. But I'm still trying to keep my own identity.

Manci thus considers both cultures to be of importance to her. However, Teri, the interpreter, clearly declares that in a new country full adaptation is not possible:

You can't adapt yourself completely. I partly adapted myself. Well, I lived my own life, I settled

here, I have got my own home, I got a very busy life. I work always very hard.

Teri thus emphasizes how she created and lived her own life, which thus has not always been according to the host society's rules.

Finally, Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, and his wife Icu also display part adaptation:

Essentially we merged our Hungarian culture with the Irish. But at home we are Hungarians.

Here, Sanyi makes a clear distinction between his home and the host society beyond, which resembles Barth's (1994) perspective, since he creates a clear boundary between himself and Irish society.

7.3.1.iii Unconditional Acceptance

There are two references in the interviews that the refugees had no alternative to some form of cross-cultural adaptation. They are both from the youngest refugees, who arrived as orphans following their rescue from Bergen Belsen. Zoltán says:

[I] feel that if you are in someone else's country, you adopt to their way and culture, and hold on to yours if you can, but it does not really matter if you can't. You have to live the same way, other people live in the new country. This is your country. If you want to keep your ways, you stay outside, or change, and come inside. I got inside very soon.

Zoltán and Mari, the Belsen orphans were young children, and such very young migrants do not feel home-sickness but rather want to find safety and attachment in the new home.

Mari comments:

I was a baby, when I got here. I became an Irish person without realizing it, we had to, we didn't have any choice, we had to learn to adapt.

Zoltán and Mari are thus quite specific cases in this study. However, from Zoltán's memoir (Zinn-Collis and Mcauley 2006) it appears that they were still seriously affected by their experiences despite their age.

7.3.1.iv *Perceived Acceptance*

There is one specific reference when the refugees' self-assessment does not find support, namely, there was no way to challenge the host society's expectations. Rózsika, the wife of businessman, says:

They did not pressure me for anything, they accepted me as I was. I really can't complain.

Rózsika was the one who refused to obey to the order of a Catholic priest not to attend a Protestant marriage. She was also exposed to pressure but she might have a different image about the way the host society accepted her: through her own strength of character.

7.3.1.v *Refused Acceptance*

Margit, the musician's example is also slightly different. She too believes that she had her option of choices; in addition, she believes that the host society adapted to her:

I didn't have problem adapting to Irish culture, because it was not forced on me. It was my choice to accept what I wanted...don't forget, that I'm a music teacher, and I'm doing my own school. I don't conform. They conform to me.

Margit's profession as a musician and sense of self-worth allows her to say this. She is highly critical of Irish society, as she contrasts it with the higher regard for High Culture in Hungarian society:

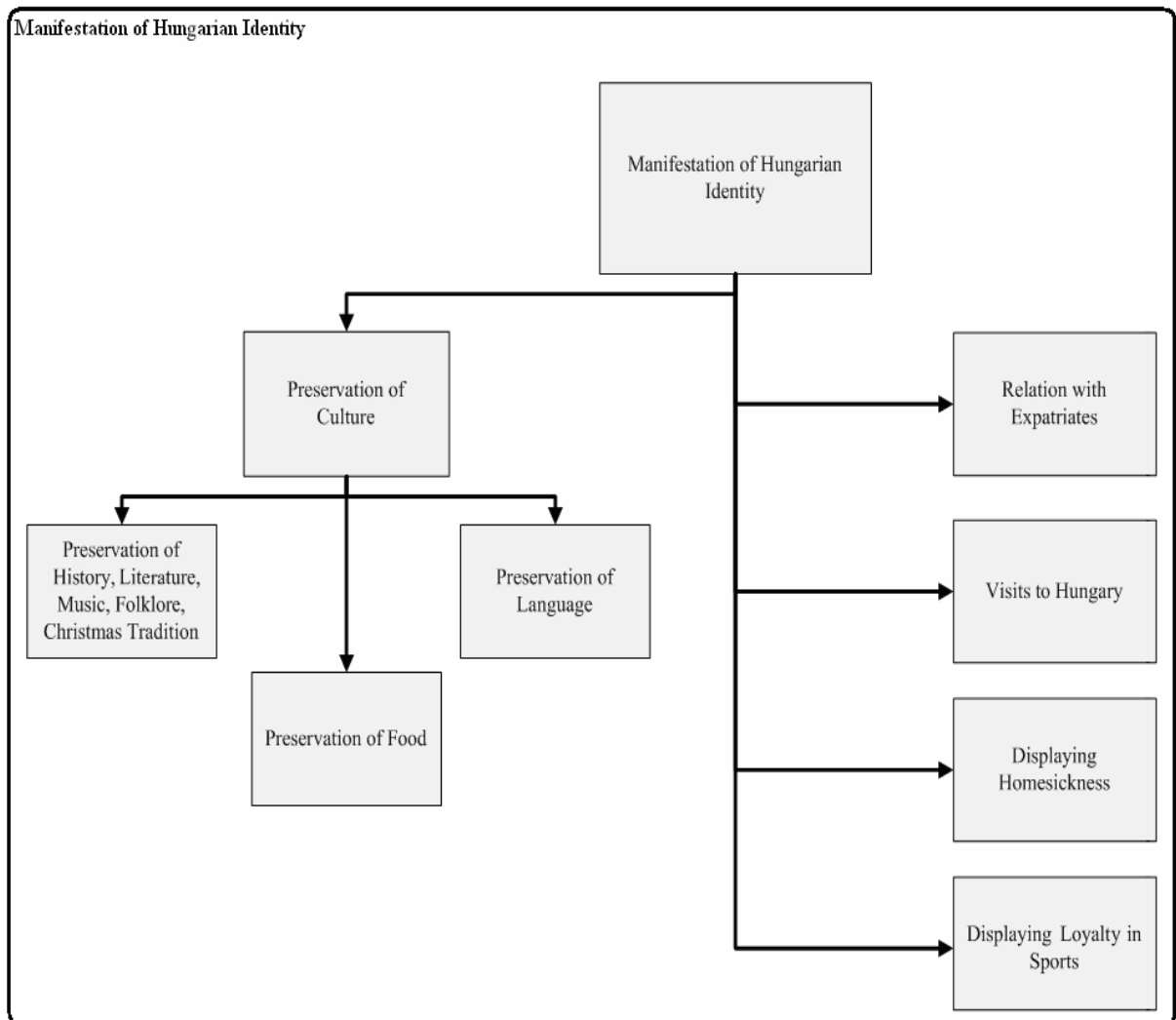
I didn't say the Irish didn't have culture. No... they didn't get it. It is entirely different. Culture is something you learn, it is intuitive.... talent is a completely different thing. They didn't get culture in schools, like going to a museum, for the sake of going, going to a concert for the sake of going.

Margit's assessment does not challenge the previous statements that adaptation was the only choice for refugees, as similarly to Kálmán, Margit arrived in the 1980s in Ireland, with previous experience of cross-cultural adaptation. She arrived from Holland and Cape Town, with positive impressions of both her former environments.

7.4 Preservation of Hungarian Identity

An important element of cross-cultural adaptation is the extent to which the former Hungarian refugees in this study preserve and insist on maintaining or retaining certain elements of their original identities as Table 7.4 illustrates.

Table 7.4 **Manifestation of Hungarian Identity**



According to table 7.4 while many of them came to terms with the loss of some elements, such as being cut off from Hungarian literature or art, all of them cling to less High Culture aspects, such as Hungarian food, or the celebration of Christmas. Also, the manifestation of

Hungarian identity reveals itself not only in language use, or organizing cultural and artistic activities, that is retaining High Culture traditions, but interestingly also by the refugees' relations with the compatriot community, which has grown in Ireland since the 1990s following the opening of the Hungarian Embassy in Dublin, and migration from Hungary to Ireland by both skilled and semi-skilled workers. However, there are other ways also: visiting Hungary regularly, displaying home-sickness or loyalty in sport, and these are all discussed in turn.

In this study the preservation of the original identity of the former Hungarian refugees includes both culture as the expression of everyday life and High Culture. There are three refugees who significantly contributed to the preservation of Hungarian literary and artistic values in Ireland by publicizing them: Kálmán, the writer, Teri the former interpreter, and the late Erzsébet.

Kálmán, the writer, preserved Hungarian literary values by preserving Hungary's émigré literature:

Until 1989 when the flood gates were open and defeat was around, many - many topics were either forbidden or completely neglected by the Hungarian authorities in Hungary, and consequently we had to do this ourselves. Such things, for instance: Gulag, and what went around Gulag, and 1956, and what went around 1956. And then certain poems, for instance, Illyés: 'One sentence on tyranny' was banned in Hungary and we were able to put it forward. And again, criticism, which we were able to put forward, but they were not able to do it at home. So indeed, the émigré literature at that time had a very important point to preserve values, which were completely and absolutely neglected in Hungary.

Kálmán's account merits particular attention, since it corresponds to and underpins the decades of terror and retribution in Hungary described in chapter 2. As an intellectual, he felt that he had a predominant responsibility to bequeath valid and reliable historical records for future generations; the historical understanding of the events of the past, here specifically the 1956 revolution, play a crucial role in the construction of national identity.

Teri, who came to Ireland as an au pair in the late 1940s and interpreted at Knocknalisheen, also committed herself to the cultivation of Hungarian art and history in Ireland to showcase her own High Culture inheritance and national history:

I made a Hungarian exhibition here in the Heritage Centre. I had many sections, such as music, art, literary and historic sections...I wanted to get the Irish and Hungarian culture meet somewhere...I got the Hungarian stuff from a Hungarian museum, and from the embassy. Also I got some resources from people, who lived here. I got very old ethnic dolls, and then I had a Habsburg wedding dress, and also got the copies of the collection of the famous books of our King Matthias from the 16th century. And I got reproduction of old Irish Bibles and the 'Book of Kells', and I made a sort of comparison between the two cultures.

