

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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### MAJOR FINDINGS

- Following the accession of Hungary to the European Union in 2004, at first a slight growth could be observed in the number of immigrants, then in 2008 the rise became dramatic due to the changing legal regulations. The number of immigrants rose to 35,000 that year.
- The distribution of immigrants by country of origin changed, too. The proportion of persons arriving from the neighbouring countries decreased lately, especially the share of those coming from Romania. The proportion of the latter was 50 to 57 per cent in the early 2000s that fell below 30 per cent after 2007. However, the percentage of persons coming from the EU15 and from Asia increased.
- Immigrants still belong to the younger age groups but the share of the older age groups has increased as compared to the early 1990s.
- The most preferred region is Central Hungary. 44 per cent of all immigrants arriving between 1990 and 2010 settled down in Budapest and a further 11 per cent in Pest County.
- Immigration into Hungary can be considered modest in European comparison as regards both the number and the rate of immigrants per 1000 inhabitants. In 2010, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia also preceded Hungary in this respect.
- The 'mirror' statistics of the countries of destination indicate that the number of emigrants from Hungary grew after the accession, mainly from 2007 on. The number of Hungarian citizens residing in various European countries in 2011 was about 148,000 (by nearly 60,000 more than in 2001). Two thirds of them lived in Germany (50 per cent) and Austria (15 per cent).
- The United Kingdom and Ireland became two new destinations of the migration of labour force. Between 2004 and 2010 about 74,000 Hungarian employees were registered in these two countries. However, as compared to the sending population, the share of emigrants working abroad was much higher in the other EU8 member states, with the exception of the Czech Republic and Slovenia.
- On January 1, 2011 the number of foreigners residing in Hungary was 206,909 out of whom 37 per cent were Romanian, 8 per cent each were Ukrainian and Serbian, 4 per cent were Slovak, and 10 per cent were German citizens. Only 17 per cent came from countries outside Europe, the share of China being nearly 6 per cent.
- 45 per cent of foreigners living in Hungary belongs to the age group 20–39. 41 per cent of them lives in the capital, 38 per cent in towns, and 21 per cent in villages. In Budapest, the percentage of those between 20 and 39 is higher than the average (50 per cent).
- Comparing the number of immigrants to the total number of the population (2.1 per cent), Hungary is among the last in Europe, preceding only Slovakia and Poland.

- Between 1993 and 2010 over 135,000 foreigners were granted Hungarian citizenship. 87 per cent of these new citizens came from four neighbouring countries (66 per cent from Romania). Relatively few Asians applied for and were granted citizenship. In 2010 only 3 per cent of all foreigners residing in the country received Hungarian citizenship.

as well as the harmonization of the various sources of information are, however, highly different with regard to the various groups of migrants (immigrants, emigrants, residing foreigners, foreigners receiving citizenship). Keeping this fact in mind, in the following we intend to deal with the trends of immigration and emigration in international comparison as well as with those major demographic characteristics of these migrant groups that we have satisfactory information about.

## INTRODUCTION

The number and proportion of foreigners is growing year by year both in Hungary and in the majority of the European countries. Nearly two thirds of the population growth of 1.4 million registered in the EU27 countries in 2010 (0.9 million) are the result of the positive migraton balance. In the past decades, immigration contributed to mitigating the decrease of the population due to low fertility in Hungary, too, but could not stop it altogether. However, emigration starting in the 1990s and gaining momentum after 2004 strengthened the tendency of population loss and the ageing of the population as well as diminished the share of the economically active age groups, though we have no exact data on the dimensions of the process. Consequently it cannot be stated for sure that the actual migration balance is positive as it seems to be on the basis of official registration.

The composition and territorial distribution of immigrants, i.e., foreigners residing in Hungary and of those receiving citizenship (i.e., persons no longer regarded as foreigners), as well as the characteristics of emigrants are all factors that deserve attention from the point of view of demographic processes. The reliability and exactness of the available statistical data,

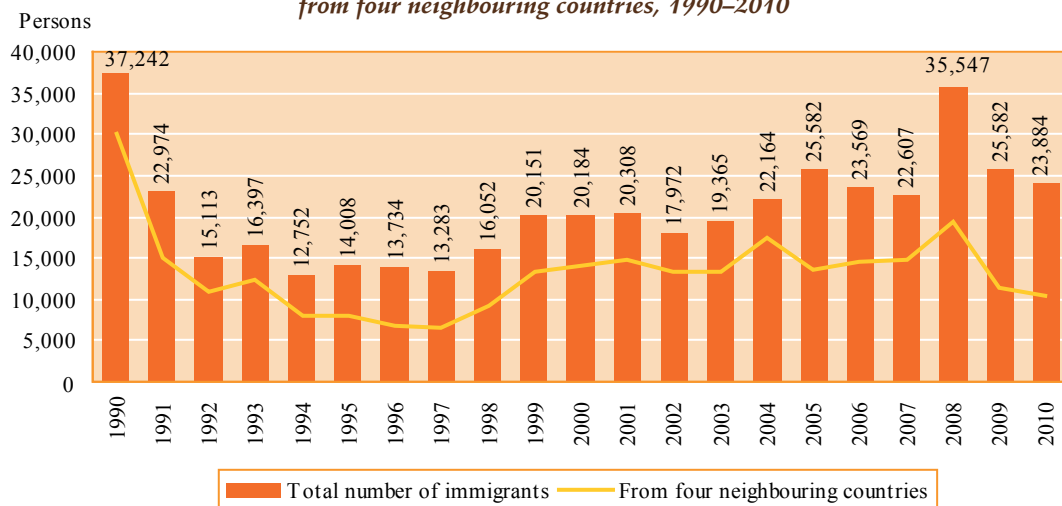
## IMMIGRANTS

In Hungary, when the great wave of immigration in the early 1990s following from the opening of the frontiers had come to an end, the number of immigrating foreigners stabilized on a lower level (at about 13,000 to 16,000 persons per year), then it slowly reached 20,000 in the years around the turn of the millennium (Fig. 1). Following years of slight fluctuation, it started to rise again in 2005, in the year after the accession of Hungary to the European Union, when the number of registered immigrants was over 25,000. This fact was due primarily to the growing number of persons coming from the 15 old member states of the EU that almost reached 8,000 as compared to the less than 2,000 immigrants per year from that region earlier.

The next significant peak came in 2008 when the number of immigrants was close to that in 1990 due to the change in the legal regulations the year before. The new law on aliens' administration coming into force on July 1, 2007 made it, namely, possible for EEC citizens<sup>1</sup> to apply for so-called registration certificates and permanent residence cards. The introduction of these relatively easily and quickly available permits granting

<sup>1</sup> Citizens of the European Economic Community including the EU member states, Switzerland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway.

