

## 3.2 Hungary: cross-border migration in a fragmented ethnic space

Béla Soltész, Ágnes Erőss, Dávid Karácsonyi, Áron Kincses<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2.1 Introduction

A region of complex migratory background, Central and Eastern Europe has experienced large-scale population movements many times throughout its history. The 21st century is no exception to this general rule. In our times, it is mostly east-to-west labour migration that prevails – however, in the context of globalization and an increasing interdependence of European economies and societies, migratory movements show a diversity of social and geographic patterns.

Migratory trends have been changing in Hungary over the past three decades. Once the 'happiest barrack' of the Eastern Bloc with a relatively stable economy and acceptable living standards, though limited personal and economic freedom, Hungary was a rather closed country until the late 1980s. The turmoil of the transition to democracy made Hungary an attractive destination for citizens of neighbouring countries, most of them ethnic Hungarians. As the economic situation in the region normalized, intra-regional migration decreased, and a new wave of small but economically active non-European immigrants (most importantly East Asians and Middle Eastern nationalities) arrived in the country. With the lift of the restrictions for Hungarian citizens to work in the EU countries and being pushed by the unfolding of the global economic crisis, emigration started to rise in the past years. These movements together form the migratory landscape of Hungary in the second decade of the 21st century: an open economy with two-directional migratory flows.

The objective of this report is to present the historical background and the relevant statistical, sociological and geographic data on migration in Hungary, as well as the legal and policy framework concerning international migratory flows. The report observes the place of Hungary in the framework of migration between two country groups, the Visegrad countries (Czechia, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary) and the countries of the Eastern Partnership (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia). Due to geographic proximity and historical ties, the two most important focal points of this complex phenomenon are the limitrophe migration from Ukraine's Transcarpathia region to Eastern Hungary, and the very diverse patterns of labour migration from different Eastern European countries to Budapest, the capital city of Hungary.

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1 Bolyai scholarship of the HAS supported Áron Kincses' contribution to this study.

## 3.2.2 Legislative Context of International Migration

The effective legislation on international migration and foreign employment in Hungary is the result of the country's integration process into the European Union. Hungarian immigration legislation (Tóth 2009, 2012) is in line with EU directives, the Schengen acquis and the relevant instruments of the Hague Program. These were implemented into Hungarian law in 2007:

- Act on the Entry and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence (Act I of 2007) and
- Act on the Entry and Residence of Third-country Nationals (Act II of 2007).

These acts refer to the relevant Directives, such as

- Council Directive 2003/86/EC, on the right to family reunification;
- Council Directive 2003/109/EC, concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents;
- Council Directive 2004/114/EC, on the conditions of admission of third-country nationals for the purposes of study, student exchange, unremunerated training or voluntary service; and
- Council Directive 2005/71/EC on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purpose of scientific research.

### 3.2.2.1 Legislation on Residence

EU and EEA citizens in Hungary enjoy the same rights as Hungarian citizens. Before the EU accession, the Act on the Entry and Residence of Foreigners (Act XXXIX of 2001) made a distinction between the legal status of EU citizens with free movement and that of third country nationals (foreigners). It contained the requirements for settlement permission such as three years of working and living in Hungary with a residence permit in order to have a settlement permit (immigrant status), and eight years of residence in order to be applicable for naturalization. Upon the EU accession (2004), all EU regulations were integrated into the national regulations, Council Directive 2004/38/EC in particular. The Act on the Entry and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence (Act I of 2007) provided the implementation of the Directive at legislative level (Gellérné – Illés 2005).

Third-country nationals, according to Act II of 2007, can apply for: 1) a long-term visa for a given specific purpose and, before it expires, 2) a residence permit. Entry to and stay in the territory of Hungary may be allowed for the following purposes: visits, family unification, employment, seasonal work, study, research, medical treatment, official visit and voluntary work. The issuance of long-term visas (for over 3 months) and residence permits fall within the competence of the Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN), while the border patrol, formerly belonging to the Hungarian Border Guard Services, from 2008 onwards is a duty of the Police (Gödri et al 2013).

The immigration procedure can only be started if the applicant holds a long-term visa. This can be granted for an explicitly stated purpose, such as employment, study or family reunification. The issuance of residence permits also falls within the competence

of the OIN and its regional units, while the issuance of work permits is a task of the regional unit of the Labour Office. Having continuously resided in Hungary for three years, a foreigner becomes eligible for a national permanent residence permit (Act II of 2007, Art. 35). Act I and II of 2007 regulate family reunification issues in line with the EU *acquis*. The spouse of a foreigner holding a permanent residence permit obtains a work permit automatically (Gödri et al 2013).