Teri's collection vividly illustrates the particular characteristics of Hungarian cultural identity, and also the outstanding historical events which were outlined in chapter 2: King Matthias's reign and the Habsburgs would be considered key events in terms of national identity.

Ibolya, the former teacher, also arranged a Hungarian exhibition; the event was publicised in several Irish newspapers, such as in *The Irish Catholic*:

Lovers of arts and crafts and all those interested in exhibitions of this nature have now an opportunity of viewing a unique exhibition of the work of four Hungarian refugee families in the Little Theatre of Brown Thomas, Grafton Street' (*The Irish Catholic* 14 March 1957).

As was introduced in chapter 4, in the 1950s Irish society's knowledge about Hungary was not deep, and since the refugees' arrival mobilized Irish society on a grand scale, this exhibition definitely enriched Irish people's knowledge about Hungary.

The late Erzsébet also aimed to popularize the Hungarian art of music. Her son recounts:

Also she arranged a Hungarian cultural event. With the help of the embassy she invited a Hungarian orchestra, you know, my mother was a musician. She tried to improve Irish - Hungarian relations. My mother was very much conscious of her Hungarian identity.

These attempts all relate to the presentation of a national identity readily recognised by Hungarians (Anderson 1991).

However, Erzsébet also preserved elements of Hungarian culture in her home:

But she, as a musician regularly taught us for Hungarian music, we all learnt Kodaly, Bartok, basically all the great Hungarian composers lived in our house, because she also played piano Hungarian music. And when we get together we always sang Hungarian Tsardas.

While the Hungarian Tsardas is an outstanding element of Hungarian folklore culture,

Ibolya was also keen to preserve an art treasure in her own home:

You know the famous Hungarian painter, Munkácsi. Some of his paintings are in the Hungarian National Gallery. A painted copy of one of his painting, a reproduction by another famous Hungarian painter, was in my sister's possession. And before she died she asked me what would we like to inherit, and I told, let the Hungarian relatives have what they want, all I need is a little part of Hungary.

Such an inheritance clearly holds a profound meaning in terms of expressing national identity through High Culture and it still has importance decades after Ibolya fled Hungary.

Other refugees in his study also preserved aspects of their original national identity in terms of High Culture. József, the baron, preserved antique Hungarian books:

My Hungarian ancestry going back to eleven-hundred years. I can trace it back to the settlement of the Magyars in Hungary. I preserved some old Hungarian books from the 1830s, they represent a great value. We were offered a great sum of money for them by a museum, but we kept them.

Again, the worth is not financial, but is seen as an expression of identity, though in this case a complex one, linked to the origins of the nation (Anderson 1991).

Finally, an interesting, recurring symbol of Hungarian national identity is Herendi²⁶ china, a symbol of Hungarian culture, which decorated respondents' houses, such as István, Ibolya, Rózsika and Edit: these noted from home visits during the course of this research.

7.5 Home-Sickness

As Berry et al (1986; 1987) state, acculturative stress has various manifestations in the form of stress, depression, anger and hostility. However, moving away from one's native home can also bring about a condition known as homesickness. Displaying home-sickness is a powerful manifestation of clinging to the original identity.

Some of the refugees admitted to suffering from home-sickness, while others denied it. Some revealed having overt or covert homesickness. An overt way is, for instance,

²⁶ The idea of collecting and displaying Hungarian porcelain pieces at Herend already arose in the early 19th century. The large selection of hand painted china pottery gifts and figures are very expensive, and is affordable only for middle and high social classes.

planning trips to Hungary, or many years later seeking comfort in the Hungarian Embassy, while a covert way is evoking memories of the old school, old workplace, or dreaming about Hungary. The various manifestations of the former Hungarian refugees' homesickness are summarised in Table 7.5:

Table 7.5 Displaying Home-Sickness

Codes	Numbers	Codes	Numbers
Bringing family members to Ireland	1	Preserving /buying properties in Hungary	2
Memories of Hungarian school	3	Relation with expatriates	7
Memories of Hungarian workplace	2	Participating events in the Hungarian Embassy	6
Reclaiming confiscated property	1	Preserving Christmas traditions	15
In dreams	1	Preserving Hungarian food	8

The following three references demonstrate that home-sickness surfaced powerfully in some cases with the former 1956 refugees.

7.5.1 Admitting Having Home-Sickness

For Rózsika, now the wife of a businessman, the escape from Hungary was particularly painful and she says:

O yes, many times [has been home-sick].

Béla, who was the youngest adult refugee and who later became a businessman, left his family roots and his family estate in Hungary at the age of 18. He also suffered from being far from Hungary:

I was very homesick, specially in the first two years.

According to his Irish wife his home-sickness did not cease to exist with the passing years:

Even when he met me 10 years later, he was homesick. He was always waiting for going home, always booking, counting the days at the calendar.

Sanyi, who became a semi-skilled worker, and his wife Icu, express excruciating homesickness. In Icu's dreams, in the world of the sub-consciousness, the image of Hungary regularly returns:

We were very much home-sick. And we are home-sick. But we couldn't return to Hungary...It is interesting, when I'm dreaming, in my dreams I'm always and always in Hungary.

Sanyi explicitly expresses his sense of home-sickness:

Yes, Hungary is our home.

A prominent illustration of the couple's home-sickness is, when they celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary in Hungary and lived through the memories of the past in their circle of Hungarian and Irish family members and friends as Icu recounts:

In 2004 we celebrated our golden marriage anniversary. We and our Hungarian friends in Ireland went home for the occasion. We celebrated it on the same day and in the same Church than 50years ago. All my family were there, my children and grandchildren from Ireland, and the rest of our family from Hungary. We were about hundred. It was an unforgettable occasion.

The celebration reveals a merging of identities, cultures and belongings, which is a powerful symbol of the process of cross-cultural adaptation where both past and present meet.

7.5.2 *Not Having Home-Sickness*

There are also several references in the interviews that the refugees consider their home the place, where their family is living, such as Edit, the nurse:

[My] home is where my family is.

Magda, who became the wife of an Irish nobleman, also feels that she is surrounded by her family, and, therefore, she does not feel home-sickness:

Since all my family is here, no, I'm not [home-sick].

György, who became a manager, expresses similar sentiments:

No, [I was no home-sick] I was very young, when I left Hungary. And when I think of Hungary, in my memories the Hungary of my childhood emerges, the one which will never come back. And I have my children here, this is the place where I brought up them, and this is my home. I could never live again in Hungary.

However, György, who had been a factory worker, and became a manager, reveals a hidden home-sickness, since childhood memories always have nostalgic connotations. His emotional attachment towards his home is reflected in his recollection of his escape:

I was working in the Szekszárdi street....you could approach it from the Váci street by tram number 3 or 55. And we met with my colleagues in front of the factory, and we got a train from Budapest, which took us to the border.

Similarly to György, Margit, the musician, does not reveal home-sickness:

[My] home is where my family is.

However she also appears to cherish memories of past events:

I have memories of my school, of the academy, where I spent my youth, and when I went back I recognised the same smell, and the little fountain was still in the foyer after 50 years.

Consequently, in these two cases there is no home-sickness but a looking back across life-events.

7.5.3 Home-Sickness Mixed with Fear of Past

It appears that in this study forced migrants' home-sickness is mixed in many cases with bad memories and a sense of fear. Ibolya, who became a consultant manager, says:

No, I wasn't [home-sick]. After all we went through...but I was sick of my profession...in that time home-sickness meant Communism Regime.

Ibolya had a traumatic escape from Communist Hungary, and she was a dedicated teacher in Hungary, who could not pursue her profession in Ireland. When she talks about sickness with regard to her profession she is referring to the imposition of Communist ideology as part of her professional identity. Although she states, that due to the traumatic events of the past she does not feel home-sick, her case does not differ from those, who state the

opposite: she regularly visits Hungary, participates in events in her Hungarian school where she was a student, and is committed to preserve the Hungarian identity in her child.

7.5.4 *Children Refugees' Home-Sickness*

In the case of those refugees, who left Hungary in their childhood, home-sickness does not surface in this study. Matild, the student, who later worked in her private enterprise, says:

No, [never has been home-sick] but if I'd win the lotto, I would spend 6 months in Hungary to travel around, and to learn the language really well. But I wouldn't go on living there forever, because my family is living here.

Similarly to Matild, Mari, the Belsen orphan, does not feel home-sickness, because all of her memories about her childhood remind her of the concentration camp:

[My] mother taught me in the concentration camp the Hungarian dance, you know, just to keep the children occupied.

Here, home-sickness is more complex for both Mari and Matild. It is interesting that Matild feels a sense of attachment to Hungary as she would like to immerse herself in the language and to maintain a strong link to her Hungarian identity. However, for Mari, there is a bitter-sweet memory of family, of a previous existence which can never be recovered.

7.5.5 *Denying Home-Sickness*

Edit, the nurse is the single interviewee who directly denied being home-sick:

No, I have never been home sick.

However, her daughter, Matild reveals her mother's hidden home-sickness, which might be also linked to economic considerations about land and property nationalisation in Hungary:

Recently my mother tries to reclaim her confiscated property... You know, I don't think it's fair from an expatriate, because we left the country at that time but she would like to have a piece of Hungary.

Here again, there is a complex mix of the political with the personal, which affects the process of cross-cultural adaptation of the Hungarian refugees in this study.