**Fig. 1. Total number of immigrating foreign citizens including those coming from four neighbouring countries, 1990–2010**



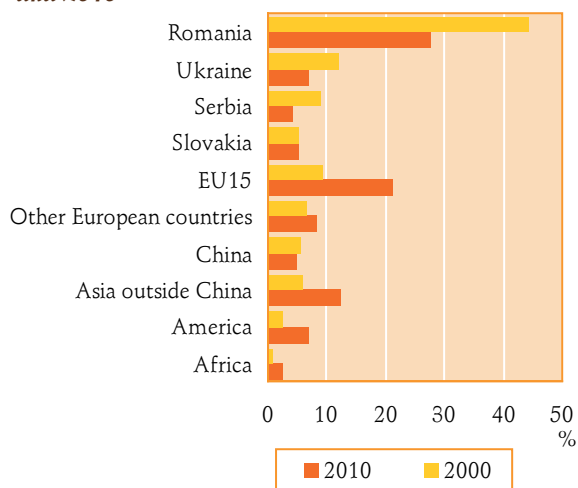
Note: The four neighbouring countries are Romania, the Ukraine, Serbia (former Yugoslavia), and Slovakia.  
Source: Demográfiai évkönyvek (Demographic yearbooks)

residence resulted in a sudden rise in the number of immigrants. Nearly 20,000 out of the 35,000 immigrants registered that year had these types of permits.

There is a change in this respect also in the countries of departure. The earlier situation that the majority of immigrants came from the surrounding countries, mostly from Romania, has recently been less typical. Whereas in the nineties two thirds of the immigrants came from the four above-mentioned neighbouring countries (46 per cent of them from Romania) and the proportion of these people even reached 70 per cent after the turn of the millennium, in 2009–10 their share fell to 44 per cent. The proportion of those arriving from Romania (50 to 57 per cent in the first years of the new millennium) fell below 30 per cent from 2007 onwards. Comparing the distribution of immigrants by the country of origin with the situation ten years earlier (Fig. 2), the decrease in the share of immigrants from the

major neighbouring countries of origin (with the exception of Slovakia) becomes obvious.

**Fig. 2. Distribution of immigrating foreign citizens into Hungary by country of origin, 2000 and 2010**



Source: Demográfiai évkönyvek (Demographic Yearbooks).

At the same time, the share of those coming from the EU15 and other European countries increased.<sup>2</sup> The greatest number of immigrants arriving from the old EU member states come from Germany. Their proportion among the immigrants reached 10 per cent in the past few years.

The other large group of immigrants comes from Asia. In the second half of the 2000s their number and share was higher than before. The majority is made up of the Chinese but their number and share was steadily falling after 2007 when nearly 2,000 persons arrived. The number of new arrivals from other continents (America and Africa) similarly increased in the past few years but they still constitute a small portion of immigrants. It is, however, noteworthy that although the majority of immigrants still come from the countries of Europe, their share has dropped lately. Whereas it was between 85 and 90 per cent after the turn of the millennium, it fell below 75 per cent after 2009.

The demographic distribution of immigrants is changing, too. The male surplus at the beginning of large-scale migration (over 60 per cent) decreased during the 90s and disappeared completely by the end of the millennium. Then it started to rise again and since 2002, it has been around 56–58 per cent each year. The distribution by sex differs from country of origin to country of origin. In 2010 the majority of immigrants from Slovakia, Poland, Russia, Norway, and Mongolia (57–62 per cent) were women, the majority of persons coming from other countries were men. The share of men was exceptionally high among those arriving from certain Asian countries (Syria, Korea, and India with 66–69 per cent), Turkey (64 per cent), Africa (61 per cent), and the EU15 (59 per cent).

As regards the distribution of immigrants by age groups, it is still the younger generations that dominate. Similarly to the 1990s, the share of persons aged 20–29 was the largest with one third in the last decade, then comes the age group 30–39 with nearly one fifth. As compared to 1990, the share of immigrants below 15 dropped, while that of older generations (mostly 50+ and 60+) increased. Whereas in 1990 only 5 per cent of all immigrants were above 50 in both sexes, in the years after the turn of the millennium 14–18 per cent of the men and 16–20 per cent of the women belonged to this age group.

With respect to the countries of origin, there were larger differences in the rate of the older generations. In 2010 8 per cent of the immigrants were above 60. While persons coming from the Asian countries represented 2 per cent and those from the four neighbouring ones 3 to 6 per cent, those coming from the EU15 represented 23 per cent of this group. The share of those above 60 (i.e., retired persons) was especially high among immigrants from Germany and the Netherlands (30 per cent). This difference indicates divergence in the motives and aims of immigration.

The territorial distribution of immigrants shows a peculiar picture. The majority chooses the central region of Hungary. On average, 44 per cent of those coming between 1990 and 2010 settled down in Budapest and another 11 per cent chose the commuter belt around it, i.e., settlements in Pest County. The proportion of immigrants with the Southern Great Plains as a destination was similarly significant (13 per cent on average), mainly in the first years of the Southern Slav war (22–28 per cent). One tenth of the immigrants of the period

<sup>2</sup> Although there was a decrease in the number and share of immigrants coming from the EU15 countries after the peak in 2005, their rate started to increase again from 2008 on. This time the Romanian citizens forming the largest immigrant group in Hungary also belonged to this category.

settled down in the Northern Great Plains, 6 per cent each in the three Transdanubian regions, and only 4 per cent in Northern Hungary.

The spatial distribution of immigrants coming from the various countries is also different (Table 1).

**Table 1. Distribution of immigrants from the major countries of origin by destination (regions and counties), 2010 (%)**