### 3.2.2.2 Legislation on Economic Activities

The employment of EU/EEA citizens falls under the scope of Government Decree 355/2007 on interim regulations of free movement of labour, which was modified several times. According to this Decree, from 1 January 2009, citizens of EU, EEA countries and Switzerland can work in Hungary without a specific work permit. However, they are subject to registration by the employer at the local Labour Office.

The employment of third country nationals requires a procedure of authorization for one year, launched by the employer while the potential foreign worker is still outside Hungary. The process for prolongation is almost identical. Article 7 of Act IV of 1991, on the employment of and benefits for unemployed persons, allows the Minister of Employment to specify, year by year, the maximum number of foreigners to be employed in individual occupations. A third country national can also be self-employed in case of holding a long-term visa for the purpose of gainful employment (Act II of 2007, Art. 20(1)) (Gödri et al 2013).

Further specifications are made by Decree 16/2010 of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour. According to this, labour offices can issue an employment permit if the employer has reported a vacancy before the third country national's request and no Hungarian or EEA national (or family member of a Hungarian or EEA citizen) has been found suitable to fill in the vacancy. The third country national applicant should, furthermore, meet the requirements for employability under Hungarian law.

Labour offices can also issue employment permits without the above described procedure and without taking into account the labour market circumstances in the case of key personnel, invited scholars or artists, and a maximum 5% of the personnel of private companies with a foreign majority ownership.

There is no active national program in Hungary for highly skilled foreign workers. A highly skilled third country national can, however, apply for the EU Blue Card, at the Office of Immigration and Nationality. This instrument was introduced by Council Directive 2009/50/EC and implemented into Hungarian regulations by Act CV of 2011. (National Employment Service 2013)

## 3.2.3 General economic and social trends in the 1980s-2010s

In the late 1980s a radical political and social transformation began in Central and Eastern Europe. The fall of the Iron Curtain changed the political landscape in every country of the region. Compared to many of its neighbours, in Hungary the transition to democracy and market economy went peacefully, on the grounds of negotiations and with no blood-

shed, no territorial disruptions and no mass emigration. However, economic, social and demographic problems arose, many of them having their roots already in the previous decades.

Before the transition, Hungary was seen within the Eastern Bloc as a relatively prosperous country with an ideologically mixed, partially market-oriented system dubbed as “Goulash Communism”. However, consumerism had been partly financed by foreign loans and by the 1980s Hungary had become highly indebted to its – mostly Western – creditors. Foreign capital was also invested in the light industry, which was producing for the socialist countries’ market (Melegh 2011). These markets were lost with the fall of state socialism in the region, and the re-adjustment of the productive industries took the form of a rather quick privatization of state property, which dismantled the former production chains. Foreign direct investment first came as portfolio investment and resulted in an immediate backdrop in the production.

As a consequence of the above, in the period between 1989 and 1993 a sharp decrease in GDP was recorded in Hungary, with the biggest drop immediately following the fall of communism in 1990. Thanks to economic restructuring and the inflow of mostly German and Austrian capital, the Hungarian GDP climbed back to its pre-transition level by 1994. After a comprehensive austerity package in 1995, it kept on growing during a period of economic expansion that lasted 14 years, until 2008. However, 1.5 million workplaces that had been lost during the transition were never recovered: the dependency ratio has been very high in Hungary since the 1990s. The global economic crisis hit the country heavily, causing a 1.5 year long recession and a consequent stagnation period (Gödri et al 2013).

The transition also had high social costs. Hungarian society was, under state socialism, an egalitarian one, in which full employment and many social transfers were compensating for the lack of individual entrepreneurial perspectives and the scarcity of consumption opportunities. With the transition to democracy and capitalism, a sudden growth of the Gini coefficient took place, starting already before the political changes of 1989. From a very low 0.21 in 1982, the coefficient rose to 0.31 by 2003. There have been several social groups which, following a seminal essay (Ferge 1996), are named commonly in both scientific discourse and everyday talk as “the losers of the transition”: the Roma, the rural population and the ageing (born between 1930 and 1945).

Although it can be stated that at a political level the transition was beneficial for every Hungarian citizen, as it has granted everyone the access to human and civil rights, the negative structural and individual processes regarding economic and social security led to the common statement of “life was better under Kádár<sup>1</sup>”, echoed by many Hungarians as early as 1995, a phenomenon commonly known in the region as post-socialist nostalgia. In a survey carried out 20 years after the transition (Hack-Handa 2009), 56% of the respondents stated that things “got worse” since then. On the other hand, Hungarian upper and middle classes are still enjoying a relatively high standard of living. As opposed to the previously mentioned categories, urban, younger, higher educated and better-off

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1 General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party between 1956 and 1988.

Hungarians managed to take advantage of the structural transformation of the economy, thus becoming the “winners of the transition” (Gödri et al 2013).