7.6 Hungarian Relations: The Refugees' Attachment to Hungary

In the interviews there are 39 references concerning the refugee's attachment to their country of origin, which is therefore a highly significant finding in this research. One way was to cultivate relations with compatriots in Ireland, and the other way was to make family trips to Hungary. As was discussed in chapter 4 section 4.2 there was no Hungarian compatriot community in Ireland in 1956 apart from those scattered individuals who had come in the 1940s. Some of the refugees clung to each others' friendships, but others did not seek such company. One possible interpretation is that the composition of the 1956 refugees was diverse; different social strata were represented, so that people would not have had common interests back in Hungary. Ibolya, the teacher supports this perspective:

[We] selected our friends carefully, with whom we had common interest.

The other option to cultivate Hungarian ties was to return to Hungary. Until the 1980s the prevailing dictatorship did not generally make it possible to visit Hungary. It was only in the 1980s at first, when the political pressure began to ease and from this time for many refugees the Hungarian summer vacation provided a bridge with Hungary. Erzsébet's son says of his mother:

My family was down on the list, and it was very difficult for her to go back. It was very sad, because it broke her heart. When she first visited Hungary in 1982, they kept her in the border for 3 hours. It was purely because my grandfather had been involved in politics.

It was only in 1989, with the collapse of Communism, when the events of 1956 gained a new place in Hungarian history that political victims of the past received an amnesty.

The refugees visit Hungary with various frequencies. Those with estates travelled on an annual basis; others made trips with the intention of introducing their children to the home their parents came from. Ibolya says of her daughter:

She was nineteen when she first visited Hungary. She was doing her BA in Switzerland, and she wanted to visit Hungary. I flew from Ireland, and she came by train. I said I want to be the first one to show your home country. I took her to the usual site, we did a tour around Budapest with an English speaking guy.

Reference to Hungary is another unconscious way of expressing the former refugees' sense of belonging. Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, and his wife Icu, called Hungary 'home':

But since that time I'm regularly bringing Hungarian literature, Hungarian music from home.

In contrast, Edit, the nurse, calls her country of origin 'Hungary':

When I visit Hungary I used to bring only Hungarian food with me.

Edit does not have close relatives in Hungary, though she bought Hungarian Herendi china, a symbol of Hungarian culture, in England. Her attachment to Hungary appears to be quite loose. This is the same with Margit, the musician, and Zoltán, the Bergen orphan. They both referred to their original home as 'Hungary', so indicating a sense of distance from their country of origin. Teri, the interpreter called Hungary 'country', while Mari called the Hungarians her 'own people'. Consequently, there are varying levels of connections to and identification with Hungary, which have resulted over time during approximately five decades of the cross-cultural adaptation process (Kim 2001).

7.6.1 Relation with the Hungarian Embassy

The opening of the Hungarian Embassy in 1990, 34 years after the 1956 revolution, meant an emotional breakthrough for many Hungarians, who recognized it as such, as Béla, the businessman says:

O, we were so, so happy, we were delighted, we were just thrilled!!! I was so happy to meet the Hungarians. I liked the Hungarians. I felt it was part of Hungary.

However, the occasional meetings did not fulfil everybody's expectations:

We used to meet the Hungarians twice a year in the embassy. There we used to talk to each other, but after again we don't see each other until the next formal occasion.

Sanyi here indicates that there was no Hungarian network in operation outside their formal gathering. As there had been no institutional completeness (Breton 1964) due to the small numbers of this group, this is not a surprising. Also, as mentioned in section 7.6 in this

chapter, the refugees' composition was diverse and it would have been difficult to find common interests.

Ibolya, the teacher, who became a consultant manager in Ireland, was confused as how to evaluate her own role as a former refugee:

I was little bit distrustful, I didn't know, whether it is real change? Until this time we were traitors, and suddenly out of traitors we became Hungarian sisters and brothers who are living abroad. So, I kept a little bit distance in the beginning But later on we could develop a more personal relationship with the people of the embassy...It was lovely to see Hungarian people and to participate on Hungarian cultural events. So, in the later stage the Hungarian Embassy became a foothold.

Ibolya's initial distrust refers back to the years of terror and persecution in Hungary which was detailed in chapter 2. The refugees in this study were persecuted, forced to leave their home and viewed the political changes in 1989 with suspicion.

Rózsika, who became the wife of a businessman, also shared Ibolya's view:

In the 1960s the Hungarian regime had the view, that the Hungarian refugees of 1956 were traitors, but after the change of regime in the 1990s we became Hungarian patriots living abroad.

It was this shift in perspective which took time to gain acceptance or trust.

József, the baron, evaluated his Hungarian identity differently:

I always felt, that I was Hungarian enough in myself. I didn't need other people to contribute to it. But we went to the receptions several times as long as I was healthy.

József's comment reveals a positive self-assessment and also a strong Hungarian identity.

However, it appears that his sense of being Hungarian was buried in his past.

Regardless of political affiliation, the Hungarian Embassy was a forum for cultural events:

So, the first ambassador organised the Kossúth²⁷ anniversary and invited university professors, as well as me, to the lectures. The second ambassador organised an evening of Attila József²⁸, where my translations were put forward - a very successful evening, and we even had the goodness of distributing the books to the audience. And of course, I remember, the last ambassador organised

²⁷ Hungarian patriot, freedom-fighter (see chapter 2 section 2.1.2)

²⁸ Hungarian poet in the 20th century

the evening of my book on Ireland and Hungary, where they were so many people, that they could not fit in the room (Kálmán, the writer).

Although they may have felt ambivalent, about eighty Hungarian people participated at the event; they came in large numbers to demonstrate a deep attachment to their cultural heritage and identity, which they may not even have been able to fully explain to themselves.

Hungarian culture was preserved by other Hungarian traditions as well which will be presented in the next section.

7.6.2 Hungarian Traditions

Christmas Eve is the greatest holiday for Hungarians, as part of the celebration of Christmas. This is the time of exchanging presents and Hungarian national identity is powerfully manifested in this traditional Christmas ceremony. Teri, the former camp interpreter, found the Irish tradition different:

[Here] the Christmas was completely different. In Hungary we used to give lots of presents, here my husband told me 'no, we are not used to presents.

One possible explanation for this cultural difference can be Ireland's extreme poverty in the 1950s. The Hungarian families initially preserved the Hungarian tradition of Holy Night as Rózsika outlines:

We always celebrated Christmas in Hungarian way with the children. The angels came at Holy Night, and somebody was ringing the bell.

But as the years passed, and the second generation grew, they gradually abandoned the traditional celebration, and adopted the Irish one. Rózsika continues:

But now, they go out with their friends, and drinking Holy Night. Oh!! They adapted to the Irish culture. I myself adapted too. Long ago I always used to cook Hungarian food Christmas time, but by now I don't bother that much.

Evidently, over time, such traditions, which held great significance, can be abandoned as children grow up in the new culture.

The preservation of Hungarian culture was also manifest in relation to Hungarian food. Many refugees claimed to go through a form of culinary shock during the adaptation process, and Sanyi, who arrived in Ireland as a semi-skilled worker, still remembers the initial encounters with Irish food in the camp in Ireland:

We couldn't stand the smell of certain food in the camp. Many of us suffered because of the food.

Couples in mono-cultural marriages cooked Hungarian food regularly, and even their children preserved this tradition as with Mancsi, the nurse and her husband:

We are cooking Hungarian food, and our children like it too.

István, the consultant engineer, and his family also preserved the customary Hungarian flavours:

We are eating Hungarian food, and drinking Hungarian wine.

Consequently, this aspect of culture can endure and clearly also has a strong emotional significance as early memories of cross-cultural encounters are still sharp.

Couples in bi-cultural marriages also sometimes cooked Hungarian food as Béla, the businessman notes:

We are eating Hungarian food regularly.

Jenő always sprinkled the food with a little red pepper, Kálmán, the writer, taught his wife, and the late Erzsébet taught her mother-in-law to cook Hungarian food. However, affection towards celebrating Christmas in the Hungarian way, as well as visiting Hungary often seems to become less and less over time for the former refugees in this study.

7.7 Preservation of Identity in Sport

Sporting competitions also offer an outstanding opportunity to manifest identities, particularly a national one, and loyalties. The Hungarians were famous for sport in the 1950s as the following article of the Limerick Leader (1 December 1957) states:

There were a number of footballers among the refugees. Knowing the prowess of Hungary in the soccer world, it is quite possible that one or two useful players are in the camp.

Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker established a Hungarian football team in the camp, which had various fortunes, as he says:

Once we were defeated by the professional team of Limerick for 3:1.

An interesting correspondence between identity and sport is revealed in József's and Jenő's relations with sport. In sporting competitions Jenő, the engineer, always supported the Hungarian team, as his wife says:

[Whenever] there was a football match on the radio or TV, or when he was watching the Olympic games he always gave his full support to the Hungarian team.

József, the baron, was even more explicit in ranking his Hungarian and Irish identities:

If there are two boxers in the ring, and one of them is Irish and the other is English, I hope that the Irish chap is going to win, but if one of them is Hungarian in the ring, and the other one is Irish, I'm anxious that the Hungarian will win.

It appears from this very clear explanation that József had considered whom to offer the complex question of his loyalty: to the country which pushed him out and deprived him of his property, or to the one which welcomed him and ensured his long-term well-being.

