Cultural Events and Community Building in the Diaspora: Hungarians in Latin America, Latin Americans in Hungary

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Introduction

Cultural connections between countries or regions come into being in different ways. More often than not, these connections are created by people who travel from one country to another, becoming agents of cultural exchange. In the case of Hungary and Latin America, famous intellectuals and artists, as well as infamous troublemakers, travelled back and forth across the Atlantic, giving rise to a rich historiographic record of individual lives.

Yet many times the more enduring and robust connections were created by "everyday heroes" whose names are not recorded in the annals. Hungarian migrants to Latin America, as well as Latin American migrants to Hungary, helped foster cultural ties on a grassroots level. These exchanges are covered in part by historians (most importantly in the case of the Hungarian emigration to Argentina and Brazil in the 19th and early 20th century), but there is still a lot of work to do.

An even more neglected field, however, is the current situation of Hungarians in Latin America and Latin Americans in Hungary. This is understandable, as in 2017 Hungary and Latin America are not significant migration partners: the annual flow of people migrating between the two is unlikely to exceed a few hundred.[1] Social scientists interested in migration, therefore, do not engage in in-depth research regarding these processes.

There is, nonetheless, a humble body of cultural anthropological texts that describe the everyday practices and livelihoods of these communities. Starting from these articles, this study will attempt to move towards a more "social" analysis of these diaspora groups, focusing on cultural exchange. Understanding diasporas as a community of immigrants and their descendants who created formal or informal institutions in order to preserve themselves as a group, this paper describes four cases.[2]

The study examines the role of cultural events in Hungarian diaspora communities in Latin America and Latin American diaspora communities in Hungary. Based on four diaspora events observed by the author, the study describes how local migrant or diaspora

[1] For the main processes concerning current Latin American migration, see Texidó–Gurrieri 2012.

[2] For a more complex set of definitions see Brubaker 2005, 1–19. The cases are partially analysed in Soltész–Szakál 2014, 141–164; Soltész 2016.

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communities use their ethno-cultural ties to the motherland to create a community, and how this is conceived in a space of interculturality and exchange. These events are:

- A lunch at the Hungarian House in Caracas, Venezuela.
- Hungarian–Swabian food festivals in Jaraguá do Sul, Brazil.
- A pan-Latino football tournament, 'Copa América', in Üröm, Hungary.
- An Andean sun ritual, 'Inti Raymi', on Váci Street in Budapest, Hungary.

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The Hungarian Diaspora(s) in Latin America and the Latin American Diaspora(s) in Hungary

Hungarians have been migrating to Latin America ever since the continent was discovered and colonised. From the early times of Jesuit priests in the 1700s and exiled revolutionaries in the 1800s, through the massive peasant emigration of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, to the politically motivated migrations of the later 20th century, there have been many waves of Hungarian emigration to Latin America. Argentina and Brazil were the most popular destinations, while Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela and Mexico also received Hungarians in certain historical and political contexts.[3] A rough estimate is that somewhere around 250,000 Hungarians migrated to Latin America altogether.

Latin Americans never have had Hungary as a primary migration destination. It was only in specific contexts that migrants of a given nationality appeared in Hungary in large numbers. One of these special cases was the Cuban–Hungarian bilateral guest-worker exchange during the 1980s, which occasionally resulted in the formation of mixed couples who settled down either in Cuba or in Hungary.[4] Another remarkable pattern was the influx of Ecuadoreans and Peruvians in the 1990s, many of whom made a living playing music on the streets or selling handicrafts.[5] Currently, students and corporate employees from Latin America are a relatively populous group, the latter being moved within their company from other countries to shared service centres or assembly plants in Hungary. The total historical flow of Latin Americans to Hungary, however, is unlikely to exceed 20,000 people.[6]

It is challenging nonetheless to establish how many Hungarians live in Latin America or how many Latin Americans live in Hungary as of 2017. The most recent estimate, published

[3] For a detailed analysis of the Hungarian emigration to Latin America see Anderle 1999; Anderle 2008, 174–181; Szabó 1982; Torbágyi 2004. Country- or city-specific historical analyses also exist, such as Pongrácz 2008; Szente-Varga 2008, 57–86; Szilágyi 2009.

[4] See Mark–Apor 2015, 852–891; Zalai 2000, 69–77.

