INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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MAIN FINDINGS

» The volume and composition of immigration to Hungary has changed in recent years: between 2009 and 2016, the number of immigrant foreign citizens fluctuated at between 20,000 and 26,000; however, it surpassed 36,000 in 2017, with the proportion of immigrants from neighbouring countries decreasing. After 2011, the number of foreign-born immigrants with Hungarian citizenship started to increase, reaching 17,000–18,000 annually by 2014–2015, with 97% arriving from neighbouring countries.

» After joining the EU, the number of immigrants from older member states (primarily Germany) increased, and from 2006 the volume of Asian (especially Chinese) immigrants also rose. The number of African immigrants has similarly increased steadily, reaching 1,000–1,500 annually in recent years.

» In Hungary, the number and rate of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants is low, compared to traditional Western European host countries; however, several Central and Eastern European countries have an even lower ratio.

» Between 2000 and 2017, over 320,000 asylum applications were filed in Hungary, 84% of them between 2013 and 2016. Refugee, subsidiary protection or tolerated stay status was granted to fewer than 9,500 individuals. In early 2016, there were 4,400 refugees or protected individuals in Hungary.

» With the introduction of simplified naturalization, the number of foreign citizens resident in Hungary who receive Hungarian citizenship has increased; it tripled in 2011–2012, reaching a total of 18,000–20,000 annually. In 2013, the number of such cases dropped to the previous level, and decreased further after 2015.

» The number of foreign citizens resident in Hungary was 151,000 at the beginning of 2017, and almost 162,000 a year later. The share of those from neighbouring countries – which fluctuated at between 56% and 68% in the 2000s – has been below 30% since 2017.

» In 2017, 1.6% of all residents of Hungary were foreign citizens and 5.2% were foreign born; the figures for the EU-28 as a whole were 7.5% and 11%.

Monostori, J. - Őri, P. - Spéder, Zs. (eds.)(2019): *Demographic Portrait of Hungary 2018.* HDRI, Budapest: 237–271.

» The increasing rate of emigration became more moderate in 2013, stopped in 2014–2015, and declined in 2016. This decrease is also apparent in Hungarian data and mirror statistics. However, the number of Hungarians officially working in Austria has further increased.

» According to various data sources, the number of returning emigrants has also increased in recent years, although the exact volume of return migration is unknown. In 2016, there were 242,000 Hungarian citizens living in the country who had been born in Hungary but had spent at least one year abroad at some point in their lives; 130,000 had spent their time abroad after 2000.

» In early 2017, the number of Hungarian citizens resident in countries of the European Economic Area (EEA) and Switzerland exceeded 461,000 (there were 330,000 in 2014). Three-quarters were living in the three major destination countries: Germany (39%), the United Kingdom (21%) and Austria (15%).

» The number of individuals born in Hungary but residing abroad (anywhere in the world) – regardless of when they left the country – was 637,000 in 2016, which is 6.6% of the total Hungarian-born population.

» The proportion of those resident abroad – both Hungarian citizens and individuals born in Hungary – is still lower than in the case of many Central and Eastern European countries.

INTRODUCTION

International migration has generated widespread social and academic interest over the past few years, and has featured extensively in the media and both public and political discourse not only in Hungary, but across Europe and globally. In Hungary, trends in emigration have gained significance since 2011. The increasing number of people leaving the country for a longer or shorter period of time and the lack of accurate data have inspired several studies to investigate the phenomenon. Due to the wave of migrants arriving in Europe from 2015 – an especially large number of immigrants and asylum seekers – the subject of immigration has also come to the fore in Hungary. However, interest has focused not on those immigrants who live in the country legally – with a residence permit – or who have settled in Hungary, or who enjoy free movement within the EU, but rather on the possible effects of the global migration unfolding from 2015. The issues of immigration and asylum seeking have often been conflated, even though the two phenomena are dealt with according to different principles and regulations. This chapter deals with the main international migratory trends affecting Hungary – namely immigration and emigration from the turn of the millennium to 2017 – in order to reveal the main characteristics and background of these movements.

IMMIGRATION

The volume and composition of Hungarian immigration have been affected by several changes in regulations and legislation since the turn of the millennium and since the country's accession to the EU in 2004. With regard to immigration, migration statistics provide information about individuals entering the country, foreigners residing here, asylum seekers and those granted Hungarian citizenship. As in the majority of EU Member States, the figures are taken from various administrative data sources. Since 2008 (in accordance with the 862/2007 Regulation of the European Parliament and the Council) data collection has been harmonized at the EU level and is based on collective definitions and terms.[1]

In the following, we examine the changes in the number and main characteristics of immigrants, individuals acquiring Hungarian citizenship, and foreign citizens resident in the country, drawing partial international comparisons. There will be a brief overview of the number and composition (by nationality) of asylum seekers and individuals under international protection, as well as of the education and employment indicators of foreigners. For the latter, we use relevant data on immigrants/the foreign population from population censuses and the microcensus.

Immigrant foreign citizens

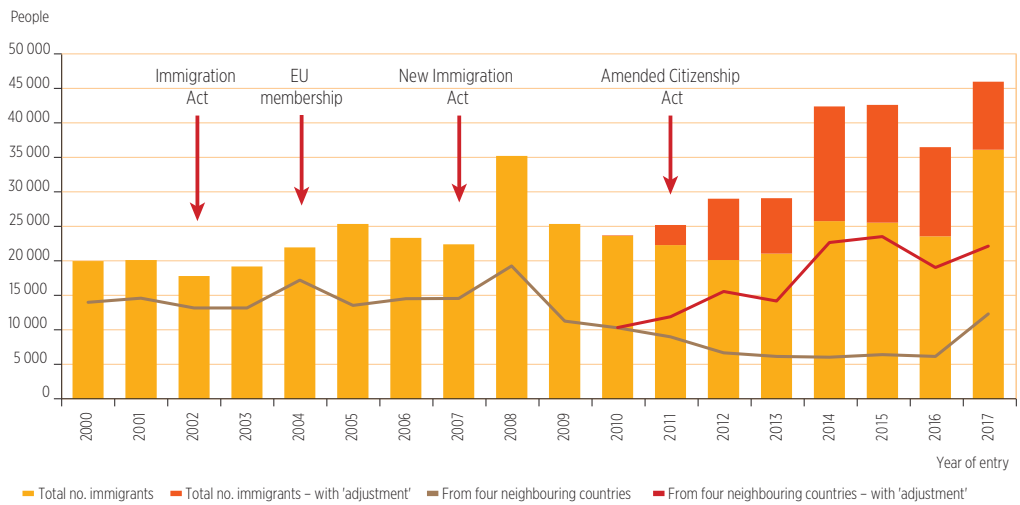
The number of *immigrant foreign citizens*[G] in Hungary was approximately 20,000 a year at the turn of the millennium. This was followed by a slight increase after the country joined the EU: the number of registered immigrants exceeded 25,000 in 2005 (*Figure 1*), with a high proportion of them arriving from the EU-15 countries (30%, as opposed to 8–9% in previous years). After a modest decline, there was a significant increase in 2008: over 35,000 immigrants were registered (a figure unprecedented since 1990). This was partly due to the new Immigration

[1] According to the UN recommendation of 1997, a (long-term) immigrant is somebody who changes his or her usual residence to the territory of a host country from an EU Member State or a third country for a period of at least 12 months.

Act, which came into force on 1 July 2007 and made it much easier for *EEA citizens*[G] (and their family members from a third country) with the right of free movement and residence to obtain long-term residence (permanent address), with only registration required.[2] In the second half of 2007, some 7,000 EEA individuals took advantage of the opportunity, and in 2008 the figure soared to 20,000, before decreasing slightly after that.[3] There was a slight decrease in the total number of immigrant foreign citizens between 2009 and 2012; however, approximately 25,000 were registered between 2014 and 2016, and over 36,000 in 2017.

Over the past decade, the composition of immigration has also changed. Since 2008, the number and share of foreign immigrants from neighbouring countries have decreased steadily, dropping significantly after 2011. Whereas in the early 2000s, 70% of immigrant foreign citizens came from four neighbouring countries, their share was only a quarter between 2014 and 2016. This is due to various reasons. On the one hand, as a consequence of Hungary's accession to the EU in 2004 and the changes to legislation in 2007, the number and proportion of immigrants from the older EU Member States (and from Asia) increased. On the other hand, the amended

Figure 1: Number of foreign citizens immigrating to Hungary and the share of those arriving from four neighbouring countries, 2000–2017



Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks.

Note: The 'adjustment' takes into account the number of Hungarian citizens arriving from the four neighbouring countries (Romania, Ukraine, Serbia and Slovakia) after the introduction of simplified naturalization.

[2] The entry and settling of individuals with the right of free movement and residence was regulated by Act 1/2007, and by Act 2/2007 in the case of citizens of a third country. The previous immigration act – passed in 2001 and coming into force in 2002 – dealt with the two categories together.

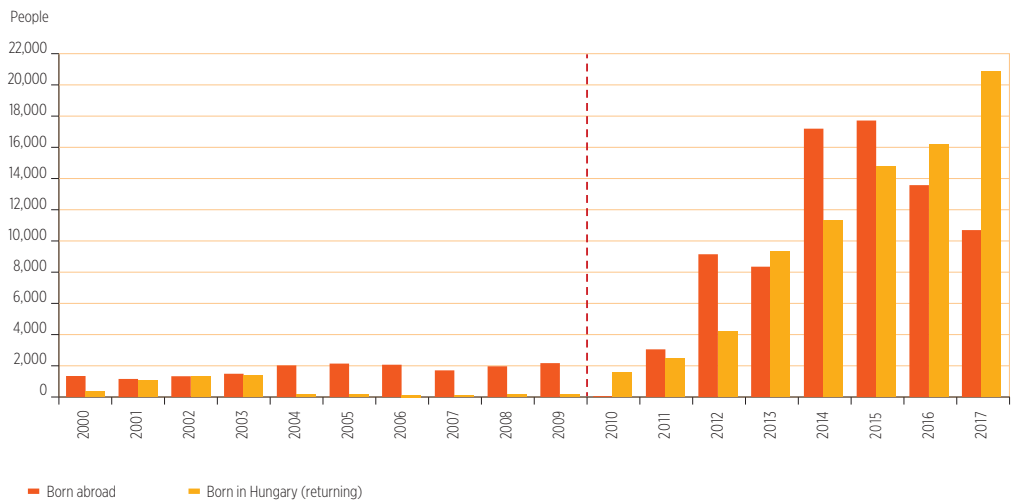
[3] There are no data available on how long EEA citizens who take up residence in Hungary actually stay in the country; however, we can assume that registering an address does not necessarily mean permanent settlement.

Citizenship Act (which came into force on 1 January 2011) meant that an increasing number of Hungarians from neighbouring countries immigrated to Hungary as Hungarian citizens[4] – that is, established permanent residence here (see more on this later). Between 2011 and 2017, about 96% of those Hungarian citizens who were born abroad and immigrated to Hungary arrived from four neighbouring countries. This can be regarded as a continuation of a decades-long migratory process (despite the changing legal environment). Consequently, the annual number of foreign immigrants is supplemented (adjusted) by a number of immigrants who were born in a neighbouring country but arrived as Hungarian citizens (the red section in the bars of *Figure 1*). Thus, the decreasing immigration trends were reversed, with an unprecedented peak in 2014–2015 (further augmented by an increasing number of foreign immigrants in 2017). We can only make assumptions about the extent to which simplified naturalization affected this increase. It cannot be discounted that in many cases the acquisition of Hungarian citizenship led to the establishment of permanent residence in Hungary.[5]

Immigrant Hungarian citizens

Besides foreign citizens, *immigrant Hungarian citizens*[G] also feature in migration statistics. We can distinguish between two categories: immigrants with Hungarian citizenship born abroad and immigrant

Figure 2: Number of Hungarian citizens immigrating to Hungary, by place of birth, 2000–2017



Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks; HCSO, STADAT tables.

Note: Data up to 2009 are based on the Personal Data and Address Register; from 2010 on the Social Security Identification Number (TAJ) register of the National Health Insurance Fund (OEP); and both since 2011.