Geographical unit (region, county)	Romania	Ukraine	Germany	Serbia	Slovakia	EU15	EU27	China	Total number of immigrants
Budapest	28.6	38.3	18.6	33.8	25.7	30.7	29.8	76.4	41.5
Pest	20.8	12.4	3.7	6.4	4.4	4.6	12.6	4.6	10.0
<i>Central Hungary</i>	<i>49.4</i>	<i>50.7</i>	<i>22.3</i>	<i>40.2</i>	<i>30.1</i>	<i>35.3</i>	<i>42.4</i>	<i>81.1</i>	<i>51.5</i>
Fejér	1.7	2.7	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.6	0.7	2.2
Komárom-Esztergom	1.6	5.4	0.8	1.3	11.9	0.7	2.2	2.2	2.1
Veszprém	1.5	1.2	5.0	0.4	1.6	3.9	2.5	0.3	2.0
<i>Central Transdanubia</i>	<i>4.8</i>	<i>9.3</i>	<i>6.8</i>	<i>2.6</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>6.3</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>6.4</i>
Győr-Moson-Sopron	4.0	2.1	4.5	1.5	35.4	6.2	7.6	1.0	4.9
Vas	4.0	0.4	2.7	0.5	0.7	3.2	3.3	0.7	2.3
Zala	0.9	0.9	10.7	0.4	0.6	7.9	3.8	0.2	2.6
<i>Western Transdanubia</i>	<i>9.0</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>17.9</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>36.7</i>	<i>17.3</i>	<i>14.7</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>9.7</i>
Baranya	1.0	0.5	11.2	3.3	1.0	9.0	4.3	2.5	3.8
Somogy	1.2	4.7	14.0	1.7	1.2	10.4	4.6	0.3	3.2
Tolna	1.0	0.6	1.6	1.4	0.1	1.2	1.0	0.4	0.8
<i>Southern Transdanubia</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>20.6</i>	<i>9.9</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>7.9</i>
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	0.9	3.2	0.9	1.1	6.1	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.5
Heves	0.9	1.1	0.8	0.4	1.4	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.7
Nógrád	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.2	3.1	0.3	0.9	0.4	0.6
<i>Northern Hungary</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>2.8</i>
Hajdú-Bihar	8.6	7.4	1.8	1.0	1.5	2.3	5.5	2.8	6.3
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok	1.2	0.9	2.4	0.5	0.3	1.9	1.4	0.8	1.0
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg	5.2	12.5	0.5	0.8	1.5	0.7	3.0	1.2	2.8
<i>Northern Great Plains</i>	<i>15.1</i>	<i>20.8</i>	<i>4.7</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>9.8</i>	<i>4.8</i>	<i>10.1</i>
Bács-Kiskun	7.4	3.3	12.5	6.8	0.8	7.7	6.7	1.1	4.7
Békés	3.7	1.1	0.6	1.3	0.3	0.5	2.0	0.3	1.4
Csongrád	5.0	1.0	6.7	36.3	1.2	5.4	4.8	1.2	5.6
<i>Southern Great Plains</i>	<i>16.0</i>	<i>5.4</i>	<i>19.8</i>	<i>44.4</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>13.5</i>	<i>13.6</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>11.6</i>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	6,581	1,619	2,420	998	1,195	5,012	13,242	1,141	23,884

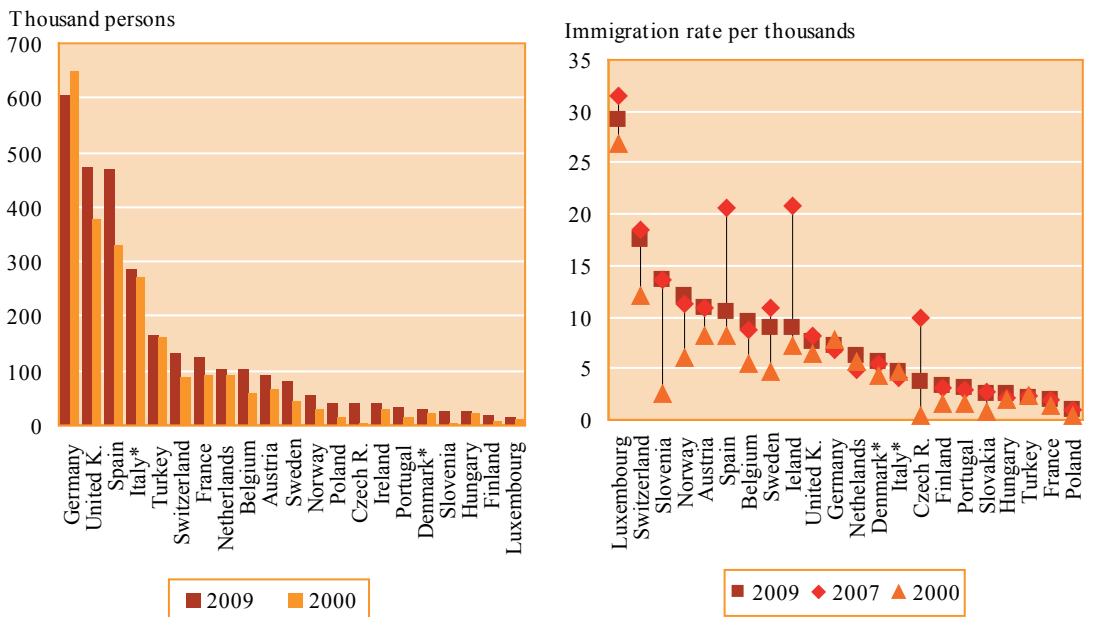
Source: Demográfiai évkönyv 2010 (Demographic yearbook 2010).

The share of Chinese coming to Central Hungary, especially to Budapest, is high above the average (81 and 76 per cent). Central Hungary is the main destination also to persons coming from the two major countries of origin, i.e., Romania and the Ukraine, but within that they also prefer Pest County to a greater degree, especially those coming from Romania. But among persons arriving from the neighbouring countries, the counties or regions along the border are also popular. This fact is the most obvious in the case of those coming from Serbia. In 2010 44 per cent of them chose the Southern Great Plains (36 per cent went to Csongrád County). As a contrast, persons coming from the EU15 (mostly those immigrating from Germany) are represented in Budapest to a much smaller degree than the average.

They seem to prefer Southern and Western Transdanubia instead.

Despite the higher number of immigrants in the past years, Hungary does not belong to the major destinations of migration. In European comparison, immigration into Hungary can be considered modest as regards both the number of immigrants and their rate per 1000 inhabitants (i.e., the crude immigration rate) (Fig. 3). Whereas in the traditional countries of destination (Germany, France, the UK, and Switzerland) and in the new destinations (Spain, Italy) the yearly average number of immigrants can be measured by hundreds of thousands, in East Central Europe it was only the Czech Republic that reached this volume in 2007 due to the continuous growth of immigration from 2002 onwards.

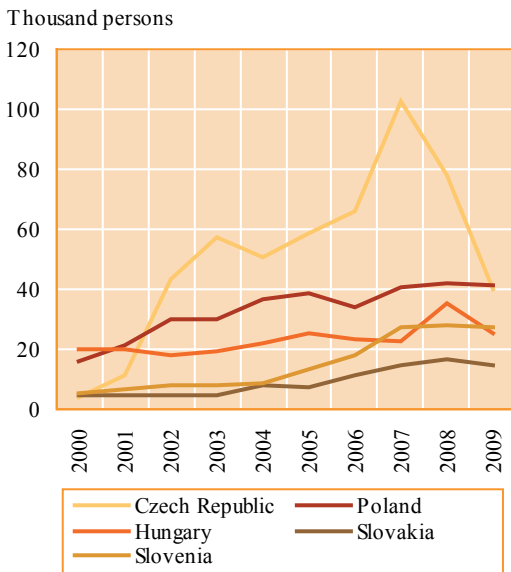
**Fig. 3. Number of immigrants and crude immigration rate in selected OECD countries, 2000, 2007, 2009**



Note: \*2008  
 Source: OECD 2011, Eurostat database 2010, author's calculations.

As regards the number of immigrants per 1000 inhabitants, Hungary is among the last in Europe. In 2009 this index for Hungary was 2.5, preceding only a few countries (Fig. 3). The similar figure for Luxemburg and Switzerland was, however, very high (29 and 18, resp.) and it was considerable also in Slovenia (14), Norway (12), Austria (11), and Spain (10.5). Some countries of destination (Spain, Ireland, and the Czech Republic) still had a very high crude immigration rate in 2007 but it dropped considerably by 2009, probably due, among others, to the negative impact of the economic crisis on the labour market beginning in 2008.