[5] For an economic and political overview of the background of these flows see Lehoczki 2007, 157–171. Migration patterns are summarised by Durand–Massey 2010, 20–52; Hiskey–Orces 2010, 116–136. For a diaspora policy perspective see González Gutiérrez 2006. For the cases of Ecuador and Peru see Arteta–Oleas 2008; Ávila 2003, 167–261. See also Széli 2008, 256–296.

[6] A categorisation is offered by Soltész–Szakál 2014.

by the World Bank in 2013 and based on the country of birth of each inhabitant of a country, not on self-identification or citizenship, appears in Table 1.

Table 1.

Estimated data of Latin Americans in Hungary and Hungarians in Latin America, 2013

	Number of Latin Americans in Hungary by country of origin	**Number of Hungarians in Latin America by country of destination**
Argentina	354	941
Bolivia	63	23
Brazil	550	1,546
Chile	172	410
Colombia	215	137
Costa Rica	36	45
Cuba	664	72
Dominican Republic	38	70
Ecuador	120	316
El Salvador	14	1
Guatemala	19	0
Honduras	12	0
Mexico	459	424
Nicaragua	24	8
Panama	28	51
Paraguay	22	0
Peru	237	77
Uruguay	74	121
Venezuela, RB	208	836
TOTAL LATIN AMERICA	**3,309**	**5,078**

Note: Data are estimated based on country of birth, not on self-identification or citizenship.

Source: World Bank 2013

The estimates of the number of Latin Americans in Hungary seem realistic, although they might slightly underestimate those nationalities that arrived more recently (e.g. Ecuadoreans). The number of Hungarians in Latin America is more difficult to assess, given the vast territorial and historical scope of these individual life stories. What needs to be clarified is the difference between the number of persons born in Hungary but currently living in Latin America (around 5,000) and the estimates of those of Hungarian descent born in Latin America (100,000 or more in some sources).

The most reliable source would be the census data, but neither in Hungary nor in Latin American countries do censuses have a separate question on the country of birth of parents or grandparents. Ethnic belonging or identification is asked about in several censuses, but it is always a voluntary question. It is only occasional surveys or expert analyses, therefore, that can provide a rough estimate of the number of a given diaspora group. Recently, a paper published by the Research Institute For Hungarian Communities Abroad *(Nemzetpolitikai Kutatóintézet)* estimated the number of ethnic Hungarians in Latin America to be around

125,000 (of whom 75,000 live in Brazil, 40,000 in Argentina, 4,000 in Venezuela, 3,000 in Uruguay and 2,000 in Chile).[7]

The "Hungarianness" of these people is disputable though. Several theories on diaspora, assimilation and acculturation discuss identity related,[8] political[9] and developmental[10] dimensions of a diaspora. Yet, for the purposes of the current analysis, Alan Gamlen's concept of 'thin' and 'thick' diaspora membership seems most appropriate.[11] In this conceptual framework, migrants – as well as their descendants – take part in the diaspora's life to varying degrees.

'Thin' membership means that there are Brazilian, Argentinean, or other Latin American individuals who are aware of their Hungarian ancestors, but this is not central to their identity and lifestyle. 'Thick' membership means there are Hungarian descendants in these countries who actively maintain their Hungarian cultural heritage through artistic, folklore, social and other events; they keep their linguistic and literary heritage alive. Given the socio-demographic characteristics of the Hungarian diaspora in Latin America (mostly second- or third-generation), the concept of 'thick' membership likely applies to only a couple of thousand people.

The analysis in this study therefore focuses on the cultural heritage (and the maintenance thereof) in the diaspora supported by formal or semi-formal institutions. Cultural heritage is a dual-nature asset: it creates group cohesion (within the diaspora), even as it provides distinct features to its members (vis-à-vis the majority society). Both features provide paths for cultural exchange between the country of origin and the country of residence; therefore, these diaspora institutions and events are at the core of the case studies.

The Hungarian diaspora in Latin America is not a homogeneous group, as (obviously) conditions in Brazil are different from those in, for example, Venezuela. The same applies to Latin Americans in Hungary who have different migration histories and different socioeconomic status. Yet diaspora events (either 'internal', for the community members only, or 'external', for the members of the majority society) are important occasions in building cultural ties between Hungarians and Latin Americans. Because migrants or diaspora members are 'natural' agents of intercultural exchange, it is in their best interest to use their cultural heritage as an asset.