### 3.2.4 General demographic and migration trends in the 1980s-2010s

International migration was a politically sensitive issue during the time of state socialism and studies on the issue were scarce until 1989 (Rédei 2001). Since the transition to democracy, several research papers, summaries and yearly reports have been published about international migration trends in Hungary (some examples: L. Rédei M. 2001, Kincses Á. 2009, 2012, Hablicsek L. 2004, Gödri I. 2012). Hablicsek (2004) summarized that international migration has had an increasing role in the population change since the 1990s. This process widened the scope of demographic research in Hungary, from the natural reproduction (fertility and mortality) with migration-related topics (Rédei 2001).

Hungary is an ageing society with a net population decrease. A popular saying in the 1970s, “kicsi vagy kocsi” (kid or car) revealed the dilemma that young couples were facing during state socialism, where consumerism was possible to some extent but it often led to the postponement of child-bearing and an ever-lowering fertility rate. The decline in the total fertility rate began in the early 1970s and it stabilized in the 2000s at a very low 1.3 (Gödri et al 2013).

The total population of Hungary has been declining since 1981 (10.7 million, 1980). The rapid loss happened due to the decrease in the crude birth ratio since the mid-1970s, after the age of the so called OTP-children. (Families who signing the agreement to get cheaper loans for a private apartment had to have 1 child in 3 years’ time, 2 children in 6 years’ time. There were annually 30-40 thousand more births in the mid-1970s because of this regulation.) The crude birth ratio halved in the past four decades (18.4 in 1975, 9.1 in 2012). However, the mortality rate increased in the early 1990s (14.5‰ in 1993), and it stabilized around 13‰ since 2000. The main causes of death (cardio-vascular diseases and lung cancer) are associated with unhealthy lifestyle. The suicide rate has also become high, not independently from the social anomie that followed the transition. The natural decline has been growing constantly, it reached -3‰ in 1993, and -4‰ since 2010. The total population loss since 1980 was 0.8 million, the population of Hungary was 9.9 million in January 2013.

International migration trends have been thus evolving in a quite unfavourable demographic and social climate where outflows from and inflows into Hungary were conditioned mostly by “push” factors. Between 1980 and 1989, 192.4 thousand people left Hungary (Hablicsek 2004), and the natural population change was -145.6 thousand in the 1980s. On the other hand, between 1990 and 1999, 174.3 thousand people arrived in Hungary. Even so, the natural population loss was 331.6 thousand, more than the double of the respective figure in the 1980s.

Hungary became a net immigration country after 1990, largely because of the political conflicts in the neighbouring countries. Romania, in the last years of the repressive Ceauşescu regime, was the source of the first massive flow of illegal migration (or over-

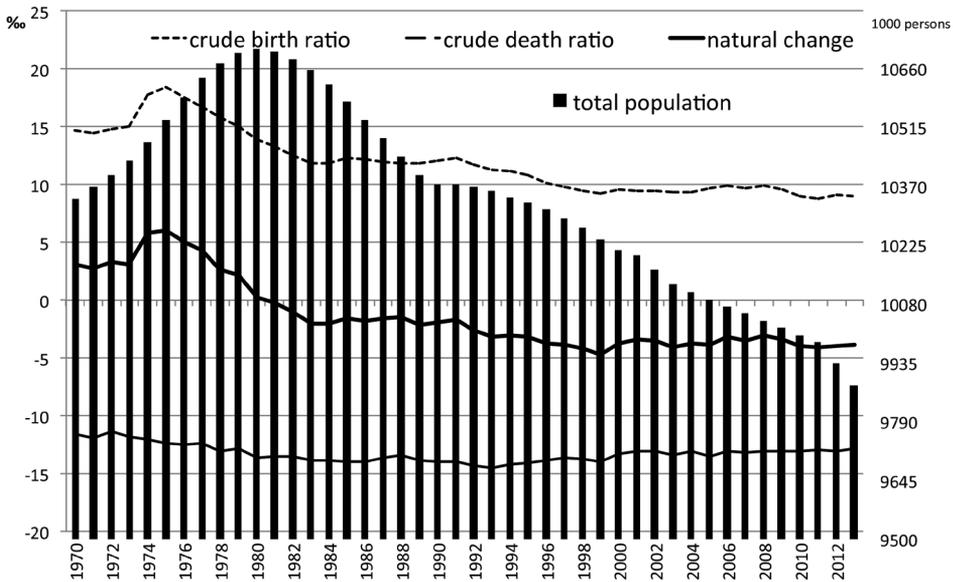


Figure 1. Demographic trends in Hungary

staying) across the Hungarian border in 1988–90, following the Romanian revolution in 1989. With the unfolding of the Balkan war, ex-Yugoslav citizens (Croats, Bosnians, Serbs and Albanians) also arrived in Hungary and many of them applied for asylum. Between 1988 and 2007, approximately 200,000 foreign citizens received a settlement (long-term or open-ended residence) permit (Póczik et al 2008). The migratory balance of Hungarian citizens became positive in 1993, because of the favourable political changes that fostered return migration (Hablicsek 2004, Gödri – Tóth 2010).