7.8 Preservation of Hungarian Culture: in the Case of the Second Generation

The preservation of Hungarian identity in the case of the second generation in this study varies. Parents may consider they have an important role in furthering or passing on the love of home culture, language, and customs in their children. However, the children's motivations, and natural drives are also important in this context. Often the parents' national identity awakens in the child later. As a general tendency in this study, in mono-cultural marriages, Hungarian identity is explicitly carried forward to the next generation including the retention of Hungarian language use within the family. Other cultural elements of Hungarian identity are preserved to various extents, irrespective of whether the parents live in mono-or bi-cultural marriages. There are cases when children of mono-cultural marriage do not show a willingness to carry their Hungarian identity, while

children of bicultural marriages feel the urge to cultivate the Hungarian aspect of their identities.

For instance, Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, and his Hungarian wife do not make efforts to foster the preservation of a Hungarian identity in their children:

They are not interested in it ... I mean they are interested in a way, they regularly come home with us. But I can't push them too hard.

In contrast, Edit, the nurse, who was also living in a mono-cultural marriage, never forced the preservation of Hungarian identity in her daughter. Her grandchild displayed an interest in her grandmother's past, as her daughter, Matild says:

My son always kept asking me about his grandmother's Jewish origin - she became a Catholic at seventeen - and about the way we got out of the country.

Moreover, Edit's grandchild published a novel in 2005 based on his grandparents' lives.

Of parents living in a bi-cultural marriage, as in Erzsébet's case, the preservation of Hungarian identity was so strong that even the third generation is aware of the Hungarian ancestry, as her son states:

In the St. Andrews' School on the International Night she used to be part of the Hungarian students under the Hungarian flag. Our children, and my wife and me, are very conscious of our Hungarian background, thanks to our mother.

Jenő, the engineer, also managed to transfer the love of Hungarian culture and his Hungarian identity to his daughter, who says:

I'm familiar with the poetry of Petőfi, the famous poet.... I bought a small apartment in Budapest as I feel that will help strengthen my links.

Jenő's other daughter also preserved Hungarian culture and married in Australia and included the Hungarian aspect of her identity, as Jenő's wife says:

When one of my daughters recently married in Australia she wanted some symbol of Hungarian culture to be present at the ceremony so I sent over a beautiful Hungarian tablecloth.

Jenő's family preserved his Hungarian identity even in his death, as his wife states:

It was important for us at my husband's funeral to have Hungarian music playing in the background. The Hungarian Embassy staff at the time was very kind in suggesting some particular pieces. We also placed on his coffin a wreath of flowers in the Hungarian national colour.

Jenő's ashes were scattered in the river Danube in Budapest, where he was born. Jenő's family provide an outstanding example of enshrining the original identity and the depth of meaning is still carries despite decades of cross-cultural adaptation (Kim 2001).

7.9 The Former Refugees' Level of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The cross-cultural adaptation process involves both acculturation and de-culturation (Kim 2001). Under the influence of the new culture the refugees are compelled to learn new cultural elements, and in the same time they abandon some of the old cultural patterns. However, according to Ward and Searle's (1991) 'Big Five' model the refugees' extraversion, openness, and cultural empathy is also vital in their adaptation. Anderson (1994) says the adaptation process can never be regarded as complete, because strangers in a new culture never function in exactly the same way as the members of that culture. Berry (1997) categorizes the refugees' adaptation in terms of assimilation, integration, and marginalisation. In Berry's (1997) view those refugees belong to the assimilation category who manifest a weak Hungarian identity and are strongly attracted to the host culture. They almost fully abandon their original identity and adapt completely and willingly to the norms and values of the host culture as they consider it to be of benefit. However, it is clear from data analysis chapters 4 and 5 that strong conformity pressure (Kim 2001) was exerted on the refugees in this study when they arrived in Ireland.

Those individuals maintaining a strong cultural identity, but are also willing to adapt to the host culture might be a good fit with the integration category. Refugees in the integration category merge elements of both cultures that seem to be important for them. Some of them show no willingness to sustain inter-group relations, while others have close relation with the Hungarian compatriot community, or with a single Hungarian family. Despite host conformity pressure (Kim 2001) this is the category which best describes the individuals in this study. The former refugees in this study, who manifest a weak cultural identity and also establish poor relations with their host society, can be categorized as marginalized in

terms of Bennett's (1993) concept of marginality. The marginalistic type sways between two cultures, and does not belong to either of them (Bennett 1993).

7.9.1 The Former Refugees' Identity Outcomes

Refugees' acculturation outcomes and identity reconstruction in this study are two fundamental and coherent psychological processes. In Kim's (2001) view, due to the constant experience of acculturation and deculturation, a person's identity in a new environment undergoes dynamic changes and this transformation results in a new, intercultural identity which comprises elements of both identities. Zoltán, the former Belsen orphan says:

You must not let go of your old life, of course, but you must embrace the new one fully... it is what I feel about all migrants, asylum seekers, displaced persons, refugees, call us what you will. New place, new time, new people, new country: new culture.

However, Margit, the musician, is more explicit in terms of her Hungarian identity:

[You] don't lose your Hungarian identity, it is not something that you can lose. You have it, like your mother is your mother, whatever happens... Yes, I'm Hungarian, but it is not a crime, and not a punishment, and not a burden.

Margit does not regard the question of identity as important; she does not identify particularly with either of the cultures she lived in, and this indifference is also reflected in her comment.

However, there might be a difference between the way society perceives a refugee's identity and the way he/she perceives it. In this study there are several references that the refugees felt that the host society regarded them as strangers, not only in the 1950s, but until today. Distinctive features were language use, or applying different cultural norms. As chapter 2 section 2.8.5 outlined, Irish society in the 1950s was very ethno-centric, and exerted strong assimilation pressure. However, as section 7.3.1 in this chapter presented, the refugees did not bend fully to their host society's expectations. Moreover, in some cases they openly refused to obey. Therefore, from the perspective of the host society it was quite reasonable that they were regarded as outsiders, as Kálmán, the writer says:

I was always accepted and treated as a Hungarian.

Kálmán hardly accepts cultural differences, and openly expresses his opinions, a trait which might not fit into Irish culture.

Manci, the nurse, also states that she was not perceived as Irish:

We were only refugees for them.

She again stated several times, that she does not conform to Irish society's expectations, and she confronted social norms quite fiercely in defence of her children in school. Her own perceptions have also changed over time and she has made '*really good friendships*'.

József, the baron, considers that in Irish society:

They never accepted me as an Irishman.

Even if the late József's perception was correct, this fact did not have negative connotations in Irish society, as his wife says:

I think Irish people, and all the Irish people look up to him and admire him.

Consequently, a subjective feeling and a role in society were both possible. Mari, the Belsen orphan's perception is similar:

You always feel a bit of outsider. Not that they say anything, you just feel it. I don't know how, but it is still there... I don't think you are ever really accepted in a foreign country.

This is thus a highly complex relationship in this study between individuals both old and young on arrival in Ireland, who still feel 'different' at some level, despite social acceptance for József and adoption in the case of Mari so that there is a strong element of marginality (Bennett 1993) in these findings.

While the above examples illustrate the host society's perception of strangers, or the former refugees' interpretation of their host society's perceptions, the table below defines the refugees' identities according to their own perceptions:

Table 7.9.1 The Former Refugees' Identities

Codes	Numbers
Intercultural identity	2
Non-Hungarian identity	3
Purely Irish identity	1
Purely Hungarian identity	1
Bi-cultural identity	11
Bi-cultural Identity, but questions it	2

It is necessary to point that the above table presents the refugees' self-identification (Tajfel 1974), which may not be the same as the feelings they express. Also, it is possible to apply more interpretations, because on the basis of the existing theories, individuals who are moving between two identities can be called both or either intercultural (Kim 2001) or marginal (Bennett 1993). Therefore, the above interpretations, based on the full context of the interviews are rather suggestions than clear definitions. The identity outcomes are analyzed in terms of the host society's assimilation pressure; however, while the former refugees in this study adapt to pressure, they also resist it. Also, in some instances the participants contradict themselves, when defining their identity, which can certainly be an indicator of a bicultural identity and that identity shifts.

7.9.1.i. Intercultural Identity

In Table 7.9.1 there are two references to having an intercultural identity: Teri and Kálmán. Teri, the interpreter, perceives herself as being intercultural and expresses this in terms of a cultural mix:

I'm very international. The Hungarian identity is just one part of me... I have spent 15 years in England before coming here, and I feel more English than Irish. Actually I'm a mixture of four cultures, German, English, Irish and Hungarian.

Interestingly, Teri does not claim a national identity or belonging to any specific culture. Her broad, expanded identity encapsulates all her experiences in the different cultures (Kim 2001). Kálmán, the writer, spent ten years in England and in Wales, some months in Italy and then three and half years in South-America before arriving in Ireland twenty-six years ago. Although he did not specify his identity, he is familiar with English culture, has a strong attachment to Hungarian culture, and has also comfortably settled in Ireland; therefore he is also in this category. Their examples merit particular attention, since it appears that having spent considerable lengths of time in various countries impedes the development of routes into one specific culture only. Teri and Kálmán developed intercultural identities, with both of them preserving and cultivating their Hungarian identity to a high extent (Kim 2001). However, because someone has lived in several countries, it does not necessarily mean that he or she is intercultural, as Margit's, István's, and Edit's examples indicate in the following section.

7.9.1.ii. Non-Hungarian Identity

There are three references in the interviews that the refugees do not perceive their Hungarian identities: they are Margit, the musician, István, the consultant engineer, and Edit, the nurse. Interestingly they also spent significant amounts of time in other countries before arriving in Ireland. For example Margit, the musician, lived in three countries, but in her case her positive self-perception overrules the question of a specific identity:

I'm me...I do not feel myself Hungarian at all...I did not have the need for it....But I can not say that I'm Irish.... I'm between the two.