Social Events at the Hungarian House, Caracas, Venezuela

The Hungarian community in Caracas, Venezuela, is traditional, rich, and conservative.[12] Its core is a group of highly educated 1956 émigrés who settled in the capital during Venezuela's golden age (the 1960s and 1970s). From the 1970s onwards, the Hungarian community grew rich and powerful, and built a sizeable community centre in a wealthy suburb of Caracas:

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[7] *Magyar diaszpórapolitika – stratégiai irányok* 2016, 29–30.

[8] See BERRY 1992, 69–86; BRUBAKER 2005.

[9] See VERTOVEC 2005.

[10] See PORTES et al. 2005.

[11] GAMLEN 2008, 840–856.

[12] For a detailed background see BANKO 2016, 63–75, as well as the information on the Latin American Hungarian Associations' website: LAMOSZSZ s. a.

the Hungarian House *(Casa Húngara).* This building, decorated with wooden carvings and a huge map of the pre-1920 Kingdom of Hungary on its ceiling, was the home of a dozen cultural associations, from kindergarten education to folk dance and charity.

Yet after 1998, when Hugo Chávez's left-wing populist regime came to power, the Hungarian community found itself in a slowly but steadily worsening condition as the wealthy entrepreneurial elite to which many of them belonged became a target of hostile government policies and actions. The subsequent 'return' fever also weakened the Hungarian community in Caracas and led to a decrease in the number of members with a primarily Hungarian identity. Those who had been born in Venezuela often did not have sufficient knowledge of the Hungarian language and did not want to move to Hungary. Nonetheless, the worsening economic conditions in the 2010s encouraged many members of the community to leave Venezuela and move to the United States or to Western Europe. Ironically, they often did so with a Hungarian passport they had obtained thanks to the laws of simplified naturalisation adopted by Hungary in 2011.[13] The Hungarian House in Caracas is now emptying out and ceasing to exist as a lively community centre for a specific diaspora group.

The event I visited in February 2015 was called Hungarian lunch, and it was a regular meeting of the Hungarian community, organised once a month. In earlier days, every weekend had a community event where Hungarians could gather, but as of 2015, it was only the first Sunday of each month when a Catholic mass was held (in Spanish, with a part in Hungarian), followed by a traditional Hungarian lunch menu of *székelykáposzta* (Cabbage stew with pork meat) and pancakes. Most participants were elderly, upper-class Hungarians and their family members, the latter being either Hungarian speakers or Spanish speakers (spouses or younger children).

This was an 'internal' event that facilitated information exchange and social networking in the Hungarian community. Given the decreasing size and hybridisation of the community, however, Spanish-speaking Venezuelans are more and more common guests in the Hungarian House, and they are welcome as long as they are related to a member of the community. Yet Hungarians in Venezuela do not reveal themselves to the host society. To 'hide' from a foreign gaze, the community building is simple and unremarkable from the outside. This is perhaps because Hungarian cultural heritage (as well as any European, 20th-century immigrant heritage) in present-day Venezuela is associated with the belonging to a higher social class.

This is certainly a threat, given the current security problems of the country, so it is not surprising that Hungarians in Caracas do not want to take their regular activities to the streets. On the other hand, this closed circle offers a great, if paradoxical, asset to its members: it can be a key to an EU passport, as it creates access to simplified naturalisation. These factors certainly increase the attractiveness of being Hungarian for the second or third generation. It also facilitates emigration from Venezuela, however, contributing to the decline of the diaspora in the long run.

[13] An analysis of the effect of the simplified naturalisation is offered by *Új magyar állampolgárok – Változások az egyszerűsített honosítási eljárás bevezetése után* 2017.

Food Festivals, Jaraguá do Sul, Brazil

Jaraguá do Sul is a prosperous industrial town in the state of Santa Catarina in southern Brazil.[14] The town was established in the late 19th century by three major ethnic groups: Germans, Italians and Hungarians. Jaraguá's Hungarian settlers belonged to the German-speaking Swabian–Hungarian community from Veszprém County who left the Kingdom of Hungary in the 1890s. They had a strong national identification as Hungarians (their main church was named after Saint Stephen, King of Hungary), yet they spoke a dialect of the German language, mutually understandable with *Hochdeutsch.*

In the early 1900s, the Swabian–Hungarian community completely lost its connections to Hungary, and it was only in the second half of the 20th century that these ties re-emerged, thanks to Hungarian anthropologist Lajos Boglár, and to the Hungarian diaspora in São Paulo.[15] It was after the Hungarian transition, in the early 1990s, that these connections to the motherland became sufficiently close to allow Jaraguá residents (belonging to the third or fourth generation) to re-discover their Hungarianness. It nonetheless was framed within a multicultural (German, Italian, Japanese, Polish, African etc.) Brazilian cultural setting, where the population had an extremely diverse racial background.