[4] Obtained Hungarian citizenship in their homeland via simplified naturalization.

[5] As with 'immigrating' EEA citizens with a registration certificate, no data are available on the actual length of their stay in Hungary.

(that is, returning) Hungarian citizens born in Hungary.

The annual number of *foreign-born immigrant Hungarian citizens* was below 1,500 in the first half of the 2000s, increasing slightly after Hungary joined the EU: it fluctuated at around 2,000 annually from 2004 to 2009 (*Figure 2*). This group included an especially high proportion of children (80–85% were under the age of five in 2008–2009, for example), which indicates that the majority of people who moved abroad without notifying the authorities registered their foreign-born children at a Hungarian address. Due to a change in the source of data, from 2010 this type of 'immigration' no longer appears in the data; thus, the number of foreign-born immigrant Hungarian citizens fell to 60 in 2010.

Since 2011, the majority of immigrating foreign-born Hungarian citizens have been individuals who received their citizenship abroad, via the simplified naturalization process, and then subsequently established a residence in Hungary. In 2012 and 2013, there were 8,000–9,000 such people. This figure topped 17,000 a year in 2014 and 2015; it then began to decrease and by 2017 had dropped to 10,700 individuals. Some 96–98% of this group arrived from four neighbouring countries between 2011 and 2016, and 93% in 2017 (indicated in the 'adjusted' number of immigrants in *Figure 1*).

The number of *Hungarian-born immigrant Hungarian citizens* – that is, individuals returning from a stay abroad – was insignificant in the early 2000s: only in three years did the number reach even 1,000 individuals (*Figure 2*). However, this only reflects the number of officially registered returning individuals, making it difficult to evaluate the volume of the phenomenon. With freedom of movement following Hungary's accession to the EU, the number of officially returning (as well as officially leaving) individuals dropped significantly.[6] However, after 2010, with the increasing rate of emigration, the number of individuals returning also increased each year (for details, see the section 'Return migration'). At the same time, after 2010 the data were taken from the Social Security Identification Number (TAJ) register of the National Health Insurance Fund (NEAK, formerly the OEP), which is more likely to reflect the real trends. Based on this, the number of immigrating Hungarian citizens born in Hungary began to increase significantly after 2012, exceeding 20,000 in 2017.

Where do they come from?

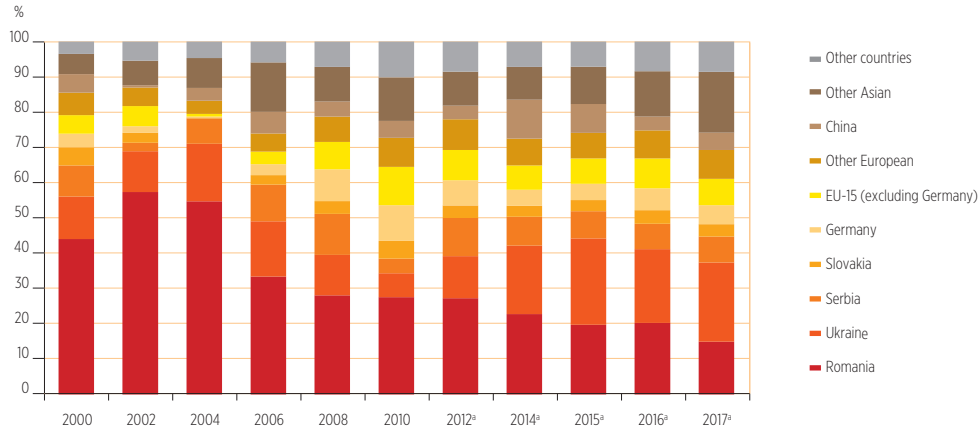
Since Hungary joined the EU, there has been an apparent diversification in terms of the composition of immigrants by country of origin. In the early 2000s, the majority of immigrants (86–87%) arrived from European countries, with 70–74% of them coming from four neighbouring countries (*Figure 3*). In 2004, this latter figure increased further (except in the case of people migrating to Hungary from Slovakia, which similarly joined the EU that year), their collective share reaching 78%. However, thereafter the proportion of those arriving from Romania suddenly fell (from 55% to 35%), continued to decrease steadily, and dropped to below 20% in 2015 (due partly to increasing emigration from Romania to Western European countries).[7]

Between 2009 and 2010 – as a consequence of scarcer employment oppor-

[6] The number of Hungarian citizens actually returning from residence abroad is probably higher, since only those who registered when they left officially notified the authorities on their return.

[7] We considered the number and composition of immigrants 'adjusted' with those arriving as Hungarian citizens. Among foreign immigrants, the share of Romanian citizens has been under 15% since 2014.

Figure 3: Distribution of foreign citizens immigrating to Hungary, by country of citizenship, 2000–2017



Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks; HCSO, STADAT tables.

[a] The distribution for the period between 2012 and 2017 refers to the above-mentioned 'adjusted' number of immigrants.

tunities in Hungary due to the economic crisis – the number and share of individuals arriving from Ukraine and Serbia decreased. In the case of the former, their numbers increased considerably following the outbreak of war in Eastern Ukraine in 2014 – a quarter of immigrants in 2015 arrived from Ukraine (although most were Hungarian citizens). Even so, the share of immigrants arriving from four neighbouring countries only ranged from 44% to 55% between 2008 and 2017 (never exceeding 30% of immigrant foreign citizens after 2013).

However, the number of immigrants arriving from farther away increased. After 2006, an increasing number came from Asia (particularly China), reaching 8,000 in 2014 and 2015 and 10,000 in 2017. Since 2013, some 24–33% of immigrant foreign citizens have originated from Asia (even though their share was only about 10% before 2006). In 2005 – and then again from 2008, after the new Immigration Act came into force – the number of individuals arriving from old EU Member States also increased (5,000–6,000 annually). Within this number, those arriving from Germany constitute the largest group: between 2005 and 2017 almost half of all those arriving from EU-15 countries were from Germany. Since 2008, the number of African immigrants has also increased steadily (1,000–1,500 in recent years), with their share rising from 1–2% to 3–4%.

All in all, Hungary receives immigrants from over a hundred countries; however, the majority of these come from a few main countries of origin. Between 2001 and 2007, 80–90% of immigrating foreign citizens came from the 10 most significant countries of origin; their share dropped to 67–71% in 2015–2017 (considering 'adjustment'), which clearly indicates the diversification of immigrants by country of origin. Although the majority of immigrants still originate from European countries, their share has fallen from 87% (in the early 2000s) to 69%. Immigrant foreign citizens can be divided into two categories: EEA citizens arriving with the intention of taking up long-term residence (permanent address) and citizens of third countries with a valid residence permit. The proportion of the latter barely reached 40% in 2010; however, in recent

years it has fluctuated at between 60% and 66% (considering the 'adjusted' number of immigrants).

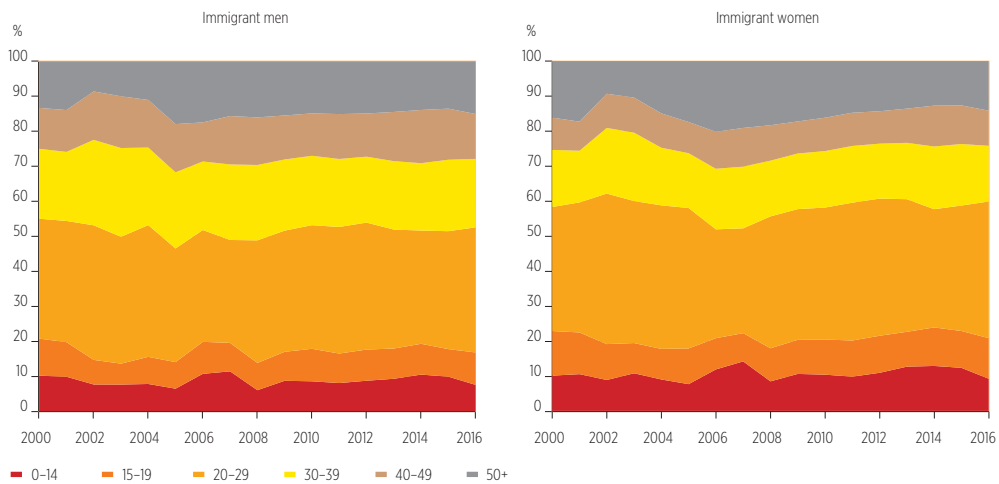
Who are these immigrants and where do they settle?

There has been no significant change in the *demographic composition* of immigrant foreign citizens arriving in Hungary in recent years. The relatively equal gender balance at the turn of the millennium was followed by a male surplus (56–59%) from 2002, and this has remained a feature of the composition of immigrants in the past few years (57% male). Since 2011, most of the immigrants arriving from neighbouring countries as Hungarian citizens have also been men (53–57%).

Immigrants still tend to be young, with over half aged 20–39. After Hungary joined the EU, an increasing number of old-age pensioner immigrants arrived from older Member States (particularly Austria, Germany and the Netherlands), but 20–29-year-olds still constitute the largest proportion (30–40%) of both sexes (*Figure 4*). The higher rate of elderly immigrants apparent during the mid-2000s (especially among women) has moderated in recent years: in 2016, 7% of immigrants (of both sexes) were aged over 59. The young age composition of immigrants from the Asian countries is particularly striking: only 3% of men and 6% of women are aged 60 or over, whereas in the case of immigrants from the EU-15 countries the figures are 18% and 17%, respectively. Immigrant Hungarian citizens arriving from neighbouring countries also tend to be older than average: the proportion of 15–24-year-olds is smaller, while the proportion of individuals 50 and over is higher than among immigrant foreign citizens.

Not only has the age composition of immigrants arriving in Hungary over recent decades tended to be more youthful than the age composition of the Hungarian population, but their *educational level* has also been higher. Since migration statistics do not contain such data, we have to rely on data from population censuses, which enable us to analyse the composition of the foreign population residing in the count-

Figure 4: Age distribution of immigrant foreign citizens, by sex, 2000–2016



Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks, 2016.

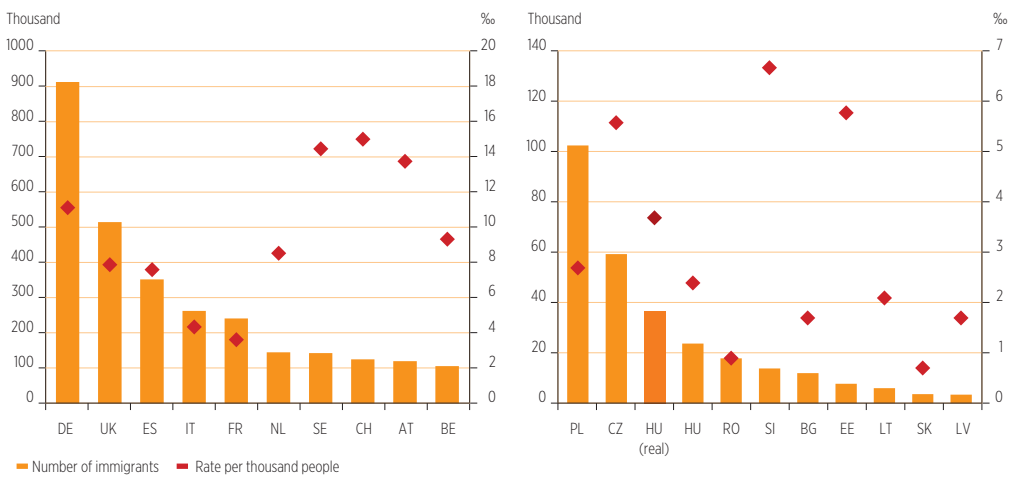
ry (see the section 'Foreign population residing in Hungary').