Margit perceives herself between two cultures, but she does not represent Bennett's (1993) marginal as she is familiar with several cultures and incorporates certain aspects of several cultures in her identity without rigidly being tied to any of them. Thus, it can also be argued that she is intercultural.

Similarly to Margit, István, the consultant engineer, also says that he does not have a specific national identity, but he does have a series of interconnecting identities:

I never felt particularly Hungarian, or English, or later Irish. I'm a Hungarian living in Ireland...I was a Hungarian refugee in England, and consciously, or subconsciously I tried to be and Englishman. Now, that I'm in Ireland - maybe because I'm much older - but I don't try to be Irish.

Consequently, on the basis of his self-perception he cannot be categorized as having a bi-cultural identity and he does not feel the need to belong to specifically 'one', he is more than all of them and so could also be classified as intercultural.

Edit, the nurse, spent many years in England, before returning back to Ireland in the 1980s, where the family left their daughter, Matild. However, similarly to István, she does not have a national identity:

I don't feel myself Hungarian at all. But I can't say that I'm Irish and I can't say that I'm English. I'm between the two.

Edit does not display attachment to being Hungarian, she could however, be considered marginal (Bennett 1993) between English and Irish culture.

7.9.1.iii Irish Identity or Hungarian Identity

The following two cases introduce two interviewees who perceived themselves as having only a single national identity. Zoltán, the orphan, who arrived in Ireland as a little child declared himself Irish:

I'm hundred percent Irish. But I never forget that I'm a Hungarian extract. One can never bury one's past.

However, even he qualifies this remark by saying that he is also Hungarian; he could also be called marginal, since he lost all contact with Hungarian culture, and still has a desire to preserve some of his original identity.

In contrast, the late Erzsébet's son says that his mother perceived herself as having a single Hungarian identity:

My mother felt 100 per cent Hungarian. But there was a contradiction, because she regarded us as being Irish as we grew up here.

The reason why her son identified her as Hungarian is clearly supported from Erzsébet's activities. She had a preoccupation with the Hungarians in Ireland: she arranged accommodation for the 1956 refugees, patronized Hungarian priests who left Hungary for political reasons, and regularly cultivated expressions of Hungarian culture in her home.

7.9.1.iv Bi-Cultural Identity

In Kim's (2001) view, individuals with an intercultural identity incorporate elements of past and present experiences in a unity without rigidly adhering to their original identity. However, in this sense, bicultural identity can also be regarded as an enlarged, intercultural identity. In the interviews, the majority of the references (11+2) indicate having a bi-cultural identity. In Kim's (2001) view, the shifting between an individual's old identity and the creation of a new identity is a normal course in the process of adaptation. Support for this dynamic conscious state of betweenness can also be found in Bennett's (1993) and Yoshikawa's (1987) models, so that identity is constantly shifting. However, even refugee, who claim to have developed a bi-cultural identity display diverse aspects to their adaptation and perceptions. Rózsika, the wife of a businessman, for instance, emphasizes her Irishness, and that she is a citizen in the Irish state:

I'm a Hungarian born Irish citizen.

In the context of this research a refugee moves towards citizenship of the host society which becomes a strong part of his or her identity, though the old identity is not relinquished (Kim 2001).

In contrast, Béla, the businessman, explicitly objects to being called other than Hungarian:

My identity is half Irish, half Hungarian...the two cultures completely merged... I'm so angry when my mother used to introduce me in Hungary as my foreigner son. I told her I'm Hungarian.

His wife's comment underpins Béla's strong feeling of being Hungarian:

Oh, he never dropped anything, He didn't give up anything, ha, ha...It is me who is no longer Irish, I feel very Hungarian, I'm maybe more Hungarian than many of the Hungarians....No, he didn't force me, I just adapted...We are eating Hungarian food regularly, I accept that we have a Hungarian map and flag, souvenirs on the wall, we are listening to Hungarian music.

Béla's adaptation contradicts a general tendency, because in the course of bicultural marriages, usually the outsider assimilates to the host culture, and during this process the original identity weakens. However, in this study, Béla's Irish wife displays an unusual phenomenon, a reverse adaptation.

József, the baron, struggles to define his identity. In one way he perceives himself as Irish, because he accommodated to all the cultural elements of Irish life. In this particular case however, it appears that his Hungarian identity still lies underneath the Irish one:

My Hungarian identity was more or less finished in 1956, when I married an Irish woman. Actually I'm completely international, and I am very much inclined to favour everything that is Irish. You can see my house, everything is Irish here...I still have a built in urge... a built in feeling that you can never change.

However, József comfortably moves between his identities as the occasion demands, and he is merely ranking his identities in order of importance at the time of speaking. He also says that he is international, but that is not quite the same as having an intercultural identity. He shares an Irish-Hungarian identity but he can be also considered as marginal since he could not escape of his 'built-in' loyalty to Hungary.

The late Jenő also moved between his Hungarian and Irish identity, as his wife says:

He had become an Irish citizen but the family blood connection always remained in his heart.

Although, according to his family he quickly became Irish, and was very fond of Irish culture, he preserved his Hungarian identity, and was buried as a Hungarian.

For others in this study, such as Matild, the former student, bi-cultural identity does not present any difficulty:

It doesn't cause me a problem, whether I'm Irish or Hungarian. All my friends know that I'm Hungarian, and my children are very conscious of their Hungarian origin, and are very proud that they are half-Hungarian.

In Magda's case, a strong identification with the Irish ascendancy overrules her dual Irish-Hungarian identity as the wife of an Irish nobleman:

I have a dual Irish - Hungarian identity. My husband descended from a very distinguished ancient Irish family, from the Balaton, and we are very proud of our ascendancy.

In this specific context in this study, social class as opposed to a national or other identity is paramount in terms of self-identification (Tajfel 1974).

Compared with those, who move comfortably between their dual identities István, the manager's perception of identity suggests alienation:

When I'm in Hungary I feel like a foreigner.

István's comment deserves particular attention, since he has a family estate and regularly visits Hungary, but he almost denies his original identity. He is the only one in this study, who openly declares, that he is alienated from his original home.

Contrary to Zoltán, Mari who was also orphaned, does not feel herself fully Irish, as she also perceives herself as Hungarian:

I'm an Irish person but I still feel myself Hungarian also.

Mari's comment is worthy of comment, since she was a three-year old child when she was rescued from Bergen Belsen concentration camp. According to normal expectations she should fully adapt and have no problematic identity. This is also a specific finding in this thesis that identity issues are present at a very early age.

Sanyi and his wife Icu and György and his wife Mancsi, are those who preserved the most their Hungarian identities as they are living in mono-cultural marriages. On the basis of his self-assessment Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, has a bicultural identity, where the Hungarian aspect is of clear importance. He says:

I'm a Hungarian Irish. I remained a Hungarian, living in Ireland. But I totally preserved my Hungarian identity.

His wife Icu also displays a tendency to move between the two identities:

When I'm in Ireland I feel Irish, when I'm in Hungary I feel Hungarian.

However, Mancsi, the nurse, and her husband György, the manager, explicitly declare themselves Hungarian quite emphatically as Mancsi says:

I didn't give up anything from my Hungarian identity...I feel myself Hungarian and full stop.

In contrast, there is only one reference when a former refugee in this study questions her own previously perceived identity. Ibolya, the teacher, says of herself and her husband:

At first I would say that we are Irish Hungarians. But after we question it: are we? It is very difficult to tell.

Ibolya's assessment hints at a perspective which holds true for many of the participants in this study, that the question of identity remains a problematic issue, despite decades of cross-cultural adaptation. This is a key finding of this study as it examines approximately fifty years of cross-cultural adaptation.

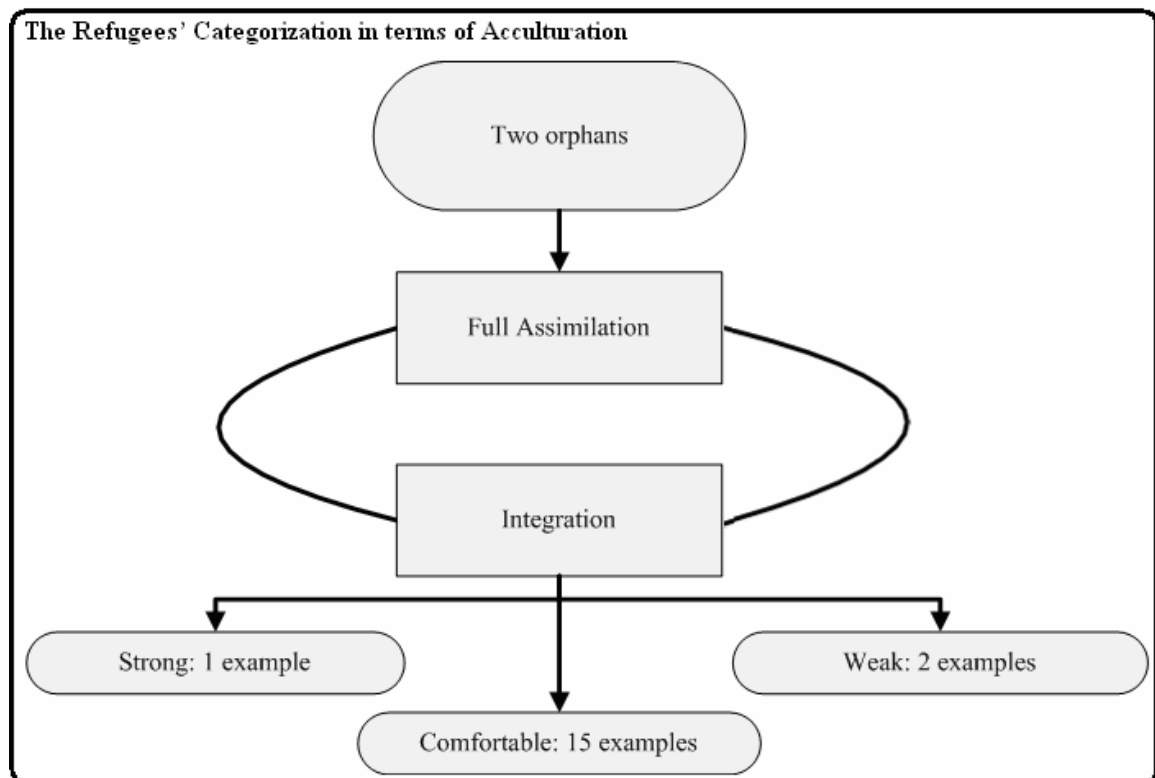
7.9.2 The Former Refugees' Acculturation from the Host Society Perspective