**Fig. 4. Number of immigrating foreigners in selected East Central European countries, 2000–2009**



Source: OECD 2011.

The number of immigrants choosing the East Central European countries as a destination increased following the accession to the EU in 2004 but the increase was not considerable except for the Czech Republic.

After 2007 there was a decrease even there (Fig. 4). The growth was the most modest in Hungary. Even Slovenia received immigrants in the same order of magnitude as Hungary in the past few years, though the former has a much smaller population and hardly received immigrants in the past.

Besides immigrating citizens of other countries, there are also immigrating Hungarian citizens. These people were mostly born abroad as descendents of Hungarians who had emigrated earlier. In the second half of the 1990s their number was hardly over 1000 persons a year but it rose to around 2000 after the turn of the millennium.

Immigration is considered by many as one of the factors contributing to the solution of demographic problems in Europe but also western analysts have pointed out many times that besides its positive demographic impact, the social and cultural consequences have to be taken into account as well. When coming in large numbers, immigrants can really put an end to the decrease of the population but they do not solve the problem of ageing. A country should admit immigrants belonging to young age groups in large numbers for a long time for that, which would, in turn, change the composition of the population also from other (ethnic and religious) aspects as well.

## EMIGRANTS

Some immigrating foreigners later leave the country. They either migrate further or go back to their countries of origin. Those who notify the authorities about their intention or simply do not renew their residence permits are registered as emigrants.

Emigrating foreign citizens constituted about 25–30 per cent of immigrants in the early 1990s. From 1993 on, this proportion

remained below 20 per cent, and by the turn of the millennium it decreased to 10. From the mid-2000s the number of emigrating foreigners grew steadily, and in the past few years their share reached 22 to 25 per cent of immigrants. They are generally older than immigrants, though still young, their majority belonging to the age group 30–39. The share of men is slightly higher among them (62–67 per cent) than among immigrants.

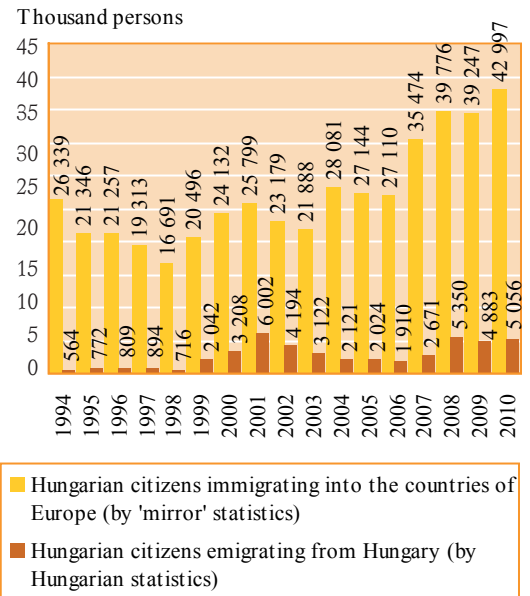
We have still more uncertain data about emigrating Hungarian citizens. Although the change of regimes brushed aside the obstacles in the path of emigration, the process became at the same time uncontrollable. Those leaving the country for a long time or for good are expected to register but nothing happens if they fail to do so. Consequently registration does not take place in most cases. So following the process of emigration or return migration of Hungarian citizens is still an unsolved problem.

The actual number of emigrating Hungarians can best be estimated on the basis of statistical data from the countries of destination. If we compare the total number of Hungarian citizens registered as immigrants in the various European countries and the official data on emigration at home we find considerable differences even in the order of magnitude (Fig. 5). In most part of the discussed period 20,000 to 28,000 Hungarian citizens were registered in other countries of Europe each year, then in 2007 their number rose to over 35,000, in 2008 to nearly 40,000, and in 2010 to 43,000.<sup>3</sup> As a contrast, Hungarian statistics on emigration registered just a few hundred emigrants each year prior to 1998, then their number grew to a few thousand, the persons emigrating temporarily included. The number of those emigrating finally from Hungary was below 1000 even in the past few years, while that of registered temporary emigrants was

between 4,000 and 5,000, which lags far behind the data of the countries of destination (the so called 'mirror' statistics).

It can be seen that emigration was slightly strengthened by the accession of Hungary to the European Union (Fig. 5) but a sudden growth took place only in 2007 and 2008, which was probably due also to the fact that in 2006 five further member states (Finland, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain), in 2007 another two (the Netherlands and Luxembourg), and in 2008 also France lifted their limitations of the labour market and new possibilities opened up before Hungarian citizens.

**Fig. 5. Number of Hungarian citizens emigrating from Hungary and immigrating into other European countries, 1994–2010**



Source: Author's data collection from the Eurostat database (2012); Demográfiai évkönyv (Demographic yearbook), 2010, for 2009–2010 supplemented with data from German and Austrian Statistical Offices.

<sup>3</sup> This is naturally not the total number of emigrating Hungarians but merely a minimum as in some countries data are not available for certain years, and emigrants may have migrated outside Europe as well.



Germany is still the primary country of destination for Hungarian emigrants in Europe where 14,000 to 25,000 Hungarian citizens were registered annually as immigrants also after the turn of the millennium. Between 2000 and 2008 two thirds of Hungarians emigrating to a European country came here on average (while in the mid-1990s this rate was still over nine tenths). Germany was followed by Austria

with a much smaller though still considerable number of emigrants (2,400 to 6,500 a year) and the UK in the past decade (Table 2). Although following the accession to the EU a greater number of Hungarian emigrants chose new countries as a destination (Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden) than before, the traditional pattern of emigration still prevails.

**Table 2. Number of Hungarian citizens immigrating into major European target countries, 2000–2010 (thousands)**

Target country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Germany	16.9	17.0	16.5	14.3	17.4	18.6	18.7	22.2	25.2	25.3	29.2
Austria	2.4	3.0	2.6	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.6	4.5	5.2	5.6	6.5
United Kingdom	2.0	3.2	1.3	2.0	4.1	1.1	–	–	3.5	–	–
Spain	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.1	1.4	1.0	0.9
The Netherlands	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.0	1.7	1.9	–
Italy	0.4	–	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	1.4	1.1	1.0	0.9
Sweden	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.8

Source: Author's data collection from the Eurostat database (2012), 2009–2010 for Germany and Austria: data from German and Austrian Statistical Offices.

In the case of Germany, the most popular country of destination for Hungarians, no data are given by Eurostat even as far back as 2009. According to the data of the German Federal Statistical Office, the steady growth in the number of immigrating Hungarian citizens beginning with 2004 did not stop after 2008, it even grew further. In 2010 their number approached 30,000, and in 2011 it was over 40,000. In Austria the number of immigrating Hungarian citizens registered in 2011 (9,600 persons) was one and a half times as high as one year earlier.