The *spatial distribution* of immigrant foreign citizens is still fairly centralized, and the capital has increasingly become the destination of choice in recent years: between 2000 and 2012, some 46% of immigrants settled in Budapest and a further 12% in the neighbouring Pest County; between 2013 and 2016 the figures were 50% and 7%. It is primarily economically active and highly qualified foreign citizens who tend to settle in and around the capital (Kincses 2015). The proportion of immigrants who settle in the Southern Great Plain region is also significant (7–12%), while the share of immigrants arriving in the economically disadvantaged region of Northern Hungary is insignificant. Since 2008 – due to immigration from old EU Member States – the share of those choosing the regions of Southern and Western Transdanubia has also increased, with 7–9% and 9–11% of immigrants settling in those two regions, respectively. The territorial preferences of immigrants differ considerably according to country of origin. The share of those choosing the capital is especially high (albeit decreasing) among Asian immigrants: in 2013 and 2014, some 89–91% of Chinese immigrants settled in Budapest, and in 2016 the share was 70%. The region of Central Hungary is the preferred destination for Romanian immigrants, while immigrants from other neighbouring countries tend to prefer areas along the border.

International outlook

Immigration to Hungary is still quite modest compared to the traditional Western European host countries. Not only is the number of immigrants small in a European comparison, but the *rate per 1,000 inhabitants* is also low. The *crude immigration rate*[G] in the case of immigrant foreign citizens was highest (3.5‰) in 2008, and has ranged between 2‰ and 2.6‰ since then. Considering the 'adjusted' number of immigrants (including Hungarian citizens arriving

Figure 5: Number of immigrant foreign citizens and crude immigration rate in Western European, EU-8 and EU-2 countries, 2016



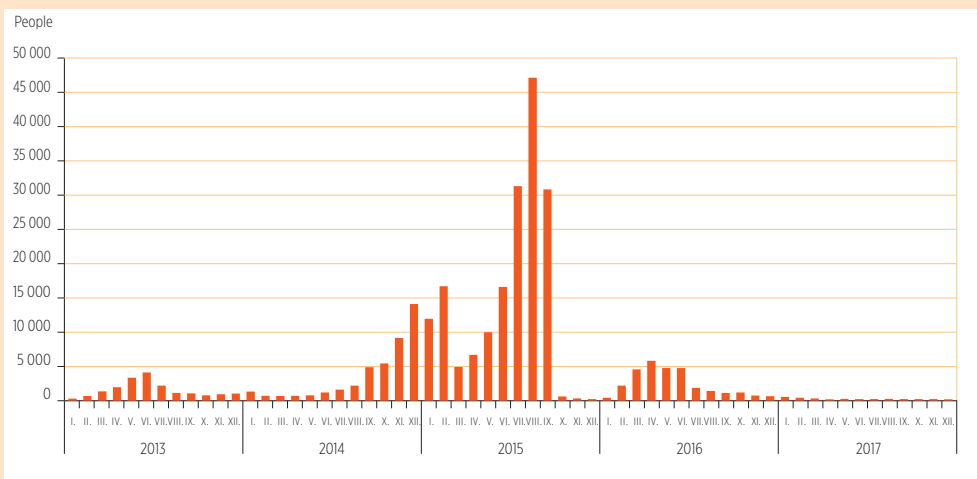
Source: Eurostat database ([migr_imm1ctz]; updated on 16 March 2018); author's calculations.
Note: The 'real' value in the case of Hungary indicates the above-mentioned 'adjusted' number of immigrants.
EU-8: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.
EU-2: Bulgaria and Romania.

ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES

The other group of foreigners arriving in the country are *asylum seekers*[G]. Since 2013, the number of asylum seekers (usually entering the country illegally) has increased steadily not only in Hungary, but across the EU, with a significant rise from late 2014 and mid-2015 onwards. As for the rate of asylum seekers in comparison to the total population of the country (4.3‰), Hungary was second (behind Sweden) among the EU-28 countries in 2014, and first (6.8‰) in 2015. In 2013, 19,000 requests for asylum were made in Hungary; in 2014 – 43,000; and in 2015 approximately 177,000. The border fence erected along the country's southern border meant that the number of asylum seekers dropped significantly after September 2015 (although applications could still be filed in the so-called transit zones). There was another increase in the number of requests from spring 2016, though this did not reach the figures of previous years. In 2016, some 29,432 asylum requests were made, but only 3,397 in 2017.

The composition of asylum seekers by country of origin has changed over the years. In the 1990s, individuals fleeing from the wars in Southern Europe arrived in large numbers; however, by the turn of the millennium, people from non-European countries were also turning up.[8] By the early 2000s, the majority of asylum seekers were Afghan, Iraqi and Bangladeshi citizens. In 2008–2009, the largest group came from Kosovo; then between 2010 and 2012 from Afghanistan. In 2013, a third of asylum applications were made by Kosovan citizens; a significant proportion was also made by Pakistanis (16%), Afghans (12%) and Algerians (6%), and several hundred came from people arriving from certain African countries (Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, Somalia). While

Figure B1: Asylum applications in Hungary, 2013–2017



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_asyappctzm]; updated on 21 February 2018).

[8] Hungary ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention of the UN in 1989, making a geographical reservation with regard to refugees from non-European territories. The reservation was maintained until 1997.

Kosovans left their homeland primarily because of an uncertain livelihood and high unemployment, it was poor public order and the unsafe political situation that influenced those people arriving from other countries of origin. Syrians fleeing the civil war first appeared in large numbers in 2014 (almost 7,000 individuals), and their number reached almost 65,000 in 2015. At this time, 37% of asylum seekers were Syrian, 26% Afghan, 14% Kosovan and 9% Pakistani citizens. In 2016, the majority of applicants were once again Afghans (38%), followed by Syrians (17%), Pakistanis (13%) and Iraqis (12%).

Between 2000 and 2017, a total of over 320,000 asylum applications were made in Hungary (84% between 2013 and 2016). However, protection was only granted to a small fraction of asylum seekers – fewer than 9,500 individuals: 2,570 individuals received *refugee*[G] status, 2,941 received *subsidiary protection status*[G] and 3,916 acquired *tolerated stay status*[G]. Despite the increasing number of applicants between 2013 and 2016, only between 400 and 500 individuals were granted some form of international protection (primarily Syrian, Afghan and Somali citizens). The majority of applicants left the country for Western European destinations before the official procedure was completed. In 2017, 1,291 individuals received some form of protection – primarily subsidiary protection status (86%): 45% were Afghan, 30% Syrian and 15% Iraqi.

A comparison with the rest of Europe reveals that the proportion of applications where a final decision is reached (i.e. the applicant is available in the later stages of the process) is lowest in Hungary (HCSO 2016). However, the proportion of positive decisions is especially low: whereas in 2016 some 69–72% of applications assessed in Germany, Sweden and Austria, 39% in Italy and 33% in France had a positive outcome, the figure was only 8% in Hungary. On 1 January 2016, there were 4,400 people in Hungary with refugee or subsidiary protection status – 0.04% of the total population; across the EU, the figure was 408,000 (0.08% of the population) (HCSO 2016).

from neighbouring countries), the ratio exceeded 4‰ in 2014 and 2015, and was 3.7‰ in 2016. However, the 'adjusted' indicator is still low in comparison to traditional host countries. The crude immigration rate in Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and Germany exceeded 11‰ in 2016, and the figure was 7‰ in the case of Belgium, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Spain (*Figure 5*). Although Italy and France also received a significant number of immigrants, due to their sizeable population the ratio was relatively low. However, in Luxembourg, despite a similar number of immigrants arriving in that country as in Hungary, the indicator was extremely high (37‰), due to Luxembourg's small population.

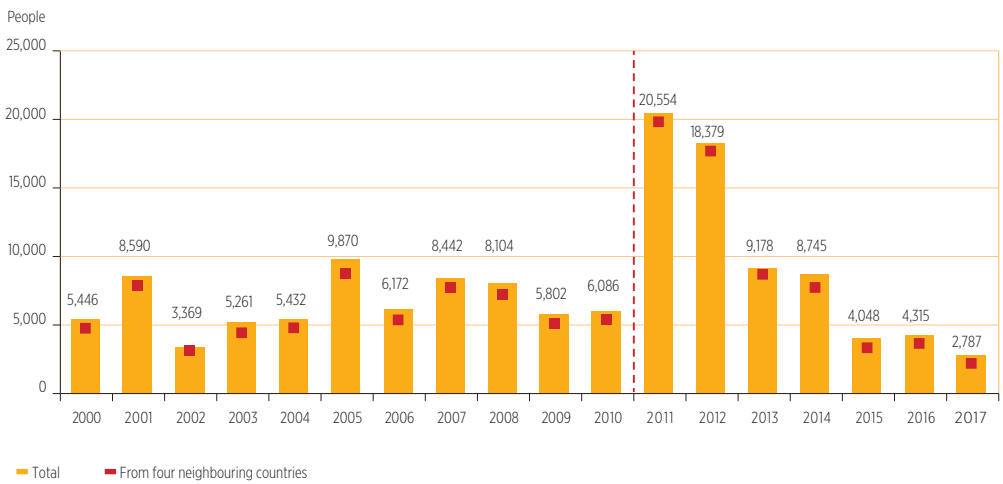
In the majority of Central and Eastern European countries – with the exception of Poland and the Czech Republic – the number of immigrants in 2016 was lower than in Hungary; and apart from in those two countries, only in Slovenia and Estonia (which have smaller populations) was the crude immigration rate higher than in Hungary (*Figure 5*). If immigrant Hungarian citizens from neighbouring countries are taken into account, Hungary's immigration rate even exceeds that of Poland.

Foreigners acquiring Hungarian citizenship

Between 1993 (when the Citizenship Act came into force) and the end of 2017, over 203,000 immigrants acquired Hungarian citizenship – a third of them after 2011. In the 2000s, the number of naturalized individuals varied between 5,000 and 8,000 annually (fewer in 2002, but more in 2005), with approximately 88–92% arriving from four neighbouring countries. The amended Citizenship Act, which came into force on 1 January 2011, introduced *simplified naturalization,* which made it possible for ethnic Hungarians with foreign citizenship residing in Hungary to apply for Hungarian citizenship, regardless of when they arrived in the country.[9] As a consequence, naturalizations among immigrants already living in Hungary rose significantly in 2011 and 2012 (Figure 6), and the share of people from neighbouring countries among them reached 97%.

After 2013, the number of naturalizations dropped to previous levels (presumably the majority of those entitled to citizenship through the simplified procedure had already applied), and decreased further in 2015 and 2017. The share of individuals from neighbouring countries among those naturalized was 83–85% after 2014 and 78% in 2017. This is primarily due to the fact that after 2012, fewer individuals arrived from neighbouring countries as foreign citizens. Although the number of naturalized individuals from non-neighbouring countries increased in 2014 (when it was made even simpler for the spouse and children of Hungarian nationals to acquire citizenship), the annual number was still below 1,000.

Figure 6: Number of foreign citizens naturalized in Hungary and individuals arriving from four neighbouring countries, 2000–2017



Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks; HCSO, STADAT tables.

[9] At the same time, simplified naturalization also allows ethnic Hungarians (those with Hungarian ancestry) without (permanent) residence (i.e. an address) in Hungary to acquire Hungarian citizenship. In December 2017, the number of naturalized Hungarians living outside Hungary reached a million.

Relatively few immigrants from non-European countries have been granted citizenship: on average, under 200 annually before 2013, and approximately 400–500 between 2014 and 2017. Within this group, the share of Africans increased after 2014. Between 1993 and 2017, only 5,700 immigrants from non-European countries acquired Hungarian citizenship.

Among *persons naturalized in Hungary*[G] – as opposed to immigrants – the proportion of women was slightly higher (approximately 55%) than that of men in the 2000s, but began to decrease after 2010, and from 2013 onwards only reached 47–49%. The age composition of naturalized individuals is younger than the age profile of the Hungarian population: after 2011, 58% of women and 60% of men were aged 25–49. Although the proportion of those aged over 60 was around 20% between 2002 and 2006, since 2008 the figure has been only about 10%; meanwhile almost a quarter of the total population belongs to this age group. The younger age composition means that the share of unmarried people is higher; and the proportion of those with a degree is much higher than in the total population. Among women aged 18 or above and naturalized between 2011 and 2015, 51.5% had secondary education and 23% held a degree or diploma; among men, the figures were 55.5% and 19%, respectively (HCSO 2017).