The re-discovery of the Hungarian roots enabled the members of the community to present themselves as an equally 'interesting' and distinct group of the local population, and significantly, to differentiate themselves from the German–Brazilians. In the late 20th century, all ethnic groups in Jaraguá already had the Portuguese as their first language, thus the Hungarian versus German language issue, while interesting from a historical point of view, no longer played a major role in the community's internal and external relations.

The Hungarian Government has recently shown some interest to the community's distinct heritage, and it has included Jaraguá in several diaspora policy initiatives, such as the Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Programme for the Hungarian diaspora.[16] Teachers of the Hungarian language and of Hungarian folk dances arrived from Hungary, and Hungarian researchers collected written and ethnographic material. The laws of simplified naturalisation were received ambiguously in Jaraguá, however; the 'Hungarian' language knowledge expected in order to have the Hungarian citizenship was different from the Swabian knowledge of the elderly. Nevertheless, several members of the community managed to learn Hungarian, at least on a basic level.

A peculiar representation of the ethnic diversity of Jaraguá are the various food festivals organised year-round, which are as mixed as the town itself.[17] The major food-related event is the Polenta Festival *(Festa da Polenta)* of the Italian descendants, but other nationalities also have their food and beverages presented in the 'ethnic' events (such as the German *Schützenfest*). The Hungarian community has built its own festive identity around the *Strudel* (using the German name of the popular pastry instead of the standard Hungarian *rétes,* the latter having been introduced to their vocabulary only recently and due to the arrival of language teachers from Hungary). Also, while soups are not common in mainstream Brazilian cuisine, they are popular among Hungarians, and a 'Hungarian Soups Night' is organised

[14] For a detailed background, see the following monographs: Lopes 2013; Őry Kovács 2010.
[15] Boglár 2000.
[16] Kőrösi Csoma Sándor Programme 2017.
[17] Soltész 2016.

frequently. In both cases, local flavours mix with traditional Hungarian recipes: there are banana and coconut strudels, as well as manioca soups unlikely to be found in Hungary.

'Hungarianness' in Jaraguá is an asset in being a 'respectable' and 'interesting' community in one of the world's most multi-ethnic regions. Just as with the Hungarian community of Caracas, the ethnicity is associated with a higher social status. Yet given the longer historical perspective, and the fact that no first-generation migrants are still alive, this nostalgic re-discovery of the ethnic origins is different from the 'organic' Hungarianness of the Venezuelan–Hungarian community, and also from other Brazilian–Hungarian communities, such as the one in São Paulo. Hungarian citizenship is also less attractive for Jaraguá residents than for Venezuelan–Hungarians, as there is no economic pressure to have a Hungarian passport as soon as possible.

The Hungarian identity in Jaraguá is a 'festive' one, and this helps cultural exchange, as all the 'typical' Hungarian identity items are received and recycled as items for the community's self-representation. The local cultural and social context facilitates this identity revival, thus – as opposed to the defensive Hungarian community in Caracas – the Swabian–Hungarians of Jaraguá are engaging other members of the local population in their activities.

Copa América Football Tournament, Üröm, Hungary

The Latin American communities in Hungary are small, fragmented, and based on personal and informal (or semi-formal) ties. While there is no open hostility between national groups, there is a somewhat distant relationship between Latinos from different countries. They might or might not recognise each other as belonging to the same 'ethnic' group. Social and occupational cleavages also make it difficult to speak about a 'Latin American diaspora' in Hungary, or in Budapest, in the same way as a 'Hungarian diaspora' in Caracas and in Jaraguá do Sul. As of this writing, the only opportunity for different Latin American communities and different occupational or status groups (musicians, handicraft traders, company employees, students etc.) to mix in or around Budapest was a self-organised, informal football and family event called Copa América.[18]

Every spring, on a Sunday in late April or early May, Latin Americans living in Hungary organise a football (soccer) tournament in the locality of Üröm, a suburb of Budapest. The tradition dates back to 2006. Men re-create the 'real' Copa América football matches by forming 'national' teams that they take rather seriously: they wear the uniform of the national team of the given country. Yet they are more receptive to foreign players than the real national selection process would be: teams can be mixed if a given nationality cannot present eleven players.