Because of the historical situation, the largest share of the immigrant population in Hungary is made up by the ethnic Hungarian citizens of the neighbouring countries, and 50–60% of the migration is related to the Carpathian Basin (Kincses 2012). The number of ethnic Hungarians was 1,603.9 thousand in Romania, Transylvania, 339.5 thousand in Voivodina and 20 thousand in Croatia in 1991 (Kocsis et al. 2006). The close cultural, ethnic and linguistic relationships were the pull, the political uncertainties and the armed conflicts in the sending countries were the main push factors in this migration. Later, from the mid-1990s the economic situation became the major push factor, and due to the large number of ethnic Hungarians, Romania became the main sending country. Because of the disadvantaged economic situation, the third largest sending area was Transcarpathia in Ukraine during the 1990s, however, since 2004 it has become the second most important source area, with a Hungarian population of 155.7 thousand in 1991.

In the meantime, non-European immigrant groups also appeared, most notably the Chinese and to a lesser extent, several Middle Eastern nationalities. Most of them were small entrepreneurs who took advantage of the collapsing socialist economy and founded successful new businesses, especially clothing shops and fast food buffets.

As a consequence of these inflows, Hungary gained a positive migratory balance, gradually turning Hungary from a net migrant-sending into a net migrant-receiving country (Melegh 2012). The international migration balance was the highest in 1990 (25.3 thousand), then it was decreasing until 1996, to 11.3 thousand (Hablicsek 2004). Since the mid-1990s the migration balance began to increase, in 2000 it was already 19.2 thousand. The total immigration was 37.2 thousand in 1990, which decreased to 12.8 thousand in 1994 (Gödri 2012). Because of the favourable economic situation and the EU accession, there was a rapid increase in the total number of immigrants from 13.3 to 35.6 thousand between 1997 and 2008. There were peaks after 2004 (the year of the EU accession) (25.6 in 2005) and in 2007-2008 (Schengen accession). At the same time, many migratory channels have been set up, transiting Hungary from ex-Soviet republics and the Balkans in the direction of Western Europe, but these migrants only stayed in Hungary if they were caught by the police and consequently chose to apply for asylum (Gödri et al 2013).

Even if the migration balance was positive, from the mirror statistics of the receiving countries it is clearly visible that there were more emigrants from Hungary, than immigrants to Hungary already in 1994 (Gödri 2012). The EU accession (01.05.2004) did not immediately change this outmigration trend, as an annual average of 20-25 thousand people left Hungary to other countries of the EU. The large change happened after 2006 due to a political and economic instability. In the meantime, member states of the European Union gradually opened their labour market for Hungarian citizens (United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden already in 2004, others, such as Spain, Italy and the Netherlands in 2006 and 2007, while Germany and Austria only in 2011). In 2007 35.5 thousand, in 2008 39.8 thousand, in 2010 43 thousand Hungarians left the country, so emigration increased by 60% after 2006. A large part of this migration is just temporary emigration to other EU countries, or it is circulation between Hungary and other EU-members. Emigration has become a politically sensitive question, similarly to how it had been before the collapse of state socialism. It is widely believed that the current outmigrants are younger and more skilled than the Hungarian average, although reliable and detailed data are still missing. Outward migration is especially high among doctors and healthcare professionals, engineers, technical workers and students (Gödri et al 2013).

### 3.2.5 Labour market and migration in the past 25 years

During state socialism, Hungary was characterized by full employment. After the transition in 1989, unemployment appeared as a new phenomenon, reaching a peak of 12% in 1992. However, as many workers retired at an early age, a significant part of the population became inactive. In the mid-1990s, the Hungarian labour market structure stabilized at a low employment rate and relatively high unemployment. The latter further increased during the economic crisis and peaked around 2010. From 2011 onwards, a slow recovery of the labour market began, mostly based on a communal work program and not on real economic recovery (Cseres-Gergely et al, 2012).

Hungary's employment rate is among the lowest in the European Union, ranking fourth from the bottom. The number of unemployed persons was twice as high in 2011 as 10 years before. Curiously, the activity rate has been increasing from 2001 onwards – however, this is due to the ageing of the population, as the number and proportion of the active population (aged 15–64) have been rising constantly, and so has the official retirement age (Gödri et al, 2013).