A comparison with the rest of Europe reveals that the number of naturalized individuals even in 2011–2012 was not significant in Hungary; however, the *naturalization rate*[G] puts the country in first place. That said, while over 80% of naturalized individuals across the EU are citizens of a third (non-European) country, their proportion in Hungary after 2007 (following Romania's EU accession) was barely 20–30%. Although the conditions of naturalization in Hungary can be considered strict, the use of so-called 'right of blood' (taking Hungarian ancestry into consideration) created simpler conditions (shorter residence, for example) for a large number of immigrants even before the introduction of simplified naturalization in 2011.

Foreign population residing in Hungary

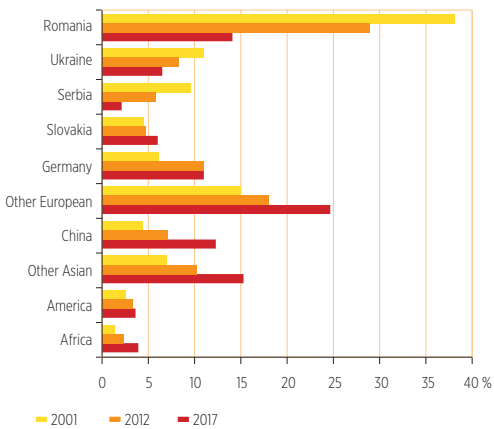
The number of *foreign citizens residing in Hungary*[G] was just over 151,000 on 1 January 2017, and almost 162,000 in 2018. This is an increase of 47% compared to the 110,000 in 2001. However, an analysis of trends reveals that between 2001 and 2011 there was a constant increase, followed by a sudden decrease in 2012 (*Figure 7*). The period between 2001 and 2011 shows the estimated number of foreigners residing in the country, based on their immigration and emigration, together with the number of naturalizations. However, the number of *emigrant foreign citizens*[G] *i*s underestimated in the statistics, and therefore the data for 2012 have been adjusted according to the population census conducted in October 2011. The high number of naturalizations in 2011 also contributed to the decrease.

The number of foreign citizens residing in Hungary stagnated after 2012, and increased only moderately in 2016 and 2018. However, their composition by country of origin changed considerably (*Figure 8*). The proportion of individuals arriving from four neighbouring countries – which ranged from 56% to 68% during the 2000s, and was still 48% in 2012 – did not even reach 30% after 2017. However, the number (and the share) of German and Chinese citizens resident in the country rose significantly: whereas in 2012, approximately 10,000 Chinese citizens were resident in Hungary, by 2016 the

Figure 7: Number of foreign citizens residing in Hungary and individuals arriving from four neighbouring countries, 2001–2018 (1 January)

Source: HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks; HCSO, STADAT tables.
Note: From 2012, data also include the number of refugees and persons with subsidiary protection status. Data for 2012 have been adjusted according to the 2011 population census.

Figure 8: Distribution of foreign citizens residing in Hungary, by country and continent of origin, 2001, 2012, 2018 (1 January)

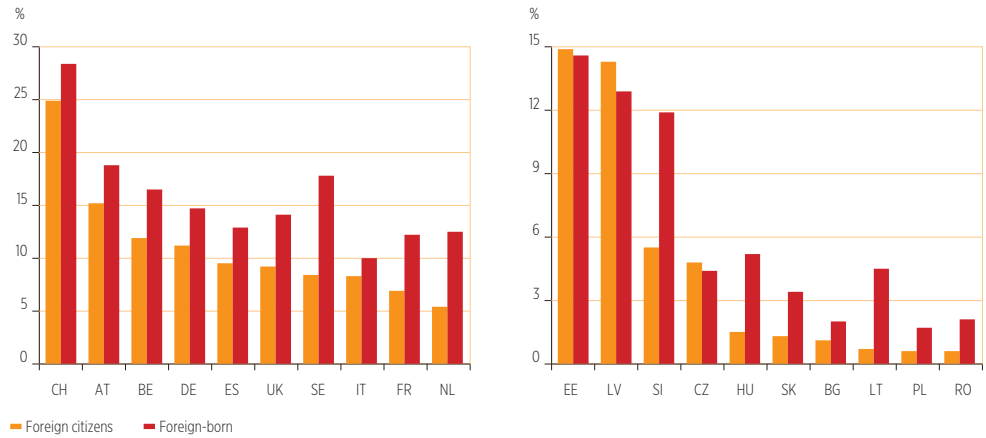


Source: 2001: HCSO, 2001 Population Census; 2012 and 2018: HCSO, STADAT tables.

figure was almost 20,000. Meanwhile, the number of German citizens (approximately 7,000 before 2006) rose to around 19,000 after 2014. The number of people from other Asian countries and old EU Member States has also increased – though to a lesser degree – in recent years. The number of Africans has doubled since 2012 (exceeding 6,300 individuals), although their share is still low (4%). The proportion of European citizens among foreigners resident in Hungary dropped from 85% in 2001 to 64% in 2018.

Half of all foreign citizens residing in Hungary on 1 January 2018 lived in the capital; 33% in other towns; and 17% in villages. Some 56% were men, and the most significant age group was 20–39 (45% in the case of both sexes).

Figure 9: Proportion of foreign citizens and foreign-born population in Western European, EU-8 and EU-2 countries, 2017



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_pop1ctz], [migr_pop3ctb]; updated on 12 April 2018).
Notes: EU-8: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.
EU-2: Bulgaria and Romania.

Between 2012 and 2018, the proportion of foreign citizens within the total population ranged from 1.4% to 1.7%. However, the share of the *foreign-born population* had increased from 3.8% at the time of the 2011 population census to 5.2% by 2017, according to Eurostat statistics. However, the 2016 microcensus still recorded 3.8% of foreign-born individuals among the population living in private households, with 65% of them (also) holding Hungarian citizenship.[10] The share of individuals from neighbouring countries is more significant in the foreign-born population (72%) than among foreign citizens (28%).

A comparison with the rest of Europe shows that the *proportion of foreign citizens within the total population* is low in Hungary (*Figure 9*). In 2017, 7.5% of the EU-28 population were foreign citizens in their country of residence (4.2% – citizens of a non-EU country; 3.2% – citizens of another EU Member State) (Eurostat 2018). However, whereas in most Member States the majority of foreign citizens come from a third country, in Hungary only 44% fall into this category.

The *proportion of foreign-born population* is also significantly higher in Western European countries (Figure 9): whereas in 2017, 11% of the EU-28 population was foreign born (7.2% born outside the EU; 3.8% born in another Member State), this applied to only 5.2% of the Hungarian population. Among the EU-8 countries only a few Soviet and Yugoslav successor states – Estonia, Latvia and Slovenia – have a foreign-born population in excess of 10%. Whereas in most EU Member States (with the exceptions of Ireland, Cyprus, Luxembourg and Slovakia) the majority of foreign-born individuals were born outside the EU, this figure is 37% in the case of Hungary (Eurostat 2018).

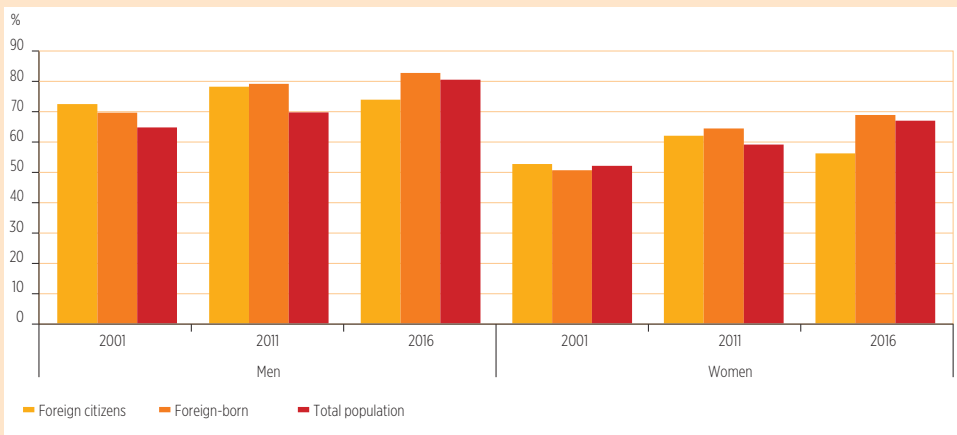
[10] However, 7% of foreign citizens do not appear in this population, since they were born in Hungary.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN POPULATION

The educational level and labour market status of immigrants are important indicators regarding their integration; however, only population censuses and the microcensus can provide relevant data. According to the 2001 and 2011 population censuses and the 2016 microcensus, both foreign citizens residing in Hungary and the foreign-born population are better educated than the total population: they have a higher rate of individuals with secondary education and a tertiary degree/diploma. This is partly due to their younger age profile, but also to the selective nature of immigration. Beside their higher educational level, the ethnic composition of immigrants (i.e. the high proportion of ethnic Hungarians) also has a positive effect on their overall successful integration into the labour market. However, whereas in previous years the employment rate of both foreign citizens and the foreign-born population of active age was higher than in the total population, in 2016 the employment rate among foreign citizens (that is, immigrants arriving later) was somewhat lower.

The socio-demographic composition of immigrants resident in Hungary by country of origin shows a rather heterogeneous picture, with further significant differences in their labour market status (Gödri 2017). Among certain groups (Vietnamese, Chinese, Turks), the proportion of the self-employed and entrepreneurs is especially high. Furthermore, there are significant gender differences: in certain groups, immigrant women have a less favourable labour market status not only than Hungarian-born women, but also than men from the same country of origin; this might indicate particular cultural patterns and labour market strategies. This also suggests that in certain groups, cultural and social norms, along with traditional gender roles, limit women's labour market opportunities and their strategies (Gödri 2017).

Figure B2: Employment rate of foreign citizens and foreign-born population aged 25–64, 2001, 2011, 2016



Source: HCSO, 2001 and 2011 Population Census; HCSO, 2016 microcensus.

EMIGRATION OF HUNGARIAN CITIZENS

Measuring the volume of emigration – that is, recording people moving abroad for a longer or shorter period – is a serious challenge for every country of origin. Only individuals who officially declare their departure are included in official national emigration statistics; however, only a small proportion of those who move abroad notify the authorities.[11] Population surveys or censuses in the countries of origin cannot reach individuals who move abroad with their entire household; and therefore, analysis of the 'missing population' is only possible if at least one family member remains in the country.[12] Mirror statistics – the immigration and employment statistics of host countries – give a more accurate picture of the volume of emigration and the size of the population living and/or working abroad than do Hungarian data sources. All countries register those individuals who arrive with the intention of remaining for a lengthy period rather more accurately than they record those who leave the country. Furthermore, mirror statistics also include individuals residing abroad with their entire household. However, only individuals who officially register and who intend to stay in the host country for at least a year are included in these statistics as immigrants. The free movement of labour within the EU has led to the pluralization of migration forms; consequently, migration today primarily includes such temporary or commuting movements that often remain 'invisible' not only to the statistics of the country of origin, but also to those of the host country. People tend to be registered if they have legal employment and thus feature in the employment statistics.

The various data sources include different – partly overlapping – groups of emigrants and individuals working abroad. In the following, we present the changes since the turn of the millennium in emigration and return migration trends, based on several data sources (various mirror statistics, Hungarian administrative registers and population surveys), and give an overview of the size and composition of the Hungarian population currently residing abroad.

Changes in emigration trends

There have been major changes in Hungarian emigration trends over the past decade. Both the mirror statistics of host countries and Hungarian labour force surveys show that the number of Hungarians working abroad or emigrating began to increase after 2007: in the early years of the millennium, approximately 22,000–25,000 immigrating Hungarian citizens were registered each year in European host countries (a figure that did not rise significantly after Hungary's accession to the EU), but by 2010 this figure had doubled. After 2011 – with Germany and Austria lifting their restrictions on their labour markets – the process became even more intensive (Hárs 2012; Gödri et al. 2014; Gödri 2015); and within a short period, the increase had reached almost the level of Poland, a country with a significant emigration rate (Hárs 2016). The increasing rate of emigration can partly be explained by the negative economic and labour mar-

[11] Since 1 January 2013, only permanent settlement abroad must be registered at the district office or consulate (previously this applied to even temporary stays abroad of longer than three months). The establishment or expiry of foreign insurance security status must still be reported to the social insurance services within 15 days.