The attributes of emigrants are still less documented than their number. Though it is mostly the younger, economically active generations that plan to leave the country, the distribution of those who actually emigrate by age and sex can be learned only from

statistics in the countries of destination which let us draw the conclusion that the majority of Hungarians registered in Germany are men (around 60 per cent since 2000), while in Sweden and Spain women constituted the majority similarly with 60 per cent at the beginning of the new millennium. From 2007 on, the share of the two sexes became balanced. However, the proportion of women among Hungarians living in Italy is very high (70 to 80 per cent).

As regards distribution by age, among Hungarians living in Spain in 2009 the share of the age group 25–34 was exceptionally high (44 per cent) and that of older age groups was very low (only 5 per cent were above 55), while the share of the latter was much larger in Germany (16 per cent of all Hungarians living in the country were above 55 and less

than 30 per cent were aged 25–34). This is a good example of the difference between the new and the traditional countries of destination. In Sweden the percentage of young people is very high. In 2009, nearly

one fifth of them was below 20 (15 per cent was below 14), which indicates that a large number of Hungarians emigrating to Sweden live in families with children.

**Table 3. Number of Hungarian citizens residing in major European countries of destination, 2004–2011**

Target country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Germany	54,714	47,808	49,472	56,075	60,221	63,801	65,443	73,433
Austria	14,151	15,133	16,284	17,428	19,318	21,527	25,978	30,608
Spain	1,724	2,298	3,044	4,704	6,628	7,791	8,365	9,104
Italy	3,446	3,734	4,051	4,389	5,467	6,171	6,868	7,404
The Netherlands	1,886	2,029	2,271	2,386	2,921	4,044	5,294	6,546
Slovakia	1,539	1,526	1,760	2,106	2,702	3,623	4,602	5,341
Sweden	2,303	2,309	2,349	2,560	3,104	3,862	4,525	4,886

Source: Author's data collection from the Eurostat database (2012), 2009–2010 for Austria: data from Austrian Statistical Offices.

Summing up the annual number of Hungarian emigrants on the basis of statistical data on immigrants in the countries of destination, it can be established that between 1994 and 2008 at least 380,000 Hungarian citizens left for various European countries, nearly 230,000 of whom did so after 2001. Adding also the number of those leaving between 2009 and October, 2011 (which is at least 80,000 in the case of Germany alone), it can be estimated that at least 310,000 left the country between the last two censuses. At the same time, the natural decrease of the population between February, 2001 and October, 2011 was about 387,000, the positive balance of foreigners immigrating and emigrating was 200,000, and the number of immigrating Hungarian citizens was about 25,000 (the last two data include the estimates for 2011, too). If the population of Hungary really decreased only by 216,000 persons as shown by the preliminary data of the 2011 census, the loss

due to the emigration of Hungarian citizens was merely 74,000. On the basis of these data it can be assumed either that three quarters of emigrating Hungarians returned<sup>4</sup> to the country, which is not likely, or the migration surplus must have been much higher than what was registered, or the final census results differ from the preliminary ones.

Despite return migration and migration further, the number of Hungarian citizens in the major countries of destination has been steadily growing since the accession of Hungary to the EU (Table 3). Although in 2005 there was a decrease in the number of Hungarians registered in Germany, in early 2011 this figure was by 25,000 higher than in 2005. It seems that the economic crisis of 2008 did not break the trend.

In 2011 the number of Hungarian citizens officially registered in various European countries was over 200,000 (by 120,000 more than in 2001). Half of them lived in the two traditionally major destinations, i.e., Germany

<sup>4</sup> The statistics of the countries of destination include also „emigrating Hungarian citizens” but it cannot be ascertained whether they came back home or migrated further. At the same time, these statistics are just as uncertain as the Hungarian ones.

### THE NEW DESTINATIONS OF LABOUR-FORCE MIGRATION

Following the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, the United Kingdom and Ireland became the two major destinations for labour-force migration from the new member states as they immediately opened their labour markets for the arriving labour force. The labour statistics of these two countries reflect the dimensions of the migration of East Central European labour force. In the years after the accession the number of foreign workers coming from the EU8 increased, then after 2008, especially in Ireland, it decreased with regard to most countries of origin, probably due to the economic recession. Whereas the immigration statistics of the United Kingdom register 1,000 to 4,000 Hungarian citizens each year, 57,000 persons were registered as employees between 2004 and April 2011. In Ireland this latter figure was 23,000 till September, 2011. All in all, the emigration of Hungarian labour force to these countries of destination lagged much behind most East-Central European countries. As compared to the size of the sending population, it was only the Czech Republic and Slovenia that sent less migrant workers to the UK and Ireland than Hungary. The greatest rates could be observed among the Lithuanians, the Latvians, the Slovaks, and the Poles.

(35 per cent) and Austria (15 per cent), and more than one fifth of them in the new country of destination, the United Kingdom (Table 4). These data do not include those Hungarian emigrants who gained citizenship in one of these countries in the meantime.<sup>5</sup> The number of persons born in Hungary exceeds by far that of Hungarian citizens in most countries of destination.<sup>6</sup> For example, in Austria the number of Hungarian citizens residing in the country was 13,000 to 20,000 between 2001 and 2009, whereas the number

of those born in Hungary was between 30,000 and 36,000. In Sweden, the number of registered Hungarian citizens was just below 5,000 in 2011 but that of the persons born in Hungary was over 15,000.

**Table 4. Number and distribution of Hungarian citizens staying in the European countries, (January 1)**

Country of destination	2001		2011	
	N	%	N	%
Austria	12,729	14.0	30,608	14.5
Belgium	1,534	1.7	4,451	2.1
Bulgaria	95	0.1	138	0.1
Czech Republic	418	0.5	711	0.3
Denmark	391	0.4	1,867	0.9
Finland	654	0.7	1,315	0.6
France**	2,961	3.2	3,500	1.7
Germany	54,437	59.7	73,433	34.7
Greece	538	0.6	–	–
Iceland	49	0.1	130	0.1
Ireland	–	–	4,877	2.3
Italy	3,066	3.4	7,404	3.5
Latvia	13	0.0	31	0.0
Lichtenstein	14	0.0	28	0.0
Lithuania**	8	0.0	6	0.0
Luxembourg**	143	0.2	688	0.3
Malta**	12	0.0	107	0.1
The Netherlands	1,538	1.7	6,546	3.1
Norway	343	0.4	1,356	0.6
Poland	403	0.4	449	0.2
Portugal	158	0.2	428	0.2
Romania*	23	0.0	268	0.1
Slovakia	–	–	5,341	2.5
Slovenia	51	0.1	201	0.1
Spain	778	0.9	9,104	4.3
Sweden	2,988	3.3	4,886	2.3
Switzerland	3,559	3.9	6,556	3.1
United Kingdom	4,273	4.7	47,000	22.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>91,176</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>211,429</b>	<b>100.0</b>