In the meantime, women (spouses or female relatives of the football players, either Latin Americans or Hungarians) prepare traditional food at a stall next to the football field, and children are entertained with handicraft activities by other female members of the community. Traditional gender roles are not questioned: football players are male, while those in charge of cooking and taking care of the children are almost exclusively female. The event has a relaxed and intercultural attitude, and while participants do not seek the presence of a Hungarian

[18] Soltész–Szakál 2014.

'audience' (i.e. they do not advertise outside the community), they are not hostile to occasional Hungarian passers-by.

The organisation tasks are undertaken by the Inti Raymi Cultural Association founded by Peruvian and Ecuadorean immigrants in the early 2000s. The name of the association refers to the Andean-style street parade of the same name; however, the Copa América event is open to all Latin Americans. This pan-Latino universalism is unique in Hungary. While other Latin American nationalities organise specific events (either with the help of the respective embassy, such as the Mexican Day of the Dead festivity in late October, or on an entirely self-organising basis, such as the Brazilian music and dance parties), none reach out to other Latinos living in Hungary. The Copa América went even further: a team of Lusophone Africans (mainly Angolans) living in Hungary, as well as a team of Ecuadoreans living in Slovakia participated in some of the matches.

This event is valuable for creating an internal space for the 'Latino' immigrants in Hungary, who, in turn, do not want to reach out to the Hungarian majority society. Instead, Hungarian spouses and friends of Latin Americans are invited through the community's different communication channels (mostly Facebook groups and pages). This provides the opportunity for informal social integration, while not necessarily seeking a 'cultural exchange' in its stricter sense.

Inti Raymi Festivities, Budapest, Hungary

Contrary to the Copa América football tournaments, the Inti Raymi street parade explicitly seeks to present Latin American (more specifically, Andean) culture to Hungarians. Inti Raymi is a re-discovered celebration of the summer solstice from Inca times: every year, around 23 June, a colourful parade is organised wherever Andeans live.[19] This self-representation as 'indigenous' and 'ancient' comes from the 20th-century revival of Inca heritage in the Andean countries.

It took a new twist with the formation of the massive Peruvian and Ecuadorean diasporas in the United States and in Europe in the 1990s. In multi-cultural, global cities, other diaspora communities (Chinese, Indian, Arabic, etc.) already had a visual and symbolic presence in the urban landscape. By organising the Inti Raymi festivities as a street parade (instead of the ceremonial, performance-like festivity held in Cusco, Peru), Andean migrants had the opportunity to present themselves as an equally characteristic group of inhabitants of the metropolis. This meant that the representation of the complex, hybrid Andean cultural heritage 'narrowed' to include only the non-European element of Andean identities (dresses from Otavalo, *wiphala* flags, etc.), even if many participants are Creole or Mestizo Andeans.

Although on a far smaller scale than in North America or in Western Europe, Hungary is also the home for an Andean diaspora community.[20] Its size peaked in the late 1990s, reaching around a thousand persons living mostly in Budapest and often being involved in occupations of an 'ethno-cultural' character: street music or handicraft trade. Many times, these immigrants were holders of tertiary degrees (teachers, economists, etc.) but had to leave their home countries due to the economic hardships of the last decade of the past century.

[19] See Letenyei 2008, 326–340; Soltész–Szakál 2014.

[20] Széli 2008.

Recently, many of them returned to Ecuador or to Peru, or moved further, to Western European countries. Yet in 2004, when their presence was still remarkable in Budapest, Andeans organised Inti Raymi for the first time in Hungary.

Ever since, this Andean 'self-representation' occurs once a year on the pedestrian portion of Váci Street in the centre of Budapest. Dancers and musicians take the street for an hour-long walking show, performing for the Hungarian audience (and for the tourists who abound in this neighbourhood). The costumes and dances are taken from the Andean highland's indigenous heritage. The street parade is followed by a fertility ritual, performed on Vörösmarty Square by members of the community using fruits, vegetables and drinks. With this ritual, the public part of the event is finished, although in the evening a dance party is organised at a closed venue.