[12] However, if population surveys are conducted on a fairly large sample, it is possible to estimate the size of the population with a Hungarian address, but actually residing abroad (see Kapitány and Rohr 2014).

ket tendencies in Hungary (which worsened even further as a consequence of the 2008 economic crisis), but the increasing demand for labour in major Western European host countries also contributed to the exodus of the work force.

Data from Eurostat – which are based on the harmonized immigration data from EEA countries and Switzerland – clearly show the changes in emigration trends (*Figure 10*), although they underestimate the annual number of Hungarian emigrants. The reasons for this underestimate are twofold: on the one hand, Hungarian citizens may have emigrated to non-European countries (although with ever better migration opportunities within the EU, this probably became less significant); on the other hand, the mirror statistics for several European countries are incomplete. In the case of Germany and Austria (the two traditional destinations), the missing data are supplemented with those countries' own immigration data.[13] However, data for the United Kingdom (despite having become an ever more important destination since 2004) have not been included in Eurostat statistics since 2006, even though between 2006 and 2016 an average of 18,000 Hungarian citizens a year received a National Insurance number (22,000–26,000 between 2012 and 2015). Although these individuals cannot be considered immigrants, according to the definition of the UN (since their actual or intended length of stay is unknown), if we add their data to the incomplete Eurostat data, it is clear that between 2012 and 2015 at least 100,000 people left Hungary annually for a European destination country.

According to mirror statistics, the rising rate of emigration moderated in 2013 and stagnated in 2014–2015. By 2016, a decrease could be detected, based on both the supplemented Eurostat data and the applications for a UK National Insurance number. It is too early to say whether this is the first sign of a decreasing trend. Though significantly less than the number shown in mirror statistics, the number of *emigrant Hungarian citizens*[G] included in official national statistics (which contain estimates based on the Social Security Identification Number (TAJ) register of the National Health Insurance Fund from 2010 onwards) also indicates a rising trend from 2011, moderating in more recent years (*Figure 10*).[14]

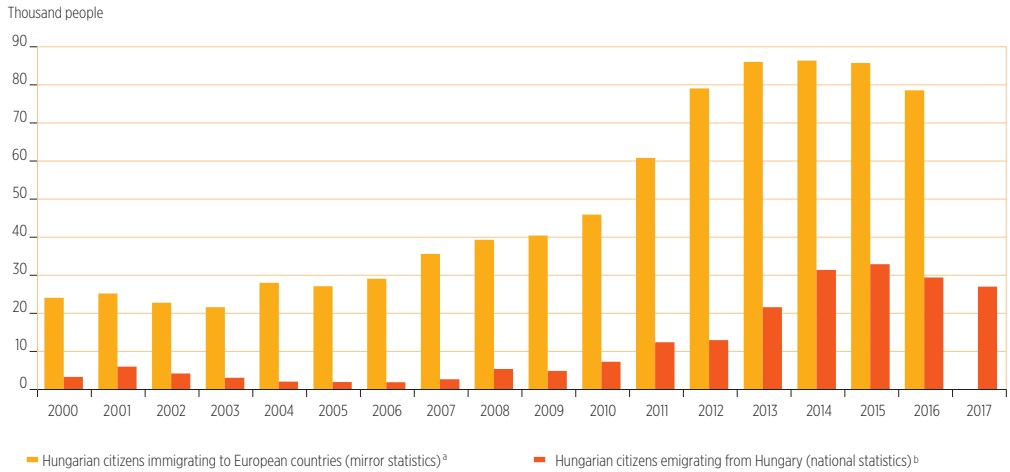
The other group of individuals moving abroad appears in the Hungarian Labour Force Survey (LFS). This records individuals aged 15–74 who belong to a household in Hungary, but who work abroad (the information is provided by the Hungarian household), and is thus more suited to discerning trends in temporary or commuting migratory movements than in long-term migration. According to these data, the trends in employment abroad show a similar pattern to emigration trends (*Figure 11*). The number of individuals working abroad rose from a few thousand before the turn of the millennium to an average of 20,000 annually by 2004. It then began to increase following the 2008 crisis (Lakatos 2015), and further intensified when Germany and Austria fully opened up their labour markets in 2011. Whereas in 2010 approximately 50,000 individuals were registered as working abroad (but who were members of a Hungarian household), in 2016 the figure was over 116,000. This increasing trend halted in 2017, and there has been a decrease in the number of individuals working abroad.

[13] However, these do not comply with the aforementioned criterion of one year's residence (in Austria immigrants are registered in case of a stay longer than three months, while in Germany it varies depending on the province).

[14] Presumably the number of individuals who register on leaving the country increased due to the possible sanctions introduced by the National Tax and Customs Administration (NAV).

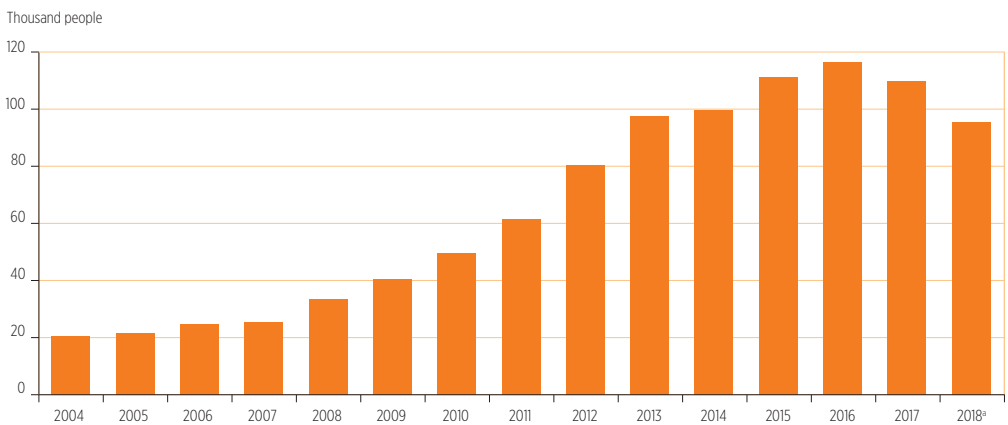
According to data from labour force surveys between 2006 and 2016, the share of individuals who are members of a Hungarian household but work abroad is primarily significant in the regions of Southern and Western Transdanubia, with short-term movements in the region of Northern Hungary (Hárs and Simon 2017).

Figure 10: Number of Hungarian citizens emigrating from Hungary and immigrating to other European countries, 2000–2017



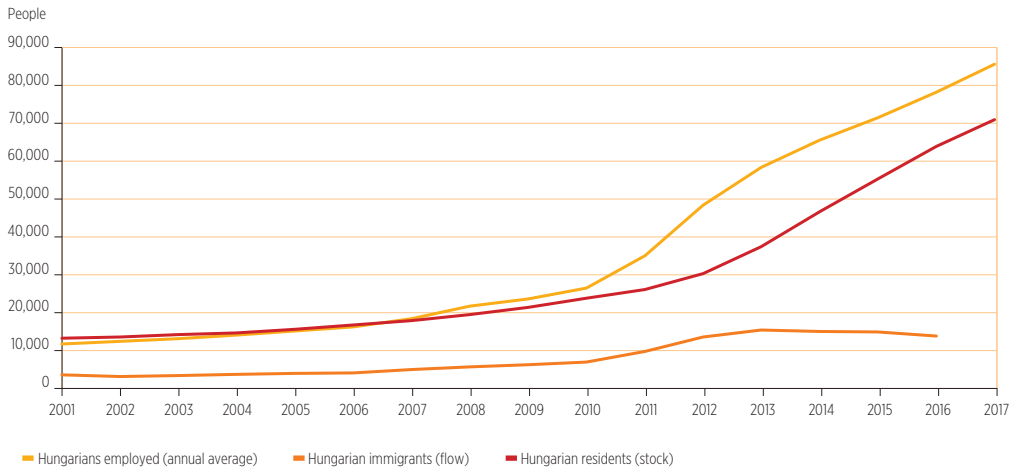
Source: [a] Eurostat database ([migr_imm1ctz]; updated on 16 March 2018), supplemented by data for Germany (DESTATIS) and Austria (Statistik Austria) from 2009 onwards, author's calculation; [b] HCSO, Demographic Yearbooks (based on the Personal Data and Address Register until 2009; the Social Security Identification Number (TAJ) register of the National Health Insurance Fund (OEP) until 2010; and both since 2011).
Note: Due to incomplete data, the United Kingdom does not feature from 2006, and France does not feature between 2000 and 2012.

Figure 11: Number of Hungarian citizens working abroad (and part of a household in Hungary), 2004–2018



Source: HCSO, Labour Force Survey (LFS).
[a] First quarter data.

Figure 12: Number of Hungarian citizens migrating to, resident in and working in Austria, 2001–2017



Source: Eurostat database: flow ([migr_imm1ctz], updated 16 March 2018); stock ([migr_pop1ctz], updated 6 April 2018); Statistik Austria data; Hauptverband der Österreichischen Sozialversicherungsträger.

A part of the population working abroad (individuals temporarily resident abroad or commuting) does not appear in the immigration statistics of the host countries. A prime example would be Austria. The majority of Hungarians employed in that country commute there (Lakatos 2015; Hárs and Simon 2017), and consequently there is a significant difference between the number of those registered as immigrants and the number registered as employed in Austria (the latter being higher) (*Figure 12*). According to Austrian social insurance data, the number of Hungarians working in the country has risen steadily since Hungary's accession to the EU, with the trend intensifying after 2011. While the number of immigrant Hungarians remained at below 15,000 annually even after 2011 (despite the increase), the number of registered Hungarian employees increased from 34,600 in 2011 to an average of 71,000 in 2015, and topped 85,000 in 2017. Although the rate of increase in recent years has moderated slightly compared to the period before 2011, the trend has not gone into reverse. Despite the sharp increase after 2011 in the number of Hungarians residing in Austria, it is still visibly lower than the number of Hungarians employed in the country (the two figures were converging up until 2010, but then the gap widened after 2011).

The spread of emigration and employment abroad was also due to a dramatic increase in Hungarian unemployment[15] and worse economic prospects due to the economic crisis. The emigration of younger generations was driven by the difficulties of entering the labour market, the consequent uncertainty and negative outlook. Between 2009 and 2013, the unemployment rate of 20–24-year-olds was approximately 25%, which was particularly high in the European context. (Since then the rate has

[15] Between 2007 and 2010, the number of unemployed increased by 160,000.

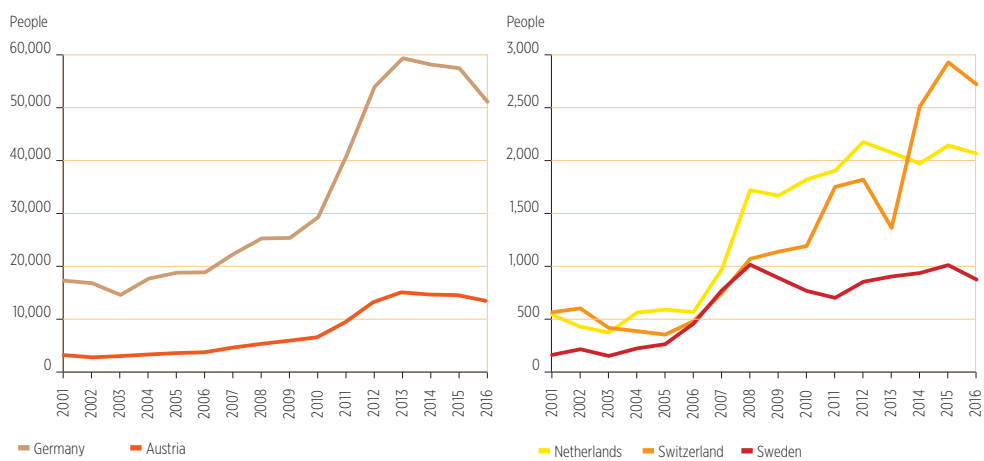
decreased steadily, and by 2017 was down to 9.2%.) The higher wages and better living conditions typical of Western European countries appealed to many young people – even those who had employment in Hungary. The findings of a survey conducted among 18–40-year-olds confirm that although people's motivations are complex, migratory intentions – especially in the case of movement within the EU to find work – are primarily fuelled by economic considerations related to work, wages and the cost of living (Gödri 2016).