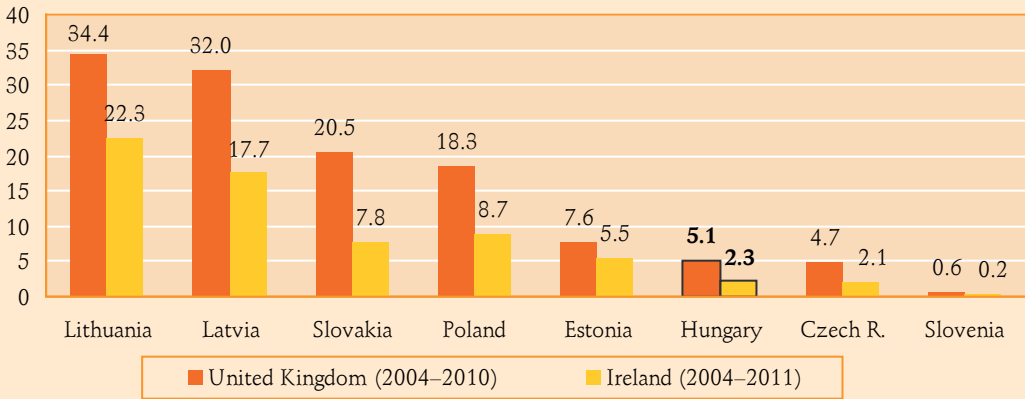
Note: \*in 2009, \*\*in 2008 (instead of 2011); –: no data. Data are completely lacking for Cyprus and Estonia, these countries were, therefore, omitted.

Source: Author's data collection from the Eurostat database (2012), Demographic yearbook 2011, for Austria: Austrian Statistical Office, for the United Kingdom: Annual Population Survey; estimation.

<sup>5</sup> At the same time, there are Hungarian citizens or Hungarian-born emigrants living in other continents as well.

<sup>6</sup> Spain is an exception where very few foreign citizens succeed in obtaining citizenship.

Rate of employees from the EU8 countries registered in the United Kingdom and Ireland as compared to the sending populations (per thousands), 2004–2010/2011



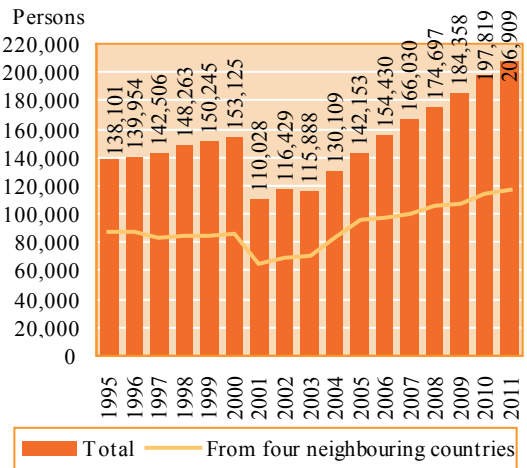
Source: Department of Social and Family Affairs (Ireland), Home Office UK Border Agency; author's calculations.

### FOREIGN CITIZENS RESIDING IN HUNGARY

Despite return migration or migrations further and naturalization, the number of foreign citizens residing in Hungary was growing already between 1995 and 2000, then the tendency continued in 2001 (following a setback due to the revision of the database) to become even more emphatic from 2004 (Fig. 6). The number of foreigners in Hungary rose from 110,000 in 2001 to about 207,000 in January, 2011. The share of those from the neighbouring countries within the total number (stock) is slightly lower than among the immigrants (flow) but it was still 56–68 per cent in the discussed period.

With regard to the foreign citizens' country of origin the picture is similar to that of the immigrants, namely, the share of the neighbouring countries (primarily Romania), Germany, and China was the greatest (Fig. 7). The category 'Other European countries' contains every old member of the European Union, as well as Poland, Russia, and Turkey, citizens of which live in Hungary in numbers over one thousand. All in all, the majority of foreigners residing in this country (82 to 89 per cent) have been Europeans since 1995.

Fig. 6. The total number of foreign citizens and foreigners from four neighbouring countries residing in Hungary, 1995–2011 (January 1)

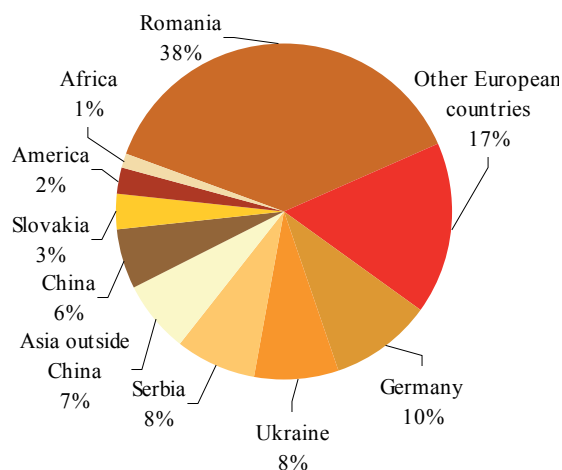


Note: The system of registration for foreign citizens in the *Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal (BÁH)* (Office of Immigration and Nationality) changed on January 1, 2000. As the processing of the data had been done by a different method from 1995 on, there are no comparable data for the earlier periods. Beginning with January 1, 2001 also a revision of data took place (expired permits of residence were struck off the register), there came about a decrease of over 40,000.

Source: Demográfiai évkönyvek (Demographic yearbooks)

The proportion of the sexes among foreign citizens is relatively balanced. Between 1995 and 2000 there was a slight male surplus (52–53 per cent), then came a slight female surplus till 2005 (51–52 per cent), and from 2006 a moderate male surplus could be observed again. In 2010 and 2011 it was 53 per cent in general and 55 per cent in Budapest. Women are in majority among immigrants from certain countries of origin like Russia (64 per cent), Poland (61 per cent), Slovakia (60 per cent), and the Ukraine (53 per cent).

**Fig. 7. Distribution of foreigners residing in Hungary on January 1, 2011 by country of citizenship**



Source: Demográfiai évkönyvek (Demographic yearbooks).

As regards the distribution by age group, foreigners show the typical distribution of migrants with the predominance of young people. On January 1, 2011 one third of foreign citizens residing in Hungary was under 30 and nearly another one quarter was aged 30–39. 45 per cent of them belonged to the age group 20–39. The proportion of young people was still greater in Budapest where nearly two thirds of them were under 40 and 50 per cent were aged 20–39, which

obviously follows from the fact that the motivation of this generation is primarily employment and education.

Comparing the distribution of immigrating foreigners by age group with that of the total population of the country one can see that the share of age groups 20–49 is higher among the foreigners in the case of both sexes, while that of persons above 50 and especially those under 20 is much more moderate than in the receiving population. Whereas in the age groups 20–24 and 25–29 the number of foreigners residing in Hungary per 1000 inhabitants was 33 in the case of women and 35 in the case of men in 2011, these numbers remained below 15 in the case of persons above 60 and under 20.

On further important characteristics of the foreign population in Hungary such as the level of education, economic activity, occupation, linguistic and cultural traits, more information will be made available by the census results. Statistics on immigration offers no or just very incomplete information in this respect.