Having established the refugees' self-identification, their cross-cultural adaptation pattern is categorized in two groups. Since the majority of the refugees perceive themselves as having a bi-cultural identity, this perception indicates, that despite the pressure to assimilate, and also their various resistance strategies against it, in general, they integrated. However, there are two possible exceptions, and also those, in the 'integration' category (Berry 1997) represent various stances, as Table 7.9.2 illustrates. In keeping with Grounded Theory, this diagram arises out of this particular study, where the expectation was assimilation resulting from strong host conformity pressure.

In the first group, two refugees, the Bergen orphans would appear to reach full assimilation, since they were completely cut off from the Hungarian culture from early childhood. This, however, contradicts their own perceptions. In the second group 18 former refugees achieved various level of comfortable integration to their host society at social, psychological and occupational levels, by synthesizing the various elements of both cultures, so they all partially adapted. At one end of the continuum are those who voluntarily and willingly accepted cultural differences, such as for instance Edit, and on the

other end are the non-conformists, such as Kálmán and Margit. In the middle of the scale is the rest of the group. There are no trends here toward marginalization, (Berry 1997) potentially the worst of the possibilities within the acculturation process, nor of separation (Berry 1997). Additionally, the complexities of marginality (Bennett 1993) do not appear here whereas they do in terms of self-identification (Tajfel 1974).

Table 7.9.2 The Refugees' Categorization in terms of Acculturation



In the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation process in this study, social class also has some significance. Naturally, the refugees adapted to their environment according to their educational level, which was closely tied to the social class they came from. Social class was of particular significance to Magda, who married into her class in Ireland. Also, social class relates to aspects of High Culture as with the case of Margit and significantly, Kálmán. However, for others, opportunity, rather than social class was the driver of their

adaptation. The refugees' age was also important (Berry 1997; Ward 2001), because for instance, children, like the two orphans, appear to display full adaptation.

There are some noteworthy adaptation outcomes in this study with for instance the reverse adaptation of Béla's Irish wife, who perceives herself as Hungarian, and her lifestyle bears several Hungarian features. Mari, the Belsen orphan, also perceives herself as Hungarian, although she hardly has a memory of Hungary. In addition, István displays a remarkable level of self-perception as he feels a foreigner in his country of origin, despite the fact, that through his Hungarian wife he is strongly tied to Hungary. Sanyi, the semi-skilled worker, and his wife Icu, also display distinct adaptation outcomes and a remarkable adaptation strategy. They reached the lowest level of adjustment, and maintained a massive identification with Hungarian culture. Even after 50 years, the balance between their two identities shifts more towards that of the Hungarian, while for the rest of the group it rather moves towards Irish culture. The reason might be that the couple seems to have a significant bearing on each other's adaptation as they powerfully foster the love of Hungarian customs and the sense of home-sickness in each other. They have preserved a full Hungarian life-style in Ireland during fifty years of adaptation. Sanyi says:

My wife cooks Hungarian food...We often sing Hungarian songs with my wife...We taught our children the Hungarian language...I just finished a nice Hungarian novel...We live like Hungarians.

In this couple's case, the preservation of their original identity shows a reverse effect to acquiring Irish identity; this means that they preserved more from Hungarian culture and carry fewer Irish identity markers. Significantly, their knowledge of English remains at a basic level, and Sanyi's wife Icu has not learnt to read and write in English. They cannot be regarded as pure marginals (Bennett 1983), because they established relations with their host society, and their children are Irish citizens.

However, their home-sickness suggests that they are on the margin of both societies, but do not belong to anywhere. Consequently, they could also be ranked as constructive marginals on Bennett's (1993) scale, which means that they developed a dynamic conscious state of betweenness and move comfortably between their two identities:

Yes, Hungary is our home...we belong there...but of course, part of our family is living here. That's why, we can't leave Ireland.

They are the only couple in this study who have considered the idea of returning home to Hungary. They must feel a crisis, since they cannot identify their home as they are torn between their children in Ireland and their excruciating home-sickness. This is an extraordinary finding in this study of the cross-cultural adaptation process of the 1956 refugees in Ireland which spans over fifty years.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 7, the final data analysis chapter has evaluated the process of cross-cultural adaptation by the Hungarian refugees' in this study. The observations were grounded in the existing theories, introduced in chapter 3. The chapter analyzed those factors which resulted in culture shock, and established categories for the individuals' acceptance of cultural differences. Particular attention was devoted to the preservation of elements of Hungarian identity, and its role in the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation. Then chapter 7 defined the refugees' identity outcomes according to their own perceptions and the majority appeared to develop a bi-cultural identity by merging to different extents elements of Hungarian and Irish culture. A general finding of the results is that Irish society demanded assimilation from the refugees, which was primarily manifested in religious aspects of social life, but since Irish social norms were determined by the Catholic Church, it had widespread repercussions on their general well-being. Arising from the grounded theory perspective, models were created which accounted for different stages of identity outcomes and social acceptance of the Hungarians in this study, which spans five decades of cross-cultural adaptation. These outcomes result in varying levels of acceptance and resistance to host society assimilation pressure. The next chapter presents the concluding remarks of this study of the 1956 Hungarians in Ireland.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

[The] past does not simply disappear with the passage of time and troubling questions do resurface' (Welsh 1996:416).

There are times, men, and events about which only history can pass a final judgement; Contemporaries and individual observers may write only what they have seen and heard (Lasky 1957: 9).

Chapter Overview

Chapter 8 evaluates the long term nature of the process of cross-cultural adaptation of the Hungarian refugees, who arrived in Ireland in 1956 following the Hungarian revolution as well as their compatriots in the 1940s. It analyses and concludes the findings of the individual chapters, gives rationale to the research and also relates this research to the present Irish migration policy from a critical perspective. The chapter also outlines the historical changes, and the reconciliation, which occurred in Hungary in the 1980s and the final closing of the chapter on the Knocknalisheen refugee camp.

8.1 Aim and Benefit of the Research

The aim of the research has been to follow the cross-cultural adaptation process of a small group of persecuted Hungarian people in Ireland, whose fate was inseparably interlocked with the history of their country. Fifty years ago they were in the centre of Irish society's attention, and then they became invisible for long decades along with those Hungarians who arrived in the 1940s. With the approaching of the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian revolution, the events again received attention both in Hungary and in Ireland. The interviews with first generational witnesses offer a unique opportunity to review these fifty year old historical events, and to evaluate the former refugees' sentiments and image of Hungary. The refugees' memories fit into the historical events of the past which were also buried for more than thirty years in closed archives. The research also gains insight into 1950s' Ireland from a refugee perspective. Through their expectations, disappointments, and endeavours a valuable picture arises of Irish society's social, economic and cultural

life. Although there have been former studies about the 1956 Hungarian refugees in Ireland, this study is a pioneering one, as it is based primarily on first generation interviews; it investigates the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation not only from a socio-cultural, but also from socio-psychological and communication approaches.

8.2 Modification in Research Perspective

Originally the research aimed to focus on intercultural theories on cross-cultural adaptation along with Berry's (1997) model of acculturation and Kim's (2001) multi-dimensional communication model, in order to explore the cross-cultural adaptation of this group of people. The research did not mean to involve a political dimension. However, as it began to progress, an urgent need emerged to expand the research across social, political and historical contexts in order to understand the refugees' initiatives, when faced with a different culture, their motivation and identity development. Berry's (1997), Ward's (2001), and Kim's (2001) intercultural approaches did not seem to be sufficient in a research, which was embedded not only in an intercultural, but also in a historical context, and the contemporary legal, social, and economic conditions have significant bearing on the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation. Therefore the research was extended to explore in depth the Hungarian and Irish historical background, to access the notion of nation, national consciousness, the role of history and memory in shaping a nation's identity and how that identity resolved itself in the process of cross-cultural adaptation.

8.3 Evaluation of Findings

As the title of the research 'crossing borders' implies the refugees were forced migrants, who were compelled to find a new home in order to escape execution, retribution, confiscation of properties, or negative discrimination in their future carrier. The events of the past have considerable effect on their collective sense of identity with this broken image remaining as part of their socio-cultural heritage.

International miscomprehension, Ireland's poverty, lack of migration policy, and the government's incompetence of handling foreign cultural groups seriously affected the

refugees' first encounter with their new home. They were unprepared for the refugee camp's conditions, for the lack of employment possibilities, and also for the issue, which was prioritised by the host country: this was religious conformity, which was manifest in various cultural issues. A previous migration study, Sheridan (2005) also detailed the role of Irish society's religious pressure in Vietnamese refugees' cross-cultural adaptation where children in school became Catholic while their parents remained Buddhist or of no religion.