The introduction of university student contracts in 2012 also motivated many to study abroad. Between 2013 and 2015, the number of Hungarian students studying in the five major destination countries (the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Denmark) rose by 40% (Golovics 2018). Furthermore, a wider range of opportunities to study abroad and a more widespread knowledge of foreign languages also motivated younger generations to move abroad. However, in many cases the opportunity to learn a language abroad, professional development and the chance to gain experience were the most important factors; and sometimes even adventure-seeking played a part in the decision (Gödri 2016).

Destination countries

Germany and Austria – traditionally the choices of Hungarians – continued to be major destination countries even after the turn of the millennium. This was partly on account of existing historical, cultural and linguistic relations; partly because of their need for labour; and partly due to geographical proximity. These migration patterns were also sustained by previous migratory experiences and existing migrant networks. In the case of Austria, there is only moderate immigration from Hungary, and people instead typically undertake temporary or commuting movements linked to employment. In Germany, by contrast, a significant number of Hungarian immigrants have been registered in the past decade and a half (*Figure 13*). Their numbers increased steadily after 2004, and then soared after 2011, reaching almost 60,000 a year between 2013 and 2015.

Figure 13: Number of Hungarian citizens immigrating to major European destination countries, 2001–2016



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_imm1ctz]; updated on 16 March 2018); DESTATIS; Statistik Austria.

Figure 14: Number of Hungarian citizens registered in various statistics of the United Kingdom and Ireland, 2002–2017

Source: Department for Work and Pensions (UK); Department of Social and Family Affairs (Ireland).

After Hungary joined the EU, the gradual opening up of the labour market of old Member States led to a diversification in the destination countries: alongside the two traditional destinations and the 'newcomer' United Kingdom (albeit to a much lesser degree), Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain and Italy[16] (as well as the non-EU Switzerland) also took in Hungarian immigrants and employees. Trends were influenced by the opening up of labour markets and other factors (such as the economic crisis) (see *Figures 13* and *14*).[17] Migration towards the United Kingdom and the other new destination countries started mainly because new employment opportunities arose.

The United Kingdom obviously became a major destination country after 2004: whereas at the beginning of 2004, only 6,000 Hungarian citizens were resident in the country, a decade later their number had reached almost 75,000.[18] Although immigration data for the United Kingdom do not appear in Eurostat statistics, and those working there are underrepresented in Hungarian labour force surveys (Lakatos 2015), data from the various registers clearly reveal this increase. Between 2004 and 2017, almost 220,000 Hungarian citizens received a UK National Insurance number (NINo)[19]: fewer than a thousand in 2004; almost 8,000 in 2005; and between 22,000 and 26,000 annually between 2012 and 2015. Furthermore, between 2004 and 2011 (while the Worker Registration Scheme covered EU-8 citizens), over 55,000 Hungarian employees were registered in the country: just over 3,000 in 2004, and almost 11,000 by 2008.

[16] The latter two countries lost their significance following the opening up of the German and Austrian labour markets.
[17] Of the countries listed, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden opened up their labour markets immediately; Italy and Spain in 2006; the Netherlands in 2007; and Germany, Austria and Switzerland in May 2011.
[18] In the same period, the number of Hungarian-born individuals in the UK rose from 14,000 to 79,000.
[19] The volume of National Insurance numbers issued is the best indicator of economic immigration in the case of the United Kingdom (Moreh 2017). Everybody who (potentially) wishes to be employed – even part time or temporarily – has to apply for one.

Both data sources show an increase until 2008, and then a slight decrease as a consequence of the crisis (*Figure 14*). After 1 May 2011, employees arriving from EU-8 countries were no longer registered under the Worker Registration Scheme, but according to NINo figures, the number of Hungarians again began to rise significantly (despite an increasing rate of migration towards Germany and Austria at the time). This increase continued until 2013; thereafter there was a significant decrease, which has continued since 2016 on account of Brexit.

In Ireland – also one of the first to open its labour market – almost 34,000 Hungarian citizens received a Personal Public Service Number (PPSN) between 2004 and 2017 – including 4,000 to 5,000 annually between 2006 and 2008. PPSNs are compulsory for foreign employees; thus, migration with the intention of employment can be traced effectively. The number of Hungarians registered as immigrants is much lower than the above-mentioned figure: barely 2,100 even at its peak (in 2006). After 2008, the number of PPSNs issued to Hungarians in Ireland – a country particularly badly hit by the crisis – fell significantly, and has since ranged between 1,000 and 2,000 annually (*Figure 14*).

More moderate migration intentions are also reflected in migration potential surveys: following a peak in 2012, when almost a fifth of the adult population was planning some form of migration, the share of individuals planning either short-term or long-term employment abroad decreased. The pro-portion of those planning to emigrate for good reached an unprecedented peak in 2015, but has since decreased. Between 2013 and January 2017, the cumulated migration potential ranged from 13% to 16% (Sik 2018).

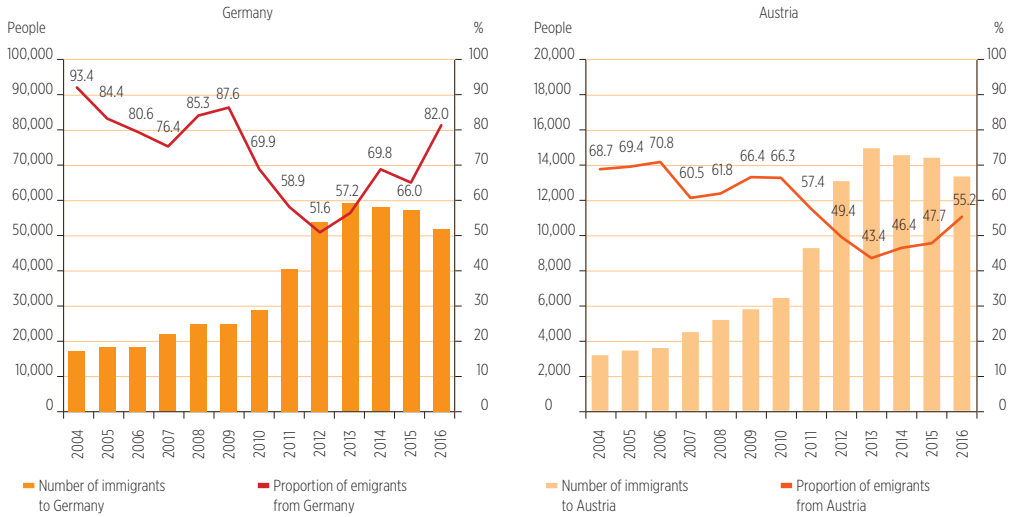
Return migration

The number of Hungarians returning from abroad has increased in recent years; however, the exact volume of this process is difficult to evaluate, as there are no accurate data on the number and composition of *returning migrants*[G]. Mirror statistics include Hungarian citizens leaving the host country, but it is not known whether they leave to return home or to move to a third country. Furthermore, Hungarian citizens emigrating from European countries include individuals born there, and consequently they cannot be regarded as returning migrants. Despite these uncertainties, data from the major destination countries suggest that alongside emigration, return migration is also a significant phenomenon.

Between 2001 and 2006, approximately 15,000 individuals – not German, and so presumably returning migrants – 'emigrated' from Germany to Hungary.[20] Their number began to increase from 2007, to reach 40,000 in 2014 and almost the same figure a year later. The number of Hungarians emigrating from Austria also began to rise after 2007, although the figure is considerably lower (6,000–7,000 annually in recent years). Although Austria takes in a significant number of Hungarian employees, most reside in the country only temporarily or else commute, and so do not appear in immigration and emigration statistics. In the United Kingdom, only half of all the Hungarians who had received a National Insurance number since Hungary's accession to the EU were recorded in the 2011 British population census; the majority of those (63%) had arrived at the beginning of the period – between 2004 and 2006 (Moreh 2014). This indicates that a significant number of Hungarians returned from the UK – especially of those who arrived after 2007; this was presumably influenced

[20] German statistics not only indicate the nationality of emigrants, but also their destination.

Figure 15: Number of Hungarians immigrating to Germany and Austria and the proportion of Hungarian emigrants from these countries, 2004–2016



Source: DESTATIS; Statistik Austria; author's calculations.

by the economic crisis. There are no data on return migration from the UK in recent years; however, it is apparent that although 64,000 individuals received a National Insurance number between 2014 and 2016, within that three-year period the number of Hungarian citizens residing in the country increased by only 21,000 (while almost 2,000 acquired citizenship).

Analysis of the number of returnees compared to the number of immigrants in a given year reveals that in Germany and Austria the ratio declined for some years, but began to increase after 2012–2013. The proportion of emigrants from Germany in relation to the number of individuals arriving in a given year has been around 66–70% in recent years, reaching 82% in 2016 (55% in the case of emigrants from Austria) (*Figure 15*).

The increasing number of returnees is also indicated by Hungarian statistics based on administrative data sources, namely the Social Security Identification Number (TAJ) register of the National Health Insurance Fund.[21] According to this, the number of returning Hungarian citizens rose sharply in recent years: from below 1,600 individuals in 2010, it exceeded 9,000 in 2013 and stood at over 20,000 in 2017 (*Figure 2*). However, the number of actual returnees is presumably higher than these figures.

Beside recording the number of individuals returning from abroad (and emigrants represented in mirror statistics) – which means direct measurement – return migration can also be measured indirectly, by taking into account individuals with migratory experiences: that is, returning

[21] Hungarian acronym: NEAK, formerly OEP. This register includes individuals who reactivated their Hungarian health insurance after having held foreign health insurance.

home after residing abroad. Suitable data sources may be the population census and microcensuses. According to the 2016 microcensus, there were approximately 242,000 Hungarian citizens born here (i.e. not immigrants) who had had at least a one-year migratory experience – that is, had lived abroad for at least a year at some time (HCSO 2018). Their number at the time of the 2011 population census was 202,000.

In 2016, the share of returnees was 2.6% of the total population, with 3.2% in the 16–64 age group. If we consider those who moved abroad after 2000 and individuals within that group who returned after a period of less than a year, then the number of individuals with migratory experiences was 378,000, and their share in the total population was 4.1% (5.7% in 16–64 age group).[22] The share of men, younger age groups and those with higher qualifications is higher among returnees than in the population as a whole: 57% of those with short- or long-term migratory experience after 2000 were men and 41% had a degree; in the population as a whole, the figures were 49% and 22%. Some 66% of returnees returned after foreign employment and 20% after having studied abroad. While the majority (43%) of skilled workers returned from Germany, a fifth of those with higher qualifications returned from the United Kingdom and 53% from other countries (apart from the three major destinations).

Although various data sources all show that more and more individuals have returned home in recent years, it is uncertain whether their decision is final. According to previous surveys, two-thirds of those who have had some kind of migratory experience are planning further migration (Gödri 2016).