The main organising entity is the Inti Raymi Cultural Association. The parade is organised each year by a different *mayordomo* ('host'), a volunteer elected by the community. The festival is inclusive in the sense that, despite its strong indigenous character, it welcomes the creole and mestizo members of the Andean diaspora, as well as their friends and relatives, allowing them to be 'as exotic as possible' in Budapest. In contrast with the Copa América event, however, the Inti Raymi parade does not include other, non-Andean Latin Americans (Mexicans, Brazilians, Argentinians, etc.). Yet this event is definitely the most remarkable 'Latin American' event occurring in Hungary, providing a good opportunity for locals to see a re-invented Andean tradition.

Hungarians in Latin America vs. Latin Americans in Hungary: A Comparative Conclusion

Based on the background information and on the selected case studies, a structured comparison emerges focusing on the historical, social and institutional characteristics of the respective diasporas, as well as their public image and the events (internal and external) that maintain these diasporas alive. The main features described above are summarised in the following table.

Table 2.

A comparison of the Hungarian diaspora in Latin America and the Latin American diaspora in Hungary

	Hungarians in Latin America	**Latin Americans in Hungary**
Characteristics of the diaspora	Older, better-integrated diasporas	Newer, sporadic, isolated diasporas
Social status of most diaspora members	Higher social status	Mixed social status
Diaspora institutions	Developed diaspora institutions	Semi-formal, self-organised events
Image of the diaspora in the eyes of the majority (host) society	Unknown to the majority society	Exoticised by the majority society
'Internal' diaspora event	E.g. Hungarian lunch in Caracas	E.g. Copa América in Üröm
'External' diaspora event	E.g. Food festivals in Jaraguá do Sul	E.g. Inti Raymi parade in Budapest

Source: Drawn by the author.

The Hungarian diaspora(s) in Latin America are older and better institutionalised; their members (mostly second- or third-generation immigrants) are usually well-off, and they are well-integrated into the host society – or, to be more precise, most of them have a primary identity of the host society, and the Hungarian identity comes only second. In contrast, Latin Americans in Hungary have a far shorter diaspora history and, as a consequence, their institutions are usually semi-formal and do not cover all Latinos in the country. Latin American immigrants are heterogeneous in terms of social status: self-employed, students and corporate employees are the main groups. They are usually 'first generation', i.e. immigrants to Hungary, therefore their connections to the motherland are closer and more functional.

There are also differences in how the majority society sees these diaspora groups. Hungarian culture generally is unknown to the majority society of Latin American countries. This is because Hungarians number less than 1% of the population in these places, and with the rare exception of the town of Jaraguá, they remain largely unnoticed. Hungarian majority society, however, is aware of the main cultural traits of Latin America (even if it might have a superficial and exotic view of these distant countries), and Hungarians are usually interested in meeting people or seeing cultural events stemming from that part of the world. Latin Americans, therefore, have it easier when it comes to cultural representation towards the majority society.

As a consequence, 'external' diaspora events are more appealing in the case of Latin Americans in Hungary, whose Inti Raymi festival is more 'exotic' to locals than Hungarian events in Latin America. Nonetheless, in the case of Jaraguá, there is a general multicultural setting where several ethno-cultural groups coexist. In such a context, being Hungarian (expressed through music, dance and, most importantly, food) enables members of the (ethnic) community to be proud members of the (multicultural) local community. In both cases, the majority society is receptive and willing to learn more about the diaspora culture.

'Internal' diaspora events also facilitate a sort of cultural exchange, yet on a lesser scale and in a person-to-person manner. Inevitably, diaspora communities are hybridised through mixed marriages, intercultural friendships, and different ways of interaction between immigrants and locals. 'Internal' events, such as the Hungarian lunch in Caracas or the Copa América in Üröm, forge the 'core' of the community and create linkages to 'satellite' circles of spouses, friends, colleagues, and other people from the majority society who get involved because of their personal relationship with a diaspora member. These sorts of micro-level interactions, while not as visible as the 'external' diaspora events, provide valuable spaces for intercultural experiences.

All four cases described here provide an opportunity for diaspora members and majority society members to enhance their knowledge about each other. By doing so, they contribute to strengthening the cultural ties between Hungary and Latin America.

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