Although Irish society's conformity pressure (Kim 2001) demanded a single option, namely full assimilation from the refugees, the research revealed that 18 refugees achieved integration in various ways. This also has relevance to Kim's (2001) model, which emphasizes the role of a host society's tolerance/pressure in the process of cross-cultural adaptation, although it demonstrates that despite pressure adaptation still occurs differently for each individual. Irish society's cultural dimensions, as outlined by Hofstede (1980; 2001) with regard to power relations, gender discrimination, and individualism as male but not female characteristics, profoundly defined the refugees' overall adaptation in this study.

From an intercultural perspective (Kim 2001; Berry 1997; Ward 2001), the refugees' identities went through significant changes; they were shaped by their home culture, and, they expanded their identities with those cultural elements, which they acquired in the host environment. This is in harmony with Kim's (2001) concept of intercultural identity, which suggests that identity is flexible, and involves a broad spectrum of cultural attributes. For Kim (2001) the passively ascribed self goes through evolutionary changes in the course of psychological integration to the new circumstances. While the prescribed identity displays loyalty to the home of origin, it is also expanded by elements of the host culture (Kim 2001:191). In Kim's (2001) view a person with intercultural identity experiences his/her past in a harmonious unity, and the new cultural elements do not replace those of the original culture, as the higher level of self-integration transcends ethnic and national boundaries.

Since this research is based on Kim's (2001) multi-dimensional communication perspective, linguistic issues were of significance, as the majority of the refugees arrived in Ireland without knowledge of the host society's language. This was due to the fact, that Hungary, as an Eastern-European country belonged to the Communist bloc, where compulsory foreign language education was Russian. The research found, that knowledge of, and communication in the host language was a prerequisite of the refugees' cross-cultural adaptation. The research also found that the various subtle ways of Hungarian language use were also an important manifestation of Hungarian identity, so that the individuals in this study could draw on aspects of their identity according to the social situations they found themselves in.

8.4 The Research Situated in Context of Other Researches

Research has been conducted on the field of cross-cultural adaptation on the 1956 Hungarian refugees in Europe, in the USA, Canada, and Australia (Kabdebo 2007; Csorba and Estók 1999; Kanyo 2003). The different environment, the different geographical distance, the various host cultures, the extent of a host society's conformity pressure on strangers, and also the size of the Hungarian Diaspora, all brought along different challenges, and adaptation outcomes, depending on each specific context. Kanyo's (2003) research invites comparison as it is the most comprehensive. It is concerned with the 1956 Hungarian refugees' integration and shift in identities in Switzerland as neighbouring Switzerland offered shelter to 13,000 Hungarian refugees, a number which, unlike in Ireland, facilitated the establishment of a viable Hungarian Diaspora.

Kanyo (2003), similarly to this thesis recorded the accounts of twenty former refugees in the form of an oral testimony. The respondents were predominantly intellectuals: writer, dentist, journalist, university lecturer, librarian, though, other social classes were represented as well, such as assistant and administrator. Their ages ranged from 16 to 35 years when they left, and most of them married Swiss citizens. The mobilizing force to leave Hungary was the same for them as for those who escaped to Ireland: fear of persecution, family background, or escaping from the Communist dictatorship.

Similarly to Ireland, the refugees had a little knowledge of Switzerland, they knew only that it was a politically neutral, neighbouring country; it was famous for the Alps. However, they did not know about the Swiss way of life. Swiss people had a prior knowledge about the refugees arriving from the neighbouring country and therefore they also had both preconceptions and expectations about the Hungarians: they did not have manners, they are impatient, come from an Eastern-European culture, which is different from that of Switzerland, and since they escaped from Communism, they were expected to have a right-wing and conservative political affiliation.

Although Geneva was a cosmopolitan city in 1956, the host society's expectations towards the refugees appeared to be the same in Switzerland as in Ireland: there was an expectation of full assimilation, which was manifest mainly in behavioural aspects. However, religious pressure did not surface in the testimonies, because in Switzerland, unlike in Ireland, religion was not allied with the country's culture in terms of resistance against a conqueror. Kanyo designated the following categories of interest for the data analysis:

- the reason for selecting Switzerland as final destination
- the refugees' expectations
- the refugees' first impression
- the refugees' relation with Swiss citizens and Hungarian compatriots
- the refugees' challenges
- the refugees' identity manifestations.

The Hungarians choice of Switzerland rested primarily on the location of the country, and some of the refugees aimed to find shelter there only until the political situation stabilized in Hungary. Many of them believed in the help of Western-Europe. Others wanted to achieve a Western European academic degree, or to pursue their profession, which was not possible under the Communist Regime.

Unlike in Ireland, the Hungarian refugees' first encounter with Swiss culture was pleasant: they perceived the country to be rich and clean and found the people disciplined. However, they also found differences: they considered Swiss people to be narrow-minded, and also, while the Hungarians easily developed intimate relationships, the Swiss remained quite

reserved. Concerning the relations between the Hungarian expatriates in Switzerland, Kanyo's (2003) research traced back several close friendships across 50 years, though with the distance of time these friendships gradually weakened. Similarly to Ireland, the refugees could visit Hungary from the 1980s, when they became Swiss citizens. However, those who preserved their Hungarian citizenship were often expelled within 24 hours. The research does not reveal whether they travelled with a Swiss passport or with refugee documentation.

Similarly to this research, in the retention of Hungarian identity Kanyo (2003) found significant evidence of the role of Hungarian language use. Unlike in Ireland, the refugees were familiar with the German language upon arrival in Switzerland, though, in a multi-lingual Swiss society in addition there were several regional dialects, and language use was also a means of a boundary marker for those who did not speak the 'Schweizerdeutsch' dialect. Gender discrimination also surfaced in the testimonies, underlying the fact, that Switzerland was also a patriarchal society in the 1950s, where women were subordinated to men in various spheres of social life.

A significant point of interest in Kanyo's (2003) research is the presentation of Hungarian identity markers, and within this context the Hungarian language use appears to be the most important. According to their own account, the refugees all preserved their academic Hungarian language knowledge and regularly read Hungarian books and academic works. This fact is due to the composition of this group of refugees and also to the fact, that due to the close geographical distance between the two countries, they probably had better access to Hungarian literature, even in those decades, when the refugees in Ireland felt themselves completely cut-off from Hungary.

Concerning identity outcomes, no significant difference appears between these two sets of research findings: the majority of the refugees in Switzerland perceive themselves to have a dual identity, and none of them considered they were in crisis with regard to identity. They call themselves 'Swiss citizens of Hungarian origin'. However, there are also slight identity modifications: one former refugee claimed that among the Hungarians, there was a

tendency of over-assimilation; another said, that he emphasized his Hungarian identity and interestingly, another said, that he never felt himself exiled. There were two examples who claimed to have developed a European identity. Kanyo's (2003) findings, along with this research thus both support Kim's (2001) theory, that identity is flexible and that an intercultural identity transcends ethnic and national boundaries.

8.5 Criticism on Present Situation of Asylum-Seekers in Ireland

Today the refugee camp of Knocknalisheen, where the Hungarian refugees arrived in 1956, has once again become a camp for asylum-seekers (Breadun 2006). The residents have come from about 20 countries around the world. Their conditions are infinitely superior to the accommodation provided by the collection of wooden huts in 1956 when many Irish people had never seen a foreigner. However, in Fanning et al's (2001) study, carried out on behalf of the Irish Refugee Council and funded by the Combat Poverty Agency, it appears that asylum seeker families' social situations have not changed in Ireland in terms of a long-term strategy, with education to some extent, and with the provision of social facilities. Fanning et al's (2001) research is in many aspects reminiscent of the treatment the Hungarian refugees faced 50 years ago.

In Fanning et al's view (2001) view, today, asylum-seeking families face extreme levels of income poverty under 'direct provision' today in Ireland. Upon arrival and in the subsequent period prior to dispersal they hardly receive information about the future community they will be sent to. The uncertainty arising from the lack of planning causes stress and fear and they are affected by each other's anxieties. Those in direct provision experience extreme deprivation as a result of inadequate diet, and they are not able to afford sufficient and appropriate food. Additionally, housing deprivation affects families' psychological well being. They experience a greater degree of social exclusion than many other vulnerable groups in Irish society because of language difficulties, the absence of a right to work, barriers to training, and racism. The question that has to be posed is whether Irish government have learned from the experience of the 1956 Hungarian refugees to plan for diversity with a long-term inclusive perspective.

8.6 Official Views and Commemoration in Hungary after 50 Years

More than fifty years have passed since the revolution of 1956, but the events provide an inexhaustible source of spiritual, political and moral strength for the post-revolutionary generation in Hungary (Lendvai 2003). In 1989 the trauma of the suppressed revolution of 1956-1957 opened up old wounds in the memory of the Hungarian nation. In January 1989, thirty-three years after Prime Minister Imre Nagy's execution, the Communist Regime was de-legitimized, as Imre Pozsgai, a leading member of the reform faction of the Party in a public announcement called the revolution a popular uprising (Benziger 2000).

In June 1989 the reburial of Prime Minister Nagy, and his fellow martyrs hailed a radical new look at the events of 1956. 'Fifty-six' gained a new place in Hungarian history, as it became the harbinger of the great political changes of 1989, a heroic attempt doomed to failure, and gained its significance only three-and-a-half decades later (Rainer 2006). Imre Nagy's funeral can be interpreted as a 'dress rehearsal' (Litván et al 1996) for the Hungarian revolution. The central ceremony of remembrance gave a sense of moral justice to the families, who received back their dead after several decades (Kőrösi and Molnár 2003). The most significant aspect of the reburial ceremony was that the graveside ritual reaffirmed the strength and solidarity of the community and displayed a nation's reassertions of the symbols that is regarded as authentic to its past (Benziger 2000). A nation collectively demonstrated its power to resist the tyranny of occupation and its culture memory culture reasserts with its demand for sovereignty (Benziger 2000).