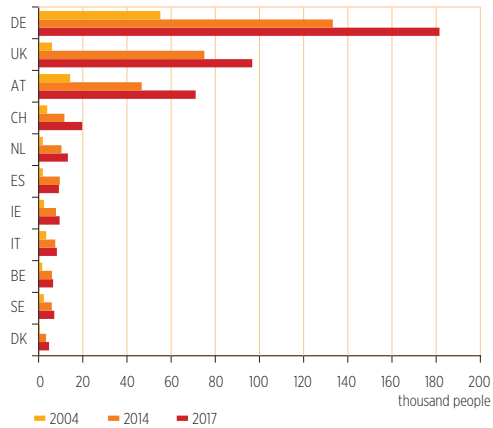
The size and composition of the Hungarian population residing abroad

Despite return migration, the number of Hungarian citizens residing in major European destination countries has increased further in recent years. Numerically, this increase has been most significant in the case of Germany, with 48,000 individuals since 2014; the total number of Hungarians there reached 180,000 at the beginning of 2017 (*Figure 16*). There has been a further significant increase in Austria (where the population of Hungarian citizens has risen by 24,000 since 2014); among the new destination countries, the United Kingdom has witnessed an increase of 22,000 individuals.[23] Although not as significant, compared to the three major destinations, the number of Hungarians in Switzerland and the Netherlands has also increased (also to a lesser extent – though still by over a thousand individuals – in Ireland, Denmark and Sweden).

According to mirror statistics, the total *number of Hungarian citizens residing in countries of the European Economic Area*[24] in early 2017 exceeded 461,000 – approximately 130,000 more than in 2014, and 370,000 more than at the turn of the millennium (i.e. January 2001) (*Table 1*). In 2017, three-quarters of this population resided in one of the three major destination countries: Germany (39%), the United Kingdom (21%) and Austria (15%).

[22] The proportion and characteristics of returning migrants are presented on the basis of the 2016 microcensus (see HCSO 2018).
[23] The total of 96,000 Hungarian citizens residing in the UK is based on the Annual Population Survey, and is an estimate accepted by Eurostat. However, many doubt its accuracy, believing the actual number of Hungarians living there to be approximately double that (some 200,000).
[24] We also included Switzerland, which has granted equal rights with regard to freedom of movement.

Figure 16: Number of Hungarian citizens residing in major European destination countries, 2004, 2014, 2017



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_pop1ctz]; updated on 6 April 2018); Instituto Nacional de Estadística (Spain).

According to estimates,[25] at the beginning of 2013 there were 350,000 Hungarians who had left Hungary after 1989 and were living in non-European areas (which do not feature in data from Eurostat). Taking all countries of the world, it is estimated that on 1 January 2017 there were between 550,000 and 580,000 *Hungarian citizens* who had been resident abroad for at least a year – assuming that nowadays approximately 15–20% of Hungarians migrate outside Europe.

From 2011, the number of Hungarian citizens resident abroad includes individuals who acquired Hungarian citizenship via simplified naturalization in their homeland (usually a neighbouring country) and then migrated to the various destination countries. The effect of this phenomenon can already be felt in certain countries. In 2017, the number of Hungarian citizens who were born outside Hungary (including, however, children with Hungarian citizenship born in the given host country) exceeded 12,000 in Austria and was approximately 10,000 in the United Kingdom. Flow data reveal that during the six-year period 2011–2016, the number of Hungarian citizens registered as immigrants in the various European destination countries was some 21,000–22,000 more than the number of individuals arriving from Hungary.

Some of those who settle permanently acquire the citizenship of the given host country after a time (see the box entitled 'Hungarians acquiring citizenship in host countries'). Consequently, the size of the *Hungarian-born population residing abroad* exceeds the number of Hungarian citizens residing abroad. According to data from the UN, the number of Hungarian-born individuals residing abroad (anywhere in the world) – regardless of when they left the country – was 420,000 at the turn of the millennium, 528,000 in 2010 and 637,000 in 2017 (United Nations 2017).[26] Their share in the total Hungarian-born population was 4.1% in 2000, 5.3% in 2010 and 6.6% in 2017.

Since the turn of the millennium, both the size of this population and its distribution by destination country have changed considerably. Whereas in 2000, 53% were resident in a European country, by 2017 this figure was 73.5%; meanwhile the proportion of those living in North America dropped from 34% to 19%. This also indicates that, whereas previously there was a preference for non-European destinations, following the change of regime, and then during the 2000s (especially after EU accession), this preference became less and less dominant. The major European destinations are Germany (27% of Hungarian-born emigrants), the United Kingdom (13%) and Austria (8%); meanwhile among non-European countries the greatest numbers

[25] See the research on *Hungarians abroad* conducted as part of the SEEMIG project in 2013.
[26] These figures do not include individuals who were born in the given host country as Hungarian citizens (that is, the children of Hungarian parent(s)).

Table 1: Number and distribution of Hungarian citizens resident in European countries, 2001, 2017 (1 January)

Destination country	2001		2017	
	N	%	N	%
Austria	12,729	14.0	70,584	15.3
Belgium	1,534	1.7	6,469	1.4
Bulgaria	95	0.1	142	0.0
Croatia	–	–	627	0.1
Cyprus[a]	–	–	513	0.1
Czech Republic	418	0.5	4,109	0.9
Denmark	391	0.4	4,730	1.0
Estonia	–	–	161	0.0
Finland	654	0.7	1,973	0.4
France[b]	2,961	3.3	6,563	1.4
Germany	54,437	59.8	180,168	39.1
Greece	538	0.6	770	0.2
Iceland	49	0.1	316	0.1
Ireland	–	–	9,431	2.0
Italy	2,817	3.1	8,181	1.8
Latvia	13	0.0	28	0.0
Liechtenstein	–	–	45	0.0
Lithuania	8	0.0	48	0.0
Luxembourg	143	0.2	1,650	0.4
Malta[a]	12	0.0	133	0.0
Netherlands	1,538	1.7	13,123	2.8
Norway	291	0.3	3,677	0.8
Poland	403	0.4	771	0.2
Portugal	158	0.2	520	0.1
Romania	269	0.3	4,521	1.0
Slovakia	–	–	9,799	2.1
Slovenia	51	0.1	506	0.1
Spain[c]	778	0.9	9,080	2.0
Sweden	2,988	3.3	6,979	1.5
Switzerland	3,559	3.9	19,569	4.2
United Kingdom	4,273	4.7	96,018	20.8
Together	*91,107*	*100.0*	*461,204*	*100.0*

Source: Eurostat database ([migr_pop1ctz]; updated on 6 April 2018). [a] Data from 2011 (Census Hub) instead of 2017. [b] Data from 1999 instead of 2001. [c] Instituto Nacional de Estadística; - no data.

of Hungarian-born individuals reside in the United States (12%), Canada (7%), Australia (4%) and Israel (2%). According to data from the UN, in 2017 Hungarian-born people lived in 67 different countries around the world, with a local population in excess of 1,000 in 32 countries.

The *socio-demographic composition* of Hungarian citizens resident abroad shows a small male dominance, a younger age composition than in the home country and higher qualifications. However, there are significant differences depending on the destination country. While the proportion of men is especially high (though decreasing) among those living in Germany (62% in 2014 and 58% in 2017), it is rather more moderate in the Scandinavian countries (52–55%). By contrast, the majority of Hungarians residing in Italy are women (72.5%), and there is a slightly higher share of women (52–55%) among individuals resident in the United Kingdom, Austria, the Netherlands, Spain and Belgium. However, the Hungarian Labour Force Survey (which usually indicates temporary or commuting employment) shows that the majority of those employed abroad are men: 80% in the years following Hungary's accession to the EU, and fluctuating at between 74% and 78% since 2011.

Young age composition is typical of all destination countries. In 2017, the proportion of 20–39-year-olds varied at between 48% and 60% among Hungarian citizens resident in the major European destinations, whereas their share in the Hungarian population was only 26%. The proportion of young people is especially high in some new destination countries like the Netherlands and Ireland, whereas in the traditional destinations (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) the older generations are less heavily outnumbered (*Figure 17*). However, the share of the over-55s is only 10% in Germany, while a third of the population in Hungary is of this age group.

HUNGARIANS ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP IN HOST COUNTRIES

In the early 2000s, the number of Hungarian citizens naturalized in European host countries reached almost 2,000 annually. But then that figure began to decrease, and from the middle of the decade the number fluctuated at between 1,000 and 1,500. There was then a steady but ever more dynamic increase, so that in 2016 their numbers reached 3,400 a year. Between 2000 and 2016, approximately 32,000 Hungarian citizens became citizens of an EEA country.[27] Most acquired German (34%), British (16%) and Swedish (13%) citizenship, with a smaller proportion (6–8%) becoming Austrian or Swiss. A significantly higher proportion of naturalized individuals were women: almost 70% in 2008 and then hovering at around 60% in recent years. The criteria for naturalization and the recognition of dual citizenship vary considerably among European countries. The 1997 European Convention on Nationality stipulates that states cannot prescribe more than 10 years' residence as part of the criteria for naturalization. Furthermore, each state can decide whether the acquisition of citizenship requires renunciation of the previous citizenship.

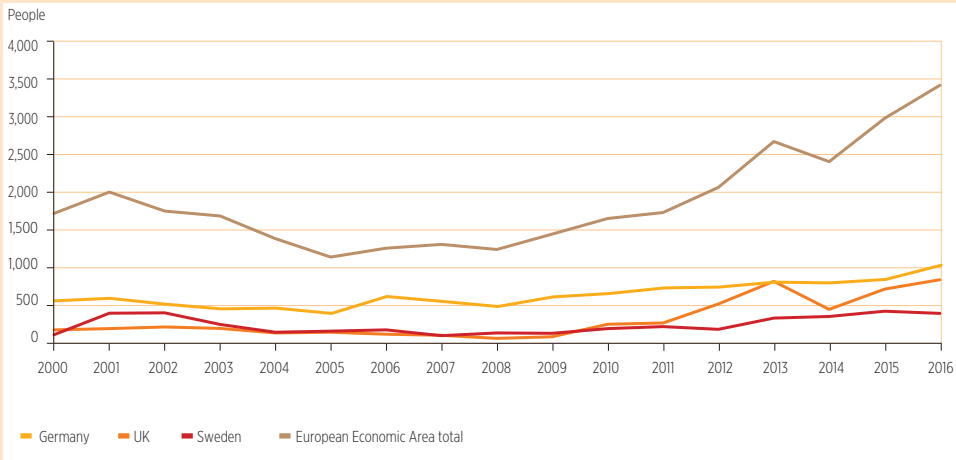
There are significant differences among the main destination countries for Hungarians in terms of the criteria for naturalization. In order to acquire Austrian citizenship, one must have been resident in the country for an uninterrupted period of 10 years (or six years for an EEA citizen). Acquiring Swiss citizenship requires 10 years' residence in the country (with three of the last five years in the same settlement). In Germany, an applicant for naturalization must have been resident for eight years (although this may be reduced to seven or even six years if certain criteria are met). The requirement for acquiring British and Swedish citizenship is at least five years' residence. In many countries, there is a relaxation of the criteria for spouses and minor children. Following the introduction of more stringent regulations in recent years, those applying for British citizenship must first acquire permanent residence status; a settlement permit is needed to gain Swiss citizenship.

Normally, to obtain Austrian citizenship one must renounce one's previous citizenship (although there are exceptions); it is the same for German citizenship, although this rule does not apply to EU citizens. Other countries do not insist on previous citizenship being renounced.

In most countries, children born there acquire the citizenship of their parents by so-called right of blood (*ius sanguinis*), although in the United Kingdom the so-called right of the soil (*ius soli*) is still used, meaning that children born in the country automatically become British citizens, if at least one parent is settled in the United Kingdom (regardless of their citizenship).

[27] Between 2000 and 2016, a further 24,000 Hungarian citizens were naturalized in non-European host countries – primarily the USA, Canada and Australia (according to OECD data).