Economic activity shows noteworthy differences when it comes to geographic and demographic variables. The highest activity rate is observed in Central Hungary (62.4%), the region where Budapest is found, while the lowest activity rate characterizes the two poorest (and easternmost) regions: Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plain (49.1%). Youth (aged 15–24) shows an unfavourable unemployment rate, which increased from 11 to 26.1% between 2001 and 2011. When it comes to gender differences, it is interesting to note that the employment rate of women remained constant in the past decade, while the employment rate of men has been decreasing continuously since 2007. Regarding the various economic sectors, the share of services has been increasing since the transition, while the share of agriculture and industry has been decreasing (Gödri et al, 2013).

#### 3.2.5.1 Emigration and the labour market

Emigration from Hungary was less intensive after the country's accession to the European Union than in most neighbouring countries. However, the region adjacent to Austria started to send circular migrants and daily commuters to Austria, and the United Kingdom – particularly London – became an attractive destination for young emigrants (Hárs, 2010).

With the crisis, the employment situation of the youth became increasingly difficult, especially in terms of entry to the labour market and finding the first full-time job. It is a major push factor for Hungarians in their twenties, while wage differences are decisive among the motivations of the emigrants in their thirties. The low employment rate in Hungary is in sharp contrast with the high employment rates in the three main destination countries for Hungarians – Germany, Austria and the United Kingdom. Recent cutbacks in the welfare system may have served for many people as a final push for deciding on emigration (Hárs, 2012).

Regarding professions, a shortage of qualified workers has already been detected in the health care system. As Hungarian medical qualifications are automatically recognized in the European Union, destination countries are in a desperate need of health professionals and the wage gaps are huge, the migration of Hungarian doctors and nurses has become a massive phenomenon (Girasek et al, 2013). There are signs indicating that there will be other professional groups following them: according to a recent survey the migration potential is higher than average among younger age groups, especially among university students (Sik, 2013).

#### 3.2.5.2 Immigration and the labour market

Based on census and LFS data, the employment rate of foreigners is higher than that of the average Hungarian population, and so is their education attainment. As the majority of immigrants in Hungary have been ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries in the

past decades, their language skills and cultural proximity have not hindered their integration into the country's labour market. In general, among foreign citizens, the share of the employed in the service sector and that of intellectual workers are higher than among the natives (Gödri et al, 2013).

A specific group of immigrants own private enterprises at a considerably higher rate than the native Hungarian population. It is especially the Chinese, but other nationalities as well (Vietnamese, Turkish etc.), who are owners of small and medium enterprises. These migrant groups are also very different from the native population regarding the gender distribution of the economically active: among East Asians, women have an employment rate almost as high as men, while among immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries, women are employed at a much lower rate than men or Hungarian women (Gödri, 2011).

It is a noteworthy phenomenon that the employment rate of Ukrainian citizens is below the average of the total population, and their unemployment rate is the highest among migrant nationalities. This is due to two factors: their relatively low educational attainment, and their geographical distribution. As opposed to almost every other immigrant group who are concentrated in Budapest and its urban agglomeration, many Ukrainians live in poor and deprived areas of Eastern Hungary, and they are characterised by an unemployment rate higher than the population of the host society. Also, many of them work in Hungary on the basis of a work permit, not a permanent settlement permit, which hinders their labour market mobility (Gödri et al, 2013).

### 3.2.6 Main sources of immigration in Hungary

In 1995 there were 138.1 thousand foreign residents in Hungary, but the number is permanently increasing. In 2011 it reached 200 thousand and in 2012 it was 205.2 thousand, 2.2% of the country's total population. As it has already been mentioned, the majority are ethnic Hungarians. Since 2011 the number of foreign residents began to decrease, because of the simplified naturalisation of ethnic Hungarians<sup>2</sup>.

In Hungary, the sending countries of Romania, Ukraine and Serbia account for the largest proportion of foreign migrants, but around 10% of the immigrants – mainly Germans and Austrians – arrive from the pre-2004 EU member states. In Hungary, migrants from the countries of the Carpathian Basin, who surpass migrants from outside the Carpathian Basin in how their number increases, account for a dominant proportion. This is in connection with cross-border ethnic, linguistic and cultural connections. Among migrants from more distant sending countries, the Chinese have a larger number in Hungary – the largest Chinese Diaspora in the region (OECD 2009).

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2 Since 2010, ethnic Hungarian citizens of other countries can apply for Hungarian citizenship if they can prove that any grandparent of theirs had been Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian citizen, and if they can speak the Hungarian language at intermediate level.

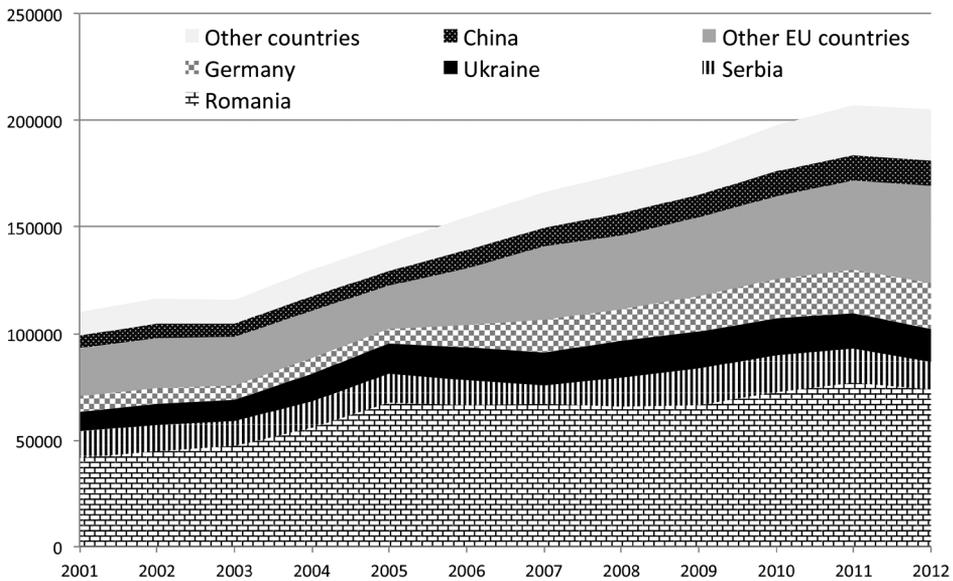


Figure 2. Foreign residents in Hungary by citizenship (2001-2012)

The biggest part of EaP migrants in Hungary are also ethnic Hungarians arriving from Transcarpathia, Ukraine. Only approximately 10% of these migrants are ethnic Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldavians or Georgians. The number of foreign residents from Belarus, Moldova and Georgia is less than 200, however their number increased slightly.

### 3.2.7 The spatial characteristics of the migration from EaP to Hungary

The number of EaP citizens in Hungary is increasing although their number – except citizens from Ukraine – is still small (Table 1). The ratio of EaP citizens in the foreign population is 8% (2012). Approximately 80-90 % of them are ethnic Hungarians. The ratio of non-ethnic-Hungarian immigrants from EaP is between 1-1.5%, so we are speaking about a very small number, about 1000-1500 people from all EaP countries (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians and Azeri people).

The ratio of non-Ukrainian EaP citizens also increased between 2001 and 2009 from 3% to 3.6%. Since that time the number of Ukrainian citizens began to decline because of the simplified naturalization of ethnic Hungarians, so the ratio of non-Ukrainian EaP citizens reached 5% in 2012. The most rapid increase was in the case of Azeri citizens, due to their small initial number and probably because of the Eastern opening policy of Hungary. One of the main targets of this policy is Azerbaijan.

In Hungary – following the Romanian citizens – the Ukrainian citizens are the second most important foreign citizen group (Halmai et al. 2006). Foreign citizens are those Hungary-based people who have a residence and an immigration or a settlement permit

Table 1. Number of foreign residents in Hungary from EaP countries

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
<b>Ukraine</b>	8947	9835	9853	13096	13933	15337
<b>Moldova</b>	48	77	102	118	117	140
<b>Belarus</b>	77	88	82	109	118	136
<b>Georgia</b>	71	65	67	82	90	99
<b>Armenia</b>	73	64	59	99	96	127
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	11	21	20	25	27	32
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
<b>Ukraine</b>	15866	17289	17610	17241	16537	15362
<b>Moldova</b>	156	181	177	237	243	196
<b>Belarus</b>	139	150	155	185	189	168
<b>Georgia</b>	101	126	153	159	174	195
<b>Armenia</b>	115	114	127	128	139	149
<b>Azerbaijan</b>	52	42	44	71	71	103

as of 1 January of the reference year. On 1 January 2008, there were 17,289 Ukrainian citizens in Hungary (Figure 3), furthermore, since 1993 10,299 people have been granted Hungarian citizenship (an overwhelming part of these are ethnic Hungarians). On the whole, over a period of 15 years nearly 30 thousand Ukrainian citizens moved to Hungary according to the official statistics, which exerted a positive influence on the demography of our country and a highly detrimental one on that of the Transcarpathian ethnic Hungarians. These 30 thousand people roughly correspond to the annual natural population decrease in Hungary.

Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary may be classified into three groups according to their original (Ukraine based) place of residence.

The first group is from the border area districts of Berehovo, Mukachevo, Vynohradiv and Uzhorod. This area is the Transcarpathian Plain, the continuation of the Great Hungarian Plain, and it is the major sending area for the migration to Hungary. Ethnic Hungarians show the highest number and proportion here in Ukraine, (Molnár-Molnár 2005, Fodor 2005, Kocsis et al. 2006) and also the majority of the Ukrainian Hungarians live in this area. These four districts account for around 74%, while Transcarpathia for around 90% of the migrants coming to Hungary.

The members of the second group are from outer areas of Transcarpathia. The third group is from the inner areas of Ukraine, lying beyond the Carpathian Mountains, mainly from the metropolitan areas of Kyiv, Donetsk and Lviv. The number of migrants coming from this area was over one hundred per town in 2008. In addition to this, the major county seats – Cherkasy, Kharkiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Odesa – and bigger industrial towns – Alchevsk, Mariupol – play a major role. The small significance of these migrants is shown by the fact that none of the inner settlements or big cities sent as many migrants as Uzhhorod or e.g. Chop.

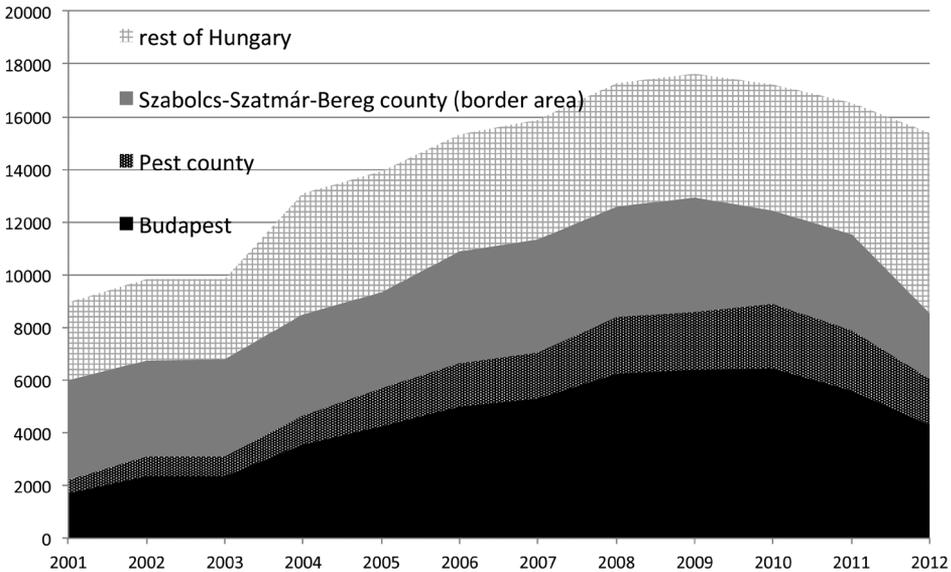


Figure 3. Number of Ukrainian residents in Hungary (2001-2012)

Budapest, Nyíregyháza, Debrecen, Kisvárdá and Miskolc are the major destinations for settlement in Hungary; namely the counties of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Pest and Hajdú-Bihar, where more than 77% of these migrants live. Those coming from Ukraine mainly prefer the agglomeration of the capital and the areas along the Ukrainian border. Ukrainian citizens also show a high concentration by place of residence. As for their regional distribution, by 2008, they were present in all settlements along the Ukrainian border and in most settlements in the agglomeration of the capital. However, they increased in number mainly in the larger host settlements. That is why the Ukrainian citizens, in spite of an increasing regional spread, showed an increase in concentration in Hungary between 2001 and 2008, as a result of an increase in the number of those living in major towns and a proportional decrease in that of those living in villages – mainly in areas along the Ukrainian border. The weight point of the Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary showed a significant westward shift, which shows a growing appreciation of the capital city region as well as a decreasing significance of the areas along the border (Rédei-Kincses 2008).

Regarding the areas of settlement, three distinct groups can be identified in Hungary, too: the counties near the Ukrainian border (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Hajdú-Bihar, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg), the core area of migration (Budapest and Pest County), and the other counties (Figure 4). In 2008, migration from the Transcarpathian Plain (with a dominantly Hungarian population) to Central Hungary played a major role in the migration between the two countries with a flow of 6,172 people accounting for 39% of all migrants, i.e. the migration showed a strong regional concentration. The Ukrainian citizens, irrespective of their original place of residence, mainly prefer Central Hungary, which is underlined by the fact that Central Hungary accounts for around half of those coming

from different areas of Ukraine. In the Hungarian counties that are near the border, those coming from the other side of the border (from the Transcarpathian Plain) account for the largest proportion. However, these border areas are less attractive for those coming from the mountainous areas of Transcarpathia. Those coming from other areas of Ukraine, as they are mainly from big cities, do not prefer the border areas and more than one third of them may not be connected to either the regions near the border or to the central region, that is why they show the most scattered – most random – spatial distribution out of these three groups. On the whole, the most intensive movement is generated by those coming from the Transcarpathian Plain, outnumbering those from the mountainous areas of Transcarpathia and from the inner areas of Ukraine.

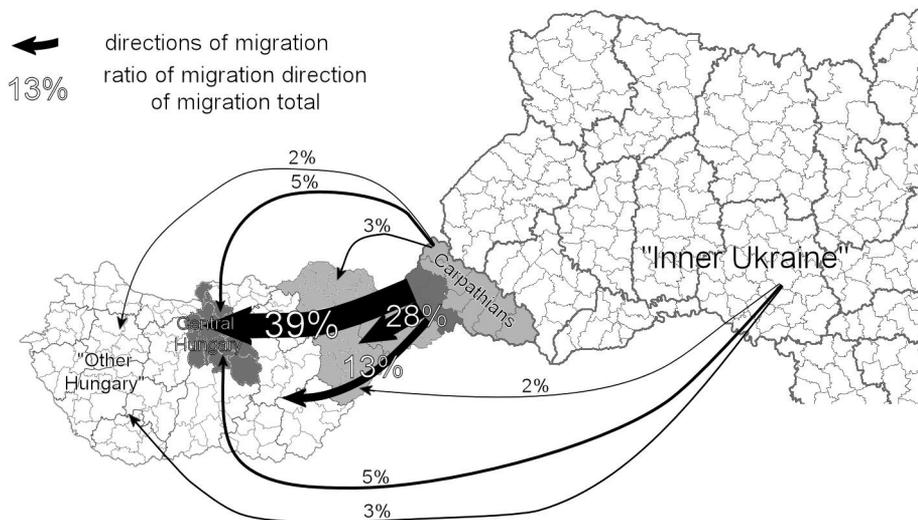


Figure 4. Main directions of the migration from the Ukraine to Hungary, 2008  
 Edited by: Dávid Karácsonyi based on OIN data

### 3.2.8 Social characteristics of migrants from Ukraine

Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary, in terms of their distribution by age group, show a significantly different regional picture for both the sending and the host side. Working age people account for the highest proportion of Ukrainian citizens living in Central Hungary and for the lowest proportion of those living in border areas, because the lack of job opportunities makes the border region less attractive for this age group.

Those aged between 19-24 and coming mainly from Transcarpathia's lowland areas account for a higher proportion in areas near the border and in Central Hungary. This group mainly pursues higher studies in Hungary. Students, by their places of residence, account for the highest proportion in the counties near the border and in Central Hungary as well, as nearly one fifth of those who come from the Transcarpathian Plain and are aged

over 18 are students. Nearly one fifth of Ukrainian citizens living in Hungary arrived to study. According to Kész's estimate (2008), nearly three quarters of the Ukrainian citizens who settled down in Northern Hungary are graduates or undergraduates studying in higher education. However, this ratio seems to be irrational if we take into account either the age distribution of the residents who came from Ukraine (10% of those aged between 19-24) and the proportion of higher education graduates (20-25%).

Educational attainment shows a stronger correlation with the original place of residence in Ukraine than with the present one. Among those from the inner areas of Ukraine – who mainly live in Budapest – university and college graduates account for the highest proportion, which results from the higher rate of urbanization of these groups. However, Fodor (2004) emphasizes the fact that in Transcarpathia the Hungarians account for a lower proportion of university and college graduates relative to the Ukrainians. Having said this, in case of migrants from Ukraine secondary school and higher education graduates account for a higher proportion than in the Hungarian resident population aged over 18 years. According to Fodor (2005), from among Transcarpathian Hungarians mainly higher education graduates, i.e. higher status individuals (engineers, physicians, lawyers) move to the mother country. However, those with primary education accounted for more than one-fifth of those who arrived in Central Hungary from Transcarpathia's lowland areas. Taking into account the distribution of those who came from Ukraine, their number is at least as high as that of migrants with higher education. In Central Hungary, slightly more than one-third of the Ukrainian citizens work in unskilled (manual) jobs or in the manufacturing and construction industries.

Concerning occupations, in the Ukrainian group as a whole, manual jobs – manufacturing, construction workers, unskilled workers, machine operators, vehicle drivers – account for the highest proportion. This category accounts for one-fourth of residents with Ukrainian citizenship. Intellectuals – in jobs that need higher qualifications, office workers, lawyers, other service activities – have the second highest proportion (23%). However, in border areas intellectuals account for the highest proportion of Ukrainian citizens in employment. Other service activities as well as agricultural and forestry jobs have the lowest proportion.

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