On 23 October 1989 the Hungarian People's Republic was established. The peaceful collapse of the Communist system was due to the economic crisis, which eroded confidence in the regime, and led to new options in foreign and domestic policies offered by the Gorbachev-line, and to the crystallization of new political tendencies into full expression as political parties, such as Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Free Democrats, and the Young Democrats (Lendvai 2003). After the collapse of the Communist Regime in Hungary and the establishment of the first elected democratic government, researchers were free to explore the detailed history of the revolution from previously closed archives without fear of retribution (Cox 2006). Only at this time did it become possible to begin to

excavate the archival records and bring out the facts of what happened in the corridors of power in Moscow, Budapest and elsewhere in Eastern Europe (Békés 2003).

The political development of post-1989 Hungary can be said to have fulfilled the anti-totalitarian program of the 1956 revolution. In the summer of 1991 as the last Soviet troops withdrew from Hungary. From 2002 the dreaded premises of 60 Andrassy Avenue been converted into a memorial to what happened under its roof and throughout Hungarian history. The House of Terror provides a cross-section of the country's fascist and communist dictatorial regimes of the twentieth century, a memorial to the victims of these regimes, including those detained, interrogated, tortured or killed in the building, as well as honouring Jews murdered during the Holocaust. The photo galley of victims is a sobering reminder of those thousands of victims who stepped through the doors and were ever seen again, a fact also remembered in The Irish Times as the fiftieth anniversary of the revolution approached (Shouldice 2005).

Today Hungary is member of NATO and the EU. The 1956 revolution had a strong influence on Hungary's image in the twentieth century (Rainer 2006). The pre-revolutionary image of Hungary was unfavourable in Western-Europe because of Hungary's wartime alliance with Hitler: 1956 made Hungary different in the eyes of the West. Distinguishing it from the seeming uniformity of Eastern Europe the revolution 'opened Hungary up inasmuch as the other side of the Iron Curtain became visible' (Rainer 2006:1191). The Soviets and their Hungarian puppets were not able to change the eternal law: 'despotism may suppress a revolution, but it can never restore the conditions preceding it' (Csorba and Estók 1999: 227). Finally the Stalinist Regime of János Kádár fell to pieces and 'disappeared under its own contradictions, economic chaos and the hatred of its own people' (Grant 1996:74).

8.7 Reconciliation in Hungary

In May 1990, the Hungarian Parliament passed a resolution declaring that in October 1956 a revolution had broken out in Hungary, and a war of independence had developed, in which the masses took an armed stand against Stalinist tyranny, and that this revolution

was crushed with the help of the Soviet Union. The de-communisation process began with the 1991 law, which would have suspended the statute of limitations for all the crimes committed in the last 45 years and would have prosecuted those who had been involved in the suppression of the 1956 uprising and its aftermath and revealed their identities (Welsh 1996).

However, in Hungary, in comparison with other Easter-European countries, a more lenient attitude was displayed towards former communists since the reform wing of the former communists played an important role in liberalising the political regime. Also, as time passes, revelations of former affiliations with state security services have lost most of their potential to harm (Welsh 1996). Overall, the 1990s were more concerned with the policy of modernisation than revenge, because a policy of reconciliation rather served the interest of an emerging democracy. In 1994 another law was passed by the Hungarian parliament which made possible the screening of high-ranking officials who collaborated with the secret police (Welsh 1996). This screening law also established that the files of the security services would be sealed and denied to public access until 2030 in contrast to the opening up of such files from the former East Germany in the united Germany of today.

8.8 Commemoration in Ireland after 50 Years

In 2006 Ireland remembered the Hungarian revolution of 1956 at presidential level, when President Mary McAleese and her husband at a reception arranged by the Hungarian Embassy met the refugees at the building of the Hungarian Embassy at Fitzwilliam Place. In addition various newspaper articles, books and official ceremonies raised a monument to the historical event. On the day of the anniversary The Irish Times dealt with the issue at length and Sheridan (2006) begins a long article with the following comment:

Despite an outpouring of goodwill, Ireland's shelter of more than 500 Hungarians fleeing the 1956 anti-Soviet uprising soon turned sour, with issues that echo eerily down the decades.

The article detailed the traumatic escape of the Hungarians, Ireland's political and economic situation of the 1950s, the poor conditions of the refugee camp and the Hungarians' struggle with finding their place in their new home:

[The] language barrier and Irish inexperience created gulfs of misunderstanding ...they seemed rather taken aback by what they had come to ...in reality they were prevented from looking for jobs (Sheridan 2006).

Mark Collins, the grandson of a Hungarian refugee also published his book 'Stateless' for the anniversary in memory of the escape of his grandparent. In his fiction Collins pays tribute to the 1956 revolution, by introducing the Hungarians' arrival to Ireland, and the miserable conditions in the refugee camp. He also says somewhat confusingly:

My family were economic migrants - they suffered no political persecution - but during the Cold War this distinction does not seem to have been applied to those living beyond the Iron Curtain..... they paid a local farmer to sneak them into Austria (Sheridan 2006).

At the event a handful of refugees also participated as well as the ninety-year-old sister from the Mercy Immaculate order, who was the first to teach the refugee children:

Some of the children had picked up bits of English here and there but when the nun from Cork city started to speak her rich, lilting Leaside brogue caused total confusion (Breadun 2006).

The highlight of the official ceremony was held by the Lord Mayor of Limerick in the Knocknalisheen refugee camp with the attendance of the Minister of State for Education and Science, Sile de Valera - the granddaughter of de Valera, who was the Prime Minister of Ireland during the arrival of the Hungarian refugees - the ambassador of Hungary, János Balassa, and several members of the Irish press. In the presence of more than a hundred of guests the following plaque was unveiled written in both English and Hungarian:

In memory and honour of the Hungarian Revolution and Freedom Fight of 1956 and the Irish people who received the Hungarian refugees with compassion and generosity (Breadun 2006).

Chapter Summary

Chapter 8 summarizes the main findings of the research concerning the cross-cultural adaptation process of the Hungarian refugees of 1956 and those who arrived in the 1940s. It identifies the main factors which had considerable bearing on the refugees' adaptation, outlined the main aspects of the refugees' identity outcomes, and compared it with research in the same field. Finally chapter 8 presented an oppressed country's lesson from the Communist dictatorship and Hungary's present prospects and place in the world including the closing of a Hungarian-Irish chapter of history.

LIST OF NAMES

Andropov, Yuri (1914-1984): Russian Communist leader who played a major role in the suppression of the revolution of 1956. In 1982 Leonid Brezhnev's successor as Secretary General of the Communist Party.

Bibó, Istvan (1911-1979): Hungarian university professor. Section Head in the Ministry of Interior 1945-1946. Minister of state in 1956

Gerő, Ernő (1898-1980): Hungarian politician, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Worker's Party (1845-1956), Mátyás Rákosi' successor as Prime Minister in 1956.

Kádár, János (1912-1989): Hungarian Communist party functionary, Minister of Interior (1948-1950), Prime Minister of Hungary 1956 to 1958 and 1961 to 1965. From 1956 General Secretary of the Communist Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the leader of the country until 1988.

Kruschev, Nikita (1894-1971): Soviet politician, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1953-1964. He is best remembered for his enthusiastic belief that Communism would triumph over capitalism, and the fact that he was the only Soviet leader ever to be removed peacefully from office.

Malenkov, Georgi (1902-1988): Soviet Communist. One of Stalin's leading ministers before WWII. Stalin's successor as Prime Minister in March 1953. In 1953-54 he tried to relax tensions with the West, but he lost out in the power struggle with Khrushchev.

Maléter, Pál (1917-1958): A Hungarian professional army officer. In 1956 commander of an infantry division stationed in Budapest, from 29 October Minister of Defence. In the Imre Nagy trial he was sentenced to death, and was executed on June 16, 1958.

Mindszenty, József (1892-1975): Hungarian Catholic cardinal. In 1944 and 1948 he was arrested for his opposition to the government, and charged with treason. On November 4, 1956, he was granted political asylum at the US Embassy in Budapest. It was only in 1971, with the urging of US President Richard Nixon, that he moved Vienna, where he spent his last years.

Molotov, Vyacheslav (1890-1986): Russian Prime Minister in 1930. Deputy Premier 1949-1954. After Stalin's death again Prime Minister. In 1956, allegedly at his own request he resigned. He was expelled from the Communist party in 1962 but was reinstated in 1984.

Nagy, Imre (1896-1958): Hungarian Communist politician. After WWI served in the Red Army. In 1944 Minister of Agriculture, and between 1953-1955 Prime Minister. In 1955 he was forced to resign and was expelled from the Communist Party. He became a national hero of the revolution of 1956. He was executed on June 16, 1958.

Rajk, László (1909-1949): Hungarian Communist. In 1941 First Secretary of the illegal Communist Party. After WWII Minister of the Interior and in 1948 Foreign Minister. In 1949, he was accused of conspiring with Tito and he was tried and executed. In 1956 the Hungarian government declared his trial to have been in error.

Rákosi, Mátyás (1892-1971): Hungarian Communist ruler from 1945 to 1956. Between 1947 and 1956 Prime Minister. His name is the hallmark of the establishment of the Soviet-style communist dictatorship in Hungary.

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