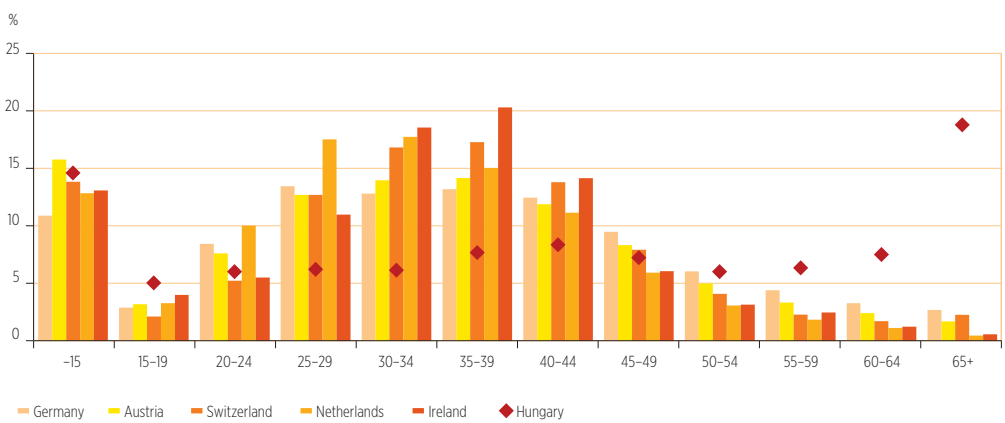
Figure B3: Number of naturalized Hungarians in the main European host countries, 2000–2016



Source: Eurostat database ([mifgr_acq]; updated on 15 March 2018); 2000–2001: OECD database.

Findings from the 2016 microcensus show a similar picture. Of the population resident abroad for at least a year (259,000), 53% were men; and this figure was 65% in the case of the population temporarily resident abroad (47,500 individuals). This means that temporary migration (leaving the family behind) is more typical of men. Almost 60% of men either temporarily or permanently resident abroad are aged 20–39 years. This young age group is even more dominant among women: 64% of those permanently (and 67% temporarily) resident abroad. This affects domestic fertility and the number of Hungarian children born abroad (see the box entitled 'Hungarian children born abroad').

Figure 17: Distribution of Hungarian citizens resident in the major European destination countries and the population of Hungary, by age group, 2017



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_pop1ctz]; updated on 6 April 2018).

Previous research into the *educational level* of the population resident abroad revealed an overrepresentation of skilled workers and of those with higher qualifications: while the predominance of the former was typical of the population moving abroad temporarily (and which continued to belong to a Hungarian household), those with a degree tended to move abroad permanently with their entire household (Blaskó and Gödri 2016). Distribution by destination country also shows a varied picture: the share of graduates is highest among those resident in the United Kingdom, while skilled workers are overrepresented in Germany and Austria.

The findings of the 2016 microcensus also show that individuals with higher qualifications are significantly (and those with secondary education slightly) overrepresented among those who stay abroad for a long time (compared to the population of Hungary); in the case of individuals resident abroad temporarily, this is true rather of skilled workers (and to a lesser extent of those with secondary education or a degree). However, the gender difference is striking: while 42% of Hungarian women who are permanently resident abroad have a degree, the same is true of only 19% of the female Hungarian population; meanwhile the proportion of skilled workers is especially high among men residing abroad temporarily (40% compared to 24.5% in the male Hungarian population).

The higher *employment rate* of the Hungarian population resident abroad is revealed by various data sources. According to the mirror statistics of Eurostat, 80.5% of Hungarian citizens aged 20–64 and resident in another EU Member State were employed in 2017 (the corresponding figure for those in Hungary was 73.3%). According to the microcensus, 86% of the 16–64 age group resident abroad were employed, 7% were studying and a further 7% reported other activity at the end of 2016 (HCSO 2018). The large-sample population survey of the United Kingdom reveals a similar picture: between 2013 and 2015, 84% of Hungarian citizens aged 16–64 and resident in the UK were employed (Office for National Statistics 2017).

HUNGARIAN CHILDREN BORN ABROAD

Aside from the direct demographic effects of emigration, we must also consider the indirect effects. Emigration not only contributes to population loss and a changing age structure, but also negatively affects fertility and the number of births, due to the young age composition of individuals who go abroad. However, in the long run this depends on the degree of return migration.

According to current news reports, every sixth Hungarian child is born abroad: approximately 78,000 requests for the registration in Hungary of a foreign-born infant were made by their Hungarian parents between 2010 and 2016. Although data from the main destination countries for emigrant Hungarians do show an increase in the number of Hungarian children born there, those figures are not as high as the above-mentioned figure.[28] Moreover, it may be – especially in the case of Austrian births –

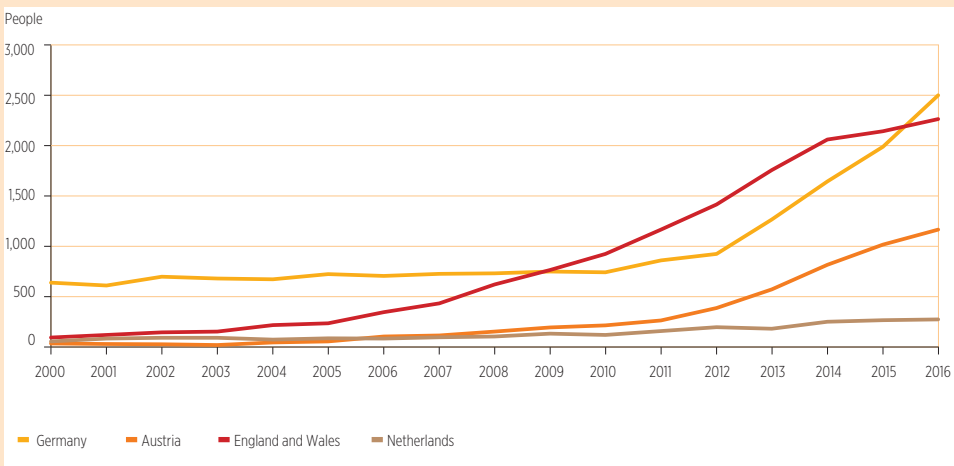
[28] Most foreign-born Hungarian children are the offspring of parents residing in neighbouring countries who have acquired Hungarian citizenship.

that the parents of foreign-born children with Hungarian citizenship habitually reside in Hungary.

Between 2000 and 2016, over 41,000 Hungarian children (approximately 28,000 since 2010) were born in the three main destination countries and the Netherlands (these four countries account for 78% of all those Hungarians resident abroad in Europe at the beginning of 2017). Changes in their numbers follow immigration trends to the given destination country: a moderate increase in the United Kingdom since 2004, a sharp increase in Germany and Austria since 2012, and a slow but steady increase in the Netherlands. While the total number of Hungarian children born in these four countries was around 1,000 annually around the turn of the millennium, it reached 5,500 by 2015. Children born in these four countries accounted for 5–6% of all the children born in Hungary (compared to a figure of 1–2% around the turn of the millennium). However, this is still significantly lower than the suspected rate of children born abroad to Hungarian parents.

Nonetheless, we can assume that some of the children born in Western countries 'return' to Hungary. This is indicated by, for example, German data: in Germany, 9,396 children were born to Hungarian mothers after 2011, and yet only 4,385 Hungarian citizens aged under six were registered at the end of 2016.

Figure B4: Number of Hungarian children born in the main European destination countries, 2000–2016



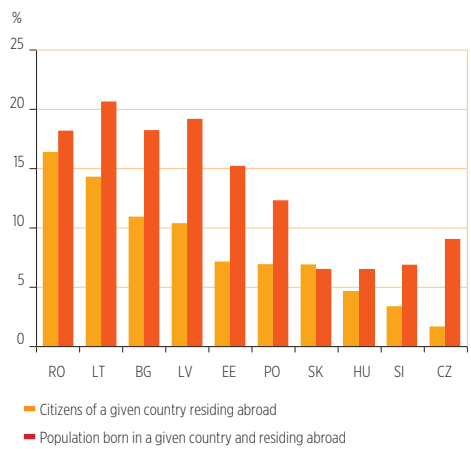
Source: DESTATIS; Statistik Austria; Office for National Statistics; Statistics Netherlands.
Note: The basis for identification was 'mother of Hungarian citizenship' in Germany and Austria; 'Hungarian-born mother' in England and Wales; and 'at least one parent is of Hungarian origin' in the case of the Netherlands. The 2016 data for England, Wales and Austria are estimates.

Central and Eastern European comparison

Although the number of Hungarian citizens resident abroad has increased dynamically in the past decade, their share as a proportion of the population of their home country is still significantly lower than for other countries in the region. In the majority of Central and Eastern European countries, accession to the EU was followed by an increasing rate of emigration and migration of the labour force. Vast numbers – or at least a high proportion in relation to the population of the home country – set out from the Baltic states, Poland and Slovakia (and then later from Romania and Bulgaria once they joined the EU in 2007) in search of new employment opportunities. However, emigration from Hungary only started to increase significantly relatively late on (in the late 2000s). This is clearly reflected in the statistics of the United Kingdom and Ireland (which opened up their labour markets back in 2004): if we compare the proportion of employees from the EU-8 countries registered in the UK and Ireland between 2004 and 2011, then (as a share of the population of the relevant home country), only for Slovakia and the Czech Republic was the figure lower than for Hungary.

After 2011, Hungarian emigration gained momentum; yet, despite this increase, the share of the population resident abroad in 2017 was still relatively low compared to the populations of other countries in the region (Figure 18). The countries with the largest numbers of their citizens resident abroad are Romania and Poland (a total across European countries of 3.2 million and 2.6 million, respectively, in 2017); however, in terms of the share of population resident abroad, Romania, two of the Baltic states and Bulgaria lead the pack. A glance at the figures for those citizens resident outside their country of birth reveals that Hungary (6.6%) and Slovakia (6.5%) are at the bottom of the list, while the indicator is 18–20% for the major countries of emigration (Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Bulgaria).

Figure 18: Size of population residing abroad from EU-8 and EU-2 countries: proportion of individuals residing outside their country of citizenship and their country of birth, 2017



Source: Eurostat database ([migr_pop1ctz]; updated on 6 April 2018); UN data (United Nations 2017).

Note: EU-8: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia.

EU-2: Bulgaria and Romania.

GLOSSARY

Asylum seeker: Foreign national or stateless person who has applied for international protection, but has not yet received any form of protection status – i.e. with refugee, subsidiary protection or tolerated stay status.

Crude immigration rate: The number of immigrants who enter a country in a given year, divided by the mid-year population of the host country (per 1,000 inhabitants).

EEA citizens: Citizens of the European Economic Area – including EU Member States, Iceland, Lichtenstein and Norway. Although Switzerland is not a member of the EEA, Swiss nationals have equal rights with regard to freedom of movement.

Emigrant foreign citizen: Foreign national with a valid residence or settlement document who leaves Hungary in a given year without the intention of returning, or who has not extended their expired residence permit, or whose permit has been revoked.

Emigrant Hungarian citizen: Hungarian citizen who leaves Hungary with the intention of settling permanently or residing temporarily abroad.

Foreign citizen residing in Hungary: Foreign citizen with a valid residence or settlement document who is residing in Hungary on 1 January of a given year.

Immigrant foreign citizen: Foreign national who enters Hungary in a given year and obtains residence document under current legislation.

Immigrant Hungarian citizen: Hungarian citizen who was born or resided abroad and comes to Hungary with the intention of settling, or returns from temporary residence abroad.

Naturalization rate: The number of naturalizations in a given year, divided by the number of foreign citizens residing in the country at the beginning of the year.

Person naturalized in Hungary: An individual who acquired Hungarian citizenship either via naturalization (if born as a foreign citizen) or re-naturalization (if former Hungarian citizenship was revoked).

Refugee: Foreign national or stateless person who has received refugee status (granted to applicants who – in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Conventions – can substantiate their fear of persecution in their country of origin). Refugee status is valid for an indefinite period. Refugees can apply for Hungarian citizenship after three years of residence in Hungary.

Returning migrant: A person who has resided in a foreign country as a short-term or long-term immigrant, and who returns to their country of citizenship with the intention of staying for at least a year.

Subsidiary protection status: A foreign national or stateless person who is not under threat of personal persecution in their country of origin, but who runs the risk of harm should they return may be granted subsidiary protection status. The risk of serious harm is reviewed every five years.

Tolerated stay status: This status may be granted to a foreign national or stateless person who is not entitled to refugee or subsidiary protection status, but who temporarily cannot be returned to their country of origin as there is a danger that they will face the death penalty, cruel or humiliating treatment or punishment. This status is reviewed annually.

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