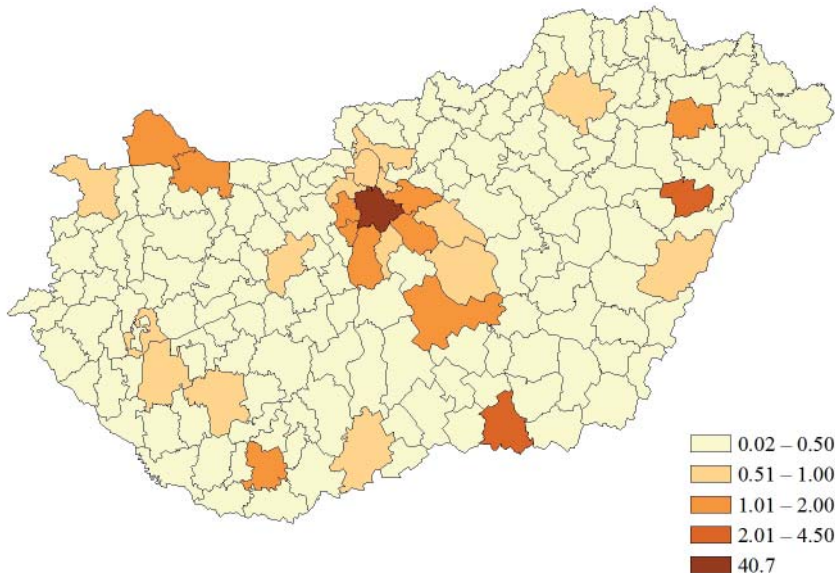
The spatial distribution of foreigners residing in Hungary is typical, just as that of immigrants in general. Most of them live in the region of Central Hungary (55 per cent), primarily in Budapest. The share of those living in the capital and in Pest County has been rising since 2001, as a result of which over half of all foreign citizens living in Hungary (52–57 per cent) can be found in this region from the mid-2000s. A great proportion lives also in the Southern and Northern Great Plains, though their rate has slightly decreased in both regions as compared to 2001. The decrease within the two regions took place mostly in those counties (Szabolcs–Szatmár–Bereg and Csongrád) where the percentage of foreign residents was the highest after Pest County in 2001. The share of foreigners in the least preferred region of Northern Hungary is

similarly falling probably due to the fact that this region is the destination more of commuting migrants (those working by the border) and not so much that of foreigners with residence permits or permanent residence permits. Besides the capital and its environs, the rate of foreigners grew in the past decade only in the region of Western Hungary (mostly in Győr–Sopron–Moson County and Zala County). Despite the above-mentioned changes, the spatial distribution of foreign citizens in Hun-

gary is relatively stable. The order of the regions by the rate of foreign residents did not change much, either.

Breaking down the data to sub-regions, it can be observed that despite their concentration in the central region, foreigners can be found in all sub-regions to a certain degree, though they reach 0.5 per cent only in 29 sub-regions and exceed 2 per cent only in two, namely, in the Szeged and in the Debrecen sub-region (Fig. 8).

**Fig. 8. Distribution of foreign citizens residing in Hungary by sub-region, January 1, 2011 (per cent) (%)**



Source: Demográfiai Évkönyv, 2010. (Demographic Yearbook 2010.).

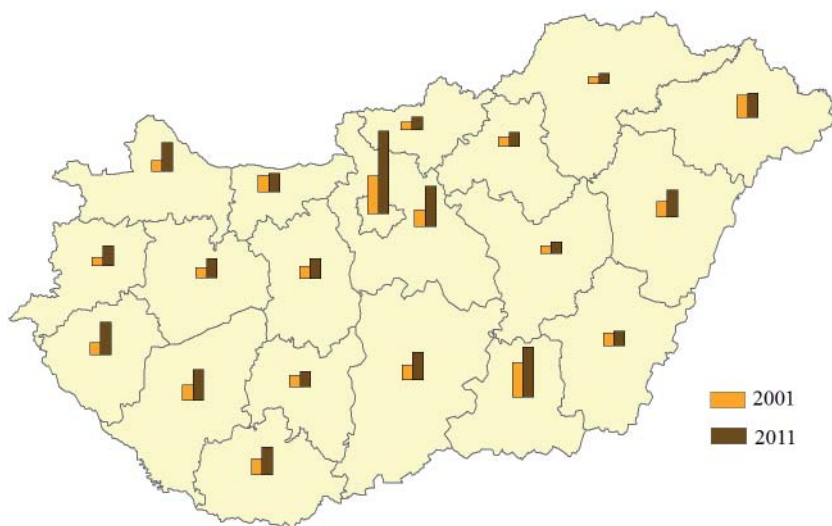
As regards the types of settlements foreigners in Hungary preferred in 2011, 41 per cent of them lived in the capital, 38 per cent lived in towns, and 21 per cent lived in villages. When the attraction of the capital grew, the percentage of the foreign population in the towns decreased but there was no major change in the share of foreigners living in villages in the past decade.

Preferences for various regions and settlement types are reflected also in the number of foreign residents per thousand inhabitants. Whereas in 2011 the annual national average (10.8 per thousand) nearly doubled by 2011 (20.7 per thousand), this growth was not uniform in all regions and counties. In Budapest and in Pest County

most preferred by foreign residents already in 2001 the growth was bigger, just like in two counties of Western Transdanubia (Zala and Győr–Sopron–Moson) (Fig. 9). As a contrast, in Szabolcs–Szatmár–Bereg, Békés, and Komárom–Esztergom the number of foreigners per thousand inhabitants

hardly increased in the past decade. This rate is still the highest in the Southern Great Plains after Central Hungary. As regards the types of settlements, the number of foreigners per thousand inhabitants in towns and villages is hardly one third of the rate for Budapest.

**Fig. 9. Number of foreign citizens residing in Hungary per thousand inhabitants by counties, January 1, 2001 and 2011**



Source: Demográfiai Évkönyv, 2010. (Demographic Yearbook 2010.).

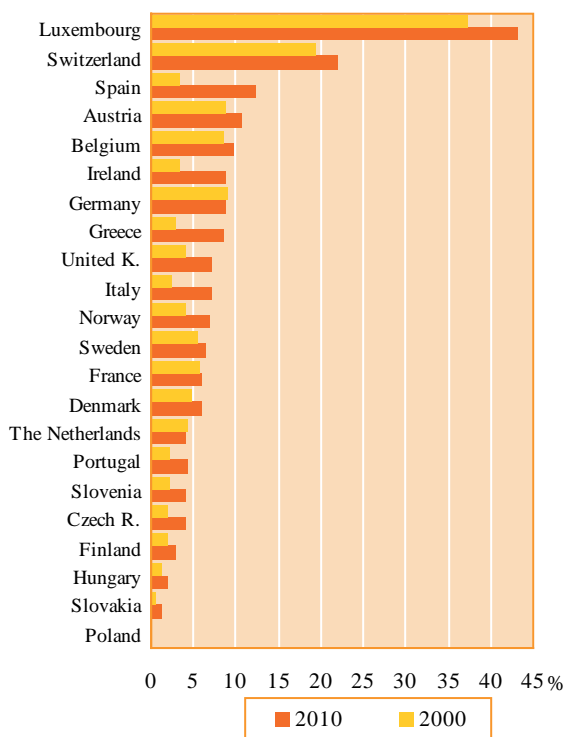
The spatial distribution of foreigners in Hungary differs also by the countries of origin. Central Hungary and mainly the capital especially attract Asian immigrants. In 2011 82 per cent of the Chinese immigrants lived in the capital and hardly 1 per cent lived in villages. It is typical also of persons coming from some neighbouring countries that they concentrate in territories near the border, whereas West European citizens are overrepresented in the Transdanubian region (e.g., 44 per cent of the Germans live in Southern and Western Transdanubia, 39 per cent of them in villages).

Despite the growth of their absolute number, the share of foreign citizens within the total population continues to be low as it rose from 1.1 per cent in 2001 only to 2.1 per cent in 2011. In this respect, Hungary lags behind most European countries (on the basis of international data for 2010), preceding only Slovakia and Poland (Fig. 10). Comparing the recent rates with those recorded a decade earlier it can be observed that with a few exceptions (Germany and the Netherlands), the rate of foreigners grew in most countries as compared to 2000. The growth was

especially high in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Ireland but was considerable also in Portugal, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia.

The share of the population born abroad is higher in most countries than that of foreign citizens.<sup>7</sup> This proportion is estimated to 4.4 per cent in Hungary at present, to be specified after the census results will be available.

**Fig. 10. The percentage of foreigners in the receiving population in selected European countries, 2000 and 2010**



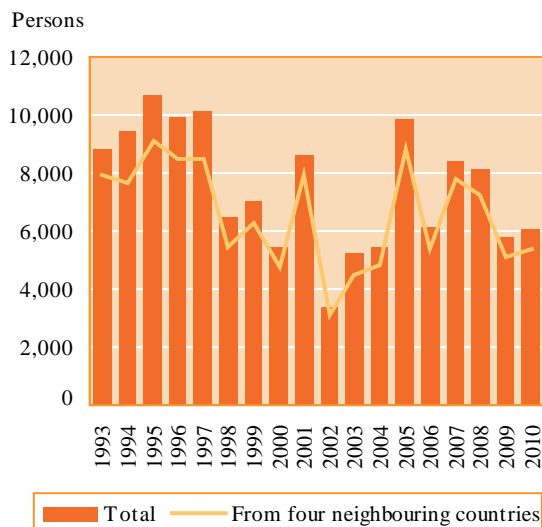
Source: Eurostat (Statistics in focus 34/2011).

## NATURALIZED FOREIGN CITIZENS

Between 1993 and 2011 over 135,000 immigrants were granted Hungarian citizenship (Fig. 11).

<sup>7</sup> As an exception, in Luxembourg the proportion of the population born abroad was 32.5 per cent in 2010, whereas that of foreign citizens was 43 per cent within the total population due to the fact that gaining citizenship is very difficult there even for children born to foreigners in the country.

**Fig. 11. Number of foreigners granted Hungarian citizenship including those from four neighbouring countries, 1993–2010**



Source: Demográfiai évkönyvek (Demographic yearbooks).

87 per cent of the new citizens came from four neighbouring countries, mostly from Romania (66 per cent). The proportion of those coming from neighbouring countries has always been higher among new Hungarian citizens than their share within immigrants in general (between 85 and 93 per cent), which follows from the fact that their Hungarian ethnicity and mother tongue made it easier for them to fulfil the requirements of naturalization. Persons from Asia constitute 1 or 2 per cent of new citizens each year, so despite their relatively high number (over 26,000 in 2011) only few of them become Hungarian citizens.

Among those receiving citizenship the share of women is slightly higher, it has been around 56 per cent since the mid-2000s. New citizens are slightly older today than in the



early 1990s. In the past few years about 30 per cent of them belonged to the age group 30–39. As compared to the beginning of the period, the share of those above 60 grew considerably until 2006 (to about 23 per cent in both sexes). However, this tendency stopped short from 2007 on, and the rate of persons 60+ among new citizens is recently around 10 per cent.

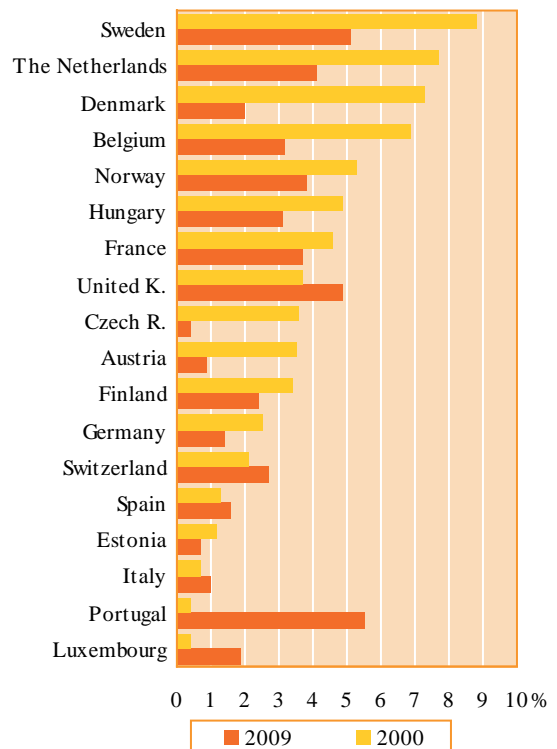
The spatial distribution of the new citizens is similar to that of foreign immigrants in general but there are some differences, too. The share of those living in Pest County is higher (20 per cent) and the proportion of those living in Budapest is lower (34.5 per cent) than that of foreign residents, just like in the Western and Southern Transdanubian regions. It seems that immigrants in the regions preferred by Western European, primarily German people apply for Hungarian citizenship to a smaller degree.

Comparing the number of foreigners with Hungarian citizenship with the total number of foreigners residing in the country we receive information about the political and legal integration of immigrants. Hungary was the sixth among the countries of Europe in this respect in 2009, though merely 3 per cent of all foreigners living in the country had been naturalized (Fig. 12). In the case of several big countries of destination (Germany, Austria, Spain, Italy, and Luxembourg) this proportion was below 2 per cent that year. However, these countries had a large number of immigrants as compared to Hungary, and these people differed a lot in language and culture from the receiving population.

The simplified naturalization process introduced in 2010 and coming into force on January 1, 2011 made it possible for people with Hungarian ancestry to gain Hungarian

citizenship even without residing in Hungary. This inevitably leads to the growth of the number of new citizens. Citizenship is no longer granted exclusively to immigrants, so the percentage of this group within the foreign population residing in the country has lost its relevance since 2011.

**Fig. 12. Percentage of naturalized immigrants in the foreign population residing in selected OECD countries, 2000 and 2009**



Source: OECD 2